

This dissertation has been
microfilmed exactly as received

70-2326

MORGAN, David Reid, 1933-
SUBURBAN DIFFERENTIATION AND
METROPOLITAN POLITICAL INTEGRATION.

The University of Oklahoma, Ph.D., 1969
Political Science, general

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

SUBURBAN DIFFERENTIATION AND METROPOLITAN
POLITICAL INTEGRATION

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
DAVID REID MORGAN
Norman, Oklahoma

1969

SUBURBAN DIFFERENTIATION AND METROPOLITAN
POLITICAL INTEGRATION

APPROVED BY

Charles F. Schupp
Samuel C. Kulp
John W. Wood
Robert L. Ryan
John E. Reese

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A considerable debt is owed by the writer to a number of persons whose assistance, suggestions and encouragement contributed materially to the preparation of this dissertation.

First, to Dr. Walter F. Scheffer of the Department of Political Science, University of Oklahoma, for his direction of my efforts and his many helpful comments, I am most grateful. Dr. Samuel A. Kirkpatrick, of the same department, also assisted considerably with his valuable critique of the methodological portions of the study in particular. Members of my Political Sociology class at Oklahoma City University during the Fall of 1967 contributed enormously with their field work on the suburban sample survey. Mrs. Jo Ann Bamberg deserves my wholehearted thanks for her considerable assistance with some of the typing required. Finally, and most importantly, to my wife, Carolyn Stout Morgan, for her cheerful and constant assistance as a thoughtful critic, proofreader, and typist, goes my deepest appreciation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	
I. THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION IN METROPOLITAN AREAS	1
II. MEASURING METROPOLITAN DIFFERENTIATION . . .	61
III. SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AND COMMUNITY VOTING BEHAVIOR	120
IV. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND RECRUITMENT OF SUBURBAN POLITICAL LEADERS	145
V. SUBURBAN ATTITUDES AND METROPOLITAN POLITICAL INTEGRATION	182
VI. CERTAIN POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF SELECTED SUBURBAN OFFICIALS	252
VII. SUBURBAN DIFFERENCES AND PROSPECTS FOR METROPOLITAN POLITICAL INTEGRATION	283
BIBLIOGRAPHY	309
APPENDIX A. SUBURBAN POLITICAL ATTITUDES SURVEY INSTRUMENT	345
APPENDIX B. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FIVE-COMMUNITY SAMPLE SURVEY, FALL 1967.	355
APPENDIX C. SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF FIVE- COMMUNITY SAMPLE SURVEY (1967) COMPARED WITH 1960 CENSUS DATA	362
APPENDIX D. BACKGROUND AND RECRUITMENT QUESTION- NAIRE FOR SUBURBAN COUNCIL MEMBERS. . .	363

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Local Governments in Metropolitan Areas	4
2. Education, Occupation, and Social Rank, Oklahoma City and Ten Suburbs	104
3. Community Social Rank Groupings, Ten Oklahoma City Suburbs	105
4. Familism, Oklahoma City and Ten Suburbs	106
5. Ethnicity, Oklahoma City and Ten Suburbs	107
6. Socio-economic Profiles, Oklahoma City and Ten Suburbs	108
7. Employment-Residence Ratio, 1963, Oklahoma City and Ten Suburbs	112
8. Oklahoma City Suburbs with Specialized Economic Activity.	113
9. Governmental Characteristics, Ten Oklahoma City Suburbs.	115
10. Socio-economic Characteristics of Suburbs by Form of Government.	116
11. Simple Correlation Matrix - Dependent Variables. . . .	127
12. Simple Correlation Matrix - Independent Variables. . .	128
13. Community Social Characteristics Correlated with Election Outcomes	129
14. Per Cent Republican Vote for Presidential Elections, 1956, 1960, 1964, 1968, by Suburban Community . . .	130

Table	Page
15. Per Cent Republican Vote for Gubernatorial Elections, 1954, 1958, 1962, 1966, by Suburban Community . . .	133
16. Per Cent Yes Vote for Certain State-Wide Capital Improvement Issues by Suburb	135
17. Per Cent Yes Vote for 1965 State Sales Tax Increase Issue by Suburb	137
18. Per Cent Yes for "Right-to-Work" Amendment by Suburb	139
19. Per Cent Yes for Repeal of State Prohibition by Suburb	140
20. Number and Per Cent of Oklahoma City Area Officials Responding to Questionnaire by City	151
21. Occupational Characteristics for Officials by Community Social Rank	156
22. Occupational Comparisons--Citizens and Officials by Community Social Rank.	157
23. Educational Comparisons--Citizens and Officials by Community Social Rank	162
24. Income Comparisons--Citizens and Officials by Community Social Rank	164
25. Sources of Interest for Officials Making Own Decision to Run	169
26. Groups Involved in Asking Officials to Run	170
27. Contacts with Incumbent Office-holders by Community Social Rank	171
28. Group Memberships for Officials by Community Social Rank.	173
29. Kinds of Groups to Which Suburban Officials Belong . .	174
30. Place of Birth of Officials by Community Social Rank .	178

Table	Page
31. Suburban Residence Universe Compared with 1965 Population	190
32. Suburban Sample Size Compared with Number of Respondents Desired by City	190
33. Suburban Respondents Moving from Oklahoma City by Community Social Rank	196
34. Place of Work by Community Social Rank	197
35. Desirable Features of Suburban Living	199
36. Percentage of Persons Mentioning Desirable Features of Suburbia by Community Social Rank	202
37. No Undesirable Suburban Features by Community Social Rank	205
38. Reasons for Not Wanting to Live in Oklahoma City. . . .	206
39. Reasons for Not Wanting to Live in Oklahoma City by Community Social Rank	207
40. Attitude Toward Metropolitan Government Change by Community Longevity	215
41. Attitude Toward Metropolitan Governmental Change by Level of Local Political Activity	217
42. Per Cent of Respondents Selecting Answers Indicating Commitment to "Grass-Roots" Political Ideology	221
43. Attitude Toward Metropolitan Governmental Change by Level of "Grass-Roots" Ideology	222
44. Commitment to "Grass-Roots" Political Ideology by Community Social Rank	228
45. Opposition to Bussing to Achieve Racial Balance in Schools by Community Social Rank	234
46. Attitude Toward Safety of Property in Suburb Compared to Central City by Community Social Rank	236

Table	Page
47. Attitude Indicating Whether Central City or Suburb Has Most Conflict by Community Social Rank	237
48. Attitude Toward Metropolitan Government Change Compared with Attitudes Toward Racial Balancing in Schools and Open-Housing	238
49. Percentage of "Very Good" Ratings for Selected Local Services by Community Social Rank	242
50. Attitudes Toward Local Taxes by Community Social Rank	246
51. Attitudes Comparing Local Taxes in Suburb to Central City by Community Social Rank.	247
52. Attitudes Toward Metropolitan Government Change Compared with Attitudes Toward Local Taxes	248
53. Sample Size, Suburban Citizenry and Officials	258
54. Official's Selection of Desirable Features of Suburban Living	259
55. Per Cent of Citizens and Officials Mentioning Certain Desirable Features of Suburban Living	260
56. Percentage of "Very Good" Ratings for Public Services by Citizens and Officials.	264
57. Citizen's and Official's Attitudes Toward Level of Local Taxes	265
58. Citizen's and Official's Views on Whether Suburbanites Consider Lower Taxes as Important Reason for Suburban Residence	267
59. Citizen's and Official's Attitudes on Local Tax Differential Between Suburb and Central City.	267
60. Citizen's and Official's Attitudes Toward Achieving Racial Balance in Schools by Bussing Negroes	268
61. Citizen's and Official's Attitudes Toward Open Housing Law	269

Table		Page
62.	Ranking of Urban Functions from Most Local to Most Area-Wide by Officials	273
63.	Comparisons of Rankings of Urban Functions on Basis of Most Local to Most Area-Wide	275
64.	Official's Degree of Satisfaction with ACOG	278

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Map	Page
1. Oklahoma City SMSA Depicting Suburban Cities by Community Social Rank	101

SUBURBAN DIFFERENTIATION AND METROPOLITAN POLITICAL INTEGRATION

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

The growth of metropolitan areas which began in the United States at the turn of the century continues undiminished. Around 1900, approximately two-thirds of the population resided on farms or in communities of less than 2,500. By 1960, this ratio had been almost completely reversed so that 113 million, or 63 per cent of the population, were found within the nation's metropolitan areas.

These metropolitan areas, by government definition and common understanding, are made up of one or more central cities and a collection of suburbs beyond the corporate limits of the central city which includes cities, towns, villages, semi-rural and rural areas in close proximity to the central city (or cities). In 1960 there were 212 metropolitan areas officially designated by the United States Bureau of the Budget as Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) ranging in

size from 50,000 to over 10,000,000 inhabitants.¹

Although metropolitan areas as a whole have been undergoing rapid population expansion, most of the recent growth has taken place outside the central city. Between 1950 and 1960, central cities within the 212 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas increased only 1.5 per cent in population within their 1950 boundaries, and added another 9.2 per cent by annexation, for a total increase of 10.7 per cent.² Many of the nation's biggest and oldest cities actually lost population during this period.³ The remaining, or fringe portion of the metropolitan areas, increased by a dramatic 48.6 per cent. This phenomenon of urban diffusion and dispersion with its concomitant social and economic manifestations has so transformed the urban community that York Willbern has called it a "second revolution" (the first being the process of urbanization itself).⁴

¹The official definition of a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area requires a county or a group of contiguous counties with at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or two cities with a combined population of at least 50,000, provided the smaller city has at least 15,000. See U. S. Bureau of the Budget, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1967) pp. 1-3.

²Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Metropolitan America: Challenge to Federalism (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 15.

³The list includes New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, Cleveland, Washington, D. C., St. Louis, Boston, and Pittsburgh. United States Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1967 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 22-23.

⁴York Willbern, The Withering Away of the City (University: University of Alabama Press, 1964), Chap. I.

The enormous changes resulting from metropolitanization of the nation have not been without consequence for the governmental system of the metropolis. Prior to 1900, municipal services were ordinarily provided by a single jurisdiction--a city, town or village--for its urban population. As population increased, however, and the spread of urban development accelerated in the twentieth century, the structure of government in urban centers underwent transformation from a "basically unitary form, with a single city producing services for the total urban population, to one characterized by numerous jurisdictions in complex inter-relationships."¹ Thus, today, the public business of metropolitan America is conducted by a myriad of governments--cities and towns, counties, school districts and special districts--responsible for a panorama of local services. And the trend in metropolitan areas is toward still greater proliferation of local governments with the exception of school districts as indicated in Table 1.

A Brief History of Metropolitan Reform

Since about 1920, when large-scale municipal annexation came to a halt, most large metropolitan areas have presented the same picture, according to Scott Greer, "a 'land-locked' central city, increasingly aged and obsolete, surrounded by a growing patchwork of suburban municipalities,"² The increasing seriousness of area-wide problems in urban

¹Robert O. Warren, Government in Metropolitan Regions: A Re-appraisal of Fractionated Political Organization (Davis: Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, 1966), p. 1.

²Scott Greer, Governing the Metropolis (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), p. 50.

TABLE 1
LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

Type of local government	Local Governments in 174 Metropolitan Areas		Increase or Decrease 1952-57 Percent	Local Governments in 212 SMSA's		Increase or Decrease 1957-62 Percent	Average Change 1952-62 Percent
	1952	1957		1957	1962		
Total	16,630	15,568	-6	17,984	18,442	3	-3
School Districts	8,106	6,473	-20	7,486	6,004	-20	-20
Other, total	8,524	9,125	8	10,948	12,438	18	13
Counties	267	266	*	311	310	*	*
Municipalities	3,252	3,422	5	3,844	4,144	8	7
Townships	2,344	2,317	-1	2,607	2,573	-1	-1
Special Districts	2,661	3,180	20	3,736	5,411 ^a	45	33

*less than .05 percent

^aIncluding some types of entities not formerly subject to classification as independent government units.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1957 Census of Governments, Vol. I, No. 2, Local Government in Standard Metropolitan Areas, p. 1. Census of Governments: 1962, Vol. V, Local Government in Metropolitan Areas, p. 2.

complexes has been responsible for the advancement of numerous proposals for the reform of the governmental system of the metropolis. The literature of the past forty years abounds with warnings of impending crises and the necessity for drastic governmental reorganization to meet the metropolitan challenge.¹ The reformers have generally become convinced that the mosaic of local governments in metropolitan areas, which may have been adequate for an earlier and simpler day, are totally inadequate to cope with the highly complex, interrelated problems found in the modern metropolis.

The metropolitan reform movement apparently reached its peak during the five-year period from 1953 to 1958 when more than 65 metropolitan commissions or survey groups were established.² Even though the reformist zeal has dwindled somewhat in the 1960's, there are still a number of prominent groups and individuals who are committed to rather far-reaching structural change within the governmental system of metropolitan areas as will be demonstrated subsequently.

Most discussion and research relating to the organization of metropolitan government has been strongly influenced by the reform movement and with some recent exceptions has produced relatively uniform recommendations for change. In brief the reformist position has

¹Joseph F. Zimmerman, "Metropolitan Ecumenism: The Road to the Promised Land," Journal of Urban Law, University of Detroit, XLIV (Spring, 1967), 434.

²Henry J. Schmandt, "Changing Directions," National Civic Review, LIV (November, 1965), 530-534.

been that the existing fragmented system of local governments should be centralized so that most public services (at least all those of an "area-wide" nature) will be provided by a single metropolitan-wide governmental jurisdiction. In broad terms the traditional or reformist literature reflects a key underlying assumption: that metropolitan areas are in reality a social and economic whole which are artificially divided governmentally. The reformers were convinced that metropolitan areas possessed the resources to deal with their problems if they could only be mobilized on an area-wide basis. To strengthen the case for what they considered to be an immensely complicated and irrational governmental arrangement, the reformers consistently catalogued a variety of problems which were not respecters of artificial political boundaries.

Many of the first systematic statements reflecting the reformist point of view began appearing in print during the 1920's and were accompanied by several reform efforts which were defeated at the polls.¹ However, it was not until the end of the 1920's that the first comprehensive examination of metropolitan government appeared. The volume, written by Paul Studenski, The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States, was undertaken as a project of the Committee on Metropolitan

¹Paul Studenski in The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States (New York: National Municipal League, 1930), Chap. XVIII, reported efforts to consolidate city-county government in Oakland-Alameda County (1921), and the St. Louis area (1926), and for a federated government in Pittsburg and Allegheny County (1929). A study done for the Council of State Governments in 1956, John C. Bollens, ed., The States and the Metropolitan Problem (Chicago: Council of State Governments, 1956), p. 72, reported consolidation movements afoot in Boston, Cleveland, Portland, Seattle, and St. Paul which never reached a vote.

Government of the National Municipal League. It set a pattern of analysis for metropolitan government which has been widely followed.¹

Using the criteria of social and economic interdependence as his definition of a metropolitan area, Studenski decided that the single whole has been artificially fragmented into a bewildering complexity of governmental jurisdictions.² He consequently deplored, among other things, the great variation in municipal regulations and standards of service found throughout the same areas; the large inequalities in tax resources among jurisdictions; jurisdictional disputes and the inadequate treatment of problems essentially regional in nature.³ The obvious conclusion was reached that governments in metropolitan areas must be integrated so as to allow the whole region to function as a political unit.⁴

The next major general study in the field of metropolitan government to attract widespread attention was published in 1942 by Victor Jones, Metropolitan Government.⁵ The work largely supported the earlier assumptions and findings of Studenski concerning the nature of "the metropolitan problem" which was still viewed as being synonymous with decentralized government. Due to the growing list of metropolitan reorganization failures at the polls, however, Jones devoted considerable effort to the political aspects of implementing reform proposals. He

¹Robert O. Warren, Government in Metropolitan Regions, p. 10.

²Studenski, Government of Metropolitan Areas, p. 7.

³Ibid., pp. 23-30. ⁴Ibid., p. 41.

⁵Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

attempted to identify the groups likely to support or oppose reform measures, the techniques they used and methods of counteracting them.¹ Nevertheless, an examination of the various alternative solutions to the metropolitan problem as he visualized it, led Jones to support either a federated government, a consolidated city-county, or a reorganized and municipalized urban county.² He concluded his argument by indicating that the major emphasis in a reform effort should be directed toward the political side of the issue--improvement in the strategy and tactics of implementing the reform proposal.³

Since World War II, traditionally oriented studies have tended to follow rather closely the basic Studenski-Jones theme concerning the dysfunctional nature of decentralized metropolitan government. Again, reacting to the lack of success at the polls, the trend away from solutions requiring total unification found increasing support. In 1953, for example, Victor Jones had occasion to reexamine his earlier work and was forced to conclude:

The one lesson we all should have learned by now... is that the units of local governments are tough organizations with many political and legal protections against annihilation or absorption by another government.⁴

Following in the reformist tradition another widely quoted general

¹ Jones, Metropolitan Government, particularly pp. 337-342.

²Ibid., p. 154. ³Ibid., pp. 341-342.

⁴Victor Jones, "Local Government Organization in Metropolitan Areas," in The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment, ed. by Coleman Woodbury (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 605.

study on metropolitan government was published in 1956 by the Council of State Governments, The States and the Metropolitan Problem. After considering the vast growth of urban areas and the bewildering pattern of government found there, the metropolitan problem was defined as "the absence of general local governmental organizations broad enough to cope with metropolitan matters."¹ The solutions discussed were by now familiar--annexation, city-county consolidation, federation, functional transfers, joint undertakings, and metropolitan districts--all involving significant structural modification. The forms of reorganization preferred, however, seemed to reflect the political reality consistent with the dismal record of metropolitan reform at the ballot box. The three types favored earlier by Jones in 1953 were found to have the greatest merit: a multi-purpose metropolitan district, federated government, or a comprehensive urban county.²

Thus, with few exceptions, the metropolitan surveys of the 1950's proceeded on the widely held, but untested, assumption that a direct relationship exists between the politically fragmented structure of the metropolis and the quality of local public services. The common feature of the studies of this decade was a highly normative approach in which administrative efficiency served as the key variable.³ It seems safe to conclude

¹Bollens, ed., The States and the Metropolitan Problem, p. 17,

²Ibid., pp. 133-34.

³For a list of surveys and studies of the 1950's see Governmental Affairs Foundation, Metropolitan Surveys: A Digest (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1958).

that metropolitan government research during the period produced little which substantially aided intelligent appraisals of the relationship between the governmental structure of our metropolitan areas and their functioning and development.

Recent Metropolitan Studies

The cause of metropolitan governmental reorganization was to get a boost during the 1960's when Congress established the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to study problems, recommend programs and encourage cooperation among Federal, state and local jurisdictions. Since its creation the Commission has issued a number of reports and studies dealing with metropolitan area government.¹ From the first report published in 1961 through the most recent dealing with metropolitan government the Commission has consistently held to a pro-reformist bias emphasizing metropolitan social and economic interdependence, local governmental inadequacies, and the need for metropolitan reorganization to handle urban problems more effectively. There is explicit

¹ Among those by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations are, Governmental Structure, Organization and Planning in Metropolitan Areas (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, July, 1961); Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas (June, 1962); Factors Affecting Voter Reactions to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas (May, 1962); Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Area-wide (September, 1963); Impact of Federal Urban Development Programs on Local Government Organization and Planning (May, 1964); Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities; Implications for Intergovernmental Relations in Central Cities and Suburbs (January, 1965); Metropolitan Councils of Governments (August, 1966); Metropolitan America: Challenge to Federalism (October, 1966); Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth (April, 1968).

recognition, however, of the political difficulties involved in bringing about far-reaching structural change and eschewing of any "pat" or single solution to the problem. Moreover, in recent reports there is growing emphasis on the necessity for having a variety of remedies available in hopes that local political leaders will seize upon the one most preferable in their particular situation. Nevertheless, considerable stress is still placed on the disadvantages which presumably result from the fragmentation found in metropolitan areas, particularly when local entities of limited jurisdiction confront issues of metropolitan-wide importance. For example, one of the latest commission studies expresses concern that local inability to cope with metropolitan needs will lead to an increasing reliance on Federal and State action resulting in "a form of political abdication in which local governments wash their hands of difficult responsibilities and pass the buck to higher levels."¹

The Advisory Commission does not stand alone in the 1960's in its belief that governmental fragmentation in metropolitan areas is dysfunctional. For example, the prestigious Committee for Economic Development in its 1966 policy report, Modernizing Local Government, called for sweeping structural changes including an 80 percent reduction in the number of local governments in the United States in order to produce local units "large enough to function effectively."² Even the

¹Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Metro-politan America, p. 9.

²Committee for Economic Development, Modernizing Local Government (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1966), p. 17.

American Bar Association, following a committee study on local government law, concluded "that substantial adjustments in existing governmental structure are necessary if local government is to play its full role in the years ahead."¹

Beginning in the late 1950's academicians who had consistently been numbered in the front ranks of earlier metropolitan reform efforts, were starting to reassess many of their earlier assumptions about the nature of metropolitan area government.² Increasingly scholars less committed to action-oriented research at the local level were directing scathing criticism at much of the highly normative, reform-oriented literature found in the field of metropolitan government. Over ten years ago Lawrence Herson bemoaned the "lost world" of city government, remarking that there was little in this literature "...to rise above the level of specialized reporting and into the general stream of political science."³ The most persistent criticism has centered around charges that urban and metropolitan government studies are less those of political analysis and scientific inquiry than efforts at social engineering.⁴ Scott

¹American Bar Association, Structure of Local Government in Metropolitan Areas (New York: American Bar Association, 1965), p. 3.

²See Robert C. Wood, "Metropolitan Government, 1975--An Extrapolation of Trends," American Political Science Review, LII (March, 1958), 108-122.

³Lawrence J. R. Herson, "The Lost World of Municipal Government," American Political Science Review, LI (June, 1957), 300.

⁴See, for example, Robert J. Daland, "Political Science and the Study of Urbanism," American Political Science Review, LI (June, 1957) 491-509; Coleman Woodbury, "Great Cities, Great Problems, Great Possibilities?" Public Administration Review, XVIII (Autumn, 1958), 332-340; Charles R. Adrian, "Metropology: Folklore and Field Research," Public Administration Review, XXI (Summer, 1961), 148-57.

Greer, a participant in the Metropolitan St. Louis Survey conducted in 1956-57, delineates the serious difficulties which arose in trying to make social science research compatible with certain pre-conceived commitments to reform which existed in the extensive St. Louis metropolitan research project which attempted to combine applied and basic research.¹

These latest developments in the area of metropolitan research reflect what might be considered as a substantial shift in emphasis and attitude which has materialized substantially over the past ten or so years. As more systematic and methodologically rigorous research began to increase, scholars began to write of a "new generation" of metropolitan researchers.² Many of the previously accepted a priori notions and assumptions about the governmental and political structure of the metropolis were being abandoned. The calls for drastic action to redesign the urban polity were far less frequently heard. And the metropolitan study commissions so popular during the 1950's have almost faded from the scene in the 60's.

What has brought about this significant change in tone and focus found in the newer literature on metropolitan government? According to Henry J. Schmandt, himself one of the new scholars, four factors help to explain this development: (1) the long history of failure to effect major change, (2) growing awareness of the complexity of the problem, (3) the new orientation of urban research, and (4) the continuing shift of power

¹Scott Greer, "Dilemmas of Action Research on the Metropolitan Problem," in Community Political Systems, ed. by Morris Janowitz (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1961), pp. 185-206.

²This is Charles Adrian's term. See his "Metropology: Folklore and Field Research," p. 153.

to higher levels of government.¹

At least two of these reasons deserve further comment. First-- the dismal record of reform accomplishments--has long been obvious. Yet, for a long time little systematic effort was undertaken to learn why proposed structural changes in metropolitan areas were so unpopular with rank-and-file voters. In 1962, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations finally devoted a study to voter reactions to governmental reorganization efforts in eighteen metropolitan areas.² Still there was almost no use made of public opinion polling techniques as a way of getting at the limits of tolerance within which people will accept proposals and for determining what metropolitan area residents consider to be their problems.³ Apparently metropolitan reformers had merely assumed the existence of widespread latent support among the citizenry for governmental restructuring predicated on the idea that the voter was highly rational and would respond positively to appeals based upon efficiency and economy.⁴ The necessary public support for reform, nonetheless, has

¹Schmandt, "Changing Directions," p. 531.

²Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Factors Affecting Voter Reactions to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas.

³Charles R. Adrian, Public Attitudes and Metropolitan Decision Making (Pittsburgh: Institute of Local Government, University of Pittsburgh, 1962), p. 3.

⁴See Amos H. Hawley and Basil G. Zimmer, "Resistance to Unification in a Metropolitan Community," in Community Political Systems, pp. 146-184; and Charles Press, "Efficiency and Economy Arguments for Metropolitan Reorganization," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVIII (Winter, 1964), 584-94.

not materialized.

The second and third reasons offered by Schmandt as contributing to the changing direction of metropolitan research are not unrelated. The growing recognition of the complexity of the problems within the metropolis and the greater commitment to rigorous, empirical research designed to challenge many of the long-held assumptions has helped produce a whole volume of literature which eschews the direct simple proposals of the past. Even some of the earlier reform devotees have begun to recognize that "the answer is not as easy and simple as most American reformers thought as recently as five or ten years ago."¹ Most of the recent scholarship also tends to view "politics" and political conflict as legitimate phenomena to be observed and analyzed, as opposed to an earlier tendency to either ignore or condemn it.² But the most noteworthy element in this newer tradition is the commitment to rigorous, methodologically sophisticated, empirical research in the field of metropolitan politics and government. The new orientation toward local government research has been largely the consequence of the behavioral movement within political science and the influence upon it of the substantive concerns and methodology of related fields, particularly sociology and social psychology.³

¹Luther Gulick, The Metropolitan Problem and American Ideas (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 119.

²See Edward C. Banfield, "The Politics of Metropolitan Area Organizations," Midwest Journal of Political Science, I(May, 1957), 77-91.

³Henry J. Schmandt, "Toward Comparability in Metropolitan Research" in Comparative Research in Community Politics, ed. by Thomas R. Dye (Proceedings of the Conference on Comparative Research in Community Politics, University of Georgia, 1966), p. 9.

Yet as H. Paul Friesema in a recent incisive article has indicated "the new emphasis in metropolitan studies was not simply a manifestation of the broader (behavioral) movement."¹ He suggests that most of the new researchers, unlike many of their behaviorally-oriented colleagues, have not dealt with value-free propositions. To the contrary, many of them have taken policy stands to the extent that he argues "their commitment to desirability of reform has been about as strong as that of their predecessors."² Thus, even today, considerable scholarly effort, while rejecting many of the old "truths" and dictums, still finds the highly decentralized metropolitan governmental system a pathological phenomenon.³ For example, in their recent book, The Metropolis, John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt characterize the results of a polycentric metropolitan political structure in these words, "The proliferation of governments and the lack of adequate coordination of public programs have many important injurious effects on the metropolis."⁴ Statements similar to

¹H. Paul Friesema, "The Metropolis and the Maze of Local Government," Urban Affairs Quarterly, II (December, 1966), 70.

²Ibid.

³Certain obvious exceptions to this tendency can be found in Banfield, "The Politics of Metropolitan Area Organizations"; Edward C. Banfield and Morton Grodzins, Government and Housing in Metropolitan Areas (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1958); Robert O. Warren, "Political Form and Metropolitan Reform," Public Administration Review, XXIV (September, 1964), 180-87; and Vincent Ostrom, Charles M. Tiebout, and Robert Warren, "The Organization of Government in Metropolitan Areas: A Theoretical Inquiry," American Political Science Review, LV (December, 1961), 831-42.

⁴John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, The Metropolis: Its People, Politics, and Economic Life (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 177.

this based largely upon the necessity for greater unity and coordination of overall metropolitan policies can be found in the writings of a number of the newer researchers including Scott Greer, Robert C. Wood, Roscoe Martin, Winston Crouch, Daniel Grant, and Edward Sofen.¹ The result of this kind of writing over the past ten years has had the effect of not only substantially improving the quality of urban political research but also has culminated in a new, standard approach to the study of metropolitan political systems.

This new "conventional wisdom," while generally rejecting the more comprehensive structural solutions of the past as being unrealizable in practice, began to place greater emphasis on the need for "voluntary cooperation" and incremental change. The entire perspective, however, was still almost completely one-sided--stressing the interdependence of

¹Scott Greer, Governing the Metropolis; Greer, Metropolitics: A Study of Political Culture (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963); Robert C. Wood, 1400 Governments: The Political Economy of the New York Metropolitan Region (Garden City: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., 1961); Wood, Suburbia: Its People and Their Politics (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1969); Roscoe C. Martin, Metropolis in Transition: Local Government Adaptation to Changing Urban Needs (Washington, D. C.: Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1963); Roscoe Martin and Douglas Price, The Metropolis and Its Problems (Syracuse: Syracuse University Seminar on Metropolitan Research, 1959); Winston Crouch and Beatrice Dinerman, Southern California Metropolis (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964); Daniel R. Grant, "Urban and Suburban Nashville: A Case Study in Metropolitanism," Journal of Politics, XVII (February, 1955), 82-99; Grant, "Metropolitics and Professional Political Leadership: The Case of Nashville," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLIII (May, 1964), 73-81, and Grant, "The Metropolitan Government Approach: Should, Can and Will It Prevail?" Urban Affairs Quarterly, III (March, 1968), 103-10; Edward Sofen, The Miami Metropolitan Experiment (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963).

metropolitan life and the resulting necessity for finding governmental arrangements which would permit area-wide policies. The metropolitan researchers in most instances were still concerned with creating future states rather than trying to uncover how the present system really functions or the forces for independence which exist within the metropolis. The ideal of centralization appears to have been deferred rather than completely abandoned.

As disciplinary advances continued it was recognized by some that the existing state of knowledge regarding metropolitan political systems was far from satisfactory.¹ An emerging group of social scientists still felt that neither a satisfactory understanding of political responses to metropolitan integration proposals nor their social significance had been achieved.² Research toward this end, of course still continues. As Henry J. Schmandt has put it, "Although a review of the literature of the last decade reveals no systematically developed set of propositions or body of theory relating to the organization and process of government in metropolitan communities, it does show a series of efforts to come to grips with this phenomena."³ It is at this point that several of the more promising newer approaches to the study of the metropolitan political

¹See Wallace S. Sayre and Nelson W. Polsby, "American Political Science and the Study of Urbanization," in The Study of Urbanization, ed. by Phillip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 143-144.

²Oliver P. Williams, "A Framework for Metropolitan Political Analysis," in Comparative Research in Community Politics, p. 41.

³Schmandt, "Toward Comparability in Metropolitan Research," p. 13.

process will be examined in some detail.

The Latest Research Orientations

There appears to be little doubt that the study of metropolitan areas will continue to be plagued by the differences between empirically-based research to increase understanding of the governmental systems and the normative effort to make them work better. As pointed out above, competent studies are still being produced with the basic purpose of changing the existing metropolitan system.¹ However, a growing group of scholars, either more pessimistic about the realization of reform or less certain about the merits of greater centralization, have largely abandoned the quest for "solutions to the metropolitan problem." Their approach, while diverse, and in many instances, exploratory, seems to have as a starting point a common view of the nature of the metropolis. This outlook was well expressed by Norton Long a few years ago in these words:

in large measure, the metropolitan area is a kind of natural governmental ecology in which institutions, groups and governments have developed a system of largely unintended cooperation through which things get done and the area considered as a system functions.... They have a history, they have created habits and customs, use and wont, ways that are accepted for handling problems that arise.... the existing metropolitan areas are going concerns--going systems--as systems we can expect them to react vigorously to attempts to seriously alter them. If the existing system of local government could be

¹For a recent example of a collection of readings with a reformist orientation see Joseph F. Zimmerman, ed., Government of the Metropolis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968).

easily changed it would be intolerably unstable.¹

The most promising recent writing in the field of metropolitan government, therefore, has concentrated largely on devising more satisfactory approaches to understanding how the present metropolitan political system actually functions. For example, Oliver Williams and associates in their recent examination of the Philadelphia metropolitan area have declared as their basic intent a more systematic analysis of the factors which tend to perpetuate the existence of a large number of separate local governments within that metropolitan area. Their concern has been with "the values that impel local units to cherish and protect their identities."²

Others insist that previous research has not adequately dealt with the various ways in which the existing decentralized metropolitan system maintains itself.³ Value-laden terminology frequently used to describe the existing governmental condition, "chaotic," "mazes," "crazy quilts," or "jigsaw puzzles," has often been substituted in traditional literature

¹Norton E. Long, "Who Makes Decisions in Metropolitan Areas?" in The Polity, ed. by Charles Press (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1962), pp. 158-161.

²Oliver P. Williams, et. al., Suburban Differences and Metropolitan Policies: A Philadelphia Story (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), p. 6.

³See Warren, Government in Metropolitan Regions, pp. 41-48; Thomas R. Dye, "Metropolitan Integration by Bargaining Among Suburban Areas," American Behavioral Scientist, V (May, 1962), 11-12; and Richard M. Cion, "Accommodation Par Excellence: The Lakewood Plan," in Metropolitan Politics: A Reader, ed. by Michael N. Danielson (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966), pp. 272-281.

for empirical analysis of the patterns of interaction which occur and their results. Data from recent studies, however, have found that more than organized chaos can be found in metropolitan areas. For instance, Friesema in his study of the Quad City area in Iowa analyzed the frequency and type of interactions between governmental units within that area. Contrary to the assertions often found in reform literature about the ad hoc nature of intergovernmental relations, he found that transactions between component units in that area were recurring, patterned and predictable.¹

Others scholars from several disciplines have chosen to devote attention to the broader and more complex problem of contributing toward theory building in the general area of political integration. Though much of this work deals with the phenomenon of integration at various levels of political organization, particularly in the area of international relations, valuable insights, analogies and comparisons can be made with metropolitan political integration.²

The above examples are indicative of the level and sophistication of some of the latest metropolitan research which has begun to produce theoretical concepts based upon a decentralized system of organization.

¹H. Paul Friesema, Communications, Coordination, and Control Among Local Governments in the Siouxland--A Study in Intergovernmental Relations (Iowa City: Institute of Public Affairs, University of Iowa, 1965).

²The most useful of these works for the student of metropolitan political systems is Philip E. Jacob and James V. Toscano, eds. The Integration of Political Communities (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964). See also Amitai Etzioni, Political Unification: A Comparative Study of Leaders and Forces (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), and Claude Ake, A Theory of Political Integration (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1967).

The approaches vary widely in their assumptions, methodology and objectives. Even so, a useful grouping of the most recent and auspicious research findings can be made, albeit somewhat broad and inexact. One way of categorizing various recent studies would be on the basis of their theoretical dimensions, such as model building, partial or quasi-theory, singular propositions, case studies, etc. Some useful results would undoubtedly be forthcoming from such a grouping.¹ However, for purposes of this study, only the examination of fairly basic approaches, probably best considered as analytical models or partial theory, will be considered. The justification for this limitation lies with the growing recognition of the limitation of case studies and the consequent need for broader, more inclusive analytical frames of reference. The words of Oliver Garceau in reference to research at the state level are appropriate here:

...work in this field must move from descriptive concern with a variety of apparently discrete or almost unique categories toward conceptualization in terms of a smaller number of inclusive categories, by means of which propositions of considerable generality can be arrived at.²

Difficulties arise, of course, with efforts to generate useful ways of handling large and diverse quantities of data. As Heinz Eulau has observed, a comprehensive scheme of a potentially all-inclusive range may defy the practicalities of research just as analysis of only two variables

¹See the grouping suggested by Schmandt, "Toward Comparability in Metropolitan Research," p. 13.

²Oliver Garceau, "Research in States Politics" in American State Politics: Readings for Comparative Analysis, ed. by Frank Munger (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1966), p. 2.

that are theoretically linked may not explain very much.¹ Moreover, model development may not always prove enlightening as it depends so greatly on availability of adequate data and the level or state of knowledge in a given area.² Nevertheless, it seems more profitable in canvassing the most recent literature to consider in depth only those efforts which have attempted to provide a fairly comprehensive scheme for investigating metropolitan political systems.

At least four basic frames of reference can be identified which in recent years have attempted to explain the nature and operation of the decentralized metropolitan political structure. These broad conceptual models--international relations, power structure, systems, and urban ecology--will be scrutinized for the contributions each might offer in guiding empirical research and sharpening our perceptions of the values served by existing metropolitan political forms.

The International Relations Model

The international relations model was apparently mentioned first in the writings on metropolitan government by Victor Jones. In 1957 he called attention to the fact that arguments for and against metropolitan governmental consolidation were strikingly similar to those used by proponents and opponents of the United Nations and other supranational

¹Heinz Eulau, The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 30.

²On the uses of models in behavioral research see Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), Chap. VII.

institutions. At that time Jones made no attempt to fashion an inclusive scheme designed to explain the functioning of metropolitan politics. Instead he merely suggested that "a study of the experiences of international organization would lead us to a metropolitan organization that would enable counties, townships, and municipalities to function more satisfactorily."¹

A few years later Matthew Holden again resorted to the analogy of the international political system in an attempt to provide some theoretical propositions for dealing with empirical data from metropolitan areas. He contended that "metropolitcs and international politics are analogous in that each occurs not within political communities but within diplomatic systems." In the case of metropolitan systems the various governments seek to maintain their own "interest" by mobilizing a variety of resources: "money, lawyers, retaliatory legislation, 'civic pride,' and public relations."² Several categories of actors and events were established with examples provided from Holden's study of the 1959 metropolitan consolidation effort in Cleveland.³ In particular he drew analogies for the study of the metropolis from the writings of certain international relations

¹Victor Jones, "The Organization of a Metropolitan Region," University of Pennsylvania Law Review, CV (February, 1957), p. 539.

²Matthew Holden, Jr., "The Governance of the Metropolis as a Problem in Diplomacy," Journal of Politics, XXVI (August, 1964), 627-48.

³See Matthew Holden, Jr., "Decision Making on a Metropolitan Government Proposition: The Case of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, 1958-59" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1961).

theorists such as Ernst B. Haas, Morton Kaplan and Karl Deutsch.¹

Holden's efforts thus far have been largely exploratory, suggesting basically that governmental structures and political processes of metropolitan areas bear some analytical similarity to those at the international level.

A look at certain activities which occur in both systems does indicate a number of similarities. Most metropolitan areas obviously consist of a number of separate, independent governments with no single political unit controlling the whole area. The actions of these entities, as they compete with each other for scarce resources (taxes, industry, even residents), bargain for mutually necessary services (water, sewers), and interact for a variety of purposes are somewhat analogous to those of nation-states. Further, the creation of such intergovernmental representative bodies at the metropolitan level as Councils of Governments (e.g., Association of Bay Area Governments, Metropolitan Washington, D. C., Council of Governments, Association of Central Oklahoma Governments, etc.) can be compared to various regional compacts and associations among nations such as the European Economic Community and other functional arrangements.

There appears to be little doubt that many of the same concepts

¹In particular he refers to Ernst B. Haas, Consensus Formation in the Council of Europe (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960); Morton A. Kaplan, System and Process in International Politics (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957), and Karl Deutsch, et al., Political Community and the North Atlantic Area (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1957).

useful in international relations can be applied to local governments. Whether enough similarities in conditions and processes exist between the two systems, however, to warrant examination of both by use of the same theoretical framework remains an open question. Only a very limited effort has thus far been made to empirically test the validity or usefulness of the international relations model at the metropolitan level.

Aside from Holden's study, one of the few attempts to empirically apply certain concepts derived from the field of international relations was done recently by James Toscano in an analysis of transaction flows within two metropolitan areas. Using certain transactional occurrences (mail flow, telephone traffic, and migration) as indicators of political cohesion at the nation-state level, Toscano created a transaction flow matrix from work and place of residence information for the Wilmington, Delaware, SMSA. The data revealed quite clearly that certain segments of the SMSA were almost completely divorced from other parts of the area. Thus, on the basis of this one test, he hypothesized that the potential for political integration between these relatively isolated sub-areas would not be very good.¹

Research and theory-formulation in the international field are well advanced over those at the local level. For this reason, primarily, some authorities consider the analogy between the two systems as sufficiently strong to merit serious further exploration.² Others are not so

¹James Toscano, "Transaction Flow Analysis in Metropolitan Areas," in The Integration of Political Communities, pp. 98-119.

²Bollens and Schmandt, The Metropolis, pp. 61-63.

convinced a true analogy exists. For example, as Oliver Williams has noted, one of the basic assumptions of international relations is that economic integration must precede political integration among nations. But, metropolitan areas have become integrated economically without having produced consequent political integration. In fact, a good case can be made that despite greater economic integration, metropolitan areas have become (at least formally) more politically decentralized.¹ Furthermore, Williams argues that the behavior of the units within a metropolis bears little resemblance in key areas to that of nation-states. He insists that:

While an occasional suburb engages in expansionist policies, or attempts to dominate the policies of neighboring suburbs, this is an atypical situation. If the international system were as status quo oriented as most metropolitan ones, we would indeed live in a different world.²

Indeed, he goes even further in asserting that "the analogy between international systems and metropolitan systems is a misleading one . . . (that) clutters, rather than clarifies, our thinking about metropolitan areas."³ At the least it seems that considerably more empirical research must be forthcoming in order to clearly establish the usefulness of this particular theoretical framework for metropolitan analysis.

¹Oliver P. Williams, "Life Style Values and Political Decentralization in Metropolitan Areas," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, XLVII (December, 1967), 300.

²Williams, "A Framework for Metropolitan Political Analysis," p. 42.

³Ibid.

The Power Structure Model

A second basic approach to understanding the metropolitan political process might be designated as the power structure or decision-making model. This conceptual scheme has not been as explicitly articulated as an approach to studying the metropolis (as opposed to examining individual communities) as has the international relations model. Presumably this analytical scheme might ferret out the existence of an over-arching metropolitan power elite which would function to integrate (to produce formal structural changes) certain metropolitan activities in which it has an interest and ignore certain others which would then remain decentralized.

In one sense, at least, the use of theoretical insights derived from community power studies for metropolitan analysis seems appropriate. As Holden points out, any effort to substantially alter the political system for the metropolis "is ultimately an effort to establish or alter comprehensive rules. These relate to the order of precedence among claimants to power, and what can be achieved by the use of power."¹ In addition, the metropolitan area, feudal and balkanized as it may be, constitutes a viable political and social system from which public policies emerge in one way or another. These policies, so long as an area-wide governing authority is absent, must result from the accumulated interaction of a

¹Matthew Holden, Jr. "Decision-Making on a Metropolitan Government Proposal" in The New Urbanization, ed. by Scott Greer, et al. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), p. 315.

variety of governments, agencies, interest groups and individuals. Thus, one way of comprehending the operation of the existing metropolitan political system would be to focus on "who gets what, when and how."

Despite the plethora of community power studies,¹ an examination of the recent literature reveals only a very few which attempt to fathom the whole metropolitan area by use of a community power structure or decision-making model. Interestingly, Floyd Hunter's pioneering study of Atlanta, which did so much to revive interest in community power, dealt with Regional City's power structure in metropolitan dimensions.² However, Hunter's study has served more to stimulate a number of books and articles concerned with establishing appropriate conceptual design and methodology than it has to prompt additional metropolitan-wide studies.³ Hunter, relying on a panel of local judges who were asked to name the reputed leaders in Regional City, found that the metropolitan area was dominated by a handful of economic notables who formed a

¹Excellent recent bibliographies in this area can be found in Roland J. Pellegrin, "Selected Bibliography on Community Power Structure," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, XLVIII (December, 1967), 451-65; and Claire Gilbert "The Study of Community Power: A Summary and a Test," in The New Urbanization, pp. 237-45.

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

³See Herbert Kaufman and Victor Jones, "The Mystery of Power," Public Administration Review, XIV (Summer, 1954), 205-12; Robert A. Dahl, "Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," American Political Science Review, LII (June, 1958), 463-69; Raymond Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, XXV (October, 1960), 636-44; and Nelson W. Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963).

monolithic power hierarchy. But a few years later other social scientists using a different approach--one relying on an examination of decision-making on particular community issues--were unable to verify the existence of a metropolitan-wide power structure. Instead, studies of New Haven by Robert Dahl and in the Syracuse area by Roscoe Martin and associates found pluralistic or non-monolithic power configurations.¹

Virtually since the reawakening of interest in community decision-making in the 1950's, an almost continuous debate has raged involving political scientists and sociologists over approach and method. Despite the divergence of views, the weight of evidence seems to persuasively point to a pluralistic model of power in the nation's larger cities and metropolitan areas.² One of the more extreme versions rejecting a power elite for the metropolitan area was stated a few years ago by Norton Long who referred to the absence of over-all organization for the metropolis in these words:

¹Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961) and Roscoe C. Martin et al., Decisions in Syracuse (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961).

²See, for example, Robert J. Mowitz and Deil S. Wright's study of Detroit, Profile of a Metropolis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1962); Edward C. Banfield's examination of political power in Chicago, Political Influence (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961); the studies of Syracuse by Linton C. Freeman, et al., Local Community Leadership (Syracuse: University College of Syracuse University, 1960), Freeman, et al., Metropolitan Decision-Making (Syracuse: University College of Syracuse University, 1962); the New York study of Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, Governing New York City: Politics in the Metropolis (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960) and Jean L. Stinchcombe's study of Toledo, Reform and Reaction: City Politics in Toledo (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1968).

Much of what occurs seems to just happen with accidental trends becoming cumulative over time and producing results intended by nobody. A great deal of the communities' activities consist of undirected co-operation of particular social structures, each seeking particular goals and, in doing so, meshing with others.¹

One does not have to agree completely with Long to recognize that, while community power studies can provide valuable insights into the social organization of the metropolis, as a conceptual model it lacks adequate explanatory power to provide the needed insights into the why's of the decentralized metropolitan political system.

A Systems Approach

In recent years systems analysis in political science has come into considerable prominence. This approach stems, at least conceptually, from general systems theory which originated among natural scientists, especially biologists, some years ago. David Easton, among political scientists, undoubtedly deserves major credit for popularizing the systems approach and developing conceptually useful terminology and analytical schemes for use in political analysis.² Up to this time it appears that systems analysis has been found most useful in international

¹Norton Long, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (November, 1958), 251-61.

²See David Easton, The Political System (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953); Easton, A Framework for Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), and Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965).

relations.¹ Nevertheless, on occasion, it has been urged that the systems approach be applied to the area of local government. For example, Robert Gutman, has called for a research approach that sets forth, "a conception of the metropolis as a social system, focussing on values, norms and organizational structure in different areas, and on the processes through which these values, norms and organizational structures are interrelated."² Robert Wood, in searching for more productive generalizations about urban politics, has also urged that the urban political process be conceived as a system consisting of some seven identifiable and interlinked components.³

Despite its great promise in certain areas of political analysis, most existing work tends to address itself to the general elaboration of the approach rather than to empirical applications. In part this is due to

¹ See the works of Kaplan, System and Process in International Politics; L. F. Richardson, Arms and Insecurity (Pittsburgh: Boxwood Press, 1960; Chicago: Quadrangle Press, 1960); Charles A. McClelland, Theory and the International System (New York: Macmillan Company, 1966). Karl W. Deutsch in The Nerves of Government (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1963) deals with political systems in international relations but in very general terms. Deutsch acknowledges a debt to general systems theory but is more influenced by cybernetics and communication theory which Oran R. Young in Systems of Political Science (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968) classifies as a derivative of general systems theory. See his chapter 4.

² Robert Gutman, "Urban Studies as a Field of Research," American Behavioral Scientist, VI (February, 1963), 13.

³ Robert C. Wood, "The Contributions of Political Science to Urban Form" in Urban Life and Form, ed. by Werner Z. Hirsch (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963), p. 104.

the highly theoretical and abstract nature of the approach and to the fact "that the basic conceptual and propositional materials of systems theory remain largely undistilled and are therefore not available without a great deal of searching through a somewhat disconnected body of literature."¹

One particular derivation of general systems theory, structural-functional analysis, has gained widespread acceptance and usage among sociologists following the lead of such pioneer theorists as Robert Merton, Marion Levy, George Homans, and Talcott Parsons.² In political science, however, only a few attempts have been made to deliberately employ functional analysis.³ In the area of international relations and comparative

¹Young, Systems of Political Science, p. 20.

²See, for example, Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949); Marion Levy, Jr., The Structure of Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952); George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950); and Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951). For an enlightening discussion of the evolution of structural functional analysis in sociology see Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), chapters 17, 18, and 19.

³In the recent compilation of essays expounding on empirically oriented theories about politics found in David Easton, ed., Varieties of Political Theory (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966) no less than four of the seven studies deal in some way with derivations from systems theory. An evaluation of how political scientists have used and could use functional analysis can be found in Robert Holt, "A Proposed Structural Functional Framework for Political Science," and Wm. Flanagan and Edwin Fogelman, "Functionalism in Political Science," both appearing in Functionalism in the Social Sciences ed. by Don Martindale (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1965), 84-126. Also see Theodore Lowi, "Toward Functionalism in Political Science" American Political Science Review, LVII (September, 1963), 570-83. Among American political scientists, William C. Mitchell is the most explicitly dedicated to the use of Parson's formulations. See his The American Polity: A Social and Cultural Interpretation (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962) and his Sociological Analysis and Politics: The Theories of Talcott Parsons (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967).

government a few men such as Gabriel Almond, David Apter, and Ernst Haas have developed variations of functional analysis based largely on concepts derived from sociology.¹ Finally, in 1967, a book appeared which attempted to describe and analyze the political structure of Metropolitan Toronto in explicitly structural-functional terms.² This work by Harold Kaplan deserves brief comment since undoubtedly it will not be the last such effort to make use of functionalism in metropolitan analysis.

Functionalism as used by Merton, Parsons and others probably should be considered less a full-blown social theory than a research strategy--a collection of interrelated definitions, categories, and questions.³ It is in this sense that Kaplan has chosen to follow the brand of functionalism formulated by Talcott Parsons as the conceptual guide to his investigation of Metro Toronto. The essence of this approach as Kaplan

¹Gabriel Almond, "A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics" in Gabriel Almond and James Coleman, The Politics of Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 3-65; Gabriel Almond, "Comparative Political Systems," Journal of Politics, XVIII (August, 1956), 391-409; David Apter, "A Comparative Method for the Study of Politics," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (November, 1958), 221-37; David Apter, Ghana in Transition (New York: Atheneum Press, 1963) and Ernst B. Haas, Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).

²Harold Kaplan, Urban Political Systems: A Functional Analysis of Metro Toronto (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).

³Eugene J. Meehan in The Theory and Method of Political Analysis (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1965) p. 161, argues that "functional theory" along with mathematical theory of games, cybernetics, communications theory, and various models, cannot meet the standards of deductive or factor theories and should thus be considered only as "quasi-theories." He insists that these intellectual constructions do not "explain" in the strict sense of the term, but can be very useful in theory building.

described it is the "attempt to define certain basic requisites for the survival and success of social systems and to see the structure of a system as a set of mechanisms that attempt to fulfill these requirements." He argues that the use of functionalism offers several advantages to the political scientists including the use of a social structure approach which permits the analyst to distinguish recurrent forms of behavior from the unique and incidental. Such an approach, Kaplan insists, "diverts the attention of political scientists from a narrative of events to the delineation of forms and processes."¹

After considering the advantages and limitations of functional analysis, Kaplan proceeds to describe the overall structure of Metro Toronto's policy-making system in modified functional terms. From this perspective he views the Metro system's policy output as its means of coping with the environment, maximizing internal support for the system, and asserting the values of particular groups within the system. He finds, for example, that most of the important policy-making activities are performed by appointed or elected public officials, and persuasion, not bargaining, is the most frequently employed means of building majorities in the Metro system.²

Of particular interest to anyone concerned with metropolitan political systems is how and why Metro Toronto came into being. In

¹Kaplan, Urban Political Systems, pp. 10-12.

²Ibid., p. 35.

discussing the origins of the system, Kaplan designates as major non-political inputs the problems associated with the development of a sprawling metropolitan area (e. g., the steady middle-class exodus to the suburbs, the proliferation of independent suburban governments and the lack of adequate services among the outer suburbs). As important political inputs to the emerging Metro system he mentions primarily the response by politicians (particularly at the Province level) to certain problems of an area-wide nature and the dissatisfaction with certain governmental services emanating from the citizens of Toronto and the outlying suburbs. About the only important variable in the Metro Toronto situation which has not been present in the case of larger American cities is the existence of a strong Province system in Canada which is able to exert far tighter and more pervasive control over municipalities than do American states. Kaplan indicates that despite some reservations by rural members of the dominant Conservative Party, the Ontario legislature passed the 1953 federation plan as "a workable compromise, which seemed to strike a middle ground between some suburban demands for 'no change' and the city's demand for 'total amalgamation'." ¹

Despite Kaplan's insistence upon the utility of a functional framework for political analysis, it appears that his explanations of why and how Metro Toronto originated offers little in the way of general usefulness. It still seems that a unique, intervening variable--the strong

¹Ibid., p. 49.

Province system--largely accounts for the Toronto situation, a finding of little or no value in understanding why decentralized metropolitan systems persist or what more general factors might likely produce greater integration. He admits that even after 13 years of operation, Metro Toronto could not survive "without provincial constraint."¹

The Urban Ecology Approach

For a number of years students of urban sociology have recognized and emphasized variety and specialization as among the most salient features of modern, big city living. One of the founders of modern urban sociology, Robert E. Park, "was especially intrigued by the spatial patterning of institutions and of people within the city, and by the tendency for 'natural areas' to develop, based upon differences of income, occupation, ethnic background, religion, race or traits." He apparently never tired of pointing out to his students, "how this process of differentiation conditioned almost every aspect of urban social life."² Louis Wirth,

¹Ibid., p. 250.

²These remarks are found, along with a discussion of the work and developments in urban sociology emanating from the University of Chicago beginning with Park (1913), Ernest Burgess (1916) and their later colleagues, in Ernest W. Burgess and Donald J. Bogue, ed., Contributions to Urban Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), Chap. 1. More recent empirical research has shown that a close relationship exists between spatial and social distances in metropolitan communities. Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan found that differences in occupational background lead to more accurate predictions of differences in residential distribution than either educational or income differences. See their "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," American Journal of Sociology, LX (March, 1955), 493-503.

another pioneering giant in urban sociology, recognizing this diversity in social makeup of urban areas, described the city as, "a mosaic of social worlds," and emphasized that the different sections of the city can be conceived as separate worlds with the transition between them often being very sudden and reflecting their different populations, subcultures, ways of life and social organizations.¹

Yet, political science in its approach to the city, conditioned so greatly by its interest in power or concerned with questions of reform, has largely neglected this critical aspect of urban life and the effects it might have on urban policy or the functioning of the metropolitan political system. However, the consequences of differentiation and spatial distribution in the modern metropolis have increasingly come to be recognized as of considerable political significance primarily because some of the socially specialized sub-areas in metropolis are also separate governmental entities. The metro reform literature was replete with references to the pronounced socio-economic interdependence of large urban areas, but the other side of the picture was seldom, if ever, recognized--that "the city and specialization are inextricable," to use William H. Whyte's words.² Before proceeding further, however, with a consideration of the implications of areal specialization for metropolitan political analysis, it would seem important at this point to get a better perspective on the

¹ Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (July, 1938), 1-24.

² Man and the Modern City (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963), p. 47.

evolution of that branch of social science most directly concerned with spatial patterning in urban areas--urban ecology.

In the words of one of the present-day proponents of urban ecology, "the most distinctive characteristic of the ecological approach is its emphasis on the spatial or distributive relationships of human beings and social forms, and the principles and factors that determine these relationships."¹ As far back as the early 1920's, human ecology found the city to be an ideal environment within which the ecologists could observe natural processes and forces at work. In fact, human ecology as it began to emerge as a separate sociological approach under Park, Ernest Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie in the 1910's and 1920's literally became urban ecology.² And, in probably no other area has the work of ecologists been more successful than in locating and making clear various kinds of orderly patterns underlying the apparent unsystematic nature, growth, and changes in urban areas. Important generalizations were produced concerning the spatial structure and patterns of city growth such as the concentric zone theory of Burgess,³ Homer Hoyt's sector theory,⁴

¹Calvin F. Schmid, in Scientific Social Surveys & Research, 2nd ed., ed. by Pauline V. Young (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949), p. 429.

²A concise but informative discussion of the development of human ecology is found in Leonard Reissman, The Urban Process: Cities in Industrial Societies (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 93-121.

³"The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project" in The City, ed. by Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 47-62.

⁴The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1939).

and Chauncey Harris and Edward Ullman's multiple nuclei theory.¹

Economic Influences on Urban Ecology. Sociologists, of course, were not the only ones concerned with the location and development of various institutions and activities in the nation's growing metropolitan areas. Economists were also arriving at some conclusions in the 1920's about the nature of the metropolis and perhaps foremost among these was N. S. B. Gras who conceived of the economic function as being the touchstone of metropolitanism.² Gras, too, was impressed with the spatial characteristics of metropolitan growth, but it was to be a few years later before McKenzie, the sociologist, formulated a more explicit concept of metropolitanism which stressed the role of the automobile in creating the modern metropolitan region. In his words, "The coming of the motor vehicle and the paved highway, the expansion of the press and other agencies of communications have brought the city and its hinterland into a closer functional relation."³ A few years following McKenzie's Metropolitan Community, a number of studies, by a variety of social scientists, stressed the functional or economic nature

¹ "The Nature of Cities, " Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXLII (November, 1945), 7-17.

² N. S. B. Gras, An Introduction to Economic History (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922).

³ Roderick D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933), p. 70.

of the nation's metropolitan and urban areas.¹ Even planners paid homage to the dominance of economics in the development of urban areas.

"Throughout our history, the locations and the internal arrangements of our cities have been predominantly shaped by the efforts of individual establishments to lower the costs of transporting goods, information, and people."²

Recent formulations developed by sociologists to comprehend the structure of metropolitan areas evidenced the substantial influence of economic concepts. In 1949, Donald Bogue, attempting to elaborate upon the earlier themes expressed in McKenzie's work, defined the metropolis in essentially economic terms as follows:

The metropolitan community thus appears to be an organization of many mutually interdependent and interfunctioning subcommunities (which) are sub-dominant to and interdependent with the dominant metropolis . . . The entire community organization appears to be held together by a system of community specialization in, and exchange of, locally produced surpluses

¹One of the early attempts at a systematic empirical classification of cities was William F. Ogburn, Social Characteristics of Cities (Chicago: International City Manager's Association, 1937). Other later efforts include, Chauncy D. Harris, "A Functional Classification of Cities in the United States," Geographical Review, XXXIII (January, 1943), 86-99; Grace M. Kneedler, "Economic Classification of Cities," Municipal Year Book, 1945 (Chicago: International City Manager's Association, 1953), pp. 49-57; Otis D. Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Social Characteristics of Urban & Rural Communities, 1950 (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956); and the most recent of several published in the Municipal Year Book, Richard L. Forstall, "Economic Classification of Places over 10,000, 1960-1963," Municipal Year Book, 1967 (Chicago: International City Manager's Association, 1967), pp. 30-65.

²Melvin M. Webber, "Order in Diversity: Community Without Propinquity" in Cities and Space, ed. by Lowdon Wingo Jr. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), p. 47.

to fill those needs which cannot be most efficiently satisfied by local institutions.¹

A comparative milestone in ecological studies was established with the publication in 1950 of Amos Hawley's Human Ecology.² Although it may be debated as to how much of Hawley's work represents new insights in the field of ecology,³ the fact remains that his volume marked a highpoint in a recent revival of interest in ecology as a broad, theoretical framework permitting systematic investigation of virtually every aspect of social organization.⁴ The interesting feature of Hawley's treatise at this point, however, is the economic underpinnings of his theorizing about community life. Community structure from this perspective is seen as the organization of sustenance activities--the way a

¹Donald J. Bogue, The Structure of the Metropolitan Community (Ann Arbor: Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan, 1949), p. 59.

²Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure (New York: The Ronald Press, 1950).

³Reissman in The Urban Process, for example, suggests that Hawley's work is basically a restatement of the earlier "classical" ecology of Park & McKenzie--thus the label "neo-ecology" which Reissman applies to Hawley's position, pp. 115-16.

⁴Otis Dudley Duncan and Leo F. Schnore, supporters of the Hawley position, have argued in, "Cultural, Behavioral, and Ecological Perspectives in the Study of Social Organization," American Journal of Sociology, LXV (September, 1959), 132-46, that the ecological approach offers a more satisfactory research perspective for the study of social organization than either a culturally-oriented or behaviorally-oriented frame of reference. Leo F. Schnore in "The Myth of Human Ecology," in The Urban Scene: Human Ecology and Demography (New York: Free Press, 1965), pp. 29-43, makes an effort to show that human ecology is a variety of "macro-sociology" in which variable properties or attributes of whole population are related one to another.

populace organizes itself for survival in a particular location. This arrangement of functional activities results in a spatial distribution. Those activities with a particular requirement for proximity to the center of the community will make efforts to locate there, while other facilities which are most able to withstand time and costs of distant settlement will gravitate outward. Hawley uses the term friction of space (the necessity for overcoming physical obstacles to distance) in explaining the spatial organization of community life. In his words, "The territorial pattern of collective life is largely a result of the friction of space as manifested in timecost distance."¹ Because of this preoccupation with the location and patterning of economic units and the consequent effect on community structure, George Theodorsen, in a recent evaluation, states that, "Hawley's orientation to human ecology may be regarded as basically economic."²

Economic Locational Theory. Ecologists, of course, were not the only group interested in the functions of cities and the location of economic activity. Since R. M. Haig's classic study of the New York region in 1928,³ a group of economists in this country have concerned themselves with the location of economic activity. While "location theory"

¹Hawley, Human Ecology, p. 237.

²George A. Theodorsen, "Introduction to Part II, Current Theory and Research" in Studies in Human Ecology, ed. by George A. Theodorsen (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), p. 130.

³Robert M. Haig, Major Economic Factors in Metropolitan Growth and Arrangement, Vol. I (New York: Regional Survey of New York & Environs, 1928).

in economics has a long history, the basic concepts have apparently changed little. As Wilbur Thompson put it, "Location theory, as developed by economists, is largely an extension of price theory; the study of the allocation of scarce resources among competing ends is extended to allocation in space."¹ Above all, classic locational theory stresses the primacy of competition and the mechanism of rent as the mediating device for the allocation of land use in the urban environment.² Concentrating almost entirely on the needs and practices of individual firms, locational theorists explained the emergence of the core-dominated city largely in terms of cost reductions realized when diverse firms locate in close proximity to one another. In the wake of revolutions in transport technology, the thesis developed that urban decentralization, or suburbanization, could best be explained by a continued reliance on the model of competition among land-users as affected by two forces--

¹Wilbur R. Thompson, "Toward an Urban Economics," in Urban Research and Policy Planning, Vol. I, ed. by Leo F. Schnore & Henry Fagin (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, Inc., 1967), p. 135.

²See Edgar M. Hoover, The Location of Economic Activity (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948), pp. 102-28, and Richard U. Ratcliff, Urban Land Economics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949), pp. 280-301; Ratcliff, "Efficiency and the Location of Urban Activities," in The Metropolis in Modern Life, ed. by Robert M. Fisher (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1955); and for summaries and recent developments in location theory, Walter Isard, Location and Space-Economy (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956). For criticism of certain aspects of classical location theory see Leon N. Moses and Harold F. Williamson, Jr. "The Location of Economic Activity in Cities" in The New Urbanization; pp. 114-131.

decreasing land costs and increasing costs of transportation.¹ Edgar M. Hoover and Raymond Vernon's study of the New York metropolitan region, Anatomy of a Metropolis, also revealed that economic factors--distribution of jobs and the importance of access to work place--were the critical variables influencing the distribution of population in that area.²

There is no doubt that locational theory, with its stress on competition for scarce urban space, has contributed significantly to be a better understanding of the nature of the metropolis. Likewise, it is just as apparent that classical and neo-classical urban ecology, directly or indirectly, was greatly influenced by the same preoccupation with economic forces, namely competition, economies of scale, agglomeration effects and the like. For example, a recent broad study, Metropolis and Region, by urban ecologists acknowledges that ". . . the route taken by the location theorists, may, in the long run, prove to be the only way to reach satisfactory explanations of urban structure."³ It should also be

¹Hal H. Winsborough, "An Ecological Approach to the Theory of Suburbanization," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (March, 1963), 565-70. See also, Harlan Gillmore, Transportation and the Growth of Cities (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953); and Raymond Vernon, The Changing Economic Function of the Central City (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1959).

²Edgar M. Hoover and Raymond Vernon, Anatomy of a Metropolis: The Changing Distribution of People and Jobs Within the New York Metropolitan Region (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 127-42.

³Otis Dudley Duncan, et al., Metropolis and Region (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press for Resources for the Future, Inc., 1960), p. 31. The authors qualify this statement by insisting that an inter-disciplinary inductive search for observed regularities in urban structure must continue.

apparent by this time that metropolitan differentiation viewed in economic terms largely left the social and political correlates of economic specialization undeveloped.

The Development of Cultural Ecology. There were those in sociology, particularly, who objected to the biological and economic determinism of the earlier ecological studies. Beginning with Milla Alihan's criticism in 1938, ecologists were called to task for setting aside questions of purpose, motivation and human will.¹ This omission had not been unintentional. As Reissman indicates, "The ecologists wanted to find a scientific excuse (the natural processes of nature--competition, etc.) to avoid the obstacle of studying the complexity of culture."² Then, in the mid-40's, Walter Firey's study of land uses in Boston seemed to conclusively demonstrate that culture could not be eliminated as an important ecological variable.³ Firey, in examining the aesthetic, historical and familial values associated with certain Boston sites (Beacon Hill, The Boston Commons, etc.), maintained that space has not only economic importance but symbolic value as well. He emphasized that space

¹Milla Alihan, Social Ecology: A Critical Analysis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938). Alihan cites a number of the well-known ecological studies to show that they did, in fact, include the influence of cultural factors, pp. 81-91.

²Reissman, The Urban Process, p. 109.

³Walter Firey, "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables," American Sociological Review, X (April, 1945), 140-48, and Firey, Land Use in Central Boston (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947).

assumes meaning for man through cultural definition and that at every point cultural values intervene between the physical environment and the human community.¹

In spite of the neo-orthodox ecologists' protest that culture is too broad and ethereal a concept to guide empirical research, a number of impressive studies have appeared in recent years stressing the importance of social values in land use determination. As Gideon Sjoberg has pointed out, ". . . it is when we compare cities in highly divergent cultures that we perceive most clearly how values affect urban ecology."² In particular, William H. Form, Sidney Willhelm and Herbert J. Gans, concerned with spatial patterns and land use in the United States, have argued that values and human choice must be afforded a paramount place in any ecological study of urban areas.³ Scott Greer has also observed

¹Theodorson, Studies in Human Ecology, p. 132.

²Gideon Sjoberg, "Theory and Research in Urban Sociology" in The Study of Urbanization, ed. by Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 172. Theodorson, Studies in Human Ecology, has assembled a valuable group of cross-cultural ecological studies in Part III, pp. 331-439, which seem to bear out Sjoberg's observation.

³William H. Form, "The Place of Social Structure in the Determination of Land Use: Some Implications for a Theory of Urban Ecology," Social Forces, XXXII (May, 1964), 317-23; Sidney M. Willhelm, "The Concept of the 'Ecological Complex': A Critique," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, XXIII (July, 1964), 241-48; Willhelm and Gideon Sjoberg, "Economics vs. Protective Values in Urban Land Use Change," ibid., XIX (April, 1960), 151-60; and Herbert J. Gans, "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life: A Re-evaluation of Definitions," in Human Behavior and Social Processes ed. by Arnold M. Rose (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962), pp. 625-48.

that studies of the internal differentiation of urban populations which had been concerned chiefly with economic diversity shed little light upon cultural differences within the metropolis.¹

It is important to note that these scholars were not urging the abandonment of the spatial focus in ecology but were calling instead for a broader application of areal analysis. There was merely an increasing recognition that the city was a "culturally conditioned system of dynamic interrelationships among individuals and groups" affected by locational distribution.² Sociologists began to verify that social relations were closely related to spatial relations and that the stratification phenomenon in urban society involved important spatial aspects. In part because of modern means of transportation, it was argued that persons could choose their neighbors which tended to produce "homogeneous and highly differentiated natural areas" within the metropolitan area.³ Others who were intrigued by the suburban phenomenon following World War II found evidence which seemed to indicate the move to the suburbs was primarily the result of cultural factors, particularly the growing emphasis on the

¹Scott Greer, "Urbanism Reconsidered: A Comparative Study of Local Areas in a Metropolis," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 19-24.

²Melvin M. Webber, "The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm" in Explorations into Urban Structure by Melvin M. Webber et al. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), p. 93. See also, Sidney Willhelm, Urban Zoning and Land-Use Theory (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

³Leslie Kish, "Differentiation in Metropolitan Areas," American Sociological Review, XIX (August, 1954), 388-98.

importance of family, home and neighborhood.¹ In sum, an expanding group of studies reflects that the focus of urban ecology has been rapidly moving away from its earlier devotion to the economic aspects of urban spatial differentiation to a concern for its impact on social organization and participation.²

¹Wendell Bell, "Familism and Suburbanization: One Test of the Social Choice Hypothesis," Rural Sociology, XXI (June, 1956), 276-83; Bell, "Social Choice, Life Styles and Suburban Residence" in The Suburban Community, ed. by William M. Dobriner (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958); Bell, "The City, the Suburb, and a Theory of Social Choice," in The New Urbanization, pp. 132-63. However, William M. Dobriner in Class in Suburbia (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1963), has raised the question as to whether exclusive reliance on the "verbalized reasons" which are often given for moving to the suburbs might fail to get at some of the deeper, hidden reasons accounting for suburban growth. Sylvia Fleis Fava, "Suburbanism as a Way of Life," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 34-37, has advanced the notion that suburbanism as a way of life cannot be regarded as merely a corollary of the ecological traits of suburbs, that, in part, separate social-psychological factors must also be considered. Walter Martin, "Some Social-Psychological Aspects of Adjustment to Residence Location in the Rural-Urban Fringe," American Sociological Review, XVIII (June, 1953), 250-53, also offers support for the idea that being satisfied with suburban living may have some relationship to previous rural residence and the possession of rural values.

²As far back as 1932, the Negro sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier, using an ecological analysis, was able to show that the organization and disorganization of Negro family life in the northern city were closely tied up with spatial pattern and social structure of the Negro community. The Negro Family in Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), see also his "Negro Harlem: An Ecological Study: reprinted in Studies in Human Ecology, pp. 165-74. For studies on social participation as a function of certain population characteristics, see Wendell Bell and Maryann T. Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 25-34; Wendell Bell and Maryann T. Force, "Social Structure and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations," Social Forces, XXXIV (May, 1956), 345-50; Wendell Bell and Marion D. Boat, "Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (January, 1957), 391-398; Scott Greer, "Individual Participation in Mass Society," in Approaches to the Study of Politics, ed. by Roland Young (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern

Political Implications of Urban Ecology. As would be expected, it was not long before political scientists, impressed with the growing literature in urban ecology, began to find that urban spatial distribution had important political implications.¹ A number of studies began to appear clearly indicating the importance of ecological and demographic factors (such as population size, social composition, growth rate and economic base) for governmental structure,² political values and activity,³

University Press, 1958), pp. 329-342; Scott Greer and Ella Kube, "Urbanism and Social Structure: A Los Angeles Study," in Community Structure and Analysis, ed. by Marvin Sussman (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1959), pp. 93-112. Melvin M. Webber and Carolyn C. Webber in "Culture, Territoriality, and the Elastic Mile" in Taming Megalopolis, Vol. I, ed. by H. Wentworth Eldridge (Garden City: N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., Anchor Books, 1967), pp. 35-53, discuss the "space-related" behavior of the intellectual elites and working-class ethnic groups.

¹ Harold and Margaret Sprout in The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the Center of International Studies, 1965), indicate how much of the theory of international politics employs environmental terms and ideas. They also attempt to exemplify the utilities and limitations of ecological concepts with special reference to the context of international relations.

² Edgar L. Sherbenou, "Class, Participation, and the Council-Manager Plan," Public Administration Review, XXI (Summer, 1961) 131-35; John H. Kessel, "Governmental Structure and Political Environment," American Political Science Review, LVI (September, 1962), 615-20; Robert P. Alford and Harry M. Scoble, "Political and Socioeconomic Characteristics of American Cities," The Municipal Year Book, 1965 (Chicago: International City Manager's Association, 1965), pp. 82-97.

³ Scott Greer and Peter Orleans, "The Mass Society and the Parapolitical Structure," American Sociological Review, XXVII (October, 1962), 634-46.

and the whole political structure and process of suburbia.¹ For example, Robert Wood in his 1400 Governments, found that certain environmental and structural factors were better predictors of the level of community operating expenditures than the more customarily used political factors.²

Additional research which has taken into account the consequences of urban spatial diversification discovered that differing socio-economic characteristics of separately incorporated communities within metropolitan areas affected public policy outcomes, and in particular, the possibilities of metropolitan governmental integration. Edward Banfield was one of the first political scientist to see that the changing demographic character of both central city and suburb might make metropolitan political centralization more difficult. Banfield based his case not so much on the political differences he felt were inevitable between a Republican suburbia and a Democratic central city, but on the deeper sources of conflict between the growing lower-class Negro and Catholic element residing in the central cities and the largely white middle-class Protestant elements

¹Scott Greer, "The Social Structure and Political Process of Suburbia," American Sociological Review, XXV (August, 1960), 514-26; Charles S. Liebman, "Some Political Effects of the Functional Differentiation of Suburbs" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1960); Liebman, "Functional Differentiation and Political Characteristics of Suburbs," American Journal of Sociology, LXVI (March, 1961), 485-90; Scott Greer, "The Social Structure and Political Process of Suburbia: An Empirical Test," Rural Sociology, XXVII (December, 1962), 439-59; Leo F. Schnore and Robert R. Alford, "Forms of Government and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Suburbs," Administrative Science Quarterly, VIII (June, 1963), 1-17.

²Wood, 1400 Governments.

living in the suburbs.¹ Henry J. Schmandt detected political significance in the finding of urban ecologists regarding increasing economic decentralization and functional diversity in metropolitan areas. He observed value differences (along parochial-cosmopolitan dimensions) among city council members from varied suburbs which he concluded might act to inhibit metropolitan governmental reorganization.²

The broad implications of urban spatial differentiation for metropolitan government reorganization have been recognized in additional studies. Scott Greer and Walter Kaufman found that as the metropolitan population expanded a greater emphasis on home and neighborhood developed in the outlying areas. They concluded that metropolitan solutions to area-wide problems might be increasingly less feasible where popular consent is required as the increase of population with strong neighborhood commitments continues.³ The comprehensive Metropolitan St. Louis Survey of 1956-57 which questioned over 2,000 city and county residents of that area, found that awareness of metropolitan problems and suggested solutions differed widely on two broad dimensions--area and demography. City-County differences were of considerable magnitude on many questions dealing with proposed governmental reorganization and great

¹Banfield, "The Politics of Metropolitan Area Organization, " 77-91.

²Henry J. Schmandt, "The City and the Ring, " American Behavioral Scientist, IV (November, 1960), 17-19.

³Walter C. Kaufman and Scott Greer, "Voting in a Metropolitan Community: An Application of Social Area Analysis, " Social Forces, XXXVIII (March, 1960), 196-204.

divergences were also identified on the basis of age, sex, social rank, ethnicity, migration history and job location.¹ Thomas R. Dye has devoted considerable attention to the political manifestations of metropolitan areal specialization--in particular the affect of socio-economic differences among suburbs on such issues as annexation, zoning, school taxes and expenditure policies, expenditures for municipal services and inter-jurisdictional agreements.² Even the reform-oriented Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations recently published a lengthy report identifying and analysing the nature and extent of economic, fiscal and social (including racial) disparities between central cities and their suburbs. Their purpose was to identify friction points and ways of reducing them to permit more harmonious inter-governmental relations.³

Despite the impressive group of studies revealing that spatially defined demographic characteristics (reflecting economic function,

¹ John C. Bollens, ed., Exploring the Metropolitan Community (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), pp. 282-314.

² His initial efforts appear in Thomas R. Dye, "Certain Political Correlates of Social and Economic Differentiation Among Suburban Communities" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1961). See also Dye et al, "Differentiation and Cooperation in a Metropolitan Area," Midwest Journal of Political Science, VII (May, 1963), 145-55; Dye, "The Local-Cosmopolitan Dimension and the Study of Urban Politics," Social Forces, XLI (March, 1963), 239-46; Dye, "Urban Political Integration: Conditions Associated with Annexation in American Cities," Midwest Journal of Political Science, VIII (November, 1964), 430-46; and Dye, "City-Suburban Social Distance and Public Policy," Social Forces, XLIV (September, 1965), 100-106.

³ Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities.

life-style, ethnic origin, etc.) have considerable import for the metropolitan political process, a fairly comprehensive statement of these relationships has appeared only recently. Oliver Williams and associates in the early 1960's undertook an extensive study of the Philadelphia metropolitan area designed to discover the factors perpetuating the decentralized governmental system of that area.¹ The central proposition of their study was that differentiation and specialization in metropolitan complexes generates pressure for political separatism as well as political interdependence. Their analysis, which Schmandt has labelled one of the better examples of middle range research or "partial theory,"² is one of the first systematic efforts to get at the underlying causes of the failure of metropolitan re-organization proposals.

From the 238 local governments in the five-county Philadelphia area, the Williams study focused on 90 suburbs and their public policies as represented by municipal and school revenues and expenditures, local tax effort, and residential zoning practices. The major hypothesis was that "levels of expenditures and their distributions among alternative functions of government represent policy choices reflective of community values and that these values are structured by, and correlate with, certain

¹Williams et al., Suburban Differences and Metropolitan Policies.

²Schmandt, "Toward Comparability in Metropolitan Research," p. 17; also Robert R. Alford, "The Comparative Study of Urban Politics," in Urban Research and Policy Planning, pp. 287-92, discusses the Williams et al., study of the Philadelphia area as one of five recent major books in the area of comparative urban politics.

measurable social, economic and political attributes of a community."¹ In short, the authors contend that urban differentiation with respect to class or status, life-style and economic function produces differing and conflicting suburban public policies that help maintain a decentralized governmental structure and inhibit the growth of intergovernmental co-operation.

To augment the findings based upon correlations between community social characteristics and public policies, Williams and associates attempted to provide some direct evidence for their conclusions by undertaking two small pre-tests of attitudes among council members and citizens in sixteen suburbs. This limited effort did confirm the existence of divergent opinions and outlooks for these population groups based largely on social status differences. Since these manifestations of status differentials were spatially distributed, the authors concluded, "when a decentralized government structure is superimposed upon this distribution of attitudes, we can expect that the individual political units will reflect the dominant attitudinal characteristics of the constituency which they encompass."² Even with corroboration from the attitudinal data, the authors make it clear that the opinion-survey technique served only as a supplementary device to the principal method of correlation analysis.

Robert Alford has criticized the Williams study for neglecting what

¹Williams, et al., Suburban Differences and Metropolitan Policies, p. 77.

²Ibid., p. 235.

he calls "situational factors which lead to a decision on revenues or expenditures in any particular community,"¹ and Gideon Sjoberg has cautioned against assuming "any direct correspondence between values and the social or ecological structure of urban centers."² Nevertheless, Suburban Differences and Metropolitan Policies, with its reliance on empirical methodology coupled with a reasonably broad theoretical scheme, represents a major contribution to a better understanding of the factors which lie behind the enormous persistence of multi-centered urban political systems. Moreover, the combination of an ecological perspective with cultural influences (social status, educational level, etc.) seems to offer the most promising analytical framework for comprehending the salient features of metropolitan political systems as they exist in this country.

In a recent article Oliver Williams, sharpening the conceptual scheme developed in the Philadelphia study, advocated the use of a model grounded in economic location theory and cultural ecology to explain the existence and perpetuation of the decentralized metropolitan political form. In particular he hypothesizes that the protection of life-style values (e.g., quality education, compatible neighbors, etc.) which depend so critically on location for their realization forms the major source of metropolitan

¹Alford, "The Comparative Study of Urban Politics," p. 288.

²Gideon Sjoberg, "Comparative Urban Sociology" in Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects, ed. by Robert K. Merton et al.; Harper Torchback (New York: Harper & Row, 1965; Originally by Basic Books, Inc., 1959), p. 346.

politics. He emphasizes the importance of the local governmental unit (designated as sociospatial units) as a basic provider and defender of homogeneous and complimentary social groupings. The significance of suburban differences is underscored in these words, "The more nearly the suburb specializes, the easier it is, politically, to maintain the primacy of values prized by the dominant" group within that sociospatial unit.¹

Williams recognizes that the subareas of the metropolis are inevitably interdependent due to their high degree of specialization. His principal argument is that local governments will nonetheless resist integration which affects life-style activities but will accept, and at times, encourage centralization of more neutral system-maintenance services (such as communications facilities and utility systems).²

To conclude this section, it is contended that sufficient prior research exists to demonstrate that the most rewarding approach for analyzing the prevailing metropolitan political system in the United States is one which uses the basic orientation, concepts and terms of cultural ecology and economic location theory. Thus, the study which follows might be best described in the broad sense as a study in urban ecology.

Summary

The contemporary metropolitan area is characterized by areal

¹Williams, "Life Style Values and Political Decentralization," p. 303.

²Ibid., p. 305.

specialization or homogeneity in spatially defined subpopulations with respect to such attributes as status, economic function, family style, ethnicity, etc., which have been shown to possess considerable political significance. Specialization invariably results in interdependence. This aspect of metropolitan life was, for years, the major focal point of traditional, reform-oriented urban government studies. The desire for economy and efficiency in the local public sector mandated greater governmental centralization. Yet, time after time, citizens in metropolitan areas, when faced with the choice, turned their backs on "metro reform." Moreover, the traditional approach to metropolitan government reorganization failed to offer an adequate explanation for the consistent rejection of various reform proposals.

Demands for autonomy, the other side of the urban specialization coin, were virtually ignored in the metropolitan reform literature. Thus, while political scientists were preoccupied with a highly normative and parochial view of the metropolis, other social scientists evolved a more useful, systematic concept of the metropolitan area as a complex of socially and economically differentiated subareas. Only in recent years have a few political scientists begun to discover that spatial differentiation in urban areas may have notable consequences for metropolitan political organization. In fact a central theme of this study is that specialization among spatially defined urban subareas in terms of life style, class and economic function not only coincides with a decentralized political structure, but indeed helps maintain and reinforce it.

In the study which follows, the political correlates of metropolitan areal specialization will be subjected to further examination using the Oklahoma City area as a case study. As indicated above, a basic objective will be to demonstrate that spatially distributed socioeconomic differences in this particular metropolitan area are related to important political variables, which, among other things, contribute to the perpetuation of metropolitan governmental fragmentation.

It is not possible in a finite study, much less a dissertation of limited scope, to account for all causal factors which have produced the decentralized metropolitan political system. Indeed, it is recognized that in the absence of a reform movement which actually reaches the ballot in a given metropolitan area, it is impossible to assert with finality that particular factors are the only ones determinative of an existing governmental arrangement. A distinctive metropolitan political pattern, the product of regional, cultural and unique political influences over time, cannot be accounted for in so easy a fashion, given the current level of explanation in social science. Nevertheless, these research limitations cannot be permitted to stifle empirical investigations. A variety of metropolitan areas need to be studied in an effort to incrementally accumulate additional evidence to test the more promising tentative and preliminary explanatory models which have thus far been generated.

In a general sense, the working hypothesis for this dissertation is that metropolitan socio-economic differentiation, particularly among suburbs, tends to be associated with corresponding variations in political

phenomena among subareas which are of such consequence as to hinder greater metropolitan governmental centralization. More specifically, the study will examine the relationships between suburban socio-economic differences and (1) community voting behavior; (2) characteristics and recruitment practices of suburban political leadership; and (3) certain political attitudes manifested by suburban citizens and officials in selected Oklahoma City area suburbs.

In particular, Chapter II will deal with questions of methodology, research design, and the special characteristics--economic, social and political--of the municipalities in the Oklahoma City metropolitan area. Chapter III will test the general hypothesis that socio-economic differences among suburbs may in part produce distinctive community voting behavior. Chapter IV will examine the general hypothesis that socio-economic differences among suburbs may in part determine the characteristics of the persons recruited to positions of formal political leadership. Chapter V will test the hypothesis that socio-economic differences institutionalized by separate municipal incorporation should tend to produce a set of attitudes and opinions on the part of suburban citizens reflecting strong attachment to values of local autonomy. The Sixth Chapter will explore some of the same beliefs and attitudes as reflected by elected suburban officials which, it is hypothesized, should parallel those of the suburban citizens they represent. The final chapter discusses the implications of the findings regarding the political correlates of areal specialization for the structure and operation of the political system of the metropolitan area.

CHAPTER II

MEASURING METROPOLITAN DIFFERENTIATION

As Chapter I pointed out, the dynamic forces producing the metropolis have created a polyglot of heterogeneous social worlds often widely separated geographically. Some have referred to this process as "ecological segregation"¹ and conclude that it is especially prevalent in the large-scale mass society. Scott Greer, for example, has observed that as an urban society increases in scale, its sub-areas become more functionally specialized and differentiated from each other, while at the same time, becoming more homogeneous within.² However, the question of how one empirically determines the extent of this spatial ordering of specialization has been a vexing one. Thus, one purpose of this chapter is to examine some of the steps which have been taken in this direction and to suggest a method which will best delineate the salient differences existing among the suburban areas in the Oklahoma City SMSA. In addition, profiles depicting socio-economic differences among Oklahoma City

¹Noel P. Gist and Sylvia Fleis Fava, Urban Society, 5th ed., (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1964), ch. 7.

²Scott Greer, The Emerging City: Myth and Reality (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 54.

area suburbs will be included in this chapter.

As expected, a variety of classificatory schemes and techniques have evolved as various social scientists have attempted to cope with the task of choosing the best indicators to measure metropolitan specialization and homogeneity. Obviously certain variables appeared to be of greater potential than others depending in large part on what particular dimensions of urban life were of greatest concern to the researcher. For example, as indicated previously, many of the initial studies merely attempted to differentiate among cities on the basis of function or economic specialization.¹ Useful in some ways, functional classifications suffer several drawbacks. Even when statistical procedures have been employed, the lack of parallelism in the results is rather discouraging.² Thus, for example, one major city received a different economic classification in each of four studies.³ In addition, another major problem with the early classification systems stemmed from the tendency to make classification an end in itself. Little is gained, for example, if a city is designated as a "retailing center," unless this information allows us to predict something else about the city. But very little has been done to relate functional categories to other characteristics of cities.⁴

¹For example, see supra, p. 39. Also Jeffrey K. Hadden and Edgar F. Borgatta, American Cities: Their Social Characteristics (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), chap. II, provide a good review of the development of various classificatory systems.

²Hadden and Borgatta, American Cities, p. 17.

³Otis Dudley Duncan, et al., Metropolis and Region, p. 34.

⁴Hadden and Borgatta, American Cities, p. 17.

Development of classification schemes based on economic function was paralleled by efforts to devise yardsticks for measuring city differences using predominantly social characteristics. Sociologists in particular have long relied upon various socio-economic indicators to analyze and compare various facets of urban life. For example, in 1964 in a study of social involvement and political activity, William Erbe reported some eighteen studies showing an association between certain socio-economic characteristics (indicating status differences) and political participation.¹ Leo Schnore has done yeoman work in using socio-economic measures derived from the census to reveal status differences between central cities

¹William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, XXIX (April, 1964), 198-215. There is an abundance of literature on the political activity of elite groups within the community. For example, see the studies in Terry N. Clark, ed., Community Structure and Decision-Making: Comparative Analyses (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1968) and Willis D. Hawley and Frederick M. Wirt, eds., The Search for Community Power (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968). One of the best theoretical discussions on the nature of community power is still Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory. The literature on correlates of mass participation in local political affairs is considerably more limited. For a general discussion see James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957); William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), pp. 64-73; Robert E. Lane, Political Life: Why and How People Get Involved in Politics (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), especially ch. 18; William A. Gamson, "Rancorous Conflict in Community Politics," American Sociological Review, XXXI (February, 1966), 71-80; and more specifically Robert E. Agger and Daniel Goldrich, "Community Power Structures and Partisanship," ibid., XXIII (August, 1958), 383-92, and Robert R. Alford and Eugene C. Lee, "Voting Turnout in American Cities," American Political Science Review, LXII (September, 1968), 796-813 and Robert R. Alford and Harry M. Scoble, "Sources of Local Political Involvement," ibid., (December, 1968), 1192-1206.

and suburbs in the nations' metropolitan areas.¹ And, as more sophisticated methodological tools were developed, classificatory schemes for differentiating cities on the basis of social variables were produced through the use of factor analysis--a technique or procedure for ordering relationships among a large set of variables.²

Studies also appeared which were addressed to the problem of constructing techniques to measure differentiation within, as well as between, cities in a metropolitan area. Much of the early work revolved around attempts to delineate areas of racial segregation within the nation's larger cities.³ An interesting sidelight to these studies of racial segregation indicates that as the techniques for measuring segregation become more sophisticated, the more segregated American cities were found to be.

¹Leo F. Schnore, "Socio-Economic Status of Cities and Suburbs," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (February, 1963), 76-85; and Schnore, "Measuring City-Suburban Status Differences," Urban Affairs Quarterly, III (September, 1967), 95-108.

²Hadden and Borgatta, American Cities; Christen F. Jonassen and Sherwood H. Peres, Interrelationships Among Dimensions of Community Systems (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1959) and Jonassen, "Functional Unities in Eighty-Eight Community Systems," American Sociological Review, XXVI (June, 1961), 399-407.

³Donald O. Cowgill and Mary S. Cowgill, "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics," American Sociological Review, XVI (December, 1959), 825-31; D. Cowgill, "Segregation Scores for Metropolitan Areas," American Sociological Review, XXVII (June, 1962), 400-12; Otis D. Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," American Sociological Review, XX (April, 1955), 210-17; and Duncan and Duncan, "Measuring Segregation," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (February, 1963), 33.

Social Area Analysis

While virtually every extensive study of a major metropolitan area has included data on the social and economic characteristics of the area, only a limited number of typologies have evolved which attempt to group key variables to produce an analytical framework for comparative purposes. One of the first such attempts to fill this void was made with the publication in 1949 of The Social Areas of Los Angeles by Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams.¹ A few years later Shevky and Wendell Bell published Social Area Analysis which contained a restatement of the basic orientation of their urban typology, the theoretical reasoning behind the development of what has become known as social area analysis and a precise description of the techniques necessary to carry out the analysis.² One of the basic purposes of social area analysis was to provide an urban typology which went beyond the usual methods of describing the boundaries of social areas. Urban aggregations were not to be considered as isolated, self-contained, unique entities but as part of a wider system of relationships which ought to be and could be studied through techniques permitting comparison of certain underlying aspects of urban social structure. Since its introduction a steadily increasing number of investigations have applied the techniques of social area analysis to urban studies in the United States

¹(Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949).

²Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, Social Area Analysis (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955).

and abroad.¹ Before proceeding to a more detailed discussion of social area analysis as a methodological tool, one other attempt to construct an urban typology using a similar approach should be mentioned. In 1955 Robert Tryon devised a method for grouping certain social variables taken from census data which resulted in a three-dimensional construct very similar to the Shevky-Bell framework.² Although the two methods differ

¹ Leonard Broom and Eshref Shevky, "The Differentiation of an Ethnic Group," American Sociological Review, XIV (August, 1959), 476-81. Wendell Bell, "The Social Areas of the San Francisco Bay Region," ibid., XVIII (February, 1953), 39-47; Robert C. Williamson, "Socio-Economic Factors and Marital Adjustment in an Urban Setting," ibid., XIX (April, 1954), 213-16; Wendell Bell, "Economic, Family, and Ethnic Status: An Empirical Test," ibid., XX (February, 1955), 45-52; Leonard Broom, Helen P. Beem, and Virginia Harris, "Characteristics of 1,107 Petitioners for Change of Name," ibid., pp. 33-39; Wendell Bell and Maryann Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," 25-34; Greer, "Urbanism Reconsidered: A Comparative Study of Local Areas in a Metropolis"; Wendell Bell, "The Utility of the Shevky Typology for the Design of Urban Subarea Field Studies," Journal of Social Psychology, XLVII (February, 1958), 71-83; Maurice Van Arsdol, Jr., Santo Camilleri, and Calvin Schmid, "The Generality of Urban Social Area Indexes," American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958), 267-84; Van Arsdol, Camilleri and Schmid, "An Application of the Shevky Social Area Indexes to a Model of Urban Society," Social Forces, XXXVII (October, 1958), 26-32; Greer and Kube, "Urbanism and Social Structure: A Los Angeles Study"; Kaufman and Greer, "Voting in a Metropolitan Community: An Application of Social Area Analysis"; Theodore R. Anderson and Janice A. Egeland, "Spatial Aspects of Social Area Analysis," American Sociological Review, XXXVI (June, 1961), 392-99; Dennis C. McElrath, "The Social Areas of Rome: A Comparative Analysis," ibid., XXVII (June, 1962), 376-391; McElrath, "Societal Scale and Social Differentiation: Accra, Ghana," in The New Urbanization, pp. 33-52; Peter Orleans, "Urban Politics and the Nonpartisan Ballot: A Metropolitan Case," ibid., pp. 287-298. A number of other studies have used variations of the Shevky-Bell typology, in particular the social rank construct.

² Robert C. Tryon, Identification of Social Area by Cluster Analysis (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press), 1955.

only slightly,¹ the Tyron typology has not found the favor among urban researchers that the Shevky-Bell method has.

The theoretical reasoning behind the establishment of the social area framework, according to Shevky and Bell, was derived from certain broad interrelated trends produced by changes brought on by the increasing scale of modern society. These trends have produced changes in the following areas of urban society: (1) the arrangement of occupations, (2) changes in the ways of living, and (3) the redistribution of the population in space.² Three structural reflections of these changes were selected to serve as descriptive and analytic concepts for the study of urban differentiation and stratification. These factors were social rank, urbanization and segregation.

Social rank is viewed as a product of the changing distribution of skills which manifests itself as variations in occupation, education, and income. The urbanization factor reflects changes in family structure and child-bearing patterns resulting from the decline of the family as an economic or productive unit. The segregation construct purports to represent those changes in population distribution resulting from the increasing

¹Wendell Bell, "Social Areas: Typology of Urban Neighborhoods," in Community Structure and Analysis, p. 73, reports that the social areas of the San Francisco Bay area as of 1940 and as established by the Tryon method are for all practical purposes the same as those achieved by the Shevky method.

²Shevky and Bell, Social Area Analysis, p. 3. A more readable explanation of the changes in society which resulted in the Shevky-Bell three dimensional urban typology can be found in Greer, Governing the Metropolis, pp. 23-31.

isolation of certain ethnic and racial subgroups from the total urban society.¹

With reduction of a number of census variables to three basic, inclusive factors, it becomes possible to create a picture of the smaller social worlds into which an urban area is subdivided in terms of economic status, family and ethnic characteristics as found in that census tract. As expected Shevky and Bell found some of the census variables better measures of the particular factor in question than others. It was also determined that a few indicators were sufficient to provide an accurate and meaningful expression of each basic characteristic.

Social Area Analysis - Construct Formation and Indexes

Social Rank (Economic Status)

In their initial work Shevky and Bell used two census variables to define the index of economic status or social rank; namely, education and occupation. Consideration was given to including median family income, but certain methodological difficulties precluded its use.² The exact components for social rank which were used in the 1955 study were

¹Shevky and Bell, Social Area Analysis, p. 5 ff. Alternative designations for the three constructs are mentioned on p. 54, economic status (for social rank), family status (for urbanization) and ethnic status (for segregation). Wendell Bell apparently prefers the alternate terms (see his "Social Areas: Typology of Urban Neighborhoods," pp. 68-69). Common usage now seems to favor the names social rank, familism, and ethnicity or segregation.

²Ibid., p. 24.

per cent white collar employees and per cent of persons completing more than grade school education. Each measure was given equal weight, combined and substituted in a standard score formula to form the single index of social rank.¹ Some subsequent researchers following the Shevky-Bell lead determined that the social rank construct would discriminate better if it were modified by cutting the two variables at a higher point. For example, in their study of social differentiation among Philadelphia suburbs, Oliver Williams and associates used a social rank index comprised of per cent of employed males in the professional, managerial and sales classifications of the census (excluding clerical workers) and per cent of persons (male and female) twenty-five and over with one or more years of college.² These two measures were weighted equally and combined in the same manner as Shevky and Bell suggest. The social rank formulation as modified by Williams will be the particular technique used in this study to measure social status differentiation.

Familism

The familism or urbanization index was developed by Shevky and Bell from three census variables: (1) fertility (number of children under

¹Since the raw percentages are not additive, it becomes necessary to standardize the percentages for occupation and education on a 0 - 100 range, using the formula: $S = x (r - 0)$, where S = standard score, x = $100/\text{range of the measure (occupation or education)}$, r = value for the particular city, and 0 = lower limit of the measure. Shevky and Bell, Social Area Analysis, pp. 54-55.

²Oliver Williams et al., Suburban Differences, p. 52.

five years per 1,000 females age 15 through 44), (2) women in the labor force (number of females in the labor force per 1,000 females 14 years old and over), and (3) single-family detached dwelling units ratio (the number of single-family dwelling units per 1,000 dwelling units of all types). A single index of familism is derived by a simple average of the three component scores after standardization on a 0 - 100 range as done for the social rank factor.¹ Familism scores used to reflect family life style differences for this study will follow the Shevky-Bell formulation.

Ethnicity (Segregation)

The index of ethnic status or segregation computed by Shevky and Bell uses the census tract data which reflects the presence of socially subordinate racial and ethnic groups. This is determined by the percentage of native born white plus foreign born white from North European countries and Canada.² Since this Shevky-Bell index involves complex computational procedures a simplified method for presenting ethnicity has been used in this study, namely per cent of nonwhite and foreign born found in a particular suburban community.

Social Area Analysis: Uses and Limitations

Wendell Bell, in one of the best explanations and defenses of the Shevky-Bell typology, indicates that there are at least four general uses

¹Shevky and Bell, Social Area Analysis, pp. 55-56.

²Ibid., pp. 56-57.

to which social area analysis has been put:

1. The delineation of subareas. Through the application of these methods..., it is possible to delineate systematically urban neighborhood communities having different social characteristics...
2. Comparative studies at one point in time... Social area distribution of the neighborhoods in different cities can be compared to determine patterns differentiated by the regions in which the cities are located, the sizes of the cities, their chief economic functions, their relative ages, their topographies, their ethnic composition, and their transportation bases.
3. Comparative studies at two points in time... The application of the social area typology can result in a systematic description and analysis of social changes in a neighborhood.
4. A framework for the execution of other types of research... It can also be utilized as a framework for the analysis of attitudes and behavior of individuals.¹

In addition to the above enumeration of general uses, as mentioned previously, a number of specific studies using the Shevky-Bell analysis or variations thereof have been undertaken. Thus, from an operational perspective, its usefulness seems rather clearly established. However, the technique has not been without its detractors.

First, as far as its value as a theoretical framework is concerned, social area analysis has been seriously questioned. Aside from the expected correlations between the three basic factors and a variety of related census measures, there appears to be little justification for considering it as anything like a "theory" of urbanization. Otis Dudley Duncan in his review of the Shevky and Bell book makes the criticism in the

¹ Bell, "Social Areas: Typology of Urban Neighborhoods, " pp. 87-88.

following words:

The discussion of theoretical reasons for choosing particular index variables does not lead to a unique selection of variables or even to a useful criterion for such selection. The matching of statistical manipulation with conceptual formulation remains on the level of operational nominalism;...Moreover, little attempt is made to tie in the notion of "social area"...with any of the "underlying theory." It is a purely classificatory concept.¹

Thus, at the broader conceptual level the Shevky-Bell typology suffers from the same disadvantages of other classification devices: the arbitrary manner of defining categories and the lack of relevance for a broad theory.

Two other limitations of this research technique should also be mentioned--limitations which are inherent in ecological studies generally. The first of these problems has been stated negatively as "the fallacy of ecological correlation" or the problem of making inferences about sub-units from aggregate data. W. S. Robinson, in a 1950 article, is ordinarily credited with proving that ecological correlations cannot validly be substituted for individual correlations. Using sophisticated mathematical techniques, Robinson demonstrates that correlations by state for the years 1930 between color (per cent of Negroes) and illiteracy which is .773 is wholly misleading when compared with correlations made within areas (states) on an individual basis which comes out to be only

¹Otis Dudley Duncan, review of Shevky and Bell, Social Area Analysis, in American Journal of Sociology, LXI (July, 1955), 84-85. See the exchange between Duncan and Bell in a later issue of the same Journal, (November, 1955), 260-62.

.203.¹

However, Herbert Menzel has pointed out that aggregated observations and ecological correlations may be of considerable usefulness for certain kinds of studies without the necessity for making assumptions about individual behavior.² The point in this case is simply this: one can make valid inferences from aggregate data about the behavior of units at that same level of aggregation. In this study, for example, the focus is on the properties of subareas--municipalities--not on any lower level of analysis. The structure of the whole metropolitan area is viewed as a product of the characteristics of its subareas. Robinson's dilemma of inference regarding individual behavior is thereby avoided.

Another basic difficulty which critics of ecological studies have pointed to which may apply to the users of social area analysis, concerns

¹W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," American Sociological Review, XV (June, 1950), 351-57. On the same point see Leo A. Goodman, "Ecological Regression and Behavior of Individuals," ibid., XVIII (December, 1953), 663-64, and Goodman, "Some Alternatives to Ecological Correlation," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (May, 1959), 610-24. Alternatives for avoiding Robinson's objections have been offered by Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Davis, "An Alternative to Ecological Correlation," American Sociological Review, XVIII (December, 1953), pp. 665-66; James M. Beshers, "Statistical Inferences from Small Area Data," Social Forces, XXXVIII (May, 1960), 341-48; and James A. Davis, Joe L. Spaeth, and Carolyn Hudson, "A Technique for Analyzing the Effects of Group Composition," American Sociological Review, XXVI (April, 1961), 215-24. Also, see Desmond S. Cartwright, "Ecological Variables," in Sociological Methodology: 1969, ed. by Edgar F. Borgatta (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1968), pp. 155-218.

²Herbert Menzel, "Comments on Robinson's 'Ecological Correlations' and the Behavior of Individuals," American Sociological Review, XV (June, 1950), 674; see also Goodman, "Ecological Regression."

the reliability of inferences about group structure and behavior from spatial clusterings of certain population characteristics.¹ The problem may be shown by considering the basic unit of social area analysis--the census tract. Merely because one finds certain population distributions reflected in a given tract, it cannot be assumed that a particular pattern of social interaction is occurring or will occur in that particular area. But, students of city government face no such problem since local governments are by definition spatially structured. Thus, a unit of local government, regardless of the degree of homogeneity or heterogeneity within its borders, provides for at least one form of human structure--political interaction. Imposing a formal political unit on an area insures interaction and social-political structure. Consequently, the political scientist, using an ecological technique such as social area analysis, is justified in formulating and testing hypotheses about the political behavior of certain areally defined political units which may result from particular population characteristics found within those units. Thus, it is significant that this study presents various demographic data by governmental unit--the suburb--and not by census tract which would provide no basis for inferring political interaction.

Despite certain basic problems inherent in any form of ecological

¹Amos H. Hawley and Otis Dudley Duncan, "Social Area Analysis: A Critical Appraisal," Land Economics, XXXII (November, 1957), 337-45.

analysis¹ and the theoretical limitations of the Shevky-Bell typology,² the author of this study is compelled to agree with Bell and Greer's statement that the social area analysis has a "utility for urban research far greater than that of any other single approach which currently exists."³

Therefore, because of its wide acceptance, social area analysis will be one of the two basic research techniques employed in this study in an effort to delineate socio-economic differences among the suburban communities of the Oklahoma City metropolitan area. However, certain limitations in using two of the three basic factors of the typology have been encountered when applied to suburban municipalities. Familism and ethnicity do not greatly discriminate among Oklahoma City area suburbs as will be shown subsequently. This is undoubtedly due to the predominately "bedroom" character of these ten cities and their overwhelmingly white racial composition. Even in the Philadelphia area, with its enormous diversity, Williams and associates found that "familism and ethnicity showed little relationship... (to) municipal policy variations." Thus, in their study of public policy outcomes as related to social differentiation,

¹For a good argument against the "demographic approach" as being too indirect, see James Q. Wilson, "Introduction" in City Politics and Public Policy, ed. by James Q. Wilson (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1968), pp. 4-5.

²A recent criticism by a group of urban ecologists is Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr., Santo F. Camilleri, and Calvin F. Schmid, "An Investigation of the Utility of Urban Typology," Pacific Sociological Review, IV (Spring, 1961), 26-32.

³Wendell Bell and Scott Greer, "Social Area Analysis and Its Critics," ibid., V (Spring, 1962), 3-9.

only the Shevky-Bell social rank measure was found to be useful.¹

This exclusive focus on status or social class differentials (as reflected by social rank) finds support from several empirical studies which have sought to isolate key attitudinal variables affecting urban social behavior. James Q. Wilson in a recent article based on an extensive study of over 1,000 Boston area homeowners concluded that the maintenance of neighborhood social homogeneity as a means of protecting individual values and life styles has become the fundamental "urban problem" for the ordinary citizen.² Other studies have indicated that increasing home ownership has caused the suburbanite to seek social homogeneity for fear that neighborhood instability which might result from heterogeneity would threaten life styles as well as property values.³ Thus, in this study, only the one dimension of social area analysis, social rank, will be used for purposes of differentiating between communities.

The difficulty in deciding upon the most appropriate techniques for revealing community differences has long been recognized in social research. As Philip Jacob and Henry Teune have put it, "The choice of

¹Williams et al., Suburban Differences, p. 26.

²James Q. Wilson, "The Urban Unease: Community vs. City," The Public Interest, No. 12 (Summer, 1968), 25-39.

³James G. Coke and Charles S. Liebman, "Political Values and Population Density Control," Land Economics, XXXVII (November, 1961), 347-61. A previously cited study by Duncan and Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," p. 294, found that differences in occupational background were more accurate predictors of residential segregation patterns than either income or education.

indicators for social homogeneity presents an immediate and large research problem." In their study of political integration generally, they go on to point out that so many of the tests of homogeneity do not show whether the social characteristic in question is in fact associated with a feeling of homogeneity--that is, a sense of belonging to a group which shares the particular trait.¹ As mentioned previously, many traditional ecological studies have not taken human values into account and thereby do not provide any indication of a sense of group feeling. The technique of social area analysis obviously suffers this particular shortcoming. So, one might persuasively argue that raw socio-economic indicators of homogeneity, such as used in social area analysis, need to be supplemented by data concerning the opinions and attitudes of the social groups under study to establish the existence or nonexistence of a true feeling of social homogeneity.

At this point perhaps a restatement of the basic hypothesis of this study is called for. Differences among communities in metropolitan areas not only result in interdependence but also create strong pressures for separatism which helps perpetuate the politically fragmented metropolitan area. Socio-economic indicators are commonly used to depict these differences. But, research just cited questions whether these measures can, by themselves, be taken as indications of feelings of likeness. The underlying assumption here is, of course, that social or political action

¹Jacob and Teune, "The Integrative Process," in The Integration of Political Communities, pp. 18-19.

results only from a recognition of common interests, not from the mere presence of like traits within a given area. Thus, this study in addition to reliance on ecological correlations will attempt to discover attitudinal differences which may have political significance. In particular, it is hypothesized that community socio-economic differences are associated with differences in community attitudes and values which contribute to and reinforce (1) differing patterns of voting behavior, (2) variations in background characteristics and recruitment patterns for local elected officials, and (3) feelings of separate identity, all of which profoundly affect the prospects of metropolitan political integration.

Survey Research

The whole question of public attitudes toward metropolitan governmental reform has long been of central concern in political science as Chapter I has clearly shown. Thus, it seems most desirable to explore these feelings directly through the use of survey research as a way of providing the "cultural" dimension to the ecological approach being followed in this study.¹ Strong support for probing the opinions and beliefs

¹ It is being increasingly recognized that attitudes and motives must form an essential part of the study of human demography, once thought to be far removed from the individual and his personal predilections. See Judith Blake and Kingsley Davis, "Population and Public Opinion--The Need for Basic Research," American Behavioral Scientist, VI (May, 1963), 24-29. The concept of "culture" in political research, though nebulous and difficult to define, has gained considerable attention in recent years primarily as a result of the seminal work in cross-national politics by Gabriel Almond and associates. The most widely known of these works is Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations (Princeton: Princeton

of suburban citizens is provided in the words of Charles Press:

The actors who make and/or influence decisions on metropolitan areas when merger of local government is the issue are: the public officials of the area, the interest group representatives, and the voters. The actions of the three sets of actors are inter-related, but the voters are generally the most important in that they usually must make the final decision at an election and it is their negative decision that usually prevents merger.¹

Scott Greer in his extensive study of the politics of metropolitan reform has shown that grass-roots voter opposition can defeat reform proposals despite considerable support by the mass media and prominent civic leadership.²

University Press, 1963). Only a few attempts have been made to explicitly use the political culture concept in a state or local research. Daniel Elazar, American Federalism: A View from the States (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1966), pp. 79-116, discusses three types of political cultures found among American states, individualistic, moralistic, and traditionalistic although he does not operationalize his typology. Samuel C. Patterson, "The Political Cultures of the American States," Journal of Politics, XXX (February, 1968), 187-209, presents an excellent critique on the uses of the concept political culture and some suggestions for research in comparative state politics using that particular approach. At the local level, Oliver Williams and Charles Adrian in Four Cities: A Study of Comparative Policy Making (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), discuss certain characteristics of their four middle-sized Michigan cities in terms of the dominance of certain political subcultures which become manifest as a set of ideologies regarding the proper role of local government, its goals, etc. One of the most sophisticated attempts to deal with the logical structure of cultural or environmental concepts in social behavior appears in a chapter entitled "The Conceptualization of Environmental Effects," in Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Constructing Social Theories (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1968), pp. 201-232.

¹ Charles Press, Main Street Politics: Policy Making at the Local Level (East Lansing: Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University, 1962), p. 84.

² Greer, Metropolitica. pp. 193-97.

In sum, a second basic technique of analysis, survey research, designed to gather information regarding community attitudes in selected Oklahoma City suburbs will be incorporated into this dissertation. More precise details of survey design, sampling procedure, and questionnaire construction as used in this study will be covered in another chapter. At this point, however, a few comments seems to be in order on the usefulness of this type of research method.

A great quantity of literature is available on survey research, most of which deals largely with the practical problems and techniques of carrying out survey work.¹ Most social scientists are convinced of the rather considerable value inherent in using this approach to gather data which otherwise might not be obtainable. For example, some see its major advantage as providing social scientists with a quantitative method for establishing relationships and for generalizing about know populations.² The survey is able to do this because of standardized and systematic

¹Some of the better known and most useful general treatments of survey research are Mildred Parten, Surveys, Polls and Samples (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950); Morris H. Hansen, William N. Hurwitz, and William G. Madow, Sample Survey Methods and Theory, Vol I, Methods and Applications (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1953); Herbert Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis: Principles, Cases and Procedures (New York: Free Press, 1955); Frederick F. Stephan and Philip J. McCarthy, Sampling Opinions: An Analysis of Survey Procedure (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958); Charles H. Backstrom and Gerald D. Hursh, Survey Research (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 1963); and A. N. Oppenheim, Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement (New York: Basic Books, 1966).

²John P. Dean, Robert L. Eichhorn, and Lois R. Dean, "The Survey," in An Introduction to Social Research, 2nd ed., ed. by John T. Doby (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), p. 247.

interviewing procedures for collecting data. Nevertheless, there is no unanimity among social scientists regarding the reliability of data gathered by the survey method, although it is widely used for a variety of purposes, from census taking and market research to attitude measurement.¹

In the interview and questionnaire approach, heavy reliance is placed on the respondent's verbal report as the basis for his attitudes, opinions, beliefs or perhaps even his past behavior. The subject's report may or may not be taken at face value, but the survey still depends upon gathering information which the person is willing and able to report. There are a number of practical difficulties involved in dealing with the validity of verbal reports.

First, not only may people be reluctant to report openly their attitudes and feelings; they may be unable to do so.² Psychoanalysts have rather conclusively demonstrated this fact.

A second important problem related to opinion sampling has to do with the question of whether the respondent's answer actually corresponds with his real, inner attitudes. Some studies have shown that interviewers, despite efforts to be objective, are likely to get the opinions they expect

¹The most complete compilation of empirical studies of political attitudes based on survey techniques is John P. Robinson, Jerrold G. Rusk, and Kendra B. Head, Measures of Political Attitudes (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Sept., 1968). Also, see Charles M. Bonjean, Richard J. Hill, and S. Dale McLemore, Sociological Measurement: An Inventory of Scales and Indices (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1967). An older, but still useful source is H. H. Remmers, Introduction to Opinion and Attitude Measurement (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954).

²Claire Selltiz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations, revised one-vol. ed., (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959), p. 237.

or want.¹ For example, a white interviewer might not get the same response from some Negroes as would a Negro interviewer. Other examples abound.²

Finally, the most basic controversy surrounding the usefulness of the survey method concerns the matter of correlation between attitude and behavior; or, what people say as opposed to what they do. The literature in social psychology is voluminous on attitude formation and attitude change, but less has been done with this critical relationship between attitudes and overt action. The general position seems to be this: "A number of... investigations have found that verbal measures of attitude predict the social action of the individual with variable accuracy."³

¹Hadley Cantril, Guaging Public Opinion (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944), p. 118; and Herbert Hyman, Interviewing in Social Research (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

²Three recent articles which examine questions relating to the accuracy of responses obtained in sample surveys are found in Vol. XXXII (Winter, 1968-69), Public Opinion Quarterly: Aage R. Clausen, "Response Validity: Vote Report," pp. 588-506; Don Cahalan, "Correlates of Respondent Accuracy in the Denver Validity Survey," pp. 607-621; and Carol H. Weiss, "Validity of Welfare Mothers' Interview Responses," pp. 622-633.

³David Krech, Richard S. Crutchfield, and Egerton L. Ballachey, Individual in Society: A Textbook of Social Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1962), p. 160. The general rule on consistency between opinion and behavior has been summarized by Bernard Hennessy, "Public Opinion and Opinion Change" in Political Science Annual: An International Review, Vol I, 1966, ed. by James A. Robinson (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1966). "Behavior will be consistent with opinion and attitudes when, in the judgment of the individual, the larger context or goals of the behavior require inconsistency... In general and in the long run, consistency is to be expected among beliefs, attitudes, opinions, and behavior; but much short-term inconsistency can be tolerated by the individual. pp. 247-248. John Dollard, "Under What Conditions Do Opinions Predict Behavior?" Public Opinion Quarterly, XII (Winter, 1948-49), 623-32, offers seven useful "common sense" propositions regarding the prediction of behavior from verbal attitudes. See also, Milton Rokeach, "Attitude Change and Behavioral Change," ibid., XXX (Winter, 1966-67), 529-50.

Thus, there is widespread agreement that no one-to-one relationship exists between attitude and behavior. Nonetheless, a number of studies do confirm that whatever people say they believe is strongly related to what they actually do.¹ A good deal of the variation which is sometimes found results from the immediate situations in which the individual finds himself at different times.² In this respect, one of the most recent studies confirmed that "expressed attitude plus the pressure of influence groups is a better predictor of ultimate behavior than either factor alone."³ In some areas, however, sufficient sophistication in measuring attitudes from rather extensive data has made it possible to predict a person's behavior even better than the individual himself can predict it. For example, as a result of their extensive study of the 1952 and 1956 presidential

¹Much of the literature on attitude-behavior congruence deals with racial prejudice. One of the early classics is Richard LaPiere, "Attitude vs. Action," Social Forces, XIII (December, 1934), 230-37; more recently see Bernard Kutner, Carol Wilkins, and Penny Yarrow, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Behavior Involving Racial Prejudice," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVII (1952), 649-52; Melvin F. De Fleur and Frank R. Westie, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Acts: An Experiment on the Salience of Attitudes," American Sociological Review, XXIII (October, 1958), 667-73; and Lawrence S. Linn, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Behavior: A Study of Racial Discrimination," Social Forces, XLIII (March, 1965), 353-64. A general consideration of attitude-behavior discrepancies is Jack W. Brehm, "A Dissonance Analysis of Attitude-Discrepant Behavior," in Attitude Organization and Change: An Analysis of Consistency Among Attitude Components, ed. by Milton J. Rosenberg, et al., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), pp. 164-197.

²Theodore M. Newcomb, Ralph H. Turner, and Philip E. Converse, Social Psychology: The Study of Human Interaction (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1965), p. 67.

³Gordon H. DeFries and W. Scott Ford, Jr., "Open Occupancy--What Whites Say, What They Do," Trans-action, V (April, 1968), 53-56.

elections, Angus Campbell and associates assert that "The number of our respondents whose votes we were able to foretell from what we know of their partisan attitude is greater than the number who were able to foretell their own votes."¹ In sum, despite certain limitations due primarily to the state of the science of attitude measurement, sample survey data may provide valuable insights into the opinions and attitudes of a large group, thus permitting political predictions of more than casual significance.

This study reports the findings of a survey of political information and attitudes taken from a random sampling of five of the ten suburban cities of over 2,500 (1960 population) in the Oklahoma City metropolitan area. Time and resource limitations precluded the acquisition of data from a larger group of cities. An effort was made to draw approximately the same number of respondents from cities in each of the three levels of community social rank--high, medium and low. A great deal of valuable information on suburban political beliefs was produced as a result of this

¹Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter, abridged ed., (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 37. Some political pollsters, especially since 1948, have been extremely accurate in predicting electoral behavior from verbal preferences expressed by the American public. "Gallup noted in a recent speech that his organization's polls have averaged an error of only one and one-half percentage points on the size of the winning party's vote in national elections beginning with 1954." The Daily Oklahoman, October 16, 1968, p. 4. The classic voting studies which rely on survey research methodology include Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard R. Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948); Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (New York: Harper, Row & Co., 1954); and Campbell et al., The American Voter.

survey and is reported in Chapter V.

Research Design

The purpose of this section is to summarize what data are being reported, how they were collected, the specific hypotheses being tested, the indices used in the analysis, and the statistical techniques employed in subsequent chapters.

The fundamental objective of the study is an exploration of two basic phenomena which previous research suggests should have important implications for the structure and operation of the metropolitan political system: (1) areal stratification among urban subareas, and (2) certain political attitudes held by suburban residents and officials. In brief, it is contended that urban (particularly suburban) socio-economic differentiation holds the key to an understanding of the nature of the decentralized government characteristic of most major urban areas; that community specialization created by these differences helps sustain fractionated government and inhibits progress toward greater political integration. Furthermore, it is argued that when these areally specialized subareas become separately incorporated a set of attitudes and beliefs shared by citizens and officials alike develops which tends to reinforce the existence of separate, autonomous local units of government.

The primary means of delineating socio-economic differences among urban subareas in this study will be the Shvky-Bell technique of social area analysis. The principle approach to exploring public attitudes

among suburban dwellers will involve the use of a sample survey of 223 adults from five communities in the Oklahoma City SMSA selected for their divergence in socio-economic characteristics. Elected municipal office-holders in all ten suburbs of over 2,500 population (1960 census) in the SMSA were solicited using a mailed questionnaire in order to gather data on background characteristics as well as information on how the officials were drawn into public office. A supplement to the mailed questionnaire was included for those officials representing the five suburbs in which the citizen sample survey was conducted. Through this means it was possible to compare attitudinal responses between citizens and office-holders from the same areas.

Chapter III, which takes up the variations found among the ten suburbs in respect to voting behavior, represents the first application of social area analysis in this study. Data was gathered from the State Election Board on sixteen state-wide elections, both partisan and non-partisan, held over the past fourteen years (beginning in 1954). The two-party elections consist of the past four Presidential elections and four Gubernatorial elections. Five elections dealing with state-wide capital improvement issues were also chosen for analysis along with three special state-wide elections. The partisan vote is analyzed by correlating per cent Republican vote with community social rank and certain other selected community social characteristics. The YES vote on the remaining elections is scrutinized in precisely the same way.

Chapter IV, dealing with suburban political leadership and

recruitment patterns, also relies upon social area analysis, particularly the community social rank component, in an effort to get at social and economic distinctions among elected officials from the ten suburbs. Such attributes as educational attainment, occupation, income, religious preference, party identification, group memberships and tenure in office are examined and compared on the basis of community social rank. Several questions were also included to probe the immediate forces which attracted the respondents into municipal public service to ascertain if differences exist which seem to be related to community stratification.

The portion of the study which treats attitudes and beliefs of the suburban citizen (Chapter V) also makes use of community social rank as an analytical tool. The nine-page interview schedule (lasting approximately thirty minutes) elicited responses from the random sample (in five suburbs) on attitudes toward the following four areas of interest:

- (1) reasons for living in suburbia (as opposed to the central city);
- (2) community identification and commitment;
- (3) suburbia as a way of protecting certain values from unfavorable aspects of big city living; and
- (4) local public services and tax burden.

A number of manifold tables are constructed primarily with community social rank as the independent variable as a way of assessing the impact of socio-economic differences upon suburban attitudinal patterns.

An exploration of the opinions and attitudes of the elected office holders from the five selected suburbs is undertaken in Chapter VI. In

this instance, the analysis largely takes the form of contrasting the various responses from officials (N = 24) with the answers obtained on similar questions from the citizen sample. Because of the limited number of officials involved, extensive comparisons on the basis of community social rank was thought to be inappropriate. A few observations are offered, however, where obvious differences on this basis are revealed.

More extensive discussion of the particular techniques employed in certain portions of the study will be found in the individual chapters which follow.

Hypotheses

A number of hypotheses relating to the ten suburbs of over 2,500 population (1960 census) in the Oklahoma City SMSA are subjected to test in that portion of the study which follows. These are listed and briefly described below by chapter.

1. Chapter III - "Social Differentiation and Community Voting Behavior"

- (a) increases in community social rank should be positively associated with Republican vote in partisan elections;
- (b) increases in community social rank should correlate positively with the YES vote on referenda issues requiring the expenditure of tax money for state-wide public improvements.

2. Chapter IV - "Social Characteristics and Recruitment of Suburban

Political Leaders"

- (a) community socio-economic characteristics may in part determine the characteristics of the individuals who are recruited to positions of elected suburban leadership.

3. Chapter V - "Suburban Attitudes and Metropolitan Political Integration"

- (a) variations in community social rank will be related to corresponding attitudinal differences toward the desirability of suburban living and the disadvantages of the central city;
- (b) suburbanites who evidence considerable identification with the local community should oppose any proposal which might reduce the autonomy of the suburb through greater metropolitan centralization;
- (c) suburban residents who profess an attachment to a "grass roots" political ideology (commitment to the values of small, close-to-home government) should not favor a proposal which would produce greater governmental centralization in the metropolitan area;
- (d) residents from higher status suburbs should show the most concern over protecting their life-style values against racial invasion and the conflict associated with the central city;
- (e) those suburbanites who are most interested in protecting

themselves from big-city conflict and racial invasion should be more likely to resist any scheme which would result in greater governmental integration than those who are less concerned;

- (f) socio-economic differences among suburban communities will be associated with differences in levels of satisfaction with local governmental services;
- (g) suburban dwellers who are less satisfied with local government services are more likely to support a move for metropolitan governmental reorganization than those who are more satisfied;
- (h) greater governmental unification within the metropolitan area should be opposed by those suburbanites who perceive suburban municipal services as superior to those offered by the central city;
- (i) residents of suburbia who recognize that suburban tax rates are lower than those of the central city are more likely to oppose the idea of increased political integration within the metropolis than those who do not;

4. Chapter VI - "Certain Political Attitudes of Selected Suburban Officials"

- (a) attitudes and opinions of elected suburban officials should generally coincide with attitudes and opinions of those citizens they represent on selected issues which have

implications for metropolitan political integration.

Indices Employed

In the course of analyzing the rather diverse kinds of data dealt with in this research, it became necessary to employ several indices, some used in previous studies and others constructed especially for this study. Listed below are the indices and the application made of each.

1. Community social rank index (modified from the Shevky-Bell construct)--is made up of two components weighted equally:

- (a) per cent of employed males in the professional, managerial and sales classifications of the census;
- (b) per cent of persons 25 and over with one or more years of college. This is the most frequently used measure of socio-economic differentiation among cities in the study.

2. Community familism (Shevky-Bell)--consists of a simple average of three census measures:

- (a) fertility (number of children under five years per 1,000 females age 15 through 44);
- (b) women in the labor force (number of females in the labor force per 1,000 females 14 years old and over);
- (c) single-family dwelling units (the number of single-family dwelling units of all types).

Familism reflects family life-style differences and is purportedly a good indicator of the extent to which a community may be expected

to concern itself with child-centered values.

3. Ethnicity or segregation (modified from Shevky-Bell) --uses census data to indicate the presence of socially subordinate racial and ethnic groups within a community and is constructed from:

- (a) per cent nonwhite;
- (b) per cent foreign born.

4. Local political activity index--a three-tier index (high, medium, low) developed from questions taken from the suburban citizen sample survey dealing with:

- (a) voting registration;
- (b) frequency of vote in local elections;
- (c) attendance at local public meetings;
- (d) contact with local officials.

5. Local political knowledge index--a three-level construct (considerable knowledge, some knowledge, little or no knowledge) prepared from the following questions used in the suburban sample survey:

- (a) ability to name local mayor;
- (b) naming of other local public officials;
- (c) knowledge of whether city has council-manager form of government;
- (d) naming of city manager;
- (e) knowledge of whether city belongs to the metropolitan association of local governments;

(f) ability to name the association of local governments.

6. "Grass-roots" political ideology index--consists of three categories (high, medium, low) based on answers from seven questions in the survey which purport to indicate a commitment to the ideals of small, autonomous local government and a corresponding antipathy to the central city. The questions which involve a comparison between suburb and central city were as follows:

- (a) which city's officials are easiest to contact?
- (b) which city's officials are more aware of neighborhood problems?
- (c) in which city do people have the most say in running the government?
- (d) which city government operates the most economically?
- (e) which city officials look out for the whole city rather than a few favored interests?
- (f) which city government has the most politics and corruption?
- (g) which city government has the most conflict over public affairs?

Based on respondent selecting his suburb on the first five questions and Oklahoma City on the last two, the index was established as follows:

- 6 - 7 times selected--high "grass roots"
- 3 - 5 times selected--medium
- 0 - 2 times selected--low

This index was used, along with several other items (local political activity, local political knowledge), as one way of tapping commitment to local community.

Use of Statistical Tests

Essentially, only two kinds of statistical tests were resorted to in the analysis of data for the study: (1) a non-parametric test of association (chi-square); and (2) tests of correlation (simple linear, multiple, partial, and rank-order correlations).

The chi-square (χ^2) test of significance for association between two independent samples is one of the most widely used statistical tests in social science research. It is particularly useful in analyzing hypothesized relationships when data is presented in contingency or manifold tables. It is based on the deviations of the observed cell frequencies from those expected on the assumption of chance and is expressed by the following formula:¹

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(o - e)^2}{e}$$

The higher the value of chi-square (when the number of rows and columns in the table remain constant), the less likely the observations being reported have occurred merely by chance. However, it cannot be used as a standard correlation measure because its upper limit varies directly with the number of observations (N), so that successive instances

¹Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), pp. 104-105.

of chi-square cannot be compared directly.

The standard measure of linear correlation between two variables is the Pearson product-moment formula which produces a correlation coefficient usually designated by $\underline{r}$. The size of the Pearson $\underline{r}$ varies from +1 through 0 to -1, and the closer the coefficient is to one (either + or -), the better the correlation. Simple linear correlation, however, is not generally regarded as the best indicator of the over-all proportion of the total variation of one variable that is associated with, or explained by, the other. $\underline{r}^2$, the coefficient of determination, is probably the best statistical measure when the emphasis is on the strength of the over-all relationship between two variables.¹

In Chapter III, where community voting patterns are scrutinized, it has been necessary to employ multiple and partial correlational techniques in an effort to sort out the precise effect of several contributing independent variables. These measures are derived from the same basic formula developed by Karl Pearson but have the advantage over simple $\underline{r}$ in permitting the researcher to handle more than one independent variable.²

In several places throughout this research it has been convenient and appropriate to use a nonparametric correlation of rank order. The specific statistical test selected was the Spearman rank-order correlation

¹John H. Mueller and Karl F. Schuessler, Statistical Reasoning in Sociology (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), p. 309.

²For a good discussion of multiple and partial correlation, see Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960), ch. 19.

coefficient (ρ) which is the most widely used of rank correlation methods.¹ It is essentially a product-moment correlation coefficient for ranked data which, for all practical purposes, may be interpreted the same as r . ρ is especially useful where the number of cases is twenty-five to thirty or less.

The Setting

The study takes place within the Oklahoma City Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). Several advantages accrue to this locale as a research site. First, most of the previous studies dealing with the issue of metropolitan reorganization have centered about those few areas (Nashville, St. Louis, Miami, and Cleveland, for example) where fairly recent large scale reform proposals have been voted upon. A great deal of valuable data have been generated from these research sites, some of which will be tested for application in the Oklahoma City setting. However, if political science is to continue to add to its store of knowledge about metropolitan area government, it becomes obvious that those urban areas which have not undergone extensive reform campaigns must also be scrutinized. Here, too, we might profitably expect to explore the various factors which seem to perpetuate the existence of a large number of separately incorporated municipalities in a metropolitan area.

Second, no other substantial study of metropolitan political organization has been encountered which has a setting in the southwestern part of the United States where many of the more obvious, critical urban

¹N. M. Downie and R. W. Heath, Basic Statistical Methods, 2d ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 206.

problems have yet to appear. Perhaps in comparison with older eastern and midwestern cities, the urban problems in the Oklahoma City area loom less large and the resulting lack of critical awareness, especially of urban services, may have some bearing on the attitudes of the citizenry in this locale. Thus, to broaden the knowledge available on metropolitan governmental processes, it seems worthwhile to add information gathered in this region to that of other areas.

Any analysis of urban phenomena must in some way come to grips with the problems of defining and delimiting the area under consideration. In dealing with political matters, governmental boundaries are of obvious importance. But in a metropolitan area, there are alternative approaches to describing the boundaries of the entire area in question. For most purposes in the United States, urban researchers have relied on delineations of large urban populations provided by the Bureau of the Census. Two new categories for population enumeration were established for the 1950 censuses: Urbanized Areas and Standard Metropolitan Areas. In 1960, the SMA was changed to the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area or SMSA. Both concepts are designed to encompass more than the mere legal limits of the central or largest city--to take in the area of the "physical" city, as well. All population in Urbanized Areas is classified as urban. In contrast, the SMSA category is based upon the outmost limits of the regular daily influence of the central city (ies).¹ The "metropolitan"

¹By official definition, an "urbanized area consists of one or more cities of 50,000 or more and all the nearby closely settled suburban territory,

community, by census definition is ordinarily larger than the "urban" community and may include some areas considered as rural. The two differing concepts have their respective advantages but the data compiled for the SMSAs have been much more widely used than that accumulated for Urbanized Areas.¹ Therefore, for ease of comparison, the SMSA unit will be the one used for most purposes in this study.

Although the 1962 Census of Governments shows 32 municipalities located in the Oklahoma City SMSA, only eleven, including the central city had 1960 populations of 2,500 or over.² Absence of adequate data, primarily from census sources, has made it necessary to exclude communities of less than 2,500 from this study. Many studies of other metropolitan areas have often limited their research to cities of 10,000 or more. At any rate, only ten suburban cities with the following 1960 population will form the principal subunits for analysis:

Midwest City	36,058
Norman	33,412
Del City	12,934
Bethany	12,342
The Village	12,118
El Reno	11,015

or urban fringe." An SMSA "consists of a single county area or a group of contiguous counties... Each such area includes at least one central city of at least 50,000 inhabitants or--in a few instances--contiguous twin cities which together meet this population minimum." U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960, Vol I, Characteristics of the Population, pt. 1, United States Summary, pp. XXVI - XXXVI.

¹Gist and Fava, Urban Society, p. 48.

²U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Governments: 1962, Vol. V., Local Government in Metropolitan Areas, p. 98.

Edmond	8,577
Warr Acres	7,135
Nichols Hills	4,897
Yukon	3,076

Oklahoma City, because of its size and the nature of the hypotheses under investigation, will be treated as sui generis with only occasional reference being made to its influence on the course of political affairs in the suburbs.

A question may arise at this point as to the validity of using certain basic community data which is approximately eight years old. Beyond the observation that lack of more current information makes the use of census data imperative, a recent study of seventeen of the nation's twenty-five largest urbanized areas (which included one hundred thirty-seven suburbs) indicated that population growth did not greatly change the composition of many suburbs. In the words of Reynolds Farley:

A sound prediction of the 1960 socio-economic characteristics of a particular suburb could be made merely by knowing that suburb's characteristics in 1920. When the shorter time span--1940 to 1960--is used there is even greater evidence for persistence of suburban characteristics.¹

The Cities: Socio-economic Characteristics

The Oklahoma City SMSA (which includes three counties--Oklahoma, Canadian and Cleveland) is the state's largest, and unlike the state as a whole, has been growing at a rather rapid pace. From 1950 to 1960, the rate of growth in the SMSA was 30.4 per cent compared with only a 4.3

¹Reynolds Farley, "Suburban Persistence," American Sociological Review, XXIX (February, 1964), p. 39.

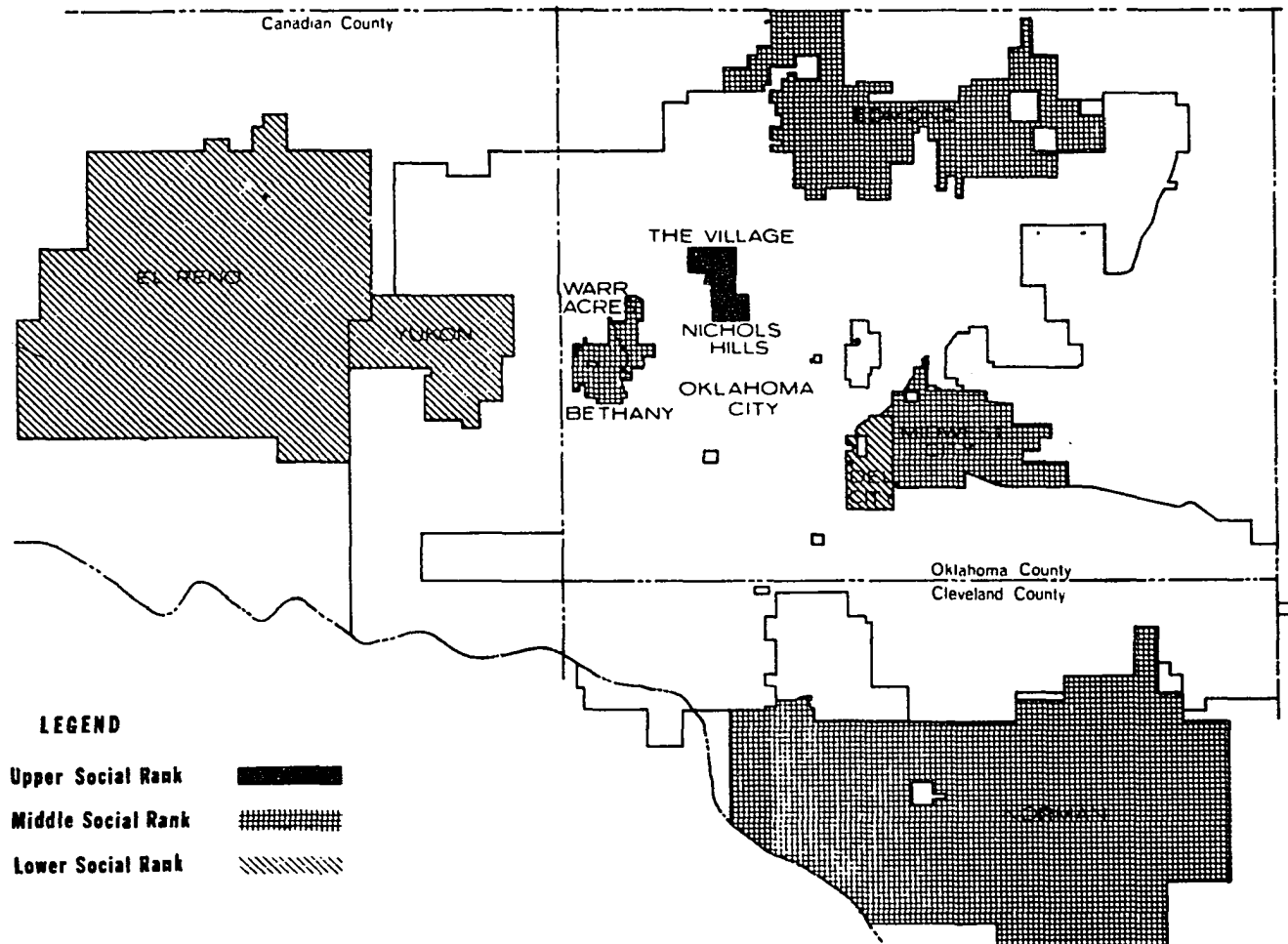
per cent increase in overall state population. With a total SMSA population of 511,833 in 1960 the Oklahoma City area ranked fifty-third among all the metropolitan areas in the United States. The official Bureau of the Census estimate for the Oklahoma City SMSA for 1965 was 588,000.

Within the SMSA in recent years the most accelerated growth has occurred within the suburban cities.¹ Map 1 reveals the location and physical size of the suburbs of over 2,500 population (1960) in relation to the central city. The physical size of the cities is grossly misleading in terms of their respective populations primarily as a result of Oklahoma City's unprecedented annexation program which took place between 1959 and 1963.² This dramatic annexation activity, one of almost incredible scope, had two effects. It made Oklahoma City the largest city in area in the United States with over 641 square miles within its borders, and it prompted considerable counter-annexation on the part of the area suburbs which has resulted in cities far larger in area than their population would suggest. Table 6 indicates that the population increase within the ten suburbs from 1950 to 1960 was 103.9 per cent compared with the 33.2 per cent increase for the central city. Since 1960, however, the rate of increase among the principal suburbs has declined somewhat, but the

¹This pattern of metropolitan decentralization has become a national phenomenon. Leo Schnore reports that since 1920, in the country at large, metropolitan urban rings have increased at a more rapid rate than the central cities. The Urban Scene, p. 80.

²For an account of this annexation activity see Thomas M. Ballentine, "The Oklahoma City Annexation Program, 1958-1963: Purposes, Processes, and Planning Implications," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1964).

Oklahoma City SMSA Depicting Suburban Cities by Community Social Rank



five-year annual growth rate (1960 to 1965) of 7.1 per cent is still over double the annual rate (3.4 per cent) for the central city. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Oklahoma City still constitutes over 60 per cent (63.4 per cent in 1960 and 62.8 per cent in 1965) of the population of the SMSA, a pattern which is apparently more common in western and southwestern metropolitan areas than it is in the East.¹

Diversified retailing is the economic classification to which the Oklahoma City area is ordinarily assigned.² About one half of the labor force is employed in white collar occupations with an industry group employment as follows:³

wholesale and retail trade	22.1%
public administration and education	18.5
transportation, communication and other public utilities	13.6
services	14.1
manufacturing	11.4
construction	6.9
finance, insurance, real estate	5.2
other	8.2
	<u>100.0%</u>

¹For an elaboration of this point, see Leonard E. Goodall, The American Metropolis (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1968), p. 18.

²See Forstall, "Economic Classification of Places Over 10,000, 1960-1963," pp. 30-65. The diversified retailing category means that there is greater employment in retailing than in manufacturing, but the latter is at least 20 per cent of aggregate employment.

³U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960, Vol., I., Characteristics of the Population, pt. 38, Oklahoma.

The median family income in 1959 for the metropolitan area was \$5,601, only slightly below the national average of \$5,660.

The socio-economic characteristics of the ten cities are reflected in two ways. First, Tables 2 through 5 present the data for the Shevky-Bell urban typology for each city--social rank, familism and ethnicity. In addition, to provide as complete a picture as possible and for comparative purposes, Table 6 reveals detailed socio-economic information on the Oklahoma City SMSA, the central city, the ten suburbs and data for suburbs nationwide of 25,000 and over in population.

Perhaps the most interesting fact shown by comparing community social ranks, as done in Table 2, concerns the precise median location of the central city. This configuration deviates considerably from that found in most older and larger Eastern metropolitan areas where a low status central city is often surrounded by high status suburbs.¹

For purposes of assessing the impact of community social status on various political phenomena (as will be done in later chapters), it seems advisable to devise some grouping of the cities by social rank. Primarily because of the small number involved, it was decided to place the Oklahoma City area communities into three social rank groupings--upper, middle, and lower ranks.

The familism index attempts by the use of three census components

¹For recent research on these trends see Schnore, "Socio-Economic Status of Cities and Suburbs," 76-85; and his "Measuring City-Suburban Status Differences," 95-108.

TABLE 2

EDUCATION, OCCUPATION, AND SOCIAL RANK,
OKLAHOMA CITY AND TEN SUBURBS

City	Education	Occupation (Male)	Community Social Rank
	1 year college or more (%)	Professional, manager, sales (%)	(Standardized score)
Nichols Hills	66.9	88.5	100.0
The Village	51.4	65.9	66.9
Norman	37.5	45.3	36.8
Warr Acres	36.2	44.1	34.6
Edmond	29.4	31.9	18.3
OKLAHOMA CITY	22.8	34.5	13.9
Bethany	24.6	29.1	11.3
Midwest City	21.1	30.8	9.3
Yukon	19.5	25.9	3.8
Del City	16.4	27.4	2.0
El Reno	15.6	27.1	1.0

to measure differences in family life styles or family status. Areas having high scores on the index contain populations which reflect a large percentage of housewives and nonworking mothers as typically found in single-family residential areas. Table 4 depicts the ranking of the Oklahoma City area municipalities along the familism dimension.

TABLE 3

COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK GROUPING,
TEN OKLAHOMA CITY SUBURBS

<u>Social Rank</u>	<u>Standardized Score</u>
Upper	
Nichols Hills	100.0
The Village	66.9
Middle	
Norman	36.8
Warr Acres	34.6
Edmond	18.3
Bethany	11.2
Midwest City	9.3
Lower	
Yukon	3.8
Del City	2.1
El Reno	1.0

A three level--upper, middle, and lower--grouping of the ten suburban cities breaks naturally to produce the following arrangement:

high familism--Yukon, The Village

medium familism--Warr Acres, Nichols Hills, Del City,

Midwest City, El Reno, Bethany

low familism--Edmond, Norman

The low position of Edmond and Norman would seem to be primarily the result of large institutional populations within the borders of both these cities. More will be said about that situation subsequently.

Ethnicity or segregation, according to the modification of the

TABLE 4

FAMILISM, OKLAHOMA CITY AND TEN SUBURBS

City	Fertility Ratio ^a	Women in Labor Force(%)	Single-Family Dwellings(%)	Familism Index (Standardized Score)
Yukon	610	24.6	99.5	94.1
The Village	588	31.2	100.0	81.8
Warr Acres	556	39.2	99.8	65.1
Nichols Hills	270	21.5	98.7	64.2
Del City	521	38.0	99.4	62.9
Midwest City	524	36.3	96.1	59.8
El Reno	468	29.8	89.1	51.5
Bethany	486	41.7	94.3	43.6
Edmond	403	38.7	86.0	24.5
OKLAHOMA CITY	478	39.7	82.6	23.7
Norman	370	36.6	85.0	22.8

^aNumber of children under five per 1,000 females age 15 through 44.

Shevky-Bell technique being used, consists of the percentage of nonwhite and foreign born found within each suburban community. Table 5 presents this data for the Oklahoma City area as of 1960.

Excluding the central city, the averages for the ten suburban cities run as follows:

foreign born 1.2%

nonwhite	1.9%
total	3.1%

TABLE 5

ETHNICITY, OKLAHOMA CITY AND TEN SUBURBS

City	Foreign born(%)	Nonwhite(%)	Total Percentage
OKLAHOMA CITY	1.1	13.0	14.1
El Reno	1.0	8.3	9.3
Midwest City	1.4	2.5	3.9
Nichols Hills	2.2	1.3	3.5
Norman	1.5	1.3	2.8
Edmond	1.1	1.7	2.8
Del City	0.6	1.5	2.1
Bethany	0.7	0.6	1.3
The Village	0.9	0.3	1.2
Yukon	0.8	0.3	1.1
Warr Acres	0.6	0.4	1.0

These figures graphically portray the almost total absence of ethnic and racial elements outside the central city within the Oklahoma City SMSA.

Detailed socio-economic characteristics of the SMSA, the central city, and the ten suburbs under study are reflected in Table 6, arranged according to social rank, the variable that seems most likely to affect the

TABLE 6
SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES, OKLAHOMA CITY AND TEN SUBURBS

	Upper Social Rank			Middle Social Rank			
	Nichols Hills	The Village	Norman	Warr Acres	Edmond	Bethany	Midwest City
Pop. growth & mobility							
Total, 1960	4,897	12,118	33,412	7,135	8,577	12,342	36,058
Increase, 1950-60(%)	87.9	*	23.7	200.0	40.9	116.3	254.6
1965 estimate ^a	4,897	14,400	46,000	8,800	11,800	18,500	46,000
Increase, 1960-65(%)	*	18.8	37.7	23.3	37.6	49.9	27.6
Moved, 1958-60(%)	*	33.6	45.1	*	*	38.0	38.2
Age & ethnic comp. (1960)							
Foreign-born(%)	2.2	0.9	1.5	0.6	1.1	0.7	1.4
Nonwhite(%)	1.3	0.3	1.3	0.4	1.7	0.6	2.5
Age group 25-34(%)	7.7	19.3	13.4	18.2	11.8	16.5	16.4
Age 65 & over(%)	8.4	1.9	8.2	3.3	9.3	5.6	3.1
Occupation, education & income (1960)							
White-collar occups. (%)	86.1	77.7	56.6	57.7	48.8	46.3	53.1
Completed HS or more(%)	86.3	83.4	55.6	68.5	49.6	51.4	57.7
Median family income \$10,000+		\$7,937	\$5,259	\$6,907	\$5,204	\$5,522	\$5,843
% over \$10,000	75.7	27.8	13.9	16.6	11.8	8.7	12.5
Housing							
Median value, owner occ. \$32,600		\$14,300	\$11,000	\$11,500	\$7,400	\$9,300	\$9,400
Local prop. tax per capita \$519.05		\$162.10	\$112.24	\$165.00	\$159.82	\$166.84	\$141.13

*not available

^aRand McNally and Co., Rand McNally Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide, 98th ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1967).

^bComputed from figures for 1967 furnished by the County Assessor's office in Oklahoma, Canadian, and Cleveland Counties. Includes tax levy for county government, city government and school district.

TABLE 6 (Cont'd)

	Lower Social Rank			Ten	All Suburbs ^b	Oklahoma	Oklahoma
	Yukon	Del City	El Reno	Suburbs	(over 25,000)	City SMSA	City
Pop. growth & mobility							
Total, 1960	3,076	12,934	11,015	141,564	47,749	511,833	324,253
Increase, 1950-60(%)	54.6	416.5	0.2	103.9	70.2	30.4	33.2
1965 estimate ^a	5,400	24,000	12,200	191,997	*	605,000 ^c	380,000
Increase, 1960-65(%)	75.6	85.6	10.7	35.6	*	14.9	17.2
Moved, 1958-60(%)	*	26.6	27.0	37.4	33.0	32.8	31.7
Age and ethnic comp. (1960)							
Foreign-born(%)	0.8	0.6	1.0	1.2	8.0	1.1	1.1
Nonwhite(%)	0.3	1.5	8.3	1.9	5.3	9.4	13.0
Age group 25-34(%)	15.0	18.3	10.5	15.1	*	13.9	13.7
Age 65 & over(%)	10.5	2.6	15.1	6.1	8.6	7.9	8.6
Occupation, education & income (1960)							
White-collar occups. (%)	38.4	46.9	39.7	54.6	49.6	49.5	49.6
Completed HS or more(%)	45.1	50.8	38.1	57.5	*	50.2	49.3
Median family income	\$4,847	\$5,905	\$4,861	\$5,683	\$7,166	\$5,601	\$5,600
% over \$10,000	11.2	7.2	8.4	15.7	24.0	14.2	14.4
Housing							
Median value, owner occ.	9,200	\$8,700	\$7,300	\$9,350	\$15,950	\$9,800	\$9,800
Local prop. tax per capita ^d	\$159.00	\$120.47	\$123.32	\$159.41	*	*	\$224.68

*not available

^aRand McNally and Co., Ibid.

^bHadden and Borgatta, American Cities, pp. 107-110.

^cThe 1965 Census Bureau official population estimate for Oklahoma City SMSA is 588,000.

^dComputed from figures for 1967 furnished by the County Assessor's office in Oklahoma, Canadian, and Cleveland Counties. Includes tax levy for county government, city government and school district.

nature of community politics.

Nine of the ten municipalities are residential in character--Bethany being the only exception. Since employment in manufacturing is 59 per cent of Bethany's total employment in manufacturing, trades, and services, it comes within the classification of a manufacturing center, according to one common way of determining a city's economic function.¹ The bulk of manufacturing employment in that community is located at the Aero Commander aircraft manufacturing and assembly plant. Although the remaining nine suburbs are residential types, the older (pre-World War II) cities, most of which only recently became a part of the Oklahoma City SMSA, reflect a profile more consistent with independent or non-metropolitan area communities.² These five (Bethany, Norman, El Reno, Edmond, and Yukon) are located somewhat farther from the central city (with the exception of Bethany), have had somewhat slower growth rates than the other five suburbs (again with Bethany somewhat an exception), have a slightly older population, but generally have a more balanced local economy (see Table 7). According to one measurement of a city's economic

¹A manufacturing center is a city where employment in manufacturing is at least 50 per cent of the aggregate employment in manufacturing, trade, and service, and employment in retail trade is less than 30 per cent of this aggregate total. This formulation was originally applied by Victor Jones in "Economic Classification of Cities and Metropolitan Areas" in The Municipal Year Book, 1953 (Chicago: International City Manager's Association, 1953, pp. 49-57. This classification with only slight modification has been continued in certain editions of The Municipal Year Book, the most current done by Forstall, "Economic Classification of Places over 10,000, 1960-1963," The Municipal Year Book, 1967, pp. 30-65.

²For differences in the social characteristics of several sizes and types of cities see Hadden and Borgatta, American Cities.

independence--the employment-residence ratio--all ten suburban cities can be classified as dormitory communities, despite Bethany's position as a manufacturing sub-center. The employment-residence ratio is obtained by dividing persons working within a city by those employed persons living in the city. Cities with a ratio of less than 85 are considered to be "dormitory cities."¹ Table 7 reflects the rank order of the ten suburbs beginning with the community most balanced economically down through those most economically dependent.

Despite the predominantly dormitory character of the communities, certain specialized economic activity worthy of note does play an important part in the lives of four of the cities. For example, Table 8 reveals that two cities are educational centers (where college enrollment totals at least 20 per cent of the city's population) and two are governmental centers (where 15 per cent or more of the resident labor force is employed by a governmental unit.)²

The preponderance of residential suburbs within the Oklahoma SMSA is generally consistent with the regional pattern for the South and West where approximately seven of every ten suburbs are non-industrial.³ Also, nationally, residential suburbs predominate among the more recently incorporated sub-centers, a situation which is only partially found

¹See Leo F. Schnore, "The Functions of Metropolitan Suburbs," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (March, 1956), 453-58.

²Ibid., p. 454.

³Ibid., p. 455.

in the Oklahoma City area where six of the ten cities (Norman, Bethany, El Reno, Edmond, Nichols Hills, and Yukon) antedate World War II.

TABLE 7
EMPLOYMENT-RESIDENCE RATIO, 1963,
OKLAHOMA CITY AND TEN SUBURBS

<u>City</u>	<u>E/R Ratio^a</u>
Norman	74.7
Yukon	74.5
El Reno	73.7
Bethany	65.0
Edmond	52.8
Midwest City	41.5
Warr Acres	30.7
Del City	27.0
Nichols Hills	22.6
The Village	11.7

^aE/R ratio of below 85--"dormitory city" classification.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Manufacturers, 1963, Vol. 3, Area Statistics; Census of Business, Vol II, Retail Trade, Area Statistics, part 3; Vol V, Wholesale Trade, Area Statistics; (Washington, D. C.: Census of Business, Government Printing Office, 1966), and Carl A. Stevens, Oklahoma Directory of Manufacturers and Products (Oklahoma City; Oklahoma State Department of Commerce and Industry, 1963). Data on industry group of employer persons was taken from the 1960 Census of Population for Oklahoma with modifications to make the data comparable for 1963.

TABLE 8

OKLAHOMA CITY SUBURBS WITH SPECIALIZED ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

City	Special Function
Norman	Education (University of Oklahoma--approximately 35% of population)
Edmond	Education (Central State College--approximately 55% of population)
Midwest City	Government ^a (43.5% of resident employment--1960)
Del City	Government ^a (36.4% of resident employment--1960)

^aA Substantial majority of this government employment is at Tinker Air Force Base (located in corporate limits of Oklahoma City), the largest single civilian employer in the State.

Governmental Features

Before describing the governmental characteristics of the ten cities, it might prove interesting to compare the Oklahoma City SMSA with others in its population class insofar as the total number of municipalities within the area are concerned. The Oklahoma City SMSA in 1962 contained 32 separate cities in contrast with an average of 20 cities per SMSA nationally and the same average of 20 cities in the SMSA's of 500,000 or more population.¹

With one exception (Warr Acres) the suburbs under study have

¹U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Governments 1962: Vol V, Local Government in Metropolitan Areas, p. 98.

remarkably similar governmental characteristics. Nine of the ten not only employ the council-manager plan but use the nonpartisan ballot as well. In addition, of these nine only one (Bethany) relies on a purely ward basis for electing members of the Council, the rest using either at-large elections or a combination of nomination by ward with election at large. The pertinent factual data on governmental characteristics is found in Table 9.

The overwhelming choice of the council-manager plan for cities in the Oklahoma City area is consistent with the regional norm. For example, in 1963 it was found that about 70 per cent of all suburban cities located in the South and West used the council-manager form of government.¹ However, when the greater Oklahoma City suburbs are compared nationally by size only, considerable deviation may be noted. While nine of the ten Oklahoma City suburbs have city managers, across the country only about 35 per cent of all suburban cities in the comparable population bracket (from 10,000 to 50,000) are under council-manager government.

With respect to economic base, the Oklahoma City situation is close to national norms, where two out of every three council-manager suburbs are trade and service centers as opposed to manufacturing cities. In addition, as Table 10 points out, the nine Oklahoma City council-manager suburbs display even more striking socio-economic differences (except in

¹Leo F. Schnore and Robert R. Alford, "Forms of Government and Socio-economic Characteristics of Suburbs," Administrative Science Quarterly, VIII (June, 1963), 1-17.

TABLE 9

GOVERNMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS, TEN OKLAHOMA CITY SUBURBS

City	Form	Council No.	Council Term	Salary (month)	Mayor Chosen	Type Ballot	Type Election	Primary
Midwest City	C-Mgr	7	4	\$50	v	n-p	comb.	yes
Norman	C-Mgr	7	2	\$25	v	n-p	at-l for seats	yes
Bethany	C-Mgr	9	2	\$40	v	n-p	ward	yes
Del City	C-Mgr	5	4/2 ^a	none	v	n-p	at-l	yes
El Reno	C-Mgr	9	3/1	none	c	n-p	at-l	no
The Village	C-Mgr	5	2/1	\$25	c	n-p	comb.	no
Edmond	C-Mgr ^b	5	4/2	\$25	v	n-p	comb.	yes
Nichols Hills	C-Mgr	3	2	\$20	c	n-p	at-l	no
Warr Acres	Mayor-C	9	2	none	v	n-p	ward	no
Yukon	C-Mgr	5	3/1	none	c	n-p	comb.	no

^aFirst figure, term of council member; second, term of mayor.

^bStatutory form

C-Mgr, Council-City Manager; v, voters; n-p, non-partisan; comb., combination; at-l, at large; c, council.

TABLE 10

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBURBS BY FORM OF GOVERNMENT^a

Characteristics	Commission	Mayor-Council	Council Manager	Oklahoma City area Council-Manager
Population(%)				
Median rate of change, 1950-1960	-0.7	17.4	28.5	100.5
Moved between 1958-1960	19.6	19.7	25.5	37.4 ^b
Age and ethnic composition(%)				
Nonwhite	8.7	5.1	4.3	2.0
Age 65 years and over	10.3	9.2	8.9	6.2
Socio-economic status				
White-collar occupations(%)	47.4	48.2	55.6	54.4
Completing high school(%)	42.1	45.6	56.0	56.9
Median family income, 1959	\$6,816	\$7,379	\$7,977	\$5,522
Housing(%)				
Housing units built, 1950-1960	17.9	25.8	35.3	49.9
Owner occupied dwelling units	56.9	64.7	65.7	73.7

^aData for non-Oklahoma City SMSA cities is for those of population 10,000 or more.

^bIncludes only those of 10,000 population or more.

Source: adapted from Leo F. Schnore, see "The Functions of Metropolitan Suburbs," pp. 453-458.

the area of income) than council-manager cities do as a whole when contrasted with suburbs using either the commission or mayor-council forms.

Thus, it is rather apparent that the council-manager suburbs in the Oklahoma City area (and Warr Acres with a mayor-council form is not deviant in this respect) are even more prominently characterized by a younger, well-educated, white collar, virtually all white, highly mobile population than are the cities of this type nationally. In this sense the Oklahoma City suburbs substantially verify the popular image of council-manager suburbs as the natural locale of the upper middle-class.

Summary

The basic purpose of this chapter has been to examine the various ways urban researchers have attempted to measure intra-metropolitan differentiation and to apply some of these techniques to the cities within the Oklahoma City SMSA. It became obvious that decisions regarding indicators of homogeneity or heterogeneity are not easily made. However, a common approach has been to rely heavily upon census data to reveal basic socio-economic differences. In this respect, the urban typology formulated by Shevky and Bell--social area analysis--has been the most widely accepted analytic device for grouping data to gauge basic differences in urban subareas. More specifically, for purposes of political analysis, it has been found that one particular dimension of the social area construct, social rank, has important correlations with urban political behavior. Williams and associates studying metropolitan Philadelphia

concluded, primarily by use of ecological correlations, that varying value commitments were being expressed by urban subpopulations through differing municipal policies. These decisions seen primarily through land use, revenue and expenditure policies seemed to vary in relation to community social rank. Thus, one of the principal findings to emerge from this pioneering study is that social homogeneity (manifested through social rank) gives rise to variations in life styles which the dominant members of a community seek to protect through local government policies. Another way of viewing this phenomenon is that different kinds of communities tend to produce a different pattern of public responses as the community seeks to adapt itself to environmental pressures. In his study of the New York metropolitan area, Robert Wood concluded that "environmental circumstances combined with an established revenue system make particular strategies and particular controversies almost certain."¹

One of the basic premises of this study, following the research lead of Williams, is that life-style differences, particularly those associated with status, are spatially ordered in metropolitan areas and a decentralized (suburbanized) political system appears to be more conducive to preserving these geographically separated social worlds than a centralized political arrangement.² To the extent that substantially differing social areas within a metropolis have become legally protected by separate

¹Wood, 1400 Governments, p. 70.

²For a fuller explanation of this thesis see Williams, "Life Style Values and Political Decentralization."

municipal incorporation, the more unlikely it is that these specialized suburbs will consent to amalgamate with other areas which are considerably different. The Philadelphia study found that "Suburbia, far from being a uniform social landscape, is really distinguished by its highly variegated character. Suburbs furnish examples of extreme specialization."¹ The authors conclude that local control does indeed have meaning for the suburb and the resulting divergent interests and politics operate in such a fashion as to inhibit governmental consolidation.

The data presented for the Oklahoma City SMSA reveals certain important differences among suburban communities. Some indicators, however, do not reflect great variation. For example, in the case of what has often been the most meaningful measure of social differences, social rank, heterogeneity is rather decided. But, on the other two dimensions of the Shevky-Bell construct--familism and ethnicity--variation is not so pronounced. Racial distinctions, especially, among the suburbs are almost nonexistent as none contains more than a very small percentage of non-whites. In terms of governmental form, it was observed that surprising similarities exist as nine of the ten cities have almost identical features. Thus, certain important distinctions do appear to exist between Oklahoma City suburban communities along with several perhaps less significant similarities. Subsequent chapters will explore whether these differences (or similarities) are measurably related to divergent political behavior which, thereby, may contribute to feelings of uniqueness and separateness.

¹Williams, Suburban Differences, p. 72.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AND COMMUNITY

VOTING BEHAVIOR

This chapter represents an effort to apply social area analysis to the voting behavior of the communities of over 2,500 population (1960 census) in the Oklahoma City metropolitan area. The purpose is to determine the degree to which certain community social characteristics are related to variations among cities in terms of the two-party vote over the past ten years and the vote for a series of selected referenda issues. The value of this exercise lies not only in what may be revealed in a substantive manner regarding the patterns of voting among municipalities in the area but also as a means of testing the utility of the social area analytical framework in furthering our understanding of another important dimension of metropolitan political behavior.¹

In previous discussion it was emphasized that specialization within

¹Kaufman and Greer, "Voting in a Metropolitan Community" were the first to apply social area analysis to a study of metropolitan voting behavior and concluded "that all three dimensions of the Shevky-Bell Typology (social rank, segregation, and urbanization), are useful in explaining the differentiation in voting to be found among metropolitan census tract populations." p. 198. Another recent application of social area analysis to voting behavior can be found in Eugene S. Uyeki, "Patterns of Voting in a Metropolitan Area, 1938-1962," Urban Affairs Quarterly, I (June, 1966), 65-77.

metropolitan areas produces differing values, which when institutionalized in separately incorporated places, give rise to differences in political behavior. Obviously a vital element of political activity, whether at the individual level or among larger political units, is voting behavior. One of the pioneers in political analysis, Stuart Rice, commented many years ago on the value of voting studies in these words, "votes are useful indexes of political attitudes...because they are the most tangible and measurable units of political behavior."¹ More recently, several students of urban politics have recognized that differences in partisan voting patterns among parts of the metropolis may have implications for the functioning of the metropolitan political system. Banfield and Wilson in City Politics cite as one of the major urban cleavages the fact that (large) central cities are almost all heavily Democratic while the suburbs tend to be Republican.²

¹Stuart Rice, Quantitative Methods in Politics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1928), reprinted in Paul Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, The Language of Social Research (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), pp. 35-36.

²Edward C. Banfield and James O. Wilson, City Politics (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), p. 44. There now appears to be some doubt as to whether suburban residence can automatically be equated with Republicanism. Fred I. Greenstein and Raymond E. Wolfinger, "The Suburbs and Shifting Party Loyalties," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII (Winter, 1958-59), 473-82, found that population movement within metropolitan areas indicates Republican suburbs tend to attract Republicans and Democratic areas, Democrats. Jerome G. Manis and Leo C. Stine, "Suburban Residence and Political Behavior," *ibid.*, pp. 483-89, claim that data from a 1956 study of a suburban district of Kalamazoo, Michigan, show no indication that moving to the suburbs changes Democrats to Republicans. Bernard Lazerwitz, "Suburban Voting Trends: 1948 to 1956," Social Forces, XXXIX (October, 1960), 29-36, using data from the Survey Research Center on the 1952 and 1956 national elections actually concluded that "there has been a slow but steady growth in suburban Democratic Party Strength,"

Edward Banfield in an earlier article even suggested that "for many years to come it will be difficult or impossible to integrate local governments where the two-party system operates" because of this partisan dichotomy between central city and suburbia.¹ One may not wish to push the potential impact of two-party politics in metropolitan areas as far as Banfield has. Nevertheless, variations in community voting patterns do represent another form of political difference between subareas in large urban complexes. These disparities alone, where they exist, may not prevent greater metropolitan political integration. However, it does seem clear that dissimilarities in voting patterns represent, as Rice puts it, tangible evidence of attitudinal differences between communities, which if taken along with other manifestations of attitudinal variations, may contribute to maintaining political separateness in the metropolis.

At this point it becomes essential to clearly establish that this research does not purport to be an analysis of individual voting behavior. The focus is strictly at the community level. To this extent, the approach used here is similar to the earlier studies of aggregate voting behavior (by areal units, i. e., counties, Congressional districts, etc.) which

and found no evidence that moving to the suburbs from the central city causes a shift from the Democratic Party to the Republican. On the other hand, David Wallace in "Suburbia--Predestined Republicanism?" in Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior: Essays and Studies ed. by Edward C. Dreyer and Walter A. Rosenbaum (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1966), concluded that the "sources of suburban growth have been more Republican than Democratic." p. 110.

¹Banfield, "The Politics of Metropolitan Area Organizations," p. 85.

dominated voting research prior to the seminal work of Paul Lazarsfeld and associates in their book The People's Choice.¹ Since this study of the 1940 Presidential election, which was the first to introduce survey research to voting, most voting behavior research has focused on the processes by which individual voters arrive at their voting decisions.² There is general agreement that aggregate data studies are inferior to the survey approach in explaining the electoral preferences of individual voters. Nevertheless, for certain purposes, as in this analysis, the use of aggregate voting is required since the unit under study is the municipality not the individual. Thus, no inferences concerning individual voting behavior should be drawn from the ecological correlations to be utilized in this examination of political differences among urban subareas.³

¹Second ed., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948). Recent discussions of trends in voting behavior research can be found in Austin Ranney, "The Utility and Limitations of Aggregate Data in the Study of Electoral Behavior," in Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics, ed. by Austin Ranney (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), pp. 91-102; Peter H. Rossi, "Trends in Voting Behavior Research: 1933-1963," in Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior, pp. 67-78; and Alvin Boskoff and Harmon Zeigler, Voting Patterns in a Local Election (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964), pp. 1-29.

²The pioneering work in using the individual as a focal point in theory and in research design has taken place at the University of Michigan Survey Research Center. The most famous study of this type is Angus Campbell, et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960).

³Three studies which have considered local voting behavior from an ecological perspective are Heinz Eulau, "The Ecological Basis of Party Systems: The Case of Ohio," Midwest Journal of Political Science, I (August, 1957), 125-35; and Phillips Gutright, "Urbanization and Competitive Party Politics," Journal of Politics, XXV (August, 1963), 552-64. Frederick M. Wirt, "The Political Sociology of American Suburbia: A

The general hypothesis which this analysis seeks to explore is that social differences among communities in the Oklahoma City metropolitan area will be associated with corresponding variations in community voting behavior. In particular, it is expected that community social rank will be positively correlated with Republican vote in two-party elections.¹ It is also anticipated that areas of high social status will tend to be more favorable toward referenda issues requiring expenditure of tax money for public purposes. In other words, community social

Reinterpretation, " American Journal of Sociology, XXVII (August, 1965), 647-66. Some political scientists, particularly the late V. O. Key, Jr., have objected to the tendency on the part of some students of voting behavior to leave politics out of their studies under the implicit assumption that "social characteristics determine political preference." See V. O. Key, Jr. and Frank Munger, "Social Determinism and Electoral Decision: The Case of Indiana," in American Voting Behavior, ed. by Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1959), pp. 281-99. For a summary discussion of ecological fallacies, see supra, pp. 72-74.

¹ A wealth of social science research has explored the relationship between social class, defined in various ways, and partisan voting patterns. For example, see Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1963), pp. 303-331, wherein he considers "Classes and Parties in American Politics." Also, William H. Flanigan, Political Behavior of the American Electorate (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc. 1968), discusses the major findings of the Survey Research Center on the social characteristics of partisanship. pp. 45-68. V. O. Key, Jr. with assistance of Milton Cummings, Jr. in The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting: 1936-1960 (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), discusses how the New Deal tended to accentuate class differences between the two parties beginning in the 1930's and through 1948. Robert R. Alford, "The Role of Social Class in American Voting Behavior," Western Political Quarterly, XVI (March, 1963), 180-94, argues that there has been no decline in recent years of class-voting in this country.

rank should be positively correlated with the YES vote on referenda matters.¹

Data and Techniques

The method selected to describe the relationships among election outcomes and various community social characteristics is that of simple, partial and multiple correlation analysis.² Simple linear correlation coefficients measure the closeness of the association between two variables, while partial coefficients describe the strength of a relationship under "controlled" conditions. Partial correlations are useful because simple correlations do not account for the effect of intervening variables which may be creating spurious relationships. The use of partial correlation analysis controls for the effect of intervening variables and enables one to distinguish between explanatory relationships and spurious associations.³

In order to reveal the multiplicity of relationships which exist between the series of independent and dependent variables, three tables are presented providing correlation matrices. The first (Table 11) depicts the relationship occurring between the six dependent variables, in this

¹This hypothesis is consistent with previous research particularly that of Banfield and Wilson. See James Q. Wilson and Edward C. Banfield, "Public Regardness as a Value Premise in Voting Behavior," American Political Science Review LVIII (December, 1964), 876-87; "Voting Behavior on Municipal Public Expenditures: A Study in Rationality and Self-Interest," in The Public Economy of Urban Communities, ed. by Julius Margolis (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press for Resources for the Future, Inc., 1965), pp. 74-91.

²See Blalock, Social Statistics, ch. 17-19.

³One of the most extensive uses of correlational techniques can be found in Thomas R. Dyes Politics, Economics, and the Public: Policy Outcomes in the American States (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1966).

case the outcome of several elections or series of elections. The results of the particular elections are set forth as follows:

- (1) per cent Republican vote--for the mean of 1956, 1960, 1964, 1968 Presidential elections;
- (2) per cent Republican vote--for mean of 1954, 1958, 1962, 1966 Gubernatorial elections;
- (3) per cent YES vote--for the mean of a series of five state-wide capital improvement bond issue elections (1960-1965);¹
- (4) per cent YES vote--state-wide election to increase state sales tax by \$.01 (1965);
- (5) per cent YES vote--state-wide referendum vote on the "right-to-work" issue (1964);
- (6) per cent YES vote--state-wide referendum vote to repeal state prohibition on the sale of alcoholic beverages (1959).

All of the elections took place within a few years of the census date and were chosen for the primary purpose of determining differences in electoral

¹The exact capital improvement issues were as follows: (1) State Question No. 433 (1965)--Capital improvements for departments of state government; (2) State Question No. 427 (1965)--Constructing and improving state highways; (3) State Question No. 426 (1965)--Capital improvements for departments of state government; (4) State Question No. 411 (1963)--Capital improvements for Oklahoma University Medical School; (6) State Question No. 393 (1960)--Capital improvements for state institutions of higher education. These issues were selected for what appeared to be their essential similarity which cannot be precisely determined without a factor analysis. However, individual simple correlations were computed between the YES vote for each election and the variable community social rank which provided a range of coefficients from .61 to .82 which would seem to indicate that along one dimension, at least, these elections appear to be perceived in a similar way.

behavior between the ten communities which may be related to community social characteristics.

TABLE 11

SIMPLE CORRELATION MATRIX - DEPENDENT VARIABLES^a

	%R - Pres. Elec.	%R - Gub. Elec.	%YES - Cap. Improv.	%YES - Sales Tax	%YES - Right- Work	%Yes - Repeal
%R--Pres. Elections	1.00					
%R--Gub. Elections	.97	1.00				
%YES--Cap. Improv.	.53	.45	1.00			
%YES--St. Sales Tax	.28	.15	.86	1.00		
%YES--Right-to-Work	.91	.83	.76	.51	1.00	
%YES--Repeal Proh.	.25	.17	.45	.29	.52	1.00

^apresented as simple linear correlation coefficients

Table 12 shows the relationships which exist between the six independent variables, namely community social rank (made up of equally weighted educational and occupational components), median family income, median value--owner-occupied dwelling units, educational level (per cent of population twenty-five and over with one or more years of college), and occupational level (per cent employed males in professional, managerial and sales categories), and familism (measuring a family-centered life style). It is quite obvious that all the independent variables with the exception of familism are highly intercorrelated, a point which will be dealt with further when partial and multiple relationships are discussed.

TABLE 12

SIMPLE CORRELATION MATRIX - INDEPENDENT VARIABLES^a

	Comm. Social Rank	Med. Family Income	Med. Value D. U.	Educa- tion	Occu- pation	Fami- lism
Community Social Rank	1.00					
Med.Family Income	.92	1.00				
Med. Value O. O. D. U.	.90	.92	1.00			
Educational Level	.99	.89	.88	1.00		
Occupational Level	.99	.92	.91	.98	1.00	
Familism	.12	.30	.20	.07	.15	1.00

^apresented as simple linear correlation coefficients

As the most parsimonious way of presenting the essential findings of this portion of the study an additional correlation matrix is presented in Table 13. This matrix shows the simple linear correlation between the various independent variables (community social characteristics) and the various dependent variables (election outcomes). Constant reference will be made to this particular table as the various elections are analyzed throughout the rest of this chapter.

Vote for President

The first series of elections to be analyzed in greater detail through the process of comparing community voting behavior with certain community

TABLE 13

COMMUNITY SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS CORRELATED
WITH ELECTION OUTCOMES^a

	%R - Pres. Elec.	%R - Gub. Elec.	%YES - Cap. Improv.	%YES - Sales Tax	%YES - Right- Work	%YES Repeal
Community Social Rank ^b	.78	.70	.81	.56	.95	.71
Med. Family Income	.71	.62	.66	.43	.84	.72
Med. Value O. O. D. U.	.71	.59	.60	.48	.84	.67
Education Level	.81	.73	.83	.59	.97	.66
Occupation Level	.77	.71	.76	.49	.93	.72
Familism	.19	.20	-.40	-.61	.11	.40

^apresented as simple linear correlation coefficients

^bAs one way of checking the validity of the Pearson product-moment correlations used in the study, a rank-order correlation coefficient (Spearman rho) was computed for community social rank and each election outcome with the following coefficients: .77, .69, .93, .73, .95, and .41.

social characteristics will be the Presidential balloting for the years 1956, 1960, 1964, and 1968. Table 14 indicates the ordering of the ten suburban communities for these elections in terms of the percentage of the vote cast for the Republican candidate.

When the mean of the per cent Republican vote for the four Presidential elections is correlated with the various social characteristics (see Table 13), the most striking thing is the consistently high coefficients which result (with the exception of familism). The coefficients range

TABLE 14

PER CENT REPUBLICAN VOTE FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS,
1956, 1960, 1964, 1968, BY SUBURBAN COMMUNITY^a

Community	Election by % Republican Vote				Mean (4)
	1956	1960	1964	1968	
Nichols Hills	84.0	79.5	75.5	74.6	78.4
The Village	71.9	71.5	63.8	64.8	67.5
Bethany	69.9	77.5	60.5	61.6	65.8
Warr Acres	68.8	69.1	59.2	62.4	64.3
Edmond	67.3	79.2	54.4	59.1	61.2
Yukon	66.4	66.8	55.0	57.4	59.8
Norman	58.1	59.4	46.4	51.2	53.1
El Reno	56.7	53.8	39.8	41.9	47.3
Midwest City	51.7	56.4	42.1	41.0	46.7
Del City	<u>46.7</u>	<u>55.5</u>	<u>40.6</u>	<u>40.2</u>	<u>44.0</u>
	61.6	63.3	50.1	51.6	54.8

^aThese percentages were computed from data furnished by the State Election Board.

from .71 (both median family income and median value owner-occupied dwellings) to .81 (for community educational level).¹ If one wishes to assess the effects of the social variables taken together, a multiple correlation (R) reveals that community social rank, median family income,

¹The rank-order correlation coefficient (Spearman rho) between community social rank and the mean of the four elections is .77.

median value owner-occupied dwelling units and familism (education and occupation are eliminated because social rank includes both) produce a multiple coefficient of .79.¹ Put in terms of how much variation in Republican vote that, taken together, these variables "explain" or account for, the coefficient of determination (R^2) is .62 which is a rather high proportion.

As indicated previously, the use of partial correlation analysis permits the researcher to examine the effects of a particular independent variable while holding out or holding constant other variables. In the case of the Republican vote for President, with the exception of familism which remains largely unchanged by the partial analysis, only two variables endure without great loss of power when others are held constant.² With the other four variables controlled, the simple correlation between community educational level and per cent Republican vote for the mean of the four Presidential elections is lowered from .81 to a partial coefficient of .54. In an equation which excludes education and occupation, the simple coefficient for community social rank and per cent Republican vote also drops from .78 to a partial coefficient of .45 when the disturbing

¹Blalock, Social Statistics, p. 348, indicates that where the independent variables are highly intercorrelated the multiple R will ordinarily not be much larger than the largest simple correlation with the dependent variable.

²In undertaking this partial analysis, two separate regression equations were used. In the first equation community social rank was not included so as to pick up the effects of education and occupation operating separately. In the second equation community social rank was included while education and occupation were eliminated in order to assess the influence of the social rank index alone.

effects of other variables are held out. Further partial analysis, however, reveals that it is actually the education component which causes the social rank index variable to remain relatively strong. Thus, education appears to be having the greatest single influence in producing the high correlations between the entire set of social variables and Republican vote for President.

The Gubernatorial Elections

Table 15 reveals the percentage of Republican vote cast by each of the ten suburbs for the gubernatorial elections of 1954, 1958, 1962, and 1966, along with the mean Republican vote for all four.

A re-examination of the correlation matrix presented in Table 13 indicates that, just as with the Presidential elections, there is a consistently high simple correlation between each independent variable (except familism) and the per cent Republican vote for Governor.¹ The highest simple correlation for the mean of the elections is found with educational level (.73), with occupation (.71) and community social rank (.70) close seconds. The multiple effect of the four separate independent variables (social rank, median family income, median value owner-occupied dwelling units, and familism) is to produce an $\underline{R}$ of .72. This means that a .52 proportion of the variation in per cent Republican vote in gubernatorial

¹The rank-order correlations (Spearman rho) for each of the gubernatorial elections between community social rank and per cent Republican vote remains high (the coefficient for the mean is .77) with the exception of the year 1958 which is only .21. This particular election featured a young, attractive reform Democratic candidate who carried the state by a landslide severely cutting into the traditional Republican vote even among the higher status suburbs.

TABLE 15

PER CENT REPUBLICAN VOTE FOR GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS,
1954, 1958, 1962, 1966, BY SUBURBAN COMMUNITY^a

Community	Election by % Republican Vote				Mean (4)
	1954	1958	1962	1966	
Nichols Hills	73.8	40.4	74.4	82.1	70.3
The Village	61.6	29.6	72.4	75.8	65.0
Warr Acres	52.8	23.2	71.4	74.1	62.4
Bethany	42.5	19.3	69.5	73.2	62.0
Edmond	46.1	27.7	66.5	67.4	58.1
Yukon	48.8	59.4	71.1	65.7	57.4
Norman	41.5	18.3	52.0	64.5	48.5
El Reno	48.2	19.4	52.7	53.5	45.0
Del City	33.1	14.5	40.9	54.6	42.8
Midwest City	34.4	26.6	28.8	50.6	36.8
	46.7	23.7	53.6	63.5	51.3

^aThese percentages were computed from data furnished by the State Election Board.

elections among the ten cities is explained by the operation of these four social characteristics.

Partial correlation analysis undertaken for the gubernatorial elections produces results quite similar to those obtained for the Presidential elections. When adjustments or controls are applied for the intervening variables, the educational level coefficient still consistently possesses a

magnitude greater than any of the other partial variables although the simple coefficient for education does decline from .73 to a partial coefficient of .33. In the second regression equation, community social rank sustains its strength relatively well even though the simple coefficient of .70 drops to a partial of .46. Again, further comparisons seem to indicate that of all the variables, a community's level of education seems to possess the greatest explanatory power in this series of relationships between certain social characteristics and per cent Republican vote for governor among the ten suburbs.

Capital Improvement Issues

The per cent YES vote for the five state-wide capital improvement bond issues and their mean is reflected in Table 16.

The high positive correlations between the mean of the capital improvement issues and each of the social variables (familism excepted) is again most noticeable upon examination of the correlation matrix in Table 13.¹ The strongest simple coefficients are represented by educational level (.83) and community social rank (.81). Familism evidences a negative correlation with the YES vote (-.40) which, nevertheless, seems to have little effect on the power of all the variables taken together (using social rank and eliminating education and occupation) to account for an exceptionally large proportion of the per cent YES vote ($\underline{R} = .98$; $\underline{R}^2 = .96$).

¹The rank-order correlation (Spearman rho) between community social rank and each election was .66, .61, .78, .82, and .74 (.93 for the mean).

TABLE 16

PER CENT YES VOTE FOR CERTAIN STATE-WIDE CAPITAL
IMPROVEMENT ISSUES BY SUBURB^a

Community	Per Cent YES by Issue					Mean Five Elec.
	S. Q. ^b	S. Q.	S. Q.	S. Q.	S. Q.	
	393 (1960)	411 (1963)	426 (1965)	427 (1965)	433 (1965)	
Nichols Hills	71.7	88.9	73.3	74.5	95.4	78.3
The Village	72.6	90.4	68.1	69.1	92.8	74.2
Norman	68.6	85.8	71.3	70.2	90.2	74.2
Edmond	73.5	77.9	66.7	65.2	87.8	70.8
Warr Acres	68.7	91.1	55.8	55.7	88.5	64.4
Midwest City	62.5	84.2	55.7	56.8	80.6	62.1
Bethany	67.1	87.3	53.4	55.7	83.7	61.2
Del City	63.4	84.8	50.1	52.7	80.3	58.4
El Reno	55.8	71.0	45.5	50.3	74.3	54.5
Yukon	<u>53.5</u>	<u>72.8</u>	<u>38.2</u>	<u>42.4</u>	<u>61.3</u>	<u>47.6</u>
	65.7	83.4	59.4	60.5	85.5	65.8

^aThese percentages were computed from data furnished by the State Election Board

^bS. Q. = State Question

Partial coefficients for the mean of these five elections and community social characteristics look very much like those which were produced when the partisan elections were analyzed in this fashion. The coefficient for educational level again fails to disappear under controlled

conditions although it weakens (to .72) when the effects of other variables are excluded. In an equation excluding education and occupation, the partial coefficient for social rank comes out as a strong .88 when the disturbing consequences of median family income, median value dwelling units, and familism are controlled.

State Sales Tax Issue

The results of the 1965 vote to increase the state sales tax by \$.01 is presented in Table 17 by the per cent YES vote for each of the ten suburbs.

A return to Table 13 indicates that for some reason the simple correlations between the six independent variables and this particular election are consistently lower than for any election under study. The strongest coefficient is actually a negative one (-.61) between familism and per cent YES. Nevertheless, when four independent variables (omitting education and occupation) are combined in a multivariate analysis an $\underline{R}$ of .89 results ($\underline{R}^2 = .80$).

When partial correlation techniques are applied the most interesting result is the increase which occurs for the familism coefficients when the other variables are held constant. For example, the coefficient for familism goes from a simple -.61 to a -.84 under conditions controlling for social rank, median family income, and median value of dwelling units. On the other hand, when the disturbing effects of familism alone are blotted out, the partial coefficients for all other independent variables go up. In

TABLE 17

PER CENT YES FOR 1965 STATE SALES TAX INCREASE
ISSUE BY SUBURB^a

Community	Per Cent YES
Nichols Hills	63.1%
Norman	61.4
Edmond	61.3
Midwest City	53.0
Warr Acres	46.6
The Village	46.1
Del City	43.5
Bethany	43.3
El Reno	37.6
Yukon	32.6
	<u>43.4</u>

^aThese percentages were computed from data furnished by the State Election Board.

this instance, the simple coefficient for community social rank increases from .56 to a partial of .81 when only familism is held out. However, when the force of median family income and median value dwelling unit are also withheld, the partial coefficient for social rank drops to .24 which is the lowest partial for that variable in relation to any of the elections under examination.

"Right-to-Work" Issue

The outcome of the state-wide balloting which occurred in 1964 over a constitutional amendment to make Oklahoma a "right-to-work" state is shown in Table 18 by suburban community.

A review of the matrix in Table 13 points out that of all the elections, "right-to-work" proves to be the most directly related to the various community social characteristics (except familism) used in this analysis. Educational level is associated at .97 (simple correlation) with a YES vote while community social rank is related to the YES column at a level of .95.¹ The multiple $\underline{R}$ (excluding education and occupation separately) for this election is .96 ($\underline{R}^2 = .92$), again an exceptionally high figure.

The strength of the community social rank variable remains largely undiluted when other variables are controlled, dropping from a .95 simple coefficient to a .81 partial coefficient. Education likewise holds its constancy well under partial correlation analysis. It falls off to a partial figure of .85 from a simple correlation of .97 when the effects of occupation, median family income, median value-dwelling units and familism are adjusted. An examination of the correlation matrix produced when only one variable at a time is controlled reveals that the presence of the education factor is the prime reason community social rank sustains such a high correlation with the YES vote on "right-to-work."

¹Rank-order correlation (Spearman rho) between community social rank and YES vote is .95.

TABLE 18

PER CENT YES FOR "RIGHT-TO-WORK" AMENDMENT^a
BY SUBURB

Community	Per Cent YES
Nichols Hills	88.6%
The Village	73.7
Warr Acres	58.8
Norman	58.2
Bethany	57.4
Edmond	54.0
Yukon	48.8
Midwest City	44.7
El Reno	38.7
Del City	<u>34.2</u>
	52.5

^aElection data for computation of percentages furnished by the State Election Board.

Repeal of Prohibition

In April of 1959 the State of Oklahoma finally voted to repeal the prohibition against the sale of alcoholic beverage which had been imposed by the State Constitution since statehood (1907). The results of this election by per cent YES vote for each suburb are depicted in Table 19.

It was not necessarily anticipated that the repeal vote would be

TABLE 19

PER CENT YES FOR REPEAL OF STATE PROHIBITION
BY SUBURB^a

Community	Per Cent YES
Nichols Hills	85.5%
The Village	78.5
Midwest City	65.2
El Reno	63.9
Warr Acres	62.7
Norman	62.3
Del City	58.1
Yukon	57.8
Edmond	50.2
Bethany	31.2
	<u>52.5</u>

^aThese percentages were computed from data furnished by the State Election Board.

closely related to the usual community social characteristics so often associated with partisan and certain bond issue elections. This kind of election is not ordinarily considered as representing a "good government" question and probably comes closest to the so-called moral issue elections sometimes presented in the form of legalizing horse-racing, certain forms of gambling, etc. At least in Oklahoma the balloting was perceived

by the opponents of repeal, many of which were church or church-related groups, as essentially a matter of good versus evil. The voting behavior literature is virtually devoid of studies focusing on issues of this type. In this study, the election was included primarily for exploratory purposes.

Somewhat surprisingly when the YES vote on repeal was compared on the basis of the community social attributes rather high simple correlations were revealed. The two strongest simple relationships were between occupation (.72) and median family income (.72), with community social rank at .71.¹ A multivariate analysis using the social rank equation (four variables) produces an $\underline{R}$ of .78 with a coefficient of determination of .61 ($\underline{R}^2$).

In a partial correlation analysis, community social rank falls to a partial coefficient of .35 from a simple figure of .71 when the three intervening variables are held out. Even more interestingly, this is the only election where familism turns out to possess a higher partial magnitude than any other variable under controlled conditions. In the equation containing social rank it goes from a simple coefficient of .40 to a partial of .41. Moreover, the repeal election stands as the only one in which the education variable loses its impact under partial analysis. In this case, when occupation, median family income, median value dwelling units and familism are controlled, the simple coefficient for education drops from .66 to a partial -.19.

¹The rank-order coefficient (Spearman rho) for social rank and repeal was one of the lowest produced, .41.

Summary

The findings of this chapter demonstrate rather conclusively that a consistent pattern of voting behavior exists for both partisan and certain nonpartisan issue elections among the ten suburban communities in the Oklahoma City SMSA, a pattern which is rather uniformly associated with a set of community social characteristics. The election outcomes for the ten cities are not only highly constant but also reveal persistently wide variances between certain cities. For instance, the differences between the high and low city on per cent mean Republican vote for four Presidential elections was 34.4 per cent. Similar variations can be noted for the other elections as well, with the widest spread found between the high and low city on "right-to-work" and repeal of prohibition (55 per cent). In short, the hypotheses set forth at the outset in this portion of the study seem to be substantially confirmed.

Detailed exploration using both multiple and partial correlation analysis divulged that community social rank, median family income, median value owner-occupied dwelling units and familism taken together could explain a high proportion of the variation in each of the elections studied. Additional manipulations showed that of these four variables, social status as measured by the social rank index, was most likely to retain its potency when the effects of the other variables were controlled through partialing techniques. Familism, in this combination, was revealed to have little relationship to election outcome except for the vote for capital improvement issues and state sales tax where a rather strong

negative association was found under controlled conditions.

Using a regression analysis in which the effects of education and occupation were assessed separately and from which community social rank was eliminated, education was shown to consistently be the most closely related to election outcome (particularly the balloting for right-to-work and capital improvements) when adjustments were made for the effects of the other variables. In a combined regression equation including all six social variables, when education by itself was held constant, community social rank went from a simple positive to a negative partial coefficient for every election but repeal of prohibition. This would seem to rather undeniably indicate that the educational component of the social rank index is that which is providing the strength in the relationship with all the elections except repeal.

The implications of the foregoing findings for metropolitan political integration may not be immediately apparent. As indicated earlier, however, at least one political observer, Edward Banfield, has argued that governmental unity within the metropolis will be more difficult to achieve where wide discrepancies in partisan voting behavior exist between central city and suburbs. Banfield's assumption is based not so much on the differences in voting behavior alone but rather on the idea that a gap between core and ring along this dimension is actually a reflection of more deep-seated incompatibilities resulting from contrasting social class composition, economic activity, and particularly racial differences. This kind of split in voting behavior between central city and

suburbs was not under direct investigation in this study. Nevertheless, it does seem obvious that consistent and durable electoral dissimilarities among suburban political units within the same metropolitan area represents one sort of variation in political outlook which, coupled with other manifestations of attitudinal differences, might have some import for the prospects of greater political unification.

Previously in this study it was suggested that spatial differentiation accompanied by the development of largely homogeneous sub-units within the metropolis tends to produce variations in feelings and outlook on the part of suburbanites. Even though all metropolitan cities must react to the impingement of similar urbanizing forces, each suburb, by virtue of its special characteristics, will likely exhibit differing modes of response to these forces as, for example, in the case of electoral decisions. Later portions of this study will reveal that other situations and pressures existing throughout greater Oklahoma City are, in fact, responded to in largely distinctive ways by the various suburbs in the area. When these several manifestations of differentiation are considered together, along with others which this study does not examine (e. g. , policy outputs), it should not be difficult to understand why the barriers to greater metropolitan integration have been and will continue to be formidable.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND RECRUITMENT OF SUBURBAN POLITICAL LEADERS

The purpose of the research reported in this chapter is to ascertain the extent to which variations in community socio-economic characteristics may be correlated with differences in social characteristics of the persons who find their way into positions of elected local leadership among the suburbs in the Oklahoma City area. In addition, the chapter will be concerned with the recruitment of persons to local office in these same communities in an effort to learn if differences in this process appear to be related to urban stratification. Differences in the attitudinal characteristics of both those in formal leadership positions and their constituents will be discussed in following chapters.

The basis for the central hypothesis rests upon a proposition which has wide acceptance among social scientists who have studied the nature of leadership: leadership is not a fixed set of traits possessed by all leaders everywhere; instead, it is a process of mutual interaction in which the characteristics relevant for leadership vary with the

situation.¹ Since variations between communities on the basis of socioeconomic factors represent differences in the situational setting for local leadership, corresponding differences in social characteristics among those serving in positions of formal leadership should also be manifest.²

Concern over the nature and composition of official local leadership may seem inappropriate given the considerable interest among social scientists during the past fifteen years or so in discovering who or what small informal or unofficial group "really" determines community

¹ See the discussion on the nature of political leadership in James D. Barber, Political Leadership in American Government (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1964), pp. 3-11. One of the prominent earlier studies of political leadership is Harold D. Laswell, Daniel Lerner, and C. E. Rothwell, The Comparative Study of Elites (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1952). For excellent reviews of the vast literature on this subject in general and political leadership in particular, see Cecil A. Gibb, "Leadership," in A Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. II, ed. Gardner Lindzey (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1954), and Wendell Bell, Richard J. Hill, and Charles R. Wright, Public Leadership (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1961).

² The notion that persons holding public office are generally representative of the average citizenry is, of course, completely at odds with the evidence available from studies of national public officials. Donald R. Matthews in his pioneering Social Backgrounds of Political Decision-Makers (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1954), pp. 20-32, conclusively demonstrated that top level political figures in this country normally have upper-status occupations, better-than-average education; are predominantly Protestant, white, and native born. Other surveys of those persons holding positions as U. S. Senators, Supreme Court Justices and Governors reflect the same general finding. Donald R. Matthews, U. S. Senators and Their World (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960); J. R. Schmidhauser, "The Justices of the Supreme Court: A Collective Portrait," Midwest Journal of Political Science, III (February, 1959), 1-57; and Joseph A. Schlesinger, How They Become Governor (East Lansing: Governmental Research Bureau, Michigan State University, 1957).

decisions.¹ Valuable as these studies are, a good case can still be made for devoting attention to those who occupy official posts of authority within the community. For, after all, a city council still remains as the group which must take final action in the formulation of local public policy regardless of where the decisions may originate. Moreover, recent studies such as Robert Dahl's investigation of decision making in New Haven rather convincingly demonstrate that real political power oftentimes is, in fact, exercised by those elected to local office.²

Thus, it seems proper to assume that local elected officials would likely play a pivotal role in any movement which might develop to bring about major structural changes in the metropolitan political system. In the Oklahoma City area, however, city councils do not, at present, have the legal authority to give up their community's legal independence through annexation without a vote of the people.³ Moreover, there is no evidence whatsoever that councils in this area are any more anxious to part with their local autonomy than local governing bodies have been in other places. To the contrary, studies of metropolitan reorganization campaigns reveal that suburban public officials are often foremost among those who oppose

¹The most extensive recent bibliography of local power studies is Pellegrin, "Selected Bibliography on Community Power Structure," 451-65.

²Robert Dahl, Who Governs?; also see Robert Presthus, Men at the Top (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

³The Inter-Local Cooperation Act passed by the Oklahoma Legislature in 1965 (74 Oklahoma Statutes, 1965 Supplement, Sec. 1001) does authorize local governmental units to enter into cooperative agreements (without a vote of the people) with other localities for the purpose of providing services and facilities to their mutual advantage. This legislation permitted the creation of the first Council of Governments in an Oklahoma metropolitan area in 1966 (the Association of Central Oklahoma Governments).

basic changes in the governmental status quo.¹ It is also worth noting that in the American political tradition, at least, it is not uncommon for those in positions of formal leadership to be able to exercise considerable political authority without necessarily being called into direct account for it. The overwhelming weight of evidence from voting studies points to the fact that, especially in local matters a great number of people just do not know, or apparently care, what happens within the public domain.² The words of V. O. Key, Jr. seem particularly appropriate for the local political scene:

. . . As one puzzles over the nature of interactions between government and mass opinion. . . , he can arrive only at the conclusion that a wide range of discretion exists for whatever wisdom leadership echelons can muster in the public service. The generality of public preferences, the low level of political animosities of substantial sectors of the public, the tortuousness of the process of translation of disapproval of specific policies into electoral reprisal, and many other factors point to the existence of a wide latitude for the exercise of creative leadership.³

¹Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Factors Affecting Voter Reactions, p. 13.

²Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics? (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965), p. 21, reports that "About one-third of the American adult population can be characterized as politically apathetic or passive. . . . Another 60 per cent play largely spectator roles in the political process. . . ." Lane, Political Life: p. 318, indicates that data on electoral turnout and survey evidence confirms that "people are more interested in national than in local affairs. . . ."

³V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 555.

Thus, it seems obvious that suburban city councils, their composition, recruitment and attitudes, cannot be ignored in any quest for a more complete understanding of the conditions necessary to produce greater metropolitan political integration. In particular, the fundamental theme of this study--that areal stratification within the metropolis has crucial implications for political integration--requires a careful exploration of any differentiation which may exist within suburban governing bodies in order to determine if social differences between councils covary with community stratification. To the extent such co-variation characterizes this area it is postulated that closer metropolitan coordination and cooperation, at least in some important respects, is likely to be more difficult to achieve. The idea that differences among locally elected leaders may contribute negatively to governmental centralization is not new. Several years ago Henry Schmandt argued that as industrial decentralization progressed further, the proportion of locally employed suburban council members would increase and the differences in attitude and outlook between these leaders and those from the central city would crystallize still further. This development, according to Schmandt, would make even more remote the possibilities of reorganizing the institutional structure of metropolitan government.¹

Collection of Data and the Oklahoma City Location

In December of 1967 and January of 1968 the basic information for

¹Schmandt, "The City and the Ring," p. 19.

this portion of the dissertation was gathered by use of a questionnaire mailed to sixty-four mayors and council members of the ten suburban cities of over 2,500 population (1960) in the Oklahoma City SMSA. The three-page mail questionnaire closely resembles one developed for use in the greater Philadelphia area by Thomas R. Dye and is reproduced in Appendix D.¹ These elected officials were solicited on three separate occasions by mail in an effort to maximize the response. As indicated in Table 20 the overall rate of return was 78.1 per cent.²

¹Dye, "Certain Political Correlates." The questionnaire was accompanied by a letter bearing the Oklahoma City University, Institute of Metropolitan Studies letterhead asking for the anonymous assistance of the various officials for a research project being conducted by the University.

²Serious methodological objections are frequently raised in connection with the use of mailed surveys. Parten, Surveys, Polls, and Samples, pp. 383-402, specifies at least five factors which may influence the rate of return for such a survey including economic status, educational level, prestige of the sponsoring group, etc. Fred M. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964), p. 397, indicates that if mail questionnaires are used, every effort should be made to obtain returns of at least 80 to 90 per cent or more, and lacking such returns to learn something of the characteristics of the nonrespondents. (The author has no reason to think that those who did respond in this study were different in any significant way from the non-respondents). It is also generally agreed that mail questionnaires are not well suited for collecting great quantities of information from a given respondent nor for getting good answers when elaboration or qualification is necessary which generally come through interview probing. (It was thought that the questions in this instance were not of this complex nature). However, despite its obvious limitations for certain purposes, "the mailed questionnaire has been very useful in social research in the past and is likely to continue to be so in the future." William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952), p. 182. A short bibliography on ways of making more effective use of mail questionnaires is found in Stanley B. Bachrack and Harry M. Scoble, "Mail Questionnaire Efficiency: Controlled Reduction of Nonresponse," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXI (Summer, 1967), 265-71. The 78.1 per cent return achieved in this portion

TABLE 20

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF OKLAHOMA CITY AREA OFFICIALS
RESPONDING TO QUESTIONNAIRE, BY CITY

City	Number Possible	Number Received	Per Cent
Nichols Hills	3	3	100.0
Warr Acres	9	8	88.8
Norman	7	6	85.7
Midwest City	7	6	85.7
Del City	5	4	80.0
The Village	5	4	80.0
El Reno	9	7	77.8
Bethany	9	6	66.7
Edmond	5	3	60.0
Yukon	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>60.0</u>
TOTAL	64	50	78.1

The principal method for analyzing the data gathered from the questionnaire will be the community social rank grouping employing the Shevky-Bell Technique described in Chapter II. In accordance with the arrangement for the Oklahoma City area, Nichols Hills and The Village

of the study is not inconsistent with results obtained in other studies of local officials even where personal interviews were involved. Lewis Bowman and G. R. Boynton, "Recruitment Patterns Among Local Party Officials: A Model and Some Preliminary Findings in Selected Locales," American Political Science Review, LX (September, 1966), report a response rate of 80.2 per cent for one-half to hour interviews with local party officials in three Massachusetts communities and two in North Carolina, p. 668.

comprise the upper social rank group, Norman, Warr Acres, Edmond, Bethany, and Midwest City, the middle group and Yukon, Del City, and El Reno, the lower group.

Before proceeding with the analysis, several observations concerning certain facets of this metropolitan area would appear to be pertinent. First, as was noted earlier, the structural features of the suburban municipalities in this locale are surprisingly similar. With the exception of Warr Acres they all employ the council-manager form of government; all have nonpartisan elections; and only two (Bethany and Warr Acres) conduct council elections under a strictly ward system (most are either at-large elections or combinations of nomination by ward and election at large). There is some evidence from previous research that this preponderance of good government features contributes to the election of local office holders who are not altogether representative of the entire community. Eugene Lee in his study of nonpartisanship among California cities found that in general the absence of formal political organizations (primarily parties) resulted in an enhanced electoral role for local service and fraternal clubs. The result was a heavy "main street" influence in local politics.¹ Another study dealing with four cities using nonpartisan local ballots concluded that the ward system of election

¹Eugene C. Lee, The Politics of Nonpartisanship: A Study of California City Elections (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960).

appeared to increase the influence of lower socio-economic groups.¹ In light of these findings one might anticipate an overrepresentation of white collar groups among suburban office holders even in some of the lower social rank communities of greater Oklahoma City. This potentiality could be strengthened by the presence of certain other conditions existing in this metropolitan area. The lack of a diversified economic base among all ten suburbs has been mentioned previously (all are "dormitory" cities, indicating a relatively low level of self-contained economic activity). Moreover, the whole metropolitan area contains little manufacturing activity (around 12 per cent of the total labor force). All of this tends to produce, among other things, fewer blue collar workers (51.5 per cent for the SMSA, 1960), lack of strong, politically active local unions, and a consequent low level of political awareness and activism on the part of

¹ Williams and Adrian, Four Cities: p. 55. Phillips Cutright, "Nonpartisan Electoral Systems in American Cities," Comparative Studies in Society and History, V (January, 1963), 212-26, found non-partisanship to be correlated with low levels of manufacturing, low proportion of Catholic religion and less competition between parties state-wide. For additional research on the consequences of the non-partisan system of local elections, see Charles R. Adrian, "Some General Characteristics of Nonpartisan Elections," American Political Science Review, XLVI (September, 1952), 766-76; J. Lieper Freeman, "Local Party Systems: Theoretical Considerations and a Case Analysis," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (November, 1958), 282-89; Charles R. Adrian, "A Typology of Nonpartisan Elections," Western Political Quarterly, XII (June, 1959), 449-58; and Robert H. Salisbury and Gordon Black, "Class and Party in Partisan and Non-Partisan Elections," American Political Science Review, LVII (September, 1963), 584-92.

"the working man."¹ Thus, it would appear that there is very little in the present political climate of the Oklahoma City area which would lead one to expect a high level of political involvement by those of lower socio-economic status even in communities which are largely made up of non white-collar workers (the lowest percentage of white collar employees among suburban dwellers is 38.4 per cent in Yukon).

Background Characteristics of Elected Officials

The purpose of this portion of the analysis is to determine the

¹ The largest and most influential metropolitan newspaper has a staunch anti-union reputation, and the Congressman who has represented this Oklahoma City area for twenty years is not considered a friend of organized labor. The metropolitan area has voted Republican in four of the past five Presidential elections (1964 the only exception) which would seem to be another indication of the lack of political potency in this area of such groups as organized labor, ethnic minorities, Catholic and Jewish religious groups all of which are normally associated with the national Democratic party. These rough indicators point to a metropolitan political system in which economic class cleavage is largely absent, particularly in the suburbs, providing an ideal setting for business dominated politics. As a relatively new, growing, Southwest center for commercial and financial interests, the Oklahoma City metropolitan area shares certain similarities with Dallas, Texas. Carol E. Thometz, who studied the groups which were dominant in the life of that city, concluded that top business executives (especially from commercial and financial institutions) comprised the key leaders and top level decision-makers for Dallas. The Decision-Makers: The Power Structure of Dallas (Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), pp. 31-41. A Masters thesis devoted to determining the actual role of the business community in the political and social life of Oklahoma City found that, in fact, businessmen (and business groups) exercise the greatest influence of any group on Oklahoma City politics. Also, it was generally determined that labor leaders and Negro influentials were still not a major, organized or cohesive force in the Oklahoma City political arena. Ronald L. Stewart, "The Influence of the Business Community in Oklahoma City Politics" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1967), p. 37-38, 122-25.

degree to which Oklahoma City area suburban governmental officials are representative of their constituency in the sense of being typical. If leadership is dependent upon a continuing relationship between leaders and those who are led in a particular social context and variation in the socio-economic makeup of various communities in a metropolitan area represents variation in the situational setting of leadership, should not this variation be reflected in differing social backgrounds of political leaders in the communities concerned? This is the question this analysis purports to answer.

Occupation

It is generally accepted among social scientists that occupation is probably the single best indicator of social status in this country.¹ This being so, mayors and city council members in the ten suburban cities as a group indeed possess high occupational status. Of the total

¹Gerhard E. Lenski, Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), p. 346, indicates that "for most members of industrial societies the occupational class system... is the chief determinant of power, privilege and prestige." James A. Kahl and James A. Davis in "A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-Economic Status," American Sociological Review, XX (June, 1955), 317-25, found that occupation, defined several ways, had the highest loadings of any factor in their factor analysis of socio-economic indices. An index of social position was developed by August B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich in their Social Class and Mental Illness: A Community Study (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), pp. 390-394, based on three factors: residential area, an occupational scale, and education. It was found that occupation and residence together were almost as good a predictor as the three-factor index (.926 multiple correlation for the two, compared with .942 for all three factors).

number reporting, all but three indicated white collar occupations (94.0 per cent), and of these, 92.0 per cent were found within the professional, managerial, proprietary, and sales classification of the census as shown in Table 21.

TABLE 21

OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS FOR OFFICIALS
BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

Occupational Classification	Community Social Rank					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
White collar						
Professional	3	42.9	14	48.3	5	35.7
Managerial & proprietor	3	42.9	7	24.1	7	50.0
Sales	1	14.3	5	17.2	1	7.1
Clerical	0	--	1	3.4	0	--
Total white collar	7	100.0	27	93.1	13	93.0
Foreman and craftsman	0	--	1	3.4	1	7.1
Farm manager	0	--	1	3.4	0	--
TOTAL	7	100.0	29	99.9	14	100.1

Perhaps the most prominent finding when comparing the official's occupations on the basis of community social rank is the lack of significant variation among the three levels of communities. As expected, all officials from the upper social rank cities were found in white collar occupations. It was somewhat surprising, however, to find that officials from the middle and lower rank communities were over 90 per cent white collar with the white collar percentage for the middle group substantially

equal to that found for the lower rank group.

When occupations of municipal officials are contrasted with those of the citizens they represent, an even more unusual pattern emerges. It might be expected that if the proposition concerning the reciprocal nature of political leadership is valid at the local level, there would be a rather high degree of occupational correlation between officials and their constituents. Instead, Table 22 reveals the rather wide deviation which exists between officials and constituents particularly within the middle and lower social rank cities.

TABLE 22

OCCUPATIONAL COMPARISONS--CITIZENS AND
OFFICIALS BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK^a

	Community Social Rank					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Citizens	Officials	Citizens	Officials	Citizens	Officials
White collar (%)	80.3	100.0	52.3	93.1	43.2	93.0
Professional, managerial and sales (%)	73.0	100.0	36.5	89.7	27.3	93.0

^aData for citizens taken from 1960 Census; information for office-holders is for 1967. It is entirely possible that in some of the communities, percentage in white collar occupations has increased slightly since 1960.

The wide occupational discrepancy between officials and citizens, especially among the middle and lower social rank communities, runs contrary to the findings in some areas where a greater diversity in

economic base exists between suburbs. For instance, in the Philadelphia area where several industrial suburbs exist, not only were citizens and officials' occupations comparable, but, if anything, the social characteristics of the public officials accentuated social differences among communities.¹ Also in the St. Louis area it was confirmed that the local officials of thirty-seven suburbs were generally representative of their municipalities in terms of occupation, education and income.² It would appear, however, in the Oklahoma City area the pattern more closely approximates the one noted by Adrian and Press, who report that "in general, the smaller the city, the more likely it will be that council members are from among the top elite of the community."³ Banfield and Wilson, in their study City Politics, further suggest that businessmen are likely to be most influential in relatively homogeneous, middle-class communities (where the basis for class politics is absent) and in those cities where nonpartisan and at-large elections make it difficult for politicians to win votes with organizations of their own making.⁴ Obviously the ten suburban cities under study closely fit these two criteria.

¹Williams, et al., Suburban Differences, p. 226.

²Bryan T. Downes, "Suburban Differentiation and Municipal Policy Choices: A Comparative Analysis of Suburban Political Systems," (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Washington University, 1966).

³Charles R. Adrian and Charles Press, Governing Urban America, 3rd ed., (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1968), pp. 246-247.

⁴Banfield and Wilson, City Politics, p. 275.

"Main Street" dominance of local government is apparently not at all uncommon in many cities of the South and West. Robert Daland found in his 1956 study of a single Alabama city that 87 per cent of the elected local office-holders were either merchants, real estate and insurance men or lawyers.¹ A 1965 study of the occupations of city commissioners from fourteen Kansas municipalities revealed that all the fifty-four reporting officials were found in the professional, managerial and sales classifications of the census (or were retired).² Studies of the cities in Los Angeles County and six smaller communities in California reflect much the same pattern.³

One other point regarding occupations of Oklahoma City suburban office-holders is worth noting. Of the fifty reporting, only two officials were practicing lawyers (4.0 per cent). This situation is comparable to that found among officials from the Philadelphia area,⁴ and in the six California cities,⁵ but is certainly at odds with the nationwide picture for

¹Robert Daland, Dixie City: A Portrait of Political Leadership (University: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1956), p. 11.

²R. L. Stauber and Mary Kline, "Profile of City Commissioners in Kansas," Your Government (University of Kansas, Bulletin of the Governmental Research Center), Vol. XX (April 15, 1965).

³Lee, Politics of Nonpartisanship, p. 53, and Robert J. Huckshorn, "Spotlight on City Councilmen," BGR Observer (Los Angeles: Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, Nov., 1957), p. 3.

⁴Dye, "Certain Political Correlates of Differentiation," p. 104.

⁵Lee, Politics of Nonpartisanship, p. 53.

public office-holders at higher levels (state and national) where lawyers have frequently supplied a majority of official decision-makers.¹

Explanations for the deviant position of lawyers in local politics are in large part conjectural. However, it has been suggested that the professions of law and politics operate to the advantage of lawyers primarily when they are career politicians.² The obvious reason for this is that law, in our society, is the profession most compatible with a political career. But, a city council position is probably the most non-professional of all political jobs. In most instances, certainly in small council-manager cities, the position is definitely part-time and is not generally considered to be a good stepping stone to higher, partisan office.³ Perhaps as well, it might be that other occupational groups who cannot risk a career for a full-time campaign for office can compete on relatively equal terms with lawyers in the largely avocational arena of local politics.

Related to occupation is place of work. The principal place of employment for the fifty officials in the Oklahoma City area was fairly

¹For a consideration of the place of lawyers in politics, see Richard S. Wells, "The Legal Profession and Politics," Midwest Journal of Political Science, VIII (May, 1964), 166-90; and Heinz Eulau and John D. Sprague, Lawyers in Politics: A Study in Professional Convergence (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1964).

²Joseph A. Schlesinger, "Lawyers and American Politics: A Clarified View," Midwest Journal of Political Science, I (May, 1957), 26-39.

³See the discussion in Adrian, "Some General Characteristics of Nonpartisanship Elections," pp. 766-776.

evenly divided between the central city and the suburbs, as follows: twenty-five work in their city of residence; twenty-two in Oklahoma City; two in other suburbs; and one outside the Oklahoma City area.

As far as community social rank is concerned, all seven of the reporting officials from the upper rank group indicated their place of employment as Oklahoma City. This is primarily due to the extremely limited job opportunities available in these two overwhelmingly residential cities. As far as councilmen from the other cities were concerned, as might be expected, distance from central city appears to be the major factor determining job location. For instance, the largest percentage of office-holders working in their city of residence was found in Norman (100 per cent) and El Reno (86 per cent), two older cities located at a somewhat greater distance from Oklahoma City than the other suburbs (neither city was a part of the Oklahoma City SMSA until 1960).

Education

A second basic objective index of status in America is education.¹ The data presented thus far demonstrating the high occupational achievements of most council members in the Oklahoma City area should lead one to expect a rather high level of educational attainment as well. The information furnished by the officials and presented in Table 23 indeed

¹Lenski, Power and Privilege, p. 392, reports that "...educational status has become increasingly important as a resource in the struggle for power and privilege."

TABLE 23

EDUCATIONAL COMPARISONS--CITIZENS AND OFFICIALS
BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK^a

Education	Community Social Rank					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Citizens	Officials	Citizens	Officials	Citizens	Officials
One year or more of college (%)	56.7	100.0	29.0	75.8	16.4	78.6
College graduate (%)	31.5	85.7	14.0	44.8	6.4	50.0

^aData for citizens taken from 1960 Census; information for office-holders is for 1967. It is probable that educational levels have risen somewhat in all ten communities since 1960 since nationwide, percentage of high school graduates (age 18 or over) has increased from 41.1 in 1960 to 51.1 in 1967. Kenneth Simon and W. V. Grant, Digest of Educational Statistics: 1968 Education (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 9.

bears this out. It might be noted, however, that the educational level of the officials reflects a greater differentiation when compared on the basis of municipal social rank than did occupation. Although, even here, an unanticipated pattern emerges. As expected, all reporting officials from the higher social rank cities have one or more years of college. But, officials from the lower rank communities reported 78.6 per cent having one or more years of college as opposed to only 75.8 per cent for officials from middle rank communities.

Table 23, which contrasts the educational attainments of the officials with those of the citizenry they represent, clearly depicts the rather wide discrepancies between the two groups. The gap between office-holder and citizen is considerably greater among the middle and lower social rank communities, the same pattern which prevailed when occupations

of the two groups were compared.

For all fifty reporting officials, 80 per cent had at least one year of college; 52 per cent were college graduates; and 32 per cent had received a post-graduate degree of some kind.

As was the case with occupations, differences in educational attainment between officials and citizens in the Oklahoma City area do not represent a pattern deviant from that found in other communities in the South and West. The same general finding was reported for the study of Kansas local officials and for the elected officials of "Dixie City."¹ As before, however, the survey of Philadelphia suburbs indicated a much higher educational correlation between citizens and officials when the cities were compared by social rank.²

Income

Finally, in dealing with questions of social status, income needs to be considered. Since the three variables of occupation, education, and income are generally highly correlated, suburban officials in the Oklahoma City area would be expected to possess relatively high income. Such is the case as Table 24 shows. The annual median income reported by all office-holders is \$14,265, with the officials from the upper social rank cities leading the way with a median figure of \$23,750. Again, the officials from the lower social rank communities topped those from the

¹Stauber and Kline, "Profile of City Commissioners in Kansas" and Daland, Dixie City, p. 8.

²Dye, "Certain Political Correlates of Differentiation," p. 113.

TABLE 24

INCOME COMPARISONS--CITIZENS AND OFFICIALS
BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK^a

Income	Community Social Rank					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Citizens	Officials	Citizens	Officials	Citizens	Officials
Median income, 1967 (est.) (\$)	13,085 ^b	23,750	8,056	12,920	7,092	16,660
Median income, 1960 (\$)	8,969 ^b	--	5,522	--	4,861	--

^a1967 income data for officials taken from questionnaires; 1967 estimate for citizens is computed by applying a 45.9% increase to the 1960 family income census figure. The 45.9% increase was arrived at by computing the differential between the 1960 and 1967 cash income per family for the Oklahoma City metropolitan area as shown in the "Survey of Buying Power" in Sales Management (Vol. 84, July 10, 1960; and Vol. 98, June 10, 1967).

^bMedian family income for Nichols Hills is listed only as \$10,000+. Thus, figures in table are lower than the real income for the upper social rank cities.

middle rank, this time by a median income of \$16,666 to \$12,920, in large part because three council members from El Reno reported incomes of over \$30,000 per year.

In order to make a reasonably valid comparison of median income for office-holders with the median family income from the municipalities they represent, a conversion factor was applied to the average city income (taken from 1960 census data) to compensate as much as possible for the general increases in income which have occurred from 1960 to 1967.

Table 24, thus, reflects the 1967 median income for the public officials

and both the 1960 and an estimated 1967 median family income for residents of the cities by social rank.

Other Social Characteristics

Other social characteristics for office-holders which were found to have no particular relationship to community social rank were age, sex, length of residence in the city represented, and religious affiliation. The average age of the fifty officials reporting was 47.9 years with the youngest age thirty-three and the oldest sixty-nine years of age.

Each office-holder represented in this study was male and had an average length of residence in his community of 18.0 years. The longest period of residence indicated was forty-seven years; the shortest was three years.

Ten religious denominations were identified for thirty-seven of the fifty local leaders with the Methodist Church the choice of fourteen. The denominations mentioned next most frequently, by four persons each, were the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic Churches. The remaining eleven persons were scattered among six other Protestant denominations. Information concerning religious preference was not directly asked for but was revealed by a majority of the respondents in answering the question dealing with group membership. Thirteen of the office-holders (26 per cent) did not mention any church group as being among their current group memberships. The information thus divulged seems to indicate that for about three-fourths of the respondents, church

membership and activity was of sufficient importance to bear mentioning.

Recruitment of Suburban Office-Holders

Determining socio-economic characteristics of elected officials does cast considerable light on the dynamics of the local political recruitment process.¹ To round out this kind of information, however, it was felt that data needed to be obtained which would reveal the more immediate influences drawing persons into public service.²

In California, Lee found the recruitment pattern varied considerably among the six cities studied in depth. He did learn, however, that

¹Herbert Jacob, "Initial Recruitment of Elected Officials in the United States--A Model," Journal of Politics, XXIV (November, 1962), states that "the most popular approach to the examination of political recruitment has been to focus on the social backgrounds and career ladders of important officials," p. 705. For example, see William Crotty, "The Social Attributes of Party Organizational Activists in a Transitional Political System," Western Political Quarterly, XX (September, 1967), 669-81.

²Most of the studies on political recruitment have dealt with partisan political systems. See Robert M. Rosenzweig, "The Politician and the Career in Politics," Midwest Journal of Political Science, I (May, 1957), 163-72; Lester G. Seligman, "Political Recruitment and Party Structure," American Political Science Review, LV (March, 1961), 77-86; Dwaine Marvick and Charles Nixon, "Recruitment Contrasts in Rival Campaign Groups," in Political Decision-Makers, pp.193-217; Samuel C. Patterson, "Characteristics of Party Leaders," Western Political Quarterly, XVI (June, 1963), 332-52; Leo M. Snowiss, "Congressional Recruitment and Representation," American Political Science Review, LX (September, 1966), 627-40; Bowman and Boynton, "Recruitment Patterns Among Local Party Officials," ibid., pp. 265-71; M. Margaret Conway and Frank B. Feigert, "Motivation, Incentive Systems, and the Political Party Organization," ibid., LXII (December, 1968), 1159-73 and Dennis S. Ippolito, "Political Perspectives of Suburban Party Leaders," Social Science Quarterly, XLIX (March, 1969), 800-15. For a more general consideration of the process of recruitment, see Joseph A. Schlesinger, Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).

formal activity by the two political party organizations was relatively infrequent at the municipal level among these nonpartisan cities.¹ This pattern directly conflicts with that found in the Philadelphia area by Dye where the major influence on recruitment to municipal office was provided by the political parties. In a system of partisan city elections, 83.5 per cent of the Philadelphia suburban officials indicated that a party official was the first to approach them about running for office.²

In an effort to determine the situation prevailing in the Oklahoma City area, two questions were included in the survey to get at the elusive subject of the circumstances surrounding the individual's original involvement in political activity. This matter of motivation seems particularly important in a system of nonpartisan elections where the absence of party machinery has eliminated the traditional political institution which ordinarily has the major responsibility for recruiting, screening and promoting candidates for elective office.

Analysis of the two questions relating to motivation indicated that the data could best be interpreted by first separating the respondents into two groups: those who apparently decided on their own to seek the office and those who were apparently asked by someone or some group to run for the position. The most interesting finding here is that some 60 per

¹ Lee, Politics of Nonpartisanship, p. 117.

² Dye, "Certain Political Correlates," p. 125; see also the comments on the pervasiveness of partisanship in greater Philadelphia by Charles E. Gilbert, Governing the Suburbs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967), p. 236.

cent of the officials indicated that the decision was essentially their own personal one as opposed to 40 per cent who claim to have been requested to seek the office. A second question was posed in an effort to learn how the individual first got interested in public office. Four structured responses were provided as well as an open-ended "other": personal friendship, work in a community organization, interest in an issue, and nature of occupation. Table 25 shows the responses to that question on the part of those officials making their own decision to run.

Table 25 obviously reflects a rather wide distribution among the various personal motives. Two findings, however, are of considerable interest. First, there is absolutely no mention of political party service or involvement as contributing to the person's decision to seek office. And, second, issue-oriented motivation is substantially lacking. These facts are not inconsistent with observations which Robert Wood made about the nature of suburban politics a few years ago when he discussed the "no-party" politics of suburbia.¹ In particular, the pattern in this area seems to accurately fit the model of nonpartisan elections drawn by Leonard Goodall:

Since voting for individuals rather than slates is emphasized, there is usually an avoidance of issues in campaigns. The candidate finds it advantageous to depend on the 'politics of acquaintance' to get elected and usually avoids taking firm

¹See Wood, Suburbia, pp. 152-158.

TABLE 25

SOURCES OF INTEREST FOR OFFICIALS MAKING
OWN DECISION TO RUN

Got interested through:	Number
a neighbor or friend	6
work in a community organization	5
concern for a particular issue	3
nature of occupation (or because of work with associates)	6
work with a city agency (planning commission, etc.)	3
contact by office-holders	4
no reason given	<u>3</u>
TOTAL	30

stands on issues.¹

Table 26, on the other hand, spells out which persons or groups are instrumental in producing a positive commitment to run by those of-
ficials who indicated they were sought out for the office. Again, note the
total omission of the role of the political party or party officials.

An examination of Tables 25 and 26 reveals that incumbent or

¹ Leonard E. Goodall, The American Metropolis (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1968), p. 67. A study of a partisan mayoralty campaign indicated that only 17 per cent of the voters felt that the election was important "because of issues," while all respondents replied "because of a man I wanted." Alfred de Grazia, "The Limits of External Leadership Over a Minority Electorate," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (Spring, 1956), 115-28.

TABLE 26

GROUPS INVOLVED IN ASKING OFFICIALS TO RUN

Group or individual	Number
Friends or neighbors	3
Work associates	3
Office-holder	<u>14</u>
TOTAL	20

previous council members were mentioned a total of eighteen times by both groups. This means that in almost four of ten situations, the candidate for local office was approached, at some time, by a person who presently holds or did hold the same kind of public office.¹ This would seem to suggest, in many instances, that suburban politics is more than just a "politics of acquaintance"; that, in addition, a considerable amount of institutional cooptation takes place. Regarding recruitment contacts by a local office-holder, there does appear to be a difference (although not statistically significant) among respondents on the basis of community social rank. In this case, only two of the officials from lower social rank cities mentioned any contact with incumbent office-holders (and these were both in the same city--Del City). Table 27 reveals that about the same percentage of contacts took place between candidates for office and

¹In one instance, a respondent indicated that he was asked to run by a member of the state legislature (a partisan elected official).

incumbents in both upper and middle social rank communities.

TABLE 27

CONTACTS WITH INCUMBENT OFFICE-HOLDERS
BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

Community Social Rank	Total Officials	Contacted by Incumbents	Per Cent
Upper	7	3	42.9
Middle	29	13	44.8
Lower	14	2	14.3

$$\chi^2 = 3.96, p > .05$$

Other Political Offices

For the overwhelming majority (82.0 per cent), service on the city council was their first experience as a public office-holder. For the nine who had previously held some office, four had been party precinct chairman, one a county party official, two had served as members of their city planning commission, and one had been elected to the local school board. It is possible that several others had served as members of one of the local appointive boards, such as the planning commission but did not mention it since, to some, this does not really constitute "holding office."

Only three of the fifty respondents indicated they had ever previously sought any other elective office unsuccessfully. Two had run for school board positions (nonpartisan), and one had been defeated for county

sheriff (partisan). Thus, there can be little question that as politicians go, these men are virtually all strictly amateurs.

Even though the decidedly amateurish background of the officials is well shown, a surprisingly large number, eleven (22 per cent), stated that some member of their immediate family had held public office prior to their own entry into public life. This would indicate that for a good number of these officials, political life, of some type, was not completely unknown to them before they personally became involved.

Group Memberships

The question under investigation here is whether or not suburban leadership tends to be recruited from among the socially more active individuals. It seems logical to expect that this should occur, and especially so among a group of relatively well-educated, high-income persons such as those found in the ten suburbs under study.

As a whole, forty-nine of the fifty respondents (98 per cent) belonged to at least one local voluntary association, ranging from the county medical society to the Moose Lodge. Moreover, forty-four of these officials (88 per cent) were members of two or more organizations. These figures, as anticipated, vastly exceed the nationwide norms on group memberships for citizens of metropolitan areas. A 1952 national sample, for example, found that 66 per cent of metropolitan dwellers belonged to at least one group and only 35 per cent reported two or more social group

memberships.¹

As far as number of memberships is concerned, an analysis by community social rank produces somewhat unexpected results.² Table 28 points out that the officials from the lower social rank cities actually belonged to more groups and were more active than their colleagues from the higher ranking cities.

TABLE 28

GROUP MEMBERSHIPS FOR OFFICIALS BY
COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK GROUPING

Group Activity	Community Social Rank		
	Upper	Middle	Lower
Number of memberships	4.0	3.3	4.3
Active participation	3.3	2.6	3.5
Number of offices held	1.1	.7	1.6

On an average, the fifty suburban leaders belonged to 3.7 social groups, were active participants in 2.9, and held an office in 1.0 of these organizations.

An examination of the particular associations named by the fifty respondents (see Table 29) indicates those groups mentioned most often.

Membership in a labor union was mentioned by only two officials

¹ Lane, Political Life, p. 78.

² Downes, "Suburban Differentiation and Municipal Policy Choices," p. 141, found no variation in terms of community social rank with regard to group membership.

TABLE 29

KINDS OF GROUPS TO WHICH SUBURBAN OFFICIALS BELONG

Kind of Group	Number	Per Cent
Church-related	22	44
Masonic Lodge	17	34
Chamber of Commerce	14	28
Kiwanis Club	10	20
Lions Club	7	14
Hobby or Sports Club	6	12
Veterans Organizations	5	10
YMCA	5	10
Others (Country Club, PTA, various service and occupational organizations)	20	40

which is not unexpected given the predominantly white-collar nature of the occupations of the entire group.

On the whole, the average suburban council member in the Oklahoma City area is likely to be affiliated with some Protestant church-related group, the Masonic Lodge, the Kiwanis or Lions Club, the Chamber of Commerce, and perhaps one other group concerned in some way with his occupation or avocational interest. There is little reason to believe, as indicated earlier in the discussion of the reasons councilmen gave for seeking office, that any one of these groups, as such, exercise much influence in the recruitment or election process. However, the rather

extensive network of group contacts established by a candidate for office undoubtedly is an important aspect of an election process dominated by a "politics of acquaintance. "

Length of Tenure in Office

The legally established terms of office for council members vary from two to four years within the ten cities for an average (mean) term of 2.8 years. The median length of tenure for all fifty office-holders was 3.0 years, with two people reporting only six-month service as the minimum and one individual reporting twenty-three years' service as both councilman and mayor. As the median figure indicates, however, a large number of officials had served less than a full term in office. There is little difference among the municipalities when grouped by social rank-- both upper and lower ranked communities showed a median of 3.0, and the middle ranked cities had a median of 3.5 years of service.

The figures for the ten suburbs are somewhat lower than the average length of service found among city councilmen in the six California communities where tenure ranged from 5.5 to 9.6 years (or about an average of one and one-half terms).¹ But, it is not far from the median figure of 3.6 years for the 259 councilmen from the Los Angeles area.²

¹ Lee, Politics of Nonpartisanship, p. 67.

² Robert J. Huckshorn and Charles E. Young, "Study of Voting Splits on City Councils in Los Angeles County, " Western Political Quarterly, XIII (June, 1960), 479-97.

Data collected from the Oklahoma City area respondents was not sufficient to permit any sort of longitudinal analysis which might have provided clues as to whether incumbent councilmen were frequently defeated for reelection or merely chose not to run again. At least one study indicates that non-partisan, and especially at-large, elections in the nation's largest cities tend to increase the security of incumbent councilmen.¹ Thus, one might logically speculate that the low tenure rate among Oklahoma City suburban officials is primarily a result of decisions not to seek reelection rather than defeat at the polls. Difficulty in retaining incumbents may be indicated by the earlier data which showed that a rather large number of candidates had been asked to run and which also revealed a fairly high frequency of contact occurring between prospective candidates and incumbents.

In Lee's six California cities, almost all the respondent council members stressed the difficulty of attracting able men to stand for public office. A variety of reasons were often cited for this dilemma, such as "the public and newspaper abuse which local officials had to undergo, the fear stands on public issues would damage the incumbent's business and the loss of time with inadequate or no remuneration."² There is no reason

¹Charles E. Gilbert and Christopher Clague, "Electoral Competition and Electoral Systems in Large Cities," Journal of Politics, XXIV (May, 1962), 323-49. Peter Orleans, "Urban Politics and the Nonpartisan Ballot: A Metropolitan Case," in The New Urbanization, pp. 287-298, also concluded that the nonpartisan electoral system employed in a large West Coast city favored incumbent council members (who, in this case, were predominantly Democrats).

²Lee, Politics of Nonpartisanship, p. 73.

to believe that prospective council members in the Oklahoma City area would view things much differently than officials in California. Even among state legislators, where political ambition is often thought to be more pronounced and partisanship comes into play, turnover is quite high. James D. Barber's study of Connecticut legislators from 1946 to 1958 revealed that election defeat accounted for only 26 per cent of the retirements.¹ Yet, even with the considerable attention which has been devoted to studying state legislatures, little systematic knowledge is available about why incumbents choose not to run again.

Place of Birth

One final factor affecting a person's availability for local public office which needs to be considered is place of birth. Data for the Oklahoma City area respondents clearly indicates that place of birth does seem to be of importance. Thirty-one of the fifty officials were born in the state of Oklahoma (62 per cent), with nine more hailing from the neighboring states of Texas, Missouri and Kansas. Only ten office holders (20 per cent) indicated a place of birth outside of the immediate Oklahoma area. As Table 30 reveals, community social rank does make a difference (though not significant statistically) as the higher ranked municipalities have the lowest percentage of home-grown councilmen, and the lower ranked cities have the largest percentage.

¹James D. Barber, The Lawmakers: Recruitment and Adaptation to Legislative Life (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 8.

TABLE 30

PLACE OF BIRTH OF OFFICIALS BY COMMUNITY
SOCIAL RANK GROUPING

Place of Birth	Community Social Rank					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Oklahoma	3	42.9	16	55.2	12	85.7
Non-Oklahoma	<u>4</u>	<u>57.1</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>44.8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>14.3</u>
	7	100.0	29	100.0	14	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 5.02, p > .05$$

Conceivably, two variables might help account for differences in place of birth among elected city officials. First, there is mere community size. Logically, the larger and more diversified the city, the more likelihood that "outsiders" (non-natives) will be present in sufficient numbers to make a political impact. Second, the higher the municipality's social rank the more cosmopolitan its residents are likely to be and thus the more willing to permit "outsiders" access to positions of civic leadership.

Further examination of the data reveals that the non-native respondents are not "Johnny-Come-Latelys," as even they have an average length of residence in their cities of 16.8 years which is only slightly lower than the average residence of 18.0 years for all the officials.

Summary

One of the principal objectives of this chapter was to ascertain the degree of representativeness of the elected suburban officials when

compared to their respective constituencies. Using the community social rank technique for comparison purposes, it became increasingly apparent that the suburban political process in this area is dominated by a largely atypical group of officials--persons who stand somewhat apart from the average citizen in terms of occupation, education and income.¹ This was generally true across the board from higher to lower ranked communities. This basic finding, to a large extent, does not correspond with the anticipated result--that the situational nature of local leadership would produce elected suburban leaders quite similar in socio-economic background to the citizens they represent. On the other hand, in discussing the setting for this part of the analysis, it was suggested that findings of this sort might emerge in part due to the lack of partisanship, the absence of strong ethnic and labor groups and a generally favorable climate toward business participation in politics among cities of the South and Southwest. It would appear that significant positive correlations between social characteristics of elected officials and their constituents are far more likely to be found in larger and more diversified metropolitan areas such as those located in the northeastern and midwestern parts of the country.

¹ This is not necessarily to say that suburban political leadership in this area is drawn from the "top" community leaders. In fact there is no precise way of getting at this matter without the use of survey research or widespread interviewing among community leaders. There is evidence to suggest, however, that in many cities, the task of running the local government is considered too inconsequential for the really important "top leaders" to bother with. See Paul A. Smith, "The Games of Community Politics," Midwest Journal of Political Science, IX (February, 1965), 37-60.

As far as recruitment to suburban office is concerned, the variety of factors and forces influencing the process in greater Oklahoma City makes generalization difficult. Unmistakably indicated, however, is the general absence of partisan influence; the suburban political process in this particular area seems to be thoroughly nonpartisan in fact as well as name. Moreover, it also appears that there is little formalized group activity which operates continuously within the various communities. The one factor which, more than any other single one, seems to be most salient is the rather pronounced intrusion of incumbents or former officeholders into the recruitment process. In all probability this is a reflection of the difficulty which often develops in attracting high quality, conscientious people to the time-consuming and often burdensome role of a councilman or mayor where the position is strictly avocational and pays virtually nothing.

The foregoing synopsis now needs to be considered in view of its relevance to metropolitan political integration. If, in fact, the principle hypothesis had been borne out--that social disparities between communities tend to produce parallel variations between elected city councils--the argument would have followed that this particular political manifestation of metropolitan stratification merely adds weight to the larger theme of metropolitan differentiation as a substantial force in perpetuating a decentralized political system. Since the expected pattern did not develop, such a statement obviously cannot be made. Thus, it would appear that no matter what other factors may contribute to the perpetuation

of the existing metropolitan governmental arrangement in the Oklahoma City area, social distinctions between suburban office-holders is not one.

CHAPTER V

SUBURBAN ATTITUDES AND METROPOLITAN POLITICAL INTEGRATION

To this point the major research findings of this study have dealt with certain community political variables, namely differences in voting behavior and in the makeup and recruitment of local political leadership. These were seen to be, with certain exceptions, significantly related to suburban socio-economic differences. Now it is appropriate to shift the focus of attention from social characteristics and the effect they have on the community political process to a consideration of the people who would be called upon to decide for or against metropolitan political integration. In this chapter data will be presented on selected political attitudes, beliefs, and opinions of suburban citizens which may be particularly relevant to the prospects for governmental change. In the chapter to follow, attitudes of certain suburban political leaders will be surveyed and comparisons made with views held by the general suburban citizen.

In light of studies made in metropolitan areas where reform proposals have been voted upon, little justification seems required for this concern with the average citizen's views. The words of Philip Jacob seem especially appropriate for metropolitan reform efforts when he observed,

"A full profile of participation in the political process, informal as well as formal, shows that in most contemporary societies, a very large number of people have some hand in propelling political action."¹

Chapter II dealt with the theoretical relationship between attitudes and behavior--a relationship which previous research has shown to be problematical. Even though most studies confirm a fairly high degree of parallelism between the two, it is not contended here that the attitudes of suburbanites will lead necessarily to any particular future pattern of behavior which might affect the nature or functioning of the existing metropolitan political system. At this time, in this particular location, one is forced to conclude that in the absence of the appropriate stimulus (e. g., a metro reform campaign), these attitudes and opinions are highly diffuse and lacking in immediacy for the overwhelming majority of suburbanites. Yet, at the same time, certain latent attitudes are obviously present which can be assumed to represent a predisposition to act given the right prompting.²

If a metro reform movement were initiated in the Oklahoma City locale a number of intervening variables would undoubtedly come into play. No one could predict at this time just what affect these intervening factors

¹Philip E. Jacob, "The Influence of Values in Political Integration," in The Integration of Political Communities, p. 214.

²Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, identified "latency" as one of three basic properties of public opinion indicating that ". . . in the practice of politics and government latent opinion is really about the only type of opinion that generates much anxiety." See his Chapter II.

would have on the ultimate decision reached by the metropolitan citizenry. Scott Greer, Henry Schmandt and others who have studied actual metropolitan reform efforts have determined that a surprisingly few major themes have dominated the opposition arguments in reorganization campaigns. "Loss of local identity and autonomy, " "fear of tax increases, " opposition to "super government" have been singled out as among the most important issues around which opponents of reform have typically rallied.¹ On the other hand, among those favoring governmental reorganization the point is frequently made that a metropolitan government would bring greater economy and improve public services.²

It is recognized that in the absence of a metro reform campaign the salience of these particular issues for the average suburbanite is not likely to be high. Thus, an attempt to measure his feelings about matters such as these will undoubtedly be less direct and less precise than might otherwise be the case. It is contended, however, that a propensity to perceive such issues in a particular way upon receipt of an appropriate stimulus may nonetheless be present and potentially measurable. At the least, it seems entirely consistent with good research practice to ask the average suburban dweller what he does know and think about his local

¹See Greer, Metropolitics, p. 77; and Henry J. Schmandt, Paul G. Steinbecker and George P. Wendel, Metropolitan Reform in St. Louis: A Case Study (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 59.

²See Greer, Metropolitics, p. 41, and Brett W. Hawkins, Nashville Metro: The Politics of City-County Consolidation (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1966), p. 112.

community and the larger metropolitan area with the expectation that his answers might in fact be of considerable interest to the student of metropolitan political organization.

In addition it does not seem inappropriate to consider these underlying attitudes as part of a broader pattern of values--a set of social norms--which may be prevalent in a given area. These social norms or cultural factors, which might logically include a commitment to open space, single family residences, and schools among suburbanites, may serve as important constraints on local decision-makers.¹ The potential impact of social norms on the prospects for greater local government centralization should not be minimized. Again, the words of Philip Jacob appear relevant:

From the standpoint of integration, one might say that the social norms represent, at the same time, the principal guarantor of the solidity and cohesiveness of the community in which they are held and the principal barrier to action intended to promote unity and cooperation across community lines. The more widely diffused and the more firmly implanted the social norms of a community, the more stable, predictable and cohesive it is likely to be; but, at the same time, the more resistant it will be to political and social change except on terms which will allow it to preserve and extend its particular mix of social norms. The community which is strongly committed to its social values will make a good aggressor or empire builder; but it will be a hard cooperator and a recalcitrant minority in a broader community where its

¹ The concept being considered here has sometimes been referred to as life style or life style values in the literature on local politics. For example, see Williams, "Life Style Values and Political Decentralization in Metropolitan Areas," and Brett W. Hawkins, "Life Style, Demographic Distance and Voter Support of City-County Consolidation," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, XLVIII (December, 1967), 325-37.

its values are not as fully influential.¹

In short, then, the principal purpose of this chapter will be to explore the implications of certain political attitudes held by citizens in five Oklahoma City area suburbs for metropolitan governmental integration. One of the dominant themes pervading this entire study is that community socio-economic differences will tend to generate corresponding variations in community political attributes. Thus, one of the basic propositions to be tested in this chapter is that the greater the variations in social characteristics among the five suburbs measured primarily by social rank, the more likely those suburbs will demonstrate attitudinal variation consistent with their social structure. In other words, community social differences will tend to produce community attitude differences. It is also hypothesized that, irrespective of community social rank distinctions, the mere fact of living in separately incorporated suburban cities will tend to create certain perceptions on the part of these citizens favorable to their suburb and less favorable to the central city which would have serious consequences for any metropolitan centralization effort. In brief, it is argued that the very experience of suburban living will tend to produce a set of opinions and attitudes which reinforce the legalized separation of the cities in the metropolitan area.

Selection of Cities for the Survey

Selection of the cities to be included in the sample survey was

¹Jacob, "The Influence of Values in Political Integration, " in The Integration of Political Communities, p. 243.

based upon several different considerations. First, time and money limitations precluded the use of all ten suburbs (of 2,500 population or over) in the survey. It was anticipated that resources for this portion of the study would permit the acquisition of between 200 and 300 rather lengthy interview schedules. Thus, a decision was made to include five particular communities which should reflect certain desired characteristics. Most important of all, the cities chosen should be representative of the three levels of social rank being used--the one variable which past studies have shown to be the most significantly related to political differences. Additionally, it was deemed desirable to select cities which were an integral part of the urbanized area of the SMSA. In most instances these are suburbs which are, and have been for some time, surrounded by the central city and are a part of the same county as the central city. Obviously these separate municipalities juxtaposed with the central city would be significantly affected if some plan for governmental integration for the area were proposed such as a city-county consolidation.

Consistent with the above criteria the following five cities were chosen for the attitude survey:

upper social rank--Nichols Hills and The Village
middle social rank--Warr Acres and Bethany
lower social rank--Del City

A simple random sample of the adult populations of these five cities was sought in order to make the survey as representative as possible. A list of all residences in each city was acquired to establish the

sampling universe.¹ The size of the total sample was determined largely by two factors--available resources for data gathering and the desired precision. Since it was not anticipated that any prediction of immediate future behavior would be made from the survey data (such as an election outcome), it was decided that a rather large sampling error could be tolerated. Additionally, available manpower for collection of information was somewhat limited.² Therefore, a sample of between 200 and 300

¹In the case of Bethany, Warr Acres and The Village, city water (or garbage) customer billings provided by the respective city clerks (with modifications for apartment dwellings) formed the basis for the residence sample. For Del City and Nichols Hills, directories published by community organizations for the year 1967 were used.

²Junior and senior level students who were members of the author's class in Political Sociology for the Fall of 1967 at Oklahoma City University were used as survey takers as part of a class project. About 30 students actually participated in the field work following an extensive period of briefing and pre-testing of the survey instrument. The extremely practical and useful chapter "Going to the Field," found in Backstrom and Hursh, Survey Research, provided the essential guidance for the field-work. Assignments were made by requiring that eight completed questionnaires be gathered from the list of nine addresses provided each field worker. Regretably, no information was kept on callbacks or refusals, although it was found that most class members were having very little difficulty. Where repeated callbacks were still unsuccessful the surveyor was permitted to secure the desired information from the next-door neighbor.

A subsequent successful use of undergraduate students to gather survey data was undertaken by the author and a colleague in late October, 1968. Over 100 students, including a number of freshmen, were sent after careful briefing to specified blocks (45 in all) drawn randomly from all the platted blocks in Oklahoma County (excluding the central business district) over the weekend of October 26-27 with a nine-page political attitude interview schedule. Included were questions seeking preferences for President and U. S. Senate. After screening out the non-registered and those planning not to vote, and a very careful analysis of the undecided preference, an effort was made to predict the outcome of the Oklahoma County election from this data with the following result:

was hoped for. After some slippage because of refusals and other mechanical problems a total of 223 completed questionnaires were obtained.

The actual number of questionnaires to be gotten from each of the five cities was arrived at by computing the percentage of the addresses in that city against the total number of residences involved for all five cities. Table 31 shows the percentage for each city based on number of residences as compared with each city's percentage of the whole based on estimated 1965 population.

The closeness of the percentages shown in Table 31 seem to indicate that the residence universe accumulated for the five cities in 1967 was highly representative of the actual population for those cities.

Based on a true percentage of the total residence universe, the actual sample obtained, due to oversampling some communities, did not completely conform with the exact number desired for each city as shown by Table 32. This slight deviation between the number of respondents sought from each city and the number actually obtained is not considered to be a serious sampling error for reasons to be offered subsequently.

	predicted per cent	actual per cent
Nixon	49	49.7
Humphrey	34	32.2
Wallace	17	18.1
Bellmon	55	54.0
Monroney	44	43.7
Washington	1	2.3

See The Oklahoma Journal, November 11, 1968, for a more complete report on this polling effort.

TABLE 31

SUBURBAN RESIDENCE UNIVERSE COMPARED
WITH 1965 POPULATION

City	residence universe for sampling purposes	per cent	estimated 1965 pop.	per cent
Del City	6,563	32	24,000	34
Bethany	5,176	25	18,500	25
The Village	4,450	22	14,400	20
Warr Acres	2,535	12	8,800	13
Nichols Hills	<u>1,703</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>4,897</u>	<u>7</u>
	20,427	99	70,597	99

TABLE 32

SUBURBAN SAMPLE SIZE COMPARED WITH NUMBER
OF RESPONDENTS DESIRED BY CITY

City	number obtained	number sought
Nichols Hills	16	18
The Village	44	49
Warr Acres	32	28
Bethany	59	56
Del City	<u>72</u>	<u>72</u>
	223	223

A Note on Method

There are several ways of drawing a sample when conducting

survey research. Virtually every book dealing with social science methodology takes up sampling and a perusal of the more sophisticated texts on the subject indicates that scientific sampling has indeed become a highly sophisticated undertaking.¹ Nevertheless, the degree of sophistication and accuracy required largely depends upon the use one wishes to make of the data. Moreover, as professional pollsters have constantly pointed out, the size of the sample itself is largely irrelevant so long as the sample is truly representative. As early as 1940 George Gallup observed that, "both experience and statistical theory point to the conclusion that no major poll in the history of the country ever went wrong because too few persons were reached."² Bernard Hennessy discussing sample size in his book Public Opinion had this comment, "For the purposes of any class projects in which you might be engaged, carefully constructed samples of one hundred to five hundred cases will usually result in a low enough chance error."³

Size of sample does, of course, directly affect the degree of accuracy of the sample which is attributable to chance sampling error. A few books on sampling contain tables which permit those less skilled in

¹For example, see Leslie Kish, Survey Sampling (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965).

²George Gallup and Saul F. Rae, The Pulse of Democracy (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1940), p. 68.

³Bernard Hennessy, Public Opinion (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1965), p. 54. For additional insights into the validity of surveys based upon small samples, see Cantril, Gauging Public Opinion, pp. 150-71.

higher mathematics to determine how much sampling error exists for various size samples within specified confidence limits. Following the table found in Mildred Parten's excellent volume, Survey, Polls, and Samples, for 95 samples in 100 (95 per cent level of confidence), the number of cases represented in this survey (223) falls between 6-7 per cent range of sampling error.¹ Appendix C provides a comparison between certain survey data and 1960 census information as one means of checking the accuracy of the survey results. Even with the seven year time interval, the data collected in this study is extremely close to census figures (in only a few instances, e. g., income and occupational comparisons, does the survey data exceed the 6-7 per cent acceptable sampling error).

Suburbia: Who Lives There and Why

Before turning to the results of the survey dealing more directly with political attitudes it would seem appropriate to examine some of the

¹Parten, Surveys, Polls, and Samples, pp. 305-319. N of 267 is necessary for a 6 per cent error and N of 196 gives a 7 per cent margin of error. Much of the analysis of data in this chapter has been done by grouping the cities into three community social rank categories. This process of grouping largely invalidates the 6-7 per cent sampling error since this figure applies only when a report is made on the total sample (e. g., total per cent of homeowners, college graduates, etc.). Thus, differences found on the basis of community social rank must be cautiously interpreted and should be regarded only as suggestive and inferential in nature. (For example, with a sample size of 50, the sampling error ranges from 12 to 14 per cent). This discrepancy in chance sampling error due to variations in size of the data under consideration constitutes the primary reason why the slight deviation between the number of respondents desired for each city and the number obtained, reported earlier, is of no great consequence.

information dealing with the characteristics of those persons residing in Oklahoma City area suburbs. The reason for this diversion lies in the assumption that certain attributes found among this group of people might add to an understanding of why these people live where they do, what they like about their area of residence and why they might resist proposed changes which could conceivably threaten their accepted way of life. Demographic data for each of the suburbs under study has been presented previously. What will be offered here is information which cannot be found in mass statistics but may be of even greater value in developing a picture of who lives in suburbia and why.

Many of the previous studies on suburban life have dealt with communities which had been in existence only a short time, populated by central city emigrants.¹ Generally these studies, among other things, attempt to learn why the newly arrived residents have chosen to locate in that particular suburb. Almost without exception two basic and not unrelated reasons emerge as most important--to provide a more suitable environment for raising children and to acquire more space and privacy.²

¹For example, the various Levittowns, which have been widely studied, fall into this category. For the latest and possibly the best of these studies, see Herbert J. Gans, The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967).

²Bell, "Social Choice, Life Styles and Suburban Residence" in The Suburban Community, p. 233, reported that four-fifths of the respondents in two Chicago suburbs gave reasons for moving there which had to do with bettering conditions for their children. In "The City, the Suburb, and a Theory of Social Choice," in The New Urbanization, Bell argues for the broader generalization that "the move to the suburbs expresses an attempt on the part of the movers to find a location in which to conduct family life

Before taking up the reasons offered by Oklahoma City suburban dwellers for their residential location, the origins and community tenure for these respondents should be considered.

The majority of the respondents living in the five Oklahoma City suburbs are not recent arrivals. Virtually 80 per cent have lived in their city for two years or longer, and a surprisingly large number (20 per cent) have resided in that city for over sixteen years. Unlike so many of the suburban residents found around large Eastern cities, less than half of these suburban respondents (42 per cent) had moved directly from the central city. A rather large number (38 per cent) had moved to the

that is more suitable than that offered by central cities. . . , " p. 151. Richard Dewey, "Peripheral Expansion in Milwaukee County," American Journal of Sociology, LIV (September, 1948), 118-25, reported in a survey of unincorporated areas of Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, the first three reasons for moving to suburban areas as: (1) better for children (over 30 per cent); (2) less congested (over 17 per cent); (3) cleaner (16 per cent). Comparable findings have been reported by Walter T. Martin, The Rural--Urban Fringe (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 1953), p. 37. Amos H. Hawley and Basil G. Zimmer, "Resistance to Unification in a Metropolitan Community," in Community Political Systems, also report that among household heads with children over 17 years of age, the physical attractiveness of land and housing along with lower taxes were the most important reasons given for fringe location in the Flint, Michigan area. S. D. Clark's study of a group of relatively new suburbs around Toronto found that the type of suburb involved was an influence in the reason for moving there. For example, he suggests that in the relatively low income suburbs (homes priced from \$11,000-\$13,000), the prime attraction was the availability of new, low-cost housing. The Suburban Society (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 65. Gans in The Levittowners, also contends that among the predominantly lower middle class (about three-quarters of the Levittowners), the major reasons for leaving the big city were the desire for space and home ownership, but the attraction to Levittown specifically was because it "offered the best house for the money." p. 32. For a more general consideration of why persons move and why they select certain locations over others see William L. Slayton and Richard Dewey, "Urban Redevelopment and the Urbanite" in The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment, ed. by Coleman Woodbury (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 336-341.

suburb from a city or town smaller than Oklahoma City or from a rural area. When asked where they had lived most of their lives, however, the answers were as follows (N = 223).

large city	(over 150, 000)	36 per cent
small town	(500-15, 000)	27 per cent
medium sized city	(15, 000-150, 000)	25 per cent
farm		13 per cent

On the basis of the foregoing, perhaps one might speculate that many of these people chose to live in suburbia not so much to escape the oppressive conditions of big city life, but to retain the accustomed features of small town living.

The only community among the five which stands out in terms of long-time residents is Nichols Hills, the most exclusive of the group, where well over half of the persons questioned (62.5 per cent) have lived there for eleven years or longer. An examination of the five cities by community social rank reveals an interesting pattern where departure from central city is concerned. The percentage of those who left Oklahoma City increases in exact order of social rank as Table 33 indicates.

In this area it would appear that the more prestigious suburbs tend to draw their populations from former central city dwellers, whereas among the lower status communities, the bulk of the residents come from smaller towns and rural areas. Obviously both groups are attracted to suburban living but quite possibly for different reasons.

Since all five cities have been classified as "dormitory" in nature, it would be expected that many inhabitants would be employed outside their

TABLE 33.

SUBURBAN RESPONDENTS MOVING FROM OKLAHOMA CITY BY
COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

	Total	Moved from Oklahoma City	Per cent
Upper Social Rank			
Nichols Hills	16	11	68.8
The Village	44	25	56.8
Middle Social Rank			
Warr Acres	32	16	50.0
Bethany	59	21	35.6
Lower Social Rank			
Del City	<u>72</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>27.8</u>
Total	223	93	41.7

$$\chi^2 = 24.51, p < .001$$

residence. As anticipated, the vast majority of respondents worked in the central city (70 per cent, not including those employed at Tinker Air Force Base, the state's largest single civilian employer, which is technically within the Oklahoma City corporate limits). Slightly less than ten per cent actually worked within the suburb in which they reside. Again, an examination of this dimension of suburban life by community social rank is revealing. In descending order from high to low status, a larger percentage of the respondents are employed in Oklahoma City, as Table 34 points out.

TABLE 34

PLACE OF WORK BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

	Oklahoma City	Suburb	Tinker	Other
Upper Social Rank				
Nichols Hills	100%	--	--	--
The Village	81.8	4.6%	2.3%	11.4%
Middle Social Rank				
Warr Acres	78.1	9.4	6.3	6.3
Bethany	66.1	11.9	11.9	10.2
Lower Social Rank				
Del City	<u>55.6</u>	<u>12.5</u>	<u>27.8</u>	<u>4.2</u>
	70.0%	9.4%	13.5%	7.2%

$$\chi^2 = 15.81, p < .01^a$$

^aFor purposes of computing chi-square the three columns on the right were combined into one column. See Downie and Heath, Basic Statistical Methods, pp. 170-171.

Reasons for Living in Suburbia

When framing the questions to be included in the survey a decision had to be made as to whether a more meaningful answer would result from the query, "Why did you move to this suburb?" or from another, but similar question, "What things do you like about living in your city?" Peter Rossi in his study Why Families Move faced essentially the same problem and concluded, "It was felt that households which had been long term residents in their homes would be unlikely to give an accurate picture of their motivations for moving and the reasons for choosing their present

homes."¹ Since the Oklahoma City suburbs were older communities it was decided to opt for the second of the two possible questions and probe for reasons why people liked where they lived. For ease of interpretation and to avoid vague, meaningless answers, it was elected to present a structured response to the person and ask for a selection of three things (among eight possible) he liked about living in his community. Additionally, the one item which was thought would prove particularly appealing to a great many--a question concerning a better environment for child raising--was deliberately omitted. This question was left out in hopes of getting behind this stereotyped response to more specific reasons as to why that community seems to be a good place for bringing up kids. The final items selected for inclusion were very similar to ones used by David Booth in a study of two Nashville suburbs following the 1962 vote on city-county consolidation.² The overall responses (three selection from the eight options) are shown in Table 35.

In Booth's study of the two Nashville suburbs he compared the answers to questions similar to those in Table 35 on the basis of support or opposition to metropolitan government consolidation. Although there was a high rank order correlation between the sets of responses (.69), he did

¹Peter H. Rossi, Why Families Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Urban Residential Mobility (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), p. 131.

²David A. Booth, Metropolitics: The Nashville Consolidation (East Lansing: Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University, 1963), p. 43. Booth also asked respondents to select three items from a list of eight.

TABLE 35

DESIRABLE FEATURES OF SUBURBAN LIVING

	Total Number of Times Mentioned	Per cent of Persons Mentioning (N=223)
Good schools	142	63.7%
Good city services (police, fire protection, etc.)	137	61.4
Small town atmosphere (friendly people, more space, less traffic)	108	48.4
Close to conveniences of large city	97	43.5
Lower taxes	95	42.6
Better property value for the money	49	22.0
Less politics, less red tape and less corruption in office	27	12.1
Opportunity for civic participation	14	6.3

find important differences between the values held as most important by the two groups of suburbanites. He found:

The criteria of good municipal services, for example, was ranked third by the pro-Metro group, but sixth by the anti-Metro group. Low taxes, on the other hand, was ranked third by the anti-Metro group, but sixth by the pro-Metro group.¹

Two comments appear to be in order when considering the Oklahoma City area data in light of the above. First, the suburban respondents in this area put good municipal services very high on the list of things they

¹Ibid., pp. 42-43.

like about their communities, very close behind good schools. More discussion regarding attitudes toward municipal services will be presented in greater detail subsequently. It is sufficient here to point out that dissatisfaction with public services is not apt to serve as any sort of stimulus for bringing about governmental reorganization in the Oklahoma City area.

Second, among the Nashville group, the anti-Metro respondents were much more concerned with the issue of low taxes (mentioned by 49 per cent of the anti-group) in contrast with those favoring Metro (mentioned by only 16 per cent of this group). Since 42.6 per cent of the Oklahoma City sample mentioned low taxes, it would appear that, overall, sensitivity to taxes among Oklahoma City suburbanites is more nearly comparable to the Nashville anti-Metro group than the group favoring Metro.

One other observation might be made about the reasons given by the respondents for liking their community. Obviously few people among this sample seemed to care very much about civic participation. Moreover, next to the bottom on the list is the negative value of avoiding politics, bureaucracy, and governmental inefficiency. On the face of it, these findings seem to run counter to the assumptions of some observers of suburbia, notably Robert Wood, who have stressed the "republic in miniature" image as being among prime suburban values. Wood has contended that suburbia holds dear its belief in the virtues of grassroots democracy, particularly "...that small political units represent the purest

expression of popular rule, that the government close to home is best."¹ Indeed, as will be shown later, this grassroots ideology has widespread acceptance among Oklahoma City suburbanites. But, at least, as far as identifying reasons for living where they do, those items directly relating to civic and governmental affairs seem to be of little concern to the average suburban citizen.

Comparing alleged benefits of suburban living by community social rank divulges no particular pattern among the five cities, as shown in Table 36.

In terms of potential support or opposition to any sort of significant governmental change for the area, one might anticipate, from Table 36 that any proposal perceived as likely to adversely affect the level of city services would be resisted by Nichols Hills residents. Likewise, The Village would probably be most concerned if any such proposal seemed to place their perceived (and real) tax advantage in jeopardy. Residents of Warr Acres, Bethany, and Del City surely would be the most threatened if any move would be proposed which they felt would endanger their school systems.² Thus, even though no pattern appears engendered by community social rank, there are perceptible and meaningful differences in

¹Wood, Suburbia, p. 12.

²There are two reasons why Nichols Hills and The Village do not appear so enamored of their schools. First, Nichols Hills doesn't have that many school age children within her borders. Second, neither of these cities have their own separate school system; both are part of the larger independent school district which also takes in most of the central city.

TABLE 36

PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS MENTIONING DESIRABLE FEATURES
OF SUBURBIA BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

	Good Schools	Good Services	Small Town Atmosphere	Close to Big City	Low Taxes	Better Property Values	Less Politics, etc.	Civic Participation
Upper Social Rank								
Nichols Hills	18.9%	87.6%	50.0%	31.2%	31.2%	56.3%	25.0%	0
The Village	50.0	59.1	47.7	34.2	72.6	11.4	15.9	9.0
Middle Social Rank								
Warr Acres	81.3	56.4	56.4	31.2	34.5	24.9	9.3	6.3
Bethany	72.9	72.9	35.7	56.4	28.8	25.5	15.3	3.3
Lower Social Rank								
Del City	66.7	50.1	55.5	55.5	41.7	16.8	5.7	8.4

response between certain of the five cities when the question is raised regarding the advantages of living in that particular community.

In addition to seeking information as to why suburban dwellers like their cities, an effort was made to determine if there were any community features they did not like. Little comparable data from other studies is available on this question.¹ In the case of most persons living in the suburbs, it is probably assumed that if things were too disagreeable, they could always move. Nevertheless, a great deal of impressionistic literature on suburbia generated largely after World War II found a great deal lacking in the quality of suburban life.² As mentioned previously the metro reformers, especially, have stressed the inability of the suburb to cope with growing areawide problems which they assumed would produce increasing dissatisfaction among area residents. In particular it has been argued that lack of adequate municipal services for fringe dwellers might become so acute as to provide the needed stimulus for major governmental reorganization.

¹Several studies have looked at public attitudes toward municipal services either for the central city or the entire metropolitan area. See Arthur Kornhauser, Detroit as the People See It (Detroit: Wayne St. University Press, 1962) and James A. Norton, The Metro Experiences (Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1963).

²See, for example, A. C. Sectorsky, The Exurbanites (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1955); William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956); David Riesman, "The Suburban Dislocation," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXIV (Fall, 1967), 123-46; John Seeley, R. Alexander Sims and Elizabeth Loosley, Crestwood Heights: A Study of the Culture of Suburban Life (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956); John Keats, The Crack in the Picture Window (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1956).

In order to delve into this subject, an open-ended question was employed primarily because the number of potential responses was so large that a forced choice might induce serious response bias. The results were not totally unexpected. Perhaps, in part, because of the lack of specific stimuli, a surprisingly large number of respondents (74 per cent) replied, "nothing" when asked, "Is there anything you don't like about living here?" Although about one-quarter of the sample mentioned some objectionable feature, no particular item was singled out for repeated criticism. Upon tabulation, a category labeled "minor annoyances" proved to contain the largest number of responses (7.2 per cent). This category included such diverse comments as "lack of sidewalks" to "too close to the expressway." Interestingly, only six persons in the survey (2.7 per cent) observed that their suburban location was inconvenient or too far away from work or shopping.¹ Also, one of the favorite targets of critics of suburbia--conformity, lack of privacy and conservatism--was mentioned by just 2.7 per cent of the total sample.

With one decided exception, Del City, there appears to be a direct relationship between community social rank and the percentage of respondents who mention no undesirable features for their city, as shown in Table 37. At this point there is no apparent explanation for the deviant position

¹A Community survey done in October 1967, for Portland, Oregon, reported somewhat different findings. In three areas outside the central city, the percentage of those who complained of distance and time required to commute ranged from 13 to 17 per cent. Metropolitan Portland Looks at Governmental Organization (Portland, Oregon: Portland Metropolitan Study Commission, October, 1967), p. 1-4.

of Del City.

TABLE 37

NO UNDESIRABLE SUBURBAN FEATURES BY
COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

	Per Cent Who Mention No Undesirable Features
Upper Social Rank	
Nichols Hills	81.3
The Village	75.0
Middle Social Rank	
Warr Acres	71.9
Bethany	62.7
Lower Social Rank	
Del City	81.9

One last question was included in the survey in an effort to complete the picture of who lives in suburbia and why. Respondents were asked, "Are there any reasons in particular why you might not want to live in Oklahoma City?" The results from this open-ended question were somewhat surprising. Over half the sample (54.3 per cent) replied that there were no particular reasons for not wanting to live in Oklahoma City. This figure when contrasted with the 74 per cent who could single out no feature of their suburb which they disliked, seems, more than anything else, to suggest that a great number of people in suburbia (at least in the Oklahoma City area) do not have strong feelings regarding where within the metropolitan area they live. Some respondents did indicate they had

nothing against Oklahoma City as such, but merely liked it where they were.

A sizeable number, of course, did cite specific characteristics of the central city to which they objected. As revealed in Table 38 the various complaints associated with "bigness" clearly predominate.

TABLE 38

REASONS FOR NOT WANTING TO LIVE IN OKLAHOMA CITY

	Number Times Mentioned	Per Cent
Too big, congested, traffic, etc.	63	43.8
Taxes, property, prices too high	29	20.1
Protection and services poorer	16	11.1
Inefficient government, too much politics	16	11.1
Schools poorer	11	7.6
Too far from work	5	3.5
Other	4	2.8
	<u>144</u>	<u>100.0</u>

A look at the reasons for not wanting to live in Oklahoma City by community social rank discloses several interesting patterns (see Table 39).

On the basis of previous evidence on place of origin, the finding that concern over the "bigness" of Oklahoma City varies directly with community social rank is entirely expected. Residents of Del City (the only lower social rank city) given their small town and rural background

TABLE 39

REASONS FOR NOT WANTING TO LIVE IN OKLAHOMA CITY
BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

	Community Social Rank					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Too big, etc.	10	28.6	24	42.1	29	55.8
Taxes, property too high	13	37.1	11	19.3	5	9.6
Poorer services, protection	6	17.1	7	12.3	3	5.8
Poorer government	5	14.3	6	10.5	5	9.6
Poorer Schools	0	--	7	12.3	4	7.7
Too far from work	0	--	0	--	5	9.6
Other	1	2.9	2	3.5	1	1.9
Total	35	100.0	57	100.0	52	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 18.94, p < .05^a$$

^aFor purposes of computing chi-square, the bottom three rows were combined into one row.

were almost twice as likely to single out "bigness" as objectionable than were residents of Nichols Hills and The Village. On the other hand, the upper status cities were far more concerned about higher taxes and property costs in Oklahoma City than were the respondents from the middle and lower ranked communities. Again, this finding is consistent with data presented previously concerning the various reasons why respondents liked their particular suburban residence. Also as predicted the upper social rank cities were more likely to mention the central city's allegedly poorer services and protection than were respondents from the other

communities. And, as indicated earlier, because their cities are part of the larger central city school district, respondents from Nichols Hills and The Village failed to include any mention of school quality among their reasons for preferring not to reside in Oklahoma City.

Summary

The data presented thus far in this chapter do seem to bear out the contention that variations in community social rank are related to corresponding differences in attitude toward the local community particularly when compared with the central city.

Additionally, information presented thus far seems entirely consistent with previous research indicating that, for a number of people, the suburban way of life is very desirable.¹ Perhaps most suburban residents would agree with the following observation by two students of metropolitan America:

In many respects, the suburb is the most satisfactory

¹A recent Gallup poll reveals that the anti-big city bias still persists among the American people. The question posed by Gallup and the responses were as follows:

"If you could live anywhere in the United States that you wanted to, would you prefer a city, suburban area, small town, or farm?"

City	22%
Suburb	28
Small town	31
Farm	18
No opinion	<u>1</u>
	100%

Quoted in Eleanor C. Main, "The Impact of Urbanization: A Comparative Study of Urban and Non Urban Political Attitudes and Behavior" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1967), p. 93. The poll itself was taken in March of 1966.

compromise between the large city and the small town yet tested on any scale in this country. Here are usually found the cleanliness, spaciousness, often better government, and often the neighborliness of the smaller town, combined with relatively easy access to the jobs, amusements, and special services of the larger central city...¹

Evidence from the Oklahoma City area survey, however, gives little support to the contention often made that, "a psychological factor that has contributed to the Balkanization of the suburb is the desire of citizens to have access to the decision-making centers of local government."² There seems to be little indication that suburban dwellers in this area care much one way or another about local government activity. Many obviously do perceive certain advantages to their suburban location. However, in this instance it appears that, in essence, the upper status communities are interested in protecting tax advantages and service benefits, while citizens in the lower income communities want to preserve the small-town quality of suburban life.

Local Community Identification

Much of the case study literature on metropolitan government mentions the suburbanite's fear of losing local autonomy and identity as a major factor in defeating reform proposals. It will be the purpose of this section to determine the extent to which local community identity among the residents of the five Oklahoma City suburbs might serve as an

¹Slayton and Dewey, "Urban Redevelopment and the Urbanite," p. 367.

²Adrian and Press, Governing Urban America, p. 62.

effective barrier to greater metropolitan governmental centralization for this particular area.

A fundamental difficulty facing any attempt to measure such an elusive, nebulous attitude as community identity is arriving at the most satisfactory way of operationalizing the concept. What is actually being sought in this instance is a way of tapping an underlying complex of beliefs rather than merely deciding upon some sort of objective index based on certain specified population characteristics (such as the proportion of husbands and wives in a given area living with their spouses).¹ Of course the term community itself has vague and ambiguous connotations. In this instance the suburban municipality is the particular community to be dealt with and several indicators of identity or commitment will be used rather than devising a single construct for the purpose.

It has been suggested that small towns and suburbs, primarily because of their more socially homogeneous nature, apparently make the creation and maintenance of a sense of community easier. Sociologists, especially in recent years, have begun to recognize that even in the giant metropolis most people are not alienated nor alone. Obviously the difficulties in coping with modern, complex urban life are greater in the central city, but even there it has been found that today's urban dweller is often caught up in an extensive network of neighborhood and community

¹For an interesting study using various objective population indicators to create an index for measuring community solidarity or "moral integration," see Robert Cooley Angell, The Moral Integration of American Cities (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

groups and associations which act as a "mediating force" between the isolated individual and mass society. Scott Greer, Wendell Bell and many others have amply demonstrated that a considerable amount of informal social structure is especially characteristic of suburban life.¹ On the basis of the rather extensive research concentrating on the central place of social activity among suburbanites, it was decided to include several measures of group involvement as the best available indicators of a sense of attachment to the local community.² Information from the survey

¹For example, Greer in "The Social Structure and Political Process of Suburbia," 574-22, discusses three levels of organization found in modern suburbia, the channels of communication ordinarily associated with each and the structured social action flowing from each. Also, see Sylvia Fleis Fava, "Suburbanism as a Way of Life," 34-37; and Walter T. Martin, "The Structuring of Social Relationships Engendered by Suburban Residence," American Sociological Review, XXI (August, 1956), 446-53; Greer, "Individual Participation in a Mass Society," in Approaches to the Study of Politics, pp. 329-42; Greer, "The Social Structure and Political Process of Suburbia: An Empirical Test," 440-459; and Bell "The City, the Suburb, and a Theory of Social Choice," in The New Urbanization, pp. 132-168.

²John Bollens et al., in the extensive study of the St. Louis metropolitan area in the mid-1950's used "commitment to neighborhood" made up of type of residence, community longevity and home ownership, as an important predictor of voting participation and thus, by inference, of political involvement. Bollens, ed., Exploring the Metropolitan Community, pp. 228-249. Scott Greer, using data from the same study created three types of social participators based on social interaction--community actors, neighbors, and isolates. He found that as one went up the social participator scale political involvement increased both in the central city but especially in the suburbs. Greer and Orleans "The Mass Society and the Parapolitical Structure," 634-46.

provided data on community longevity, group membership and the respondent's political activities and political knowledge.¹ These items coupled with a specially devised index to get at the extent to which a person is committed to a "grass roots" political philosophy were those chosen to give substance to the hazy concept of community identification.

The hypothesis to be explored in this portion of the research can be put in a somewhat general way as follows: the more committed to the local community a person is, the less interested he will be in any change which in his mind would lessen the importance of this particular object of attachment. At this point, before proceeding to a closer look at the indices of local community commitment, it becomes necessary to determine whether any but indirect indications of potential integration can be used to fully test the hypothesis under consideration. Again, the absence of the most significant indicator--a vote for or against consolidation--complicates the problem. Nonetheless, since the basic concern of this research is an attempt to more fully explore the pre-conditions for potential governmental change, it was felt that the construction of a hypothetical situation to which the respondent would react might serve as the best possible substitute. Therefore, near the end of the survey instrument a

¹Community knowledge has been much less used as an indicator of community identification than has civic activity. An early empirical study, Gresham M. Sykes, "The Differential Distribution of Community Knowledge," Social Forces, XXIX (May, 1951), found that "a high level of community knowledge would seem to be associated with a cluster of statuses which have as their common element orientation toward the community." p. 382.

carefully phrased question was included to give the respondent an opportunity to choose the particular level or degree of association among cities of this area which he thought would be best. The options were five -- ranging from "no close association" to complete "merger." The results from the entire sample were as follows.¹

no close relationship	4.5 per cent
only <u>ad hoc</u> cooperation	33.6
voluntary association of city governments	44.0
a metropolitan government ²	13.5
total merger of all cities	4.5

From the above it seems clearly evident that only a small proportion of those surveyed (18 per cent) favored any kind of meaningful change in the metropolitan governmental structure for this area. (Although only a small number, 24 per cent, knew of its existence, an association of

¹Bollens in Exploring the Metropolitan Community also included a set of questions similar to this for the St. Louis area and found 22 per cent preferred actual merger and only 16 per cent were what he called hard-core "local autonomists." However, there is little doubt that the issue of metropolitan reform was somewhat salient for the St. Louis area during this period as revealed by a 70 per cent "yes" response to the question "Do you think any (governmental) changes are likely to take place in the near future?" p. 197; Charles Press, in "Attitudes Toward Annexation in a Small City Area," Western Political Quarterly, XVI (June, 1963), 271-78, found 22 per cent of the fringe dwellers adjacent to Grand Haven, Michigan (population 11,066), were favorable to annexation by the central city (70 per cent were opposed and 8 per cent undecided); Amos H. Hawley and Basil G. Zimmer, "Resistance to Unification in a Metropolitan Community" in Community Political Systems, indicate that an almost identical percentage (22.3) of the fringe dwellers in Flint, Michigan area favored annexation. p. 171.

²The particular response option of a metropolitan government clearly specified that the suburb "would keep its separate identity but might give up certain services to the area-wide government." For the exact wording of each possible response see the interview schedule reproduced in Appendix A.

local governments was established within the Oklahoma City SMSA in 1966).

Since it is doubtful that the less drastic responses pertaining to the degree of association among cities represent true differences in basic attitude (analysis of the data confirmed this), it was decided, in comparing the results of this question with other variables, to place the respondents into only two categories, those who favored meaningful change and those who did not. These two groups, hereafter, will be identified as "locals" and "metros."¹

The first representation of local community identification to be scrutinized in light of this basic predisposition of change or no change is

¹One way of testing the validity of using a question dealing with preferred levels of governmental association as a predicator of potential support for metropolitan reform is to compare the responses to the question with certain variables which previous research has demonstrated are highly correlated with a "Yes" vote on reform, namely education, income and occupation. Bollen and Schmandt's chapter 16 on "The Politics of Reform" in The Metropolis contains a good discussion on the socio-economic factors associated with support for metropolitan reform. When responses from those with two or more years of college in the Oklahoma City study were examined, it was found that 31.7 per cent were favorable to significant change as opposed to only 14.8 per cent with less education who were in the "metro" category (chi-square equals 6.58; significant at the .05 level). Respondents with income of \$10,000 or more were also more likely to favor change than those with less income, 26.8 per cent to 14.8 per cent (chi-square equals 4.38; significant at the .05 level). When those persons in the professional, managerial and sales occupational categories were compared with the remaining occupational grouping, the expected pattern emerged with 23.2 per cent of those in higher status positions favorable to change in contrast with only 13.9 per cent of the others, but the difference was not great enough to be statistically significant (chi-square equals 3.18; not significant at .05 level). Nevertheless, it would appear that the overall differences exhibited between socio-economic groups were of such consequence to warrant the conclusion that the question being used might legitimately serve as a reasonable facsimile of an actual vote on such an issue.

that of community longevity. As Table 40 reveals, when length of time in the community is broken down into three levels and compared with the desired level of governmental association, the expected relationship obtains: those who have lived there the shortest period of time are more willing to see substantial change. However, it might also be noted that after a few years of residing in the same place no apparent increase in "localism" occurs.

TABLE 40

ATTITUDE TOWARD METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT
CHANGE BY COMMUNITY LONGEVITY

Choice of Government	Community Longevity					
	0-1.99 yrs.		2-15 yrs.		over 15 yrs.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Locals	30	66.7	116	86.6	37	84.1
Metros	15	33.3	18	13.4	7	15.9
	45	100.0	134	100.0	44	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 9.10, p < .05$$

Local political activity is the next manifestation of attachment to the suburban community to be examined. The level of activity is expressed as an index (high, medium, or low) based on answers from five questions dealing with such things as frequency of vote at local elections, attendance at local governmental meetings (including school board) and contact with local public officials.¹ Previous research suggests that local political

¹See Chapter II for construction of the various indexes. The proportion of the sample in each of the three civic activity levels is as follows:

activity is indicative of a relatively high level of community involvement, so it is expected that the more activity evidenced, the greater the commitment to the locality and thus the likelihood of a greater reluctance to jeopardize suburban independence. At the same time, however, it must be remembered that political activity, as well as such things as group membership, are greatly affected by socio-economic status. And high status has been shown to consistently correlate with a favorable disposition toward governmental change. So the data contained within this table reflects two conflicting or opposing tendencies which one might expect to find among relatively well-to-do suburbanites generally. On the one hand, many aspects of local community participation may produce a desire to preserve the community's traditional governmental structure as a way of protecting it's autonomy. Yet, at the same time, civic involvement is particularly characteristic of persons with good educations, white collar jobs and high incomes who, in past elections, have tended to respond favorably to the rational appeals of the good government advocates for elimination of waste and duplication brought on by the present fragmented governmental system.

Table 41 comparing local political activity and the desired level of governmental association does depict a mixed configuration. There is no significant relationship between the level of political activity and the

low	48.0 per cent
medium	35.9 per cent
high	16.1 per cent

amount of change in government structure advocated. No evidence other than the speculation mentioned above can be offered to account for this particular result.¹

TABLE 41

ATTITUDE TOWARD METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENTAL CHANGE
BY LEVEL OF LOCAL POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Choice of Government	Local Political Activity					
	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Locals	86	80.4	68	86.1	28	77.8
Metros	21	19.6	11	13.9	8	22.2
	<u>107</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>100.0</u>

$$\chi^2 = 1.45, p > .05$$

Two other areas which appear to be reflections of local involvement are home ownership and group membership. When these items were tested against the two levels of metropolitan government organization chosen by respondents, no statistical significance (at the .05 level) was found although homeowners were more likely to be in the "metro" category by 20.3 to 8.7 per cent than non-homeowners, somewhat contrary

¹In Greer's study of the outcome of the 1957 St. Louis vote on metro reform he discovered that there was no difference in the direction of the vote among the three community types--isolates, neighbors, and community actors. "They all voted overwhelmingly against the plan." Scott Greer, "Postscript: Communication and Community" in Morris Janowitz, The Community Press in an Urban Setting, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 268.

to expectations.¹

A three-level local political knowledge index (little or no knowledge, some, and considerable) was developed from six questions in the survey asking such things as the name of the respondent's mayor, names of other officials, and knowledge of whether their community belonged to the Association of Central Oklahoma Governments (ACOG).² It was anticipated that a high level of knowledge of local government, as one indication of local commitment, would be associated with opposition to basic governmental change within the metropolitan area. Such did not turn out to be the case as no relationship beyond chance was found.³ Only 18.5 per cent of those with little or no local political knowledge favored meaningful change, and 15.1 per cent of those with considerable knowledge were

¹Chi-square test of significance for homeowners was 3.41 (not significant at .05 level); for group membership (three degrees of membership were used, no groups, one group and more than one group), the chi-square was 0.59, not significant at .05 level.

²Findings in the area of political knowledge were consistent with previous research on this subject. The percentage distribution for the sample was as follows:

little or no knowledge	60.5 per cent
some knowledge	24.7 per cent
considerable knowledge	14.8 per cent

An example of the lack of civic information can be indicated by the fact that only 37.2 per cent of the sample could name their own mayor (5.8 per cent named the central city mayor). 75.8 per cent did not know if their city belonged to any association of local governments, and only 8.1 per cent could give the name or initials (ACOG) of the existing association of local governments. (Only Del City among the five cities did not belong at the time of the survey.)

³Chi-square equals 0.17; not significant at .05 level.

found in the same "metro" category.

Finally in an effort to more fully probe the extent to which suburbanites are dedicated to their homesite in contrast with the central city, an index was devised to measure commitment to a "grass-roots" political ideology. Literature on metropolitan political integration reveals that on at least three occasions attempts have been made to determine if a feeling of hostility or cynicism toward the central city might be associated with resistance to metropolitan governmental reform.¹ Two of the studies found the expected relationship.² On the strength of this research, and also out of a desire to more directly test some of the assumptions in the

¹Basil G. Zimmer and Amos H. Hawley in "Local Government as Viewed by Fringe Residents," Rural Sociology, XXIII (December, 1958), 363-70, asked rural township residents around Flint, Michigan, nine questions comparing various aspects of township government with the city of Flint. They found, for example, that 47.2 per cent of township residents thought the "relative economic burdensomeness of government" was less in the township (30.3 per cent thought it was about the same in township and 7 per cent did not know). Edward L. McDill and Jeanne Clare Ridley in "Status, Anomia, Political Alienation, and Political Participation," American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (September, 1962), 205-17, used a measure of political alienation from local government consisting of a five-item scale including questions such as "The government of a big city like Nashville doesn't take much interest in a person's neighborhood," and found that alienation from the central city was related to a negative vote on city-county consolidation in Nashville (1958). Hawkins in Nashville Metro: used a three-item measure to get at "suspiciousness" of county voters toward the central city and found that fringe dwellers who were more "suspicious" had tended to oppose metropolitan reorganization in the Nashville area (1962). pp. 116-118.

²Zimmer and Hawley, "Local Government as Viewed by Fringe Residents," tentatively concluded that lack of knowledge of governmental affairs was perhaps the major barrier to significant reorganization in the Flint, Michigan area. p. 370.

literature relating to the strength of suburbia's belief in local democracy,¹ a "grass-roots" index was constructed from seven questions adapted largely from Zimmer and Hawley and McDill and Ridley. Respondents were asked to indicate whether each of the statements found in Table 42 applied most to Oklahoma City, their suburb or about the same in each city. The results are tabulated in Table 42.

Even though the questions have only face validity, the responses were as expected with expressions of direct commitment to "small" government ranging from 45.3 to 82.1 per cent. For purposes of comparing these answers with other variables a three-level index of "grass-roots" political ideology was devised.² As a way of verifying this construct, it was run against the other indicators of local commitment with generally satisfactory results. Statistically significant relationships were established between "grass-roots" and (1) home ownership (37.3 per cent of

¹Wood in Suburbia particularly emphasizes the suburban commitment to a grassroots political philosophy; see especially pp. 11-19. Adrian and Press, Governing Urban America, 3rd ed., include an entire chapter on "Local Government Ideology" in which they trace its modern manifestations back to Jacksonian democracy, Chapter III. Also Roscoe C. Martin, Grass Roots, 2nd ed. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1964), spells out with great clarity the assumptions of grass-roots government and its alleged benefits, pp. 4-69.

²Based on respondent selecting his suburb on the first five questions and Oklahoma City on the last two, the index was created as follows:

6-7 times selected - high grass roots ideology;
 3-5 times selected - medium grass roots ideology;
 0-2 times selected - low grass roots ideology.

The distribution of the sample was:

high	-	32.7 per cent (n = 73);
medium	-	47.5 per cent (n = 106);
low	-	19.7 per cent (n = 44).

TABLE 42

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING ANSWERS INDICATING
COMMITMENT TO "GRASS-ROOTS" POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

Questions	Oklahoma City	Their Suburb	Same	Don't Know
Which city's officials are easiest to contact?	4.9	61.4	18.8	14.8
Which city's officials are more aware of neighborhood problems?	9.0	60.1	13.9	17.0
In which city do people have the most say in running the government?	11.7	48.0	22.9	17.5
Which city government operates the most economically?	4.9	51.6	9.0	34.5
Which city officials look out for the whole city rather than a few favored interests?	9.4	45.3	22.4	22.9
Which city government has the most politics and corruption	73.1	0.5	9.9	16.6
Which city government has the most conflict over public affairs?	82.1	0.9	5.4	11.7
N = 223				

home owners were high on "grass-roots" with 17.5 per cent low; chi-square equals 8.53, significant at .05 level), (2) group membership (of those belonging to no local group, 79.5 per cent were in the low "grass-roots" category and 37.0 per cent in the high; chi-square equals 21.43, significant at .001 level), (3) local political activity (50.0 per cent who were high in activity were also high on "grass-roots" column; chi-square equals 10.42; significant at .05 level). However, despite the fact that

47.1 per cent of those with a high level of local political knowledge were also in the high "grass-roots" category (with only 8.8 per cent high knowledge in low "grass-roots" category), no statistical significance at the .05 level was found.¹

One test of the usefulness of the "grass-roots" index would be its predictive power in terms of the level of governmental association acceptable to the suburban sample. Here it failed badly although, as Table 43 reveals, the percentage distribution is in the expected direction.

TABLE 43

ATTITUDE TOWARD METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENTAL
CHANGE BY LEVEL OF "GRASS-ROOTS" IDEOLOGY

Choice of Government	Level of "Grass-roots" Ideology					
	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Locals	35	79.5	86	81.1	61	84.7
Metros	<u>9</u>	<u>20.5</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>18.9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>15.3</u>
	44	100.0	106	100.0	72	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 0.58, p > .05$$

The outcome of Table 43 is somewhat puzzling on the face of it. Nevertheless, several comments seem in order. First, it must constantly be kept in mind that only a very small number of the Oklahoma City area sample supported any far-reaching governmental reorganization. As has been learned in other studies, almost every group in suburbia has

¹Chi-square equals 5.30; not significant at .05 level.

been opposed to fundamental metropolitan reform with those of high status somewhat an exception. As pointed out previously, those very persons who are above average in education, income, etc., are the most active and involved in the affairs of the local community and thus, by conventional definition, the most committed to their place of residence. Second, the gap between what persons profess to believe politically and what they are willing to accept in terms of concrete programs has been well-documented in Lloyd Free and Hadley Cantril's study, The Political Beliefs of Americans.¹ These social psychologists, on the basis of a nationwide political survey made in 1964, concluded that the American electorate was "schizophrenic"; that they still largely adhered to the old-fashioned conservative ideological rhetoric while simultaneously approving of virtually all the recent large federal government programs (Medicare, urban renewal, etc.). It just could be that a schism of this sort exists between verbal acceptance of a "grass-roots" philosophy and the willingness of some suburbanites (largely those of upper social status) to permit rather extensive reorganization of government in the metropolis.² Even so, the existence

¹(New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1968), Chap III.

²The gap between what is apparently in a voters self interest and his actual voting behavior has been examined on several occasions in studies of urban politics. For example, Richard A. Watson and John H. Romani, "Metropolitan Government for Metropolitan Cleveland: An Analysis of the Voting Record," Midwest Journal of Political Science, V (November, 1961), 365-90, sought to test the proposition that voters in the central city tend to support metro reform whereas suburbanites generally oppose it. Their hypothesis rested primarily on the assumption that, from a purely rational self-interested view, the suburbs would

of a rather substantial number of suburban dwellers who find favor with the "grass-roots" model might have implications if a reform movement were initiated in this area. Undoubtedly the arguments of the preservers of the status quo against big government, loss of autonomy, etc., used so effectively in other metro campaigns, would receive a favorable hearing from many residents of the Oklahoma City suburban communities.

In conclusion, using the customary measurements, commitment to local community is found to have little power to predict the choice a suburbanite will make when given the verbal option of meaningful metropolitan governmental change. Moreover, it appears that a rhetorical approval of the alleged benefits of small-town government, accessible and responsive to its citizens, has no real impact on suburbia's predisposition to act negatively toward change. This sort of situation has been aptly described by Bollen and Schmandt in the following words:

Suburban residents may be unwilling to surrender the legal independence of their local units--witness their adverse vote in consolidation referenda--but seldom does this unwillingness

stand to lose the most if metro reorganization came to pass. In fact, it was ascertained that those high income suburbs were the ones who gave the most support to the Cleveland metro charter. This sort of denial of apparently rational economic self-interest closely parallels some of the work done by Banfield and Wilson in their studies of city politics. They report that on a variety of municipal bond levies a "considerable proportion of voters, especially in the upper-income groups, vote against their self-interest narrowly conceived..." This deviation is attributed to what they consider the greater likelihood of upper status persons to view local affairs from a "public-regarding" perspective rather than from a narrowly self-interested point of view. Wilson and Banfield, "Voting Behavior on Municipal Public Expenditures, pp. 74-91. Also see their, "Public-Regardingness as a Value Premise in Voting Behavior," 876-87.

grow out of any deep feeling of attachment and dedication to their miniature republic. In most instances it is the result of uncertainty or fear as to the consequences that change might bring: higher taxes, invasion by Negroes and other core city "undesirables," down grading of the local public school system, or loss of certain privileges peculiar to the suburban enclave.¹

Attachments to Community and Social Rank

In order to remain faithful to the broader theme of this chapter it is necessary to compare the indicators of dedication to local community with the differences between communities on the basis of social rank. The general hypothesis which follows the previous line of reasoning is that the higher status communities will also prove to be those in which the citizens are the most involved in affairs of the community. This should be so primarily because those items being used for measuring commitment to community--activity, knowledge, group membership, etc.--have generally proven to correlate positively with high educational attainment, income and occupational status.²

Community longevity, the first indicator of attachment to be considered, does not prove to have a statistically significant relationship with community social rank, even though 23.3 per cent in upper ranked cities had resided in their communities for fifteen years or longer as

¹Bollen and Schmandt, The Metropolis, p. 221.

²Charles R. Wright and Herbert Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958), 286-94; and John M. Foskett, "The Influence of Social Participation on Community Programs and Activities," in Community Structure and Analysis, pp. 311-330.

opposed to only 15.3 per cent in the lower ranked city.¹

When home ownership is compared with community social rank, the expected tendency is found although it is not strong enough to produce statistically significant differences (by chi-square test).² The percentage of home ownership by social rank is as follows:

upper cities	-	88.3 per cent;
middle cities	-	79.1 per cent;
lower cities	-	72.2 per cent.

These figures do highlight the fact that even in lower status cities of this area, home ownership is widespread.³

A slightly stronger relationship between community social rank and group membership was found in the expected direction, although it was not statistically significant.⁴ For example, the percentage of the respondents among the five cities who indicated they belonged to no local group was as follows:

upper cities	-	45.0 per cent;
middle cities	-	56.0 per cent;
lower cities	-	62.5 per cent.

¹Chi-square equals 1.68; not significant at .05 level.

²Chi-square equals 5.15; not significant at .05 level.

³A good illustration of the pervasiveness of home ownership in the Oklahoma City area can be found in examining certain characteristics of persons working at Tinker Air Force Base, the largest employer in the state and a prime employer for persons living in Del City. A 1962 study indicated that only about 12 per cent of the 18,529 member civilian work force had received any college training, but almost 80 per cent owned their own homes. Richard W. Poole, Characteristics and Community Patterns of the Oklahoma City Air Material Area Labor Force (Oklahoma City: U. S. Air Force, October, 1962), pp. 3-20.

⁴Chi-square equals 6.04; not significant at .05 level.

Local political activity likewise varies, as anticipated, with community social rank, but, again, without enough strength to be considered as more than a chance relationship.¹ In this instance less than two percentage points separates the lower-ranked city (Del City) from the upper ranked cities in the "high" activity category (16.7 per cent to 18.3 per cent). Greater variance is demonstrated, however, on the "low" end of the political activity index where only 35 per cent of the respondents from upper-ranked cities are found in contrast with 48 per cent from the middle-ranked cities and 58.3 per cent from the lower-ranked city. The Village scores on local political activity are especially deviant; only 4.6 per cent are found in the "high" level of local political activity which is the lowest among the five suburbs.

The scores obtained by respondents on the local political knowledge index are no better in terms of producing statistically significant differences when compared with community social rank than the other indicators have been.² The Village once more occupies a unique position. Almost 82 per cent of those responding were placed in the "little or no knowledge" category, almost 20 per cent more than was found for any of the other four cities. Moreover, of the thirteen persons who named the central city mayor as their mayor, seven were from The Village (two was the highest number in any other city; none were from Nichols Hills).

Finally, commitment to an attitude of "localism" measured by use

¹Chi-square equals 8.48; not significant at .05 level.

²Chi-square equals 6.56; not significant at .05 level.

of the grass-roots ideology index was compared with community social rank. The projected co-variation between "high ideology" and high community status was found, this time with differences which are considerably greater than by chance as shown in Table 44.

TABLE 44

COMMITMENT TO "GRASS-ROOTS" POLITICAL
IDEOLOGY BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

"Grass-Roots" Index	Community Social Rank					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	31	51.7	24	26.4	18	25.0
Medium	26	43.3	46	50.5	34	47.2
Low	3	5.0	21	23.1	20	27.8

$$\chi^2 = 18.86, p < .001$$

Overall, when the six indicators of attachment to local community are considered, differences between suburbs based on community social rank can only be considered as suggestive. As indicated above, part of this reason lies in the rather consistently divergent position of The Village. In almost every case, Nichols Hills, the highest status city of all, was rather widely separated from the others in the expected direction. But, The Village, the other suburb of upper rank, was frequently below the middle-ranked cities on such indicators as level of political knowledge and percentage in the high level of political activity. The inference one might make about The Village on the basis of these distinctions seems to be as follows. First, this city is the least economically self-sufficient

of the entire group of ten cities studied. Virtually everyone in The Village commutes to work. It is a fairly new city (incorporated in 1959), with over half its population having moved out of Oklahoma City and with no separate, independent school system of its own. Thus, in many ways, it is probably less cohesive as a separate community than any of the other cities under investigation. Therefore, it is no real surprise that the highest percentage willing to support substantial governmental consolidation in the metropolitan area (25 per cent) is found in The Village. Nonetheless, as indicated previously, many of its people do perceive certain advantages accruing to The Village residency (particularly, lower taxes) and are not readily apt to give up these benefits.

Suburbia as Protector Against Big City Ills

Several questions were included in the survey which hopefully would permit some conclusions to be drawn, limited and tentative though they may be, regarding the extent to which suburban residents in the Oklahoma City area might consider their separate city residence an effective way of insulating themselves from some of the harsher realities of big city life. This matter is one which is difficult to get at through the usual kind of direct questions asked in survey research. William Dobriner, for example, in Class in Suburbia indicates that much of the literature dealing with reasons why persons move to suburbia probably overstresses the positive values people give, such as "We did it for the children," because these responses are the obvious, socially accepted ones. No one, he suggests, is going to say, "We wanted to get away from the Puerto

Ricans," and yet he concludes that the "flight to the suburbs may be a polite assertion of the principle of white supremacy."¹ In addition to seeking escape from racial problems, it is commonly alleged that people depart the central city for suburban residence because of the threat "... of violence, of threat to one's children's education and social placement."² In a survey with obvious restraints on length it was not possible to probe in depth what is undoubtedly a complex set of attitudes. But, it was feasible to insert a few questions dealing with certain controversial issues, the responses to which might have interesting implications for metropolitan area government.

Two hypotheses come to mind when one considers that suburban life for some represents an effective shield against certain alleged unfavorable features of the big city. First, those persons residing in the upper status communities should evidence greater sensitivity to the

¹Dobriner, Class in Suburbia, p. 64. A great deal has been written about the "white flight" from the increasingly black central city. Morton Grodzins was one of the first to warn that "many central cities of the great metropolitan areas of the United States are fast becoming lower-class, largely Negro, slums" in "The New Shame of the Cities," Confluence, VII (Spring, 1958), 29-46, reprinted in Politics of Metropolitan Areas: Selected Readings, ed. by Philip B. Coulter (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, Co., 1967), pp. 13-27. For a more recent report which states, "As the central cities are becoming more Negro, the suburbs are becoming more white," see John H. Strange, "Racial Segregation in the Metropolis" in Metropolitan Politics: A Reader, ed. by Michael N. Danielson (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966), pp. 41-52. See, also Leo F. Schnore and Harry Sharp, "Racial Changes in Metropolitan Areas, 1950-1960," in Social Forces, XLI (March, 1963), pp. 247-53.

²David Riesman, "Flight and Search in the New Suburbs," in Abundance for What? And Other Essays (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1964), p. 263.

"protective" aspects of their more privileged sanctuaries. Second, those suburbanites who are particularly cognizant of this advantage should be less favorably disposed toward any proposal which would place them in a closer relationship to the central city (this latter hypothesis assumes, of course, that these people are capable of making the connection between a change in government structure and the potential loss of protective advantages, an assumption which, based on previously presented evidence, might be a tenuous one).

Several caveats seem appropriate before proceeding further. First, the big city slum conditions so characteristic of many large Eastern metropolitan areas are not nearly so prevalent in the Oklahoma City area. This metropolitan area does have a great deal of racial segregation in the field of housing with the Negro community largely confined to the northeastern part of the central city.¹ Despite this, in recent years there have been very few serious racial disturbances in this area. In addition, the local metropolitan dailies rather constantly remind their readers how fortunate they are to be living in this frontier region of low density, open spaces, and clean air without having to endure the immediately pressing social problems faced by many of the nation's larger cities. This kind of

¹In 1960, non-whites in the Oklahoma City SMSA were 9.4 per cent. Of this amount 87.7 per cent are found in the central city which has a non-white population of 13.4 per cent. One good indicator of the existence of segregated housing patterns is the percentage of Negro school children still attending substantially segregated schools. Thomas R. Dye, in "Urban School Segregation: A Comparative Analysis," Urban Affairs Quarterly, IV (December, 1968), 141-66, states that over 90 per cent of Negro elementary school children in Oklahoma City attend schools which are over 90 per cent Negro.

local chauvinism undoubtedly tends to minimize awareness of social and economic differences in the area as a whole and perhaps reduces suburban fears of the great "unwashed masses" living in the abject poverty of the evil city (the central city does represent the median when compared on the basis of social rank with the ten suburbs under study). All of which is to say that concerns over "protection" on the part of Oklahoma City area suburban dwellers may be less salient than would be found in other areas.¹

There is a second problem, one encountered before in this research, which may arise if one expects to find serious divisions over "protectionism" among the five suburbs on the basis of status differences. Very simply those localities which appear to have the most to guard vis-a-vis the central city are the ones which contain the greatest proportion of well-educated, high income residents who have consistently, in other areas, rallied to the support of metro reform proposals.

With these reservations in mind the next concern becomes one of deciding upon an acceptable way of measuring the somewhat ambiguous concept of "protection." Since no existing scale or index was found in the literature it became necessary to rely on a limited number of face validity questions which it was assumed would yield reasonably useful results if

¹Oliver Williams, et al., Suburban Differences, found that exclusion of Negroes is more operative in the low than high social ranking areas in the Philadelphia area. p. 226. A considerable amount of research seems to confirm that social distance between Negro and white is greatest when both have low socio-economic status. Frank R. Westie, "Negro-White Status Differentials and Social Distance," American Sociological Review, XVII (October, 1952), 557-58.

drafted with care. Included in the instrument were two questions touching on racial integration, one which asked if the person felt safer by living in the suburb, and one item taken from the "grass-roots" ideology index dealing with conflict.

The first question asked, "Would you favor or oppose a plan to achieve greater racial balance in the schools in the Oklahoma City area by bussing Negro students into all white areas which might include (your city)?" Table 45 reveals that opposition to this idea was enormous (total sample--79.8 per cent) but declined, although gradually, as social rank decreased.¹

In one sense, the hypothesis is confirmed. It might have been anticipated, however, that a U-shaped curve would have been produced because of previous research findings indicating that persons of lower socio-economic status are more likely to be prejudiced against Negroes.²

¹Even though Table 45 demonstrated perfect rank order correlation a 3 x 3 table (three levels of social rank and favor, oppose, don't know) does not produce statistically significant results using a chi-square test. (Chi-square equals 4.16; not significant at .05 level.) It should also be pointed out that problems pertaining to school desegregation are the concern solely of the local independent school districts and would be totally unaffected by any change in municipal government structure. The question was deemed useful, nevertheless, as a good general indicator of the negative attitude among suburbanites in this area toward social contact with Negroes.

²For a general statement supporting this view see Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964), p. 515. See also V. O. Key, Jr. Public Opinion and American Democracy, pp. 137-138. For a general inventory of the literature on racial attitudes see Frank R. Westie, "Race and Ethnic Relations: in Handbook of Modern Sociology, ed. by E. L. Faris (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), pp. 576-586.

TABLE 45

OPPOSITION TO BUSSING TO ACHIEVE RACIAL BALANCE
IN SCHOOLS BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

Community Social Rank	Per Cent Opposed
Upper Social Rank	
Nichols Hills	93.7
The Village	81.8
Middle Social Rank	
Warr Acres	81.3
Bethany	80.9
Lower Social Rank	
Del City	73.5

One partial explanation of the greater intransigence on this issue among the higher status cities may lie in the fact that these two cities are contained within the large school district which also encompasses most of the central city. Thus, their schools are not under immediate local control. Moreover, the Oklahoma City school district of which they are a part recently underwent a federal court-ordered redistricting to insure greater racial balance between the overwhelmingly white northwest part of Oklahoma City (the general location of Nichols Hills and The Village) and the predominantly black northeast section of the City. Thus, the prospects of being forced to accept Negro pupils in their schools is a more immediate threat in Nichols Hills and The Village than is the case with the other three cities which have more direct local control over separate school district.

The second question having to do with potential fear of "invasion" by Negroes dealt with the desirability of an open-housing ordinance for the suburbs. Again, opposition was widespread but not as pronounced as for the previous question. A total of 68.2 per cent disapproved of open-housing for their city,¹ but the distinctions between cities on the basis of social rank were less clear-cut than with the question dealing with "bussing," as indicated by the following percentage opposed by community social rank:

upper social rank	-	76.7 per cent opposed;
middle social rank	-	59.3 per cent; ²
lower social rank	-	70.8 per cent.

Here, of course, a U-shaped curve does appear as the middle-ranked cities are apparently the least threatened by prospects of an open-housing law.³

¹Survey data from national polls are somewhat contradictory on attitudes toward open housing. A recent study notes that a 1967 Louis Harris poll found 63 per cent of whites opposed to open housing laws. In another Harris poll (1966) it was revealed that whites differed greatly by economic status on the same question with 39 per cent of upper income whites opposing such laws and 69 per cent of low income whites in opposition. A Gallup poll, on the other hand, in 1967, among whites who knew what open housing was (59 per cent) found 57 per cent opposed, with no real distinctions among the white respondents on the basis of educational differences. Great variations were indicated between geographical regions but no attempt was made to get at any central city-suburban differences. Reported in Hazel G. Erskine, "The Polls: Negro Housing," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXI (Fall, 1967), 482-98.

²Chi-square for a 3 x 3 table equals 5.23, not significant at .05 level.

³A few months following this survey, the central city did enact a version of an open-housing ordinance (January, 1968), followed shortly thereafter by two suburbs, both in the middle social rank, Warr Acres and Midwest City. No other cities in this area, at this writing, have followed suit.

In order to probe more general feelings of security which might accompany life in the suburb, respondents were asked, "Do you think you and your property are probably safer here than you would be if you lived in Oklahoma City?" 60.5 per cent said "yes," and the distribution of the replies in terms of community social rank was as predicted (see Table 46), with the highest status cities exhibiting feelings of greatest safety.¹

TABLE 46

ATTITUDE TOWARD SAFETY OF PROPERTY IN SUBURB COMPARED
TO CENTRAL CITY BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

Property Safer in Suburb	Community Social Rank					
	Upper		Medium		Lower	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	40	66.7	57	62.6	38	52.8
No	20	33.3	22	24.2	19	26.4
Don't Know	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13.2</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>20.8</u>
	60	100.0	91	100.0	72	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 14.23, p < .01$$

Finally, it was decided to examine more closely one of the questions from the seven-item small-town political attitude index which seemed, on the face of it, to get at the matter of suburban serenity versus big city turmoil.² The item which was compared on the basis of community social

¹The Village is again deviant. Where 81.3 per cent of the Nichols Hills sample replied yes, their property was safer, only 61.4 per cent from The Village agreed.

²Adrian in Public Attitudes and Metropolitan Decision-Making, pp. 8-10, has stressed how important it is to most middle-class suburbanites to have a government which has a "minimal anxiety-producing potential."

rank and shown in Table 47 asked which city (the suburb or central city) has the "most conflict" over public affairs. The percentage which chose Oklahoma City was extremely large (82.1 per cent) although differences between suburbs did emerge in the column reflecting "the same" or "don't know" so that more than chance differences were found.

TABLE 47

ATTITUDE INDICATING WHETHER CENTRAL CITY OR SUBURB
HAS MOST CONFLICT BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

City with Most Conflict	Community Social Rank					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Oklahoma City	59	98.3	72	79.1	52	72.2
Suburb	0	0	0	0	2	2.8
Same or don't know	1	1.7	19	20.9	18	25.0
	60	100.0	91	100.0	72	100.0

For computation of chi-square the bottom two rows were combined; $\chi^2 = 16.12$, $p < .001$.

The Suburb as Protector and Support for Metropolitan
Government Change

When the four variables representing the protective aspects of suburban life were compared with the question of willingness to accept meaningful governmental change for the metropolitan area, the results

He further offers the unverified proposition that most suburbanites will reject a government structure which they fear will be conflict-ridden (such as metro government is likely to be).

were disappointing. It was hypothesized that those who were more acutely aware of suburbia's alleged advantages in this realm would be less likely to support basic structural change. When the two questions dealing with racial acceptance were compared with choice of government the differences tended in the predicted direction as Table 48 reveals but were not nearly as great as expected and were too weak to produce statistical differences using a chi-square test.¹

TABLE 48

ATTITUDE TOWARD METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT CHANGE COMPARED
WITH ATTITUDES TOWARD RACIAL BALANCE
IN SCHOOLS AND OPEN-HOUSING

Choice of Government	Racial Balance in Schools by Bussing		Open-Housing	
	Favor (%)	Oppose(%)	Favor(%)	Oppose(%)
Locals	74.2	83.8	78.8	84.2
Metros	25.8	16.2	21.2	15.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N = 31	N = 173	N = 52	N = 152

The issue of greater safety of person and property in the suburb when scrutinized in light of acceptance of basic governmental change also displayed the anticipated results, but again with no more than chance

¹A 2 x 3 table for choice of government (locals or metros) compared with support for bussing (favor, oppose, don't know) produced a chi-square difference of 1.71, not significant at .05 level. The same kind of 2 x 3 table for open-housing generated a chi-square of 1.75, not significant at .05 level.

relationships when subjected to a chi-square test.¹ Of those who thought the suburb offered greater safety, 15.6 per cent favored substantial government reorganization, while 23.0 per cent who said "no" on greater safety in the suburb were advocates of fundamental change.

Only when the matter of choosing the city with the most conflict is compared with the question of metropolitan government change does the expected pattern break down. In this instance, of those who favored basic change (metros), 19.2 per cent selected Oklahoma City as having the greatest conflict while only 12.5 per cent said the suburb had more or the same amount of conflict as Oklahoma City. Of course it was hypothesized that a greater percentage of "metros" would be found among those who saw conflict as greater or the same in the suburb, and no cogent reason for the failure of this to happen can be offered.

In summary, it bears repeating that although most of the hypothesized relationships did develop between community social rank, favorable attitudes toward government change, and the items used to depict suburbia as the retreat from the alleged baneful effects of big city living, the results can be considered only as tenuous. As a partial explanation of this it has been suggested that suburbanites, particularly, are victims of inherent conflict. They are likely to experience varying amounts of pressure in wanting to preserve certain privileges they presently enjoy, but at the same time some, at least, recognize the rational arguments for bringing the cities within a metropolitan area into closer cooperation and

¹Chi-square equals 1.58; not significant at .05 level.

harmony.¹ The apparent result of this cross-pressured situation (to the extent it is salient enough to be considered actual cross-pressure) makes it quite hazardous to predict the responses to such questions as were used in this part of the study.

The Service and Tax Issues

Two controversies have inevitably intruded in virtually every "metro" reform movement--the proclaimed need for better services, especially in the outlying areas, and the fear of higher taxes. As Scott Greer has sagely observed, the study commissions which are so often appointed at the outset of a reform movement to consider the "problem of fragmented local governments" invariably begin with:

...a careful description of the existing governmental structure of the metropolis with an emphasis upon its service-providing agencies. These are subjected to a critical analysis, and action is recommended. Indeed the rationale for the studies rested upon the belief that the existing governmental system was inadequate to provide services.²

Turning to the Oklahoma City area, it has already been noted that a widespread satisfaction with local government services prevails among

¹The model of a cross-pressured voter is not new. Considerable research on voting behavior indicates that such a person is less likely to vote or is less consistent in the direction of his vote than someone not subject to such attitude conflicts. Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 98; Campbell, et al., The American Voter, p. 46.

²Greer, Metropolitics, p. 41. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in their study of eighteen reorganization attempts made between 1950 and 1961 report that, "In nearly every instance, the proponents of reorganization are reported to have focused strongly on two topics--the faultiness of existing local government structure or operation, and the need for urban-type services in outlying areas." Factors Affecting Voter Reactions to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas, p. 9.

the suburbs. Many residents, in fact, singled out good services as being among the more important reasons for their suburban residence (this was especially true among upper status communities). Even so, because of the importance of this general issue, several questions dealing explicitly with local services were included in the survey. Respondents were asked (while looking at a card listing eight common urban functions) to rate each local service as being either good, very good, fair, poor, or don't know. A wide variation in ratings of the particular services and between communities on the same service was discovered. The best ratings, overall, went to such basic functions as schools, and police and fire protection. Those services which got the lowest ratings were street repair and parks. The largest "don't know" (17.5 per cent) was registered for the planning and zoning activities of the suburbs.

There were, as expected, significant differences in the way respondents perceived their services when the cities were grouped by community social rank. Table 49 sets forth these variations on the basis of percentage of "very good" replies (the highest possible) given each of the eight services. The items are listed in descending order in terms of the mean "very good" rating of each.

Among the upper ranked cities a 39.6 per cent average of "very good" for all services was found. This figure compares with an average "very good" rating of 31.6 per cent for mid-ranked cities and a 24.0 per cent average for the lower ranked city. The reason for the relatively lower position for schools among The Village and Nichols Hills has been

TABLE 49

PERCENTAGE OF "VERY GOOD" RATINGS FOR SELECTED
LOCAL SERVICES BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

Service Rated	Community Social Rank		
	Upper(%)	Middle(%)	Lower(%)
Police	73.3	62.6	37.5
Schools	46.7	58.4	52.8
Fire	66.7	51.7	33.3
Garbage	40.0	27.5	31.9
Traffic	25.0	19.8	12.5
Parks	25.0	13.2	12.5
Planning and Zoning	25.0	9.9	5.6
Street Repair	15.0	9.9	5.6

$$\chi^2 = 25.13, p < .05$$

explained previously.

In addition to being asked for a rating of their community's services, respondents were called upon to compare the general level of services in their suburb with the service level they thought existed in Oklahoma City. When asked, "Do you think any of the city services we just mentioned (the eight listed above) are better in Oklahoma City?" only 26.5 per cent replied "yes." Those who said "yes" were further asked, "which ones?" and only twenty-three persons (10.3 per cent) were able to enumerate any particular service (or services) as being superior in the central city.

If one examines perceived differences in service between suburb and central city in light of community social rank, the anticipated relationship emerges, although insufficiently strong to produce statistical significance.¹ The upper status municipalities were more certain (61.7 per cent) that none of their services were surpassed by those of Oklahoma City in contrast with 46.2 per cent in the middle group and 47.2 per cent in the lower status city.

Finally a comparison was made between those who preferred suburban services with the willingness of the respondent to accept a basic reordering of local government structure. The results were somewhat unexpected.² It might be assumed that those who were aware of service differentials in favor of the suburbs would oppose governmental change. Such was not the case. Those who favored governmental change were more likely to have named suburban services as better than those offered by the central city (only 13.6 per cent of the "metros" named Oklahoma City as having a more desirable service level). Thus, the question dealing with comparative municipal functions (between suburb and central city) has

¹ Chi-square equals 9.02 (3 x 3 table); not significant at .05 level.

² Charles Press in "Efficiency and Economy Arguments for Metropolitan Reorganization," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVIII (Winter, 1964), 584-94, found among a sample of three suburban cities and three townships in the Grand Rapids, Michigan, metropolitan area, that a suburbanite's rating of his own government's effectiveness was of little value in predicting his attitude toward annexation, in part because the ratings given suburban services were extremely charitable. He concluded that suburbanites did not apply a hard and fast efficiency and economy criterion to the operation of their local governments.

virtually no power in forecasting how a suburbanite will receive a proposal to substantially modify the local governmental structure.

It appears that only one thing can be said with any certainty regarding attitudes among Oklahoma City suburbanites toward services provided by their local governments. No support could be mustered in these areas for any "metro" reform movement if the argument for change rested heavily on the need for improved urban services outside the central city.¹

Taxes

A great deal of the research on the various abortive attempts to bring "metro" to certain of the nations' large urban complexes stressed how effectively the opponents of change have played on the fear of higher taxes, especially among the suburbs.²

¹Brett W. Hawkins, in "Public Opinion and Metropolitan Reorganization in Nashville," Journal of Politics, XXVIII (May, 1966), 408-18, reported that there was much greater support for metropolitan reorganization in Nashville and Davidson County, Tennessee, among voters who were not satisfied with their local services than voters who were.

²Schmandt, Steinbecker, and Wendel, Metropolitan Reform in St. Louis: p. 95, indicate that the two most effective arguments against reorganization in St. Louis were tax increases and "super government." Press, "Attitudes Toward Annexation in a Small City Area," p. 275, found that suburbanites "feared most that the costs of government would go up if they were annexed." Greer in Metropolitica, p. 77, mentions that the fear of tax increases was expressed among St. Louis area residents who opposed the St. Louis District plan. Hawkins, "Public Opinion and Metropolitan Reorganization in Nashville," p. 412, reports that 92.7 per cent of those dissatisfied with their services and not anticipating higher taxes were "yes" voters, whereas only 26.3 per cent of those both satisfied with their services and anticipating higher taxes were "yes" voters on Nashville's metro reform plan. He also found apprehension over increased taxes was the reason given most often by those opposed to metro. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations lists among the

Since the tax issue has been so critical in other areas, several questions probing sensitivity to the local tax structure among Oklahoma City suburbs were included in the survey. Previously it had been revealed that a total of 42.6 per cent of those sampled in this area mentioned a favorable tax position as among the three reasons they liked suburban living. From this point, an attempt was made to determine just how the suburbanite felt about his current local tax burden. Using a four step, structured question, it was found that a rather large proportion (63.7 per cent) thought their local taxes were "about right," while 20.2 per cent said they were "too high" and 6.7 per cent replied "much too high." (A few brave souls--3.6 per cent--said taxes were "too low").¹ When this question was considered on the basis of community social rank it was clearly shown (see Table 50) that respondents from the higher status cities were the most content with the present local tax arrangement.

Respondents were next asked, "Do you think your local property taxes are lower than what people in Oklahoma City pay?". Over half (52.5 per cent) answered "yes," although a rather large number (23.3 per cent) said they did not know. Only 11.2 per cent replied in the negative.

eight basic reasons for failure of metropolitan reorganization the "inability of the proponents to allay popular fear of the effects of the proposed reorganization upon local taxes..." Factors Affecting Voting Reactions, pp. 21-22.

¹The results from the Oklahoma City area sample indicate considerably greater satisfaction with the local tax situation than was reported in the St. Louis study of the 1950's, where 40 per cent outside the central city said taxes were "too high" and only 49 per cent were satisfied with the tax levels. Bollen, ed., Exploring the Metropolitan Community, pp. 190-210.

TABLE 50

ATTITUDES TOWARD LOCAL TAXES BY
COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

Perceived Level of Taxation	Community Social Rank					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Too high	6	10.0	34	37.4	20	27.7
About right	49	81.7	47	51.7	46	63.9
Too low or don't know	5	8.3	10	11.0	6	8.4
	60	100.0	91	100.0	72	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 15.51, p < .01$$

Comparisons grouping the cities by community social rank on this question again produced significant differences as shown in Table 51. Those from upper ranked cities were considerably more likely to think their suburban taxes were lower than would be the case in Oklahoma City.

Another question pertaining to taxes followed the two above, "Do you think people living in (suburb) consider lower taxes to be an important reason for living here?" The overall positive response was 51.1 per cent, but the divergence between the five communities was revealing. As expected the "yes" response from The Village was the largest (65.8 per cent), while at the same time, the smallest number of affirmative replies (33.3 per cent) turned up in Nichols Hills the other high status community.

It was hoped that meaningful differences would emerge when attitudes toward local taxes were compared with responses to the question

TABLE 51

ATTITUDES COMPARING LOCAL TAXES IN SUBURB TO
CENTRAL CITY BY COMMUNITY SOCIAL RANK

Suburban Taxes Lower	Community Social Rank					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	45	75.0	35	38.5	37	51.4
No	4	6.7	17	18.7	4	5.6
Same or don't know	11	18.3	39	42.9	31	43.0
	60	100.0	91	100.0	72	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 24.12, p < .001$$

dealing with governmental reorganization. Such did not occur. In fact, when opinions regarding the burdensomeness of local taxes were arrayed in accordance with support or non-support for change, the tendencies which obtained were in the opposite direction of what was expected (see Table 52). It was thought that those who saw taxes as being too high would be overwhelmingly "locals," fearing possible increases if governmental change should occur (this proposition, like several others, assumes the competency of the suburbanite, without benefit of arguments pro or con, to make a connection between governmental change and potential tax increase. Table 52 indicates that this association was not achieved).

Those who perceived suburban taxes as lower than those of the central city were somewhat less likely to favor substantial governmental change than respondents who saw no differences. For example, 24 per cent of those who recognized no tax advantage supported basic government

TABLE 52

ATTITUDES TOWARD METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT CHANGE
COMPARED WITH ATTITUDES TOWARD LOCAL TAXES

Choice of Government	Attitudes Toward Taxes					
	Too high		About right		Too low or Don't know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Locals	47	78.3	121	85.2	15	71.4
Metros	13	21.7	21	14.8	6	18.6
	60	100.0	142	100.0	21	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 3.04, p > .05$$

change while only 19.7 per cent who felt they got a tax break in the suburbs appeared in the "metros" column.¹

In summary two things remain visible. First, an argument for bringing about a greater consolidation among cities of this area on the grounds that local services would be improved would surely fall on deaf ears in suburbia. Second, in the absence of a perceived threat to the suburban tax rate, it is impossible, based on evidence from this survey, to forecast how salient the tax issue would be among suburbs in this area if a metro reform campaign were initiated.

Conclusion

There is no longer any doubt that the opinions and attitudes of the residents in metropolitan areas must be taken into account as a pre-condition

¹Chi-square equals 1.85; not significant at .05 level.

for suggesting any major alterations in the largely decentralized metropolitan governmental structures which exist in this country. Moreover, previous research has shown that the fears and aspirations of the suburban populations, in particular, may often loom as a prime obstacle to any proposed change which requires a local referendum.¹

Proceeding without the benefit of a recent or eminent campaign for metropolitan reorganization in the Oklahoma City area, this chapter has reported the results of survey research among five suburbs which may have important implications for the future of greater metropolitan integration in this area. The five cities were chosen to represent the greatest possible differences in community social rank among cities in this vicinity. For purposes of analysis, answers to the various questions from the survey were grouped into four divisions: (1) who lives in suburbia and why; (2) local community identification; (3) suburbia as a protective barrier; and (4) the issue areas of local services and taxes.

The following general findings which seem to possess relevance for metropolitan political unity were presented:

- (1) the suburban sample generally seemed to prefer the living conditions they associated with residence in suburbia to conditions they identified with the central city; the three items named most frequently as desirable features in

¹The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in their study, Factors Affecting Voter Reactions..., pp. 26-27, found that of the seven "drastic" proposals for metropolitan government reorganization voted on from 1950-1961, only one carried at the ballot box outside the central city.

suburbia were good schools, good city services, and the small-town atmosphere;

- (2) using objective indicators such as local group membership and local political knowledge and activity, it was determined that most of the respondents were not strongly attached to their local community; yet, at the same time, a large number were committed to a verbal acceptance of a "grass-roots" political ideology;
- (3) some evidence was offered to indicate that the widespread opposition which was found among the suburbs to open-housing proposals and bussing of Negro school children might reflect an awareness of certain protective aspects of suburban living;
- (4) considerable satisfaction with the level and quality of local public services was evident among the vast majority of the respondents;
- (5) at their present level, most suburbanites appear to be reasonably content with the local tax structure.

In addition to these broader findings, significant differences in attitudes toward many of the above items did appear when the communities were grouped on the basis of social rank, lending support to the general hypothesis that areal diversity does tend to be associated with differences in opinions and attitudes.

An effort was made at ascertaining the extent to which the suburban sample would be willing to support various levels of governmental

centralization in the Oklahoma City area. On the basis of a question providing the option of five different degrees of governmental association, it was concluded that only a small number (18 per cent) could be said to favor either a true metropolitan government or total merger for cities of the area. Answers from this question were dichotomized (those supporting some form of the status quo and those favoring basic structural change) and compared with other variables from the survey data with generally disappointing results. Perhaps the most logical explanation for this lies in the assumption that, in the absence of more direct stimuli, most respondents were unable to make any real connection between the question dealing with levels of governmental association and replies they made to other questions. There seems to be little doubt that the prospects of some sort of fundamental reordering of the governmental arrangement in the metropolis has very low salience for the average citizen.

Overall, it is probably safe to say on the basis of these survey findings that there appears to be scant evidence of latent support for significant metropolitan governmental integration among suburbanites in the Oklahoma City area.

CHAPTER VI

CERTAIN POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF SELECTED SUBURBAN OFFICIALS

This chapter reports on the opinions and attitudes of a small group of suburban city council members toward certain issues which may have important implications for the prospects of greater political integration within the Oklahoma City metropolitan area. Many of the questions to be explored here are similar to those which were used with the suburban sample in the five cities surveyed in depth and reported in some detail in Chapter V. The items to be dealt with in this instance concern leadership attitudes toward such things as reasons for living in suburbia, the adequacy of suburban public services, the issue of taxes, racial integration, and other matters concerning intergovernmental cooperation at the metropolitan level. These were presented to the council members of the five selected suburbs by way of a supplementary mailed questionnaire which was included with the shorter form sent to all officials in the ten suburbs.

One of the primary purposes of the additional questioning directed at this small group of officials was to permit a comparison of attitudinal data from the suburban populace with the same sort of information gathered from their local representatives. Previous discussion (see Chapter IV) has focused on certain objective factors (e. g., social status, education,

group ties) which might have a considerable effect upon the formation of a particular outlook and set of biases on the part of local leaders. In addition to influences of this type, local officials are expected, within limits, to be responsive to the preferences, needs, and demands of those who put them into office. In partisan systems, the political party is expected to serve as a basic mechanism for joining political leaders and followers in some minimal amount of political consensus and cohesiveness.¹ In the absence of this key link, as in nonpartisan systems, what emerges to provide the mechanism to tie the electorate to his officials and thus assure responsible government? Or, is such a formal device really essential, especially in the case of local government, to guarantee accountable public servants? Of course this study cannot answer all of the complex questions arising out of this general problem except to determine, in one particular setting, if the local leadership appears to be sensitive to the mood of the electorate at a given time and on a selected range of issues.

It has been argued by some that mere proximity to the voters and the homogeneous character of certain small political units (such as suburbs)

¹For a discussion of this problem, see Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, pp. 441-531. In a pluralistic society a number of groups participate in aggregating and articulating interests. However, the weight of scholarly opinion among political scientists seems to support the view expressed by Gabriel Almond that "... it is the party system which is the distinctively modern structure of political aggregation and which in the modern, developed, democratic political system 'regulates' or gives order to the performance of the aggregative function by other structures." "Introduction, A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics" in The Politics of the Developing Areas, ed. by Gabriel Almond and James S. Coleman (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 40.

will insure that local leaders will be particularly responsive to the wishes of their constituents. Nevertheless, enough evidence to the contrary exists from leader-follower studies at other political levels to preclude any automatic acceptance of this assumption without further examination.¹ Thus, some of the questions to be answered in the research reported in this chapter concerns the extent to which suburban officials see themselves as representing the views of their citizens. Even more importantly, to what degree do real similarities exist in the attitudes between the two groups? Do officials tend to hold more moderate views on local issues or do they, in fact, accentuate certain attitudinal tendencies prevalent among the suburban populace?

If attitudinal patterns of suburban leaders tend to coincide with or magnify those of their followers on issues supporting local independence,

¹For some of the relevant studies dealing with attitudinal differences between leaders and followers, most of which have considered congressional--constituency distinctions, see Herbert McClosky, Paul Hoffman, and Rosemary OHara, "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers," American Political Science Review, LIV (June, 1960), 406-27; Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress," ibid., LVII (March, 1963), 45-56; Lewis A. Dexter, "The Representative and His District" in Politics and Social Life, ed. by Nelson W. Polsby, Robert A. Dentler, and Paul A. Smith (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963), pp. 495-512; Lewis A. Froman, Jr., Congressmen and Their Constituencies (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963), pt. II; Charles F. Cnudde and Donald J. McCrone, "Constituency Attitudes and Congressional Voting: A Causal Model," American Political Science Review, LX (March, 1966), 66-72; and Norman R. Luttbeg and Harmon Zeigler, "Attitude Consensus and Conflict in an Interest Group: An Assessment of Cohesion," ibid., LX (September, 1966), 655-65. A recent collection of readings devoted to the problem of the relationship between public opinion and leadership is Norman R. Luttbeg, ed., Public Opinion and Public Policy: Models of Political Linkage (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1968).

reinforcement of one group by the other should make prospects for fundamental reorganization less likely. If, on the other hand, leaders are less chauvinistic than the populace regarding certain values of local autonomy, it might be that under the right circumstances chances for greater political integration would be enhanced.

As a general proposition consistent with the statement regarding the nature of leadership expressed earlier, we would expect that to a considerable extent the opinions and attitudes of the leadership element would coincide with the views held by those they represent. Yet, another variable intrudes which may affect this relationship--the type of representative role which the local official may assume. This consideration takes us, if only briefly, into theories of political representation.

At least three possible roles which elected officials may take can be identified in the literature on representation: the delegate who votes precisely as he thinks his constituency wants; the trustee who decides public issues on their merit (as he sees it) and follows his conscience in voting; and the politico who plays, at different times, a role combining various aspects of the other two.¹ One of the few studies of public attitudes

¹These three representative role models are introduced in John C. Wahlke, et al., The Legislative System: Explorations in Legislative Behavior (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), Chapter 12. Neal Riemer, ed., The Representative: Trustee? Delegate? Partisan? Politico? (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1967) presents a series of essays on the question of styles or models of representation. Other studies which have used "role" as an analytical approach at the local level are Gladys Kammerer, "Role Diversity of City Managers," Administrative Science Quarterly, VIII (March, 1964), 421-42; Betty Zisk, Heinz Fulau, and Kenneth Prewitt, "City Councilmen and the Group Struggle: A Typology

toward legislative roles, a 1962 survey of Florida's Cape Kennedy, found considerable public support for the delegate role, especially for the official at the municipal level. When asked, "(do you think) an elected legislator should find out what his district wants and always vote accordingly," 75.9 per cent of the sample (204 respondents) replied "yes" in the case of the city councilman.¹ Despite the rather strong support among voters for the delegate role disclosed in this instance, evidence exists indicating that even at the local level elected representatives are unable to provide this kind of mirror-image of constituency desires. For example, a study in an Iowa community contrasted the views of elected school officials with those of school patrons and discovered that "community leaders are not the accurate judges of public opinion which democratic representative

of Role Orientation, " Journal of Politics, XXVII (August, 1965), 618-46; and Charles L. Mulford, "On Role Consensus About Community Leaders, " Sociological Inquiry, XXXVI (Winter, 1966), 15-18. For a more theoretical consideration of the whole matter of representation, see Charles E. Gilbert, "Operative Doctrines of Representation, " American Political Science Review, LVII (September, 1963), 604-18; and Wayne L. Francis, "The Role Concept in Legislatures: A Probability Model and a Note on Cognitive Structure, " Journal of Politics, XXVII (August, 1965), 567-85.

¹The affirmative response for state legislators was 72.0 per cent and for Congressmen, 69.1 per cent. Carl D. McMurray and Malcolm B. Parson, "Public Attitudes Toward The Representational Roles of Legislators and Judges, " Midwest Journal of Political Science, IX (May, 1965), 167-85. The authors suggest, however, that public opinion may not be as heavily in favor of the delegate role as these answers seem to indicate. "When given the opportunity to react in different ways to the delegate and trustee roles, support from the public for the delegate amounts to only 47 per cent, with the remaining 53 per cent distributed 26 per cent ambivalent, 18 per cent trustee, and 9 per cent politico. " p. 185.

theory presumes them to be. "¹

For this portion of the study citizen opinions and attitudes are drawn from certain questions used in the survey of Nichols Hills, The Village, Warr Acres, Bethany and Del City conducted during the fall of 1967. Attitudes of elected officials were determined from the supplemental written questionnaire mailed to all the office-holders in these same five suburbs. The number of respondents from the two groups, by city, is shown in Table 53. With the exception of Bethany where only a 55.6 per cent return is indicated, a reasonably good representative sample of the suburban officials was obtained (the average return was 77.4 per cent for officials from all five cities). However, since only a relatively small group of leaders from the entire area was surveyed (twenty-four out of a total sixty-four council members from all ten suburbs), the findings to be reported concerning leadership attitudes must be considered only as exploratory and suggestive in nature.

Ideally, it would have been desirable to make comparisons between officials and their constituents on the basis of community social rank as a more sensitive indicator of the representativeness of the office-holders. Due to the small number of councilmen included in the survey, however, this kind of comparison was not deemed feasible, although occasionally certain findings will be presented which seem to have an obvious

¹Roberta S. Sigel and H. Paul Friesema, "Urban Community Leaders' Knowledge of Public Opinion," Western Political Quarterly, XVIII (December, 1965), 894.

TABLE 53

SAMPLE SIZE, SUBURBAN CITIZENRY AND OFFICIALS

City	Citizen Sample	Council Sample	Possible Council Members
Nichols Hills	16	3	3
The Village	44	4	5
Warr Acres	32	8	9
Bethany	59	5	9
Del City	72	4	5
	<u>72</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
	N = 223	N = 24	N = 31

relationship to social rank or to be of interest in demonstrating a peculiar situation obtaining in a given city.

Views on Suburban Living

The first area of investigation concerns the various advantages and disadvantages of suburban living as perceived by suburban officials and their citizens. This topic appears to have relevance for the broader issue of metropolitan political integration since it provides greater insight into those facets of suburban life style prized by both officials and the general populace. If it is found that the two groups tend to reinforce each other regarding their likes and dislikes, it would seem appropriate to assume that any movement perceived as threatening to cherished suburban values (by both) would be that much less likely to succeed.

The first question posed to the council sample was an open-ended

one in which each was asked to list several things he liked about living in his particular city. Even though some of the responses varied, it was possible to group them (with reasonable accuracy) into several categories similar to the fixed group of eight responses provided for the citizen survey. Table 54 reveals the distribution of the officials' replies.

TABLE 54
OFFICIALS' SELECTION OF DESIRABLE FEATURES
OF SUBURBAN LIVING

Feature	Number Times Mentioned	Per Cent of Officials Mentioning (N = 24)
Smallness and residential features	19	79.2
Good public services	16	66.7
Quality of people	8	33.3
Better schools	7	29.2
Lower taxes	6 ^a	25.0
Other ^b	10	41.7

^aAll six of the "low taxes" responses came from Warr Acres officials.

^b"Other" responses included such things as proximity to big city conveniences, good planning, cooperative citizenry, etc.

The category designated as "quality of people" was not available for selection by the citizen group although, in retrospect, perhaps it should have been. Answers assigned to this category vary somewhat. For example, one official from Bethany listed as most important to him "the moral and religious tone of the community." It was thought that this

reply was in reality a commentary on the "kind of people" which inhabit that community and was thus placed in the "quality of people" category, even though, of course, this comment says nothing about the usual indicators of community status such as wealth and/or occupations of the inhabitants.

Table 55 compares the answers solicited from the officials and citizens in regard to the question of what they found desirable about suburban living.

TABLE 55

PER CENT OF CITIZENS AND OFFICIALS MENTIONING CERTAIN
DESIRABLE FEATURES OF SUBURBAN LIVING

Feature	Citizen (N = 223)	Officials (N = 24)
Smallness	48.4%	79.2%
Good services	61.4	66.7
Better schools	63.7	29.2
Lower taxes	42.6	25.0

Even a casual inspection of Table 55 reveals certain obvious contrasts between the two groups. The small-town, residential aspects of the suburb seemed to have captured the fancy of the council members while this feature ranked third among their constituents. The biggest disparity, however, was in the area of schools. This activity was the top ranked item among the citizens but was no higher placed than fourth

in the case of the officials.¹ Considerable agreement was found between the two groups in the high ratings given to local public services.

Next the officials were queried as to whether there were aspects of their community which they did not like. Fifty eight and four-tenths per cent responded negatively compared to a "no" response of 74.0 per cent for the citizen sample.² It should not be particularly surprising that those charged with community leadership are more aware of local problems than the average resident since, presumably, one of their responsibilities is to anticipate and cope with various community quandaries. Nevertheless, the complaints voiced by council members were largely minor and scattered. Most often mentioned (by three respondents) was the lack of interest in civic affairs on the part of the citizenry.

The office-holders were then asked if there were any reasons in particular why they might not want to live in Oklahoma City. Only seven of the twenty-four (29.2 per cent) replied that there were no special reasons, whereas 54.3 per cent of the citizens had indicated no objections to central city living. Here, again, those more directly involved

¹Good schools were not mentioned at all by any of the seven councilmen from Nichols Hills or The Village which accounts, to a considerable extent, for the comparatively low place of this activity among officials. Another factor which might help account for this discrepancy between the two groups is mere age differences. Only one of the officials (4.2 per cent) was under thirty-five years of age, while a full 35.2 per cent of the citizen sample was between age twenty-one and thirty-five, an age level where sensitivity to school needs is apt to be especially prevalent.

²Six of the seven councilmen from upper rank cities stated there was nothing they disliked about their communities.

with the specific local community affairs should be able to cite reasons for preferring their present residence over a central city location. Two categories of objections named by councilmen stand out: the central city's alleged undesirable political situation (e. g. , unresponsive to citizen needs, political bickering, etc.) and inferior (to the suburbs) public services, together named by seventeen respondents. Only 22.2 per cent of the citizen sample mentioned these two aspects of Oklahoma City as being objectionable, reflecting, of course, the degree to which elected officials are far more greatly concerned with governmental affairs than is the general populace.

In short, even though both the leadership element and the suburban citizenry seem largely satisfied with their style of life in suburbia, the reasons are not altogether similar for the two groups. Officialdom is considerably more sensitive to the public activities performed by the smaller communities (with the exception of schools) and somewhat more enamored of the small-town features than the average suburban resident. On the other hand, the typical suburbanite is more likely to be attracted to what he perceives as a superior school system in the suburb with good municipal services ranked a close second. Both groups, in somewhat different ways, did reflect opposition to the various undesirable aspects of "bigness" when asked to consider the central city as a possible place of residence. Thus, it does seem fair to conclude that no incompatible differences exist between suburbia's leaders and followers when considering the reasons people are attracted to suburban living.

Attitudes Toward Public Services, Taxes, and Racial
Integration Among Suburban Officials

Public Services

The purpose of this section is to provide a more detailed scrutiny of the opinions of local elected officials toward the adequacy of specific governmental services, the level of local taxation, and attitudes toward racial integration in the suburbs.

In Chapter V, it was reported that a rather large proportion of suburban dwellers, when asked to evaluate their local services from poor to very good, rated several activities very high, particularly such things as schools, police, and fire protection. Generally speaking, suburban office-holders agreed with this generous view of local services although with some deviation from the precise rank order given by the populace. Table 56 indicates the percentage of "very good" ratings given each service by both citizens and officials.

The council members were somewhat more charitable in their assessment of suburban services (36.7 per cent average "very good" ratings) than were the citizens (31.3 per cent "very good"), particularly when considering the police and fire functions where the average difference in ratings given by the two groups was 27.7 per cent.¹ When it

¹Certain differences occurred among officials on the basis of community social rank. For example, councilmen for the two upper ranked cities were unanimous in ascribing "very good" ratings to both police and fire departments, whereas not one of the four Del City officials rated their police as "very good," although three of four did single out their fire department for the highest category.

TABLE 56

PERCENTAGE OF "VERY GOOD" RATINGS FOR PUBLIC
SERVICES BY CITIZENS AND OFFICIALS

Service	Citizens (N = 223)	Officials (N = 24)
Police protection	57.4%	79.2%
School system	53.4	60.0
Fire protection	49.8	83.3
Garbage collection	32.3	15.0
Traffic Planning and Control	18.8	30.0
Parks and Recreation	16.1	15.0
Planning and Zoning	12.6	20.8
Street Repair	9.9	5.0
Average	31.3%	36.7%

Rank-Order Correlation Coefficient = .77 (Spearman rho)

comes to evaluating local public services it would appear that elected officials and their constituents generally see eye to eye, although the office-holders accentuate the views held by residents when higher rated services are considered.

When suburban officials compared levels of local services provided by their municipality with those which they thought existed in Oklahoma City, the expected relationship emerged. Exactly 75.0 per cent of the leaders stated that, generally speaking, suburban governmental functions were of higher quality than those available in the

central city.¹ The foregoing figure stands considerably above that for suburban residents where only 50.7 per cent were convinced suburban services exceeded those of the central city (22.8 per cent, however, admitted they did not know which city had the better services). Here, also, the views expressed by the leadership group exaggerated the position taken by the general suburban citizenry.

Local Taxes

Questions relating to local tax policies evoked interesting responses from suburban officials especially when considered in light of the replies from the resident sample. Table 57 reveals the differences between the two groups when both were queried regarding the appropriateness of the level of local taxation.

TABLE 57
CITIZENS' AND OFFICIALS' ATTITUDES TOWARD
LEVEL OF LOCAL TAXES

Perceived Level of Local Taxation	Citizens (N = 223)	Officials (N = 24)
Too high	26.9%	12.5%
About right	63.7	54.2
Too low	3.6	33.3
Don't know	5.8	0.0
	100.0%	100.0%

¹Council members from Nichols Hills and The Village were unanimous in preferring suburban services over those of the central city while only one of the four officials from Del City indicated such positive assurance.

The disparities noted in the foregoing table are not unexpected. Characteristically the average middle-class suburbanite struggling under tax burdens from so many levels of government is not likely to feel his taxes, from whatever source, are too low. On the other hand, local officials who are regularly confronted with the necessity of meeting expanding service demands from a rather limited budget should be more disposed to recognize the extent of local tax deficiencies. Perhaps the surprising thing here is that only one-third of the council members were willing to assert that local taxes were insufficient to provide for the city's needs.¹

The suburban officials were evenly divided when asked if they thought their constituents considered low taxes as an important incentive for suburban living. As Table 58 reveals, the views expressed by the suburban sample on this matter largely coincide with leadership opinions.²

Suburban council members were also asked if they thought local

¹On the other hand, it might well be that many of the council members are well aware of the fact that municipal governments in Oklahoma get only a very small percentage of their revenue from local property taxes which go primarily to local schools, the county government, and to retire city general obligation bonds. For a more complete description of the rather peculiar local tax structure among Oklahoma municipalities, see Walter F. Scheffer, "Problems in Municipal Finance," Western Political Quarterly, XV (September, 1962), 522-35.

²When responses were compared by community social rank, only three of the seven officials representing upper rank cities (all from The Village) replied "Yes," low taxes were important, whereas three of four officials from Del City answered affirmatively to the same question.

TABLE 58

CITIZENS' AND OFFICIALS' VIEWS ON WHETHER SUBURBANITES
CONSIDER LOWER TAXES AS IMPORTANT REASON
FOR SUBURBAN RESIDENCE

Low taxes are important	Citizens (N = 223)	Officials (N = 24)
Yes	51.5%	50.0%
No	38.3	50.0
Don't know	10.6	0.0
	100.0%	100.0%

taxes were lower in their communities than was the case in the central city. A large majority (83.3 per cent) admitted the suburban tax burden was lighter. Table 59 indicates that the elected officials, as would be expected, are more aware of the suburban tax break than the ordinary suburban resident.

TABLE 59

CITIZENS' AND OFFICIALS' ATTITUDES ON LOCAL TAX
DIFFERENTIAL BETWEEN SUBURB
AND CENTRAL CITY

Suburban taxes lower	Citizens (N = 223)	Officials (N = 24)
Yes	52.5%	83.3%
No	11.2	5.0
Same	13.0	11.7
Don't know	23.3	0.0
	100.0%	100.0%

Racial Integration

Two questions were included in the citizen survey dealing with attitudes toward racial integration as a potential indicator of whether suburbia might be considered as a protective shield against "undesirables" by some residents. The same questions were put to the suburban officials and the resulting replies closely paralleled the attitudes of the general populace on this issue. Table 60 reflects certain small differences between the two groups over the controversial matter of whether Negro students should be bussed into predominantly white schools (including suburbia) to achieve better racial balance.

Not a single respondent among council members favored or was indifferent toward the question of bussing. Moreover, fifteen of the twenty-four (62.5 per cent) indicated strong opposition to the idea (the option of oppose or strongly oppose was offered officials).

TABLE 60

CITIZENS' AND OFFICIALS' ATTITUDES TOWARD ACHIEVING
RACIAL BALANCE IN SCHOOLS BY BUSSING NEGROES

Attitude toward bussing	Citizens (N = 223)	Officials (N = 24)
Favor	13.9%	0.0%
Oppose	79.8	100.0
Don't know or don't care	6.3	0.0
	100.0%	100.0%

The next question raised the issue of open housing with the

contrasting views of the two groups shown in Table 61.

TABLE 61

CITIZENS' AND OFFICIALS' ATTITUDES TOWARD OPEN HOUSING LAW

Attitude on open housing	Citizens (N = 223)	Officials (N = 24)
Favor	23.3%	16.7%
Oppose	68.2	54.1
Don't know, don't care or no reply	8.5	29.2
	100.0%	100.0%

In this instance officials were considerably less apprehensive than had been the case with the previous question, but they still cannot be said to be particularly enthusiastic over prospects of open housing legislation. It might be noted, however, that among councilmen from middle rank communities (one of which subsequently enacted a mild version of an open occupancy ordinance patterned after that of the central city), just over half (seven of thirteen) either favored open housing, were indifferent, or did not reply to the question. The most antagonism toward the proposal was found among officials from the two upper social rank cities. This was the same general pattern which had been found among the larger citizen sample.

In summary, concerning racial attitudes, it seems reasonable to conclude that elected officials will not furnish any strong leadership in making the suburbs more accessible to racial minorities. If anything,

the officials lag behind the views expressed by their constituents on at least one potentially important issue, whether racial balance in schools can be accomplished by bussing. Even in the area of open housing legislation, the modal response among council members was "strongly opposed" (33.3 per cent). A plausible explanation for the differences between officials on the two questions might be that this group thinks they have more control over open housing (which can be effected by city ordinance) than would be possible in the case of bussing Negro school children. In the latter instance, officials may feel, perhaps justifiably, that bussing may be imposed from outside, perhaps through "federal interference" by virtue of court action or HEW guidelines, or perhaps merely by act of the separate, independent school districts. On the whole, however, attitudes toward lowering suburban racial barriers among local officials generally coincide with the views held by the general suburban citizenry.

Attitudes Toward Metropolitan-Wide Services

The literature on the problems of governing the metropolis reflects a continuing debate concerning the proper level for performing certain local governmental functions. As mentioned previously, one of the primary arguments for greater governmental consolidation in the metropolis has been that many urban services traditionally conducted solely by the individual community can no longer be adequately dealt with exclusively at the local level. The comment has frequently been made that many problems in today's metropolis don't stop at city limit markers,

thus necessitating increasingly greater interlocal cooperation if not formal governmental reorganization. Yet there has been no general agreement on just which services and activities truly lend themselves to area-wide administration and control.

An attempt to devise a set of standards for determining the appropriate level at which various functions should be handled was made in 1963 by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR). Seven criteria were set forth by the Commission, five of which were, in their words, political (e.g., performance of functions by a unit of government should remain controllable by and accessible to its residents), and two were economic in nature ("...large enough to permit realization of the economies of scale").¹ Several other somewhat theoretically-oriented attempts to establish criteria for divisions of governmental activity have also been undertaken.² Only recently, however, have any serious efforts been made to discover the views of public officials on these matters which have such obvious implications for metropolitan integration. In 1965 the National League of Cities undertook research for the Office of Civil Defense (U. S. Department of Army) in

¹Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide, pp. 41-60.

²See Arthur Maass (ed.), Area and Power: A Theory of Local Government (New York: Free Press, 1959). Werner Hirsch using three major groups of criteria, economic, political and administrative, concluded that our present system of providing services at various levels "is not as illogical and irresponsible to need as if often claimed." Local versus Areawide Urban Government Services, "National Tax Journal, XVII (December, 1964), 339.

which they surveyed a selected (non-random) group of local officials from eight cities ($N = 289$) for their views on the area-wide or local nature of twelve functions.¹ An even more exhaustive study was done in 1966 among city and county officials ($N = 579$) in a seven-county area of Southern California which concluded that of nineteen functions, only five were considered to be truly region-wide (four were thought to be county-wide and the remaining ten were rated strictly local by the officials).²

It was thought that attitudes of council members from the five suburban cities in the Oklahoma City vicinity on area-wide versus local performance of functions would be both interesting and suggestive for the larger research concerns of this dissertation. Therefore, the questionnaire requested each of the local council members to rate eleven governmental functions as to whether he would favor or oppose its being conducted by some area-wide agency, presently existing or newly created, rather than by the local municipality. Table 62 indicates the order in which the twenty-four officials ranked the eleven services. A numerical value was calculated for each function by assigning one point for strongly favor, two for favor, three for don't care, four for oppose, and five for strongly oppose. The higher the value, the more local the activity was thought to be.

¹Lawrence A. Williams, et al., Intergovernmental Civil Defense Organizations and programs (Washington, D. C.: National League of Cities, 1965), p. 220.

²David Mars, "Localism and Regionalism in Southern California," Urban Affairs Quarterly, II (June, 1967), 47-74.

TABLE 62

RANKING OF URBAN FUNCTIONS FROM MOST LOCAL TO
MOST-AREA WIDE BY OFFICIALS

Rank order (from most local to most area-wide)	Average score ^a
Police protection	4.25
Fire protection	4.04
Planning and zoning	3.92
Parks and recreation	3.54
Urban renewal	3.46
Public education	3.17
Refuse collection and disposal	3.04
Water supply and sewage disposal	3.00
Transportation and traffic planning	2.79
Public health	2.63
Libraries	<u>2.33</u>
Average rating	3.05

^aBased on 5 for strongly oppose; 4 for oppose; 3 for don't care; 2 for favor; and 1 for strongly favor.

It is apparent that most officials favor retaining at least four or five activities under local control while are willing to have about three or so performed area-wide. The last two functions, public health and libraries, are currently under joint city-county operation, so their ranking merely reflects the status quo.

Certain differences on the basis of community social rank were

noted in the replies. Officials from the two upper rank cities were decidedly more reluctant to give up local control than their counterparts in the other communities (the average rating for all services by social rank was upper, 3.75; middle, 3.10; and lower, 3.14). One official, from Warr Acres, indicated a willingness to have all the listed activities performed area-wide, whereas two others (from Bethany and Del City) expressed opposition to having any of the eleven so operated.

Table 63 compares the rankings of the various functions by Oklahoma City area officials with both the normative ordering recommended by the ACIR and the ranking by officials from the Southern California region.

It is quite obvious from Table 63 that there is far greater agreement on rankings between the two groups of officials than with the recommendations of the ACIR. One might conclude from this that economic considerations (or political ones as defined by ACIR) are not especially meaningful to local officials in their evaluation of which functions should be performed area-wide or locally. The data as gathered for this study does not divulge reasons for the rankings. However, inspection of the sequence of activities may suggest, more than anything else, an ordering somewhat paralleling Oliver William's distinctions between functions which affect community life-style (local) and those essential to system maintenance (area-wide).¹ At least one activity would appear to be

¹Williams, "Life Style Values and Political Decentralization," pp. 303-05.

TABLE 63

COMPARISON OF RANKINGS OF URBAN FUNCTIONS ON BASIS
OF MOST LOCAL TO MOST AREA-WIDE

Ranking (most local first)	Oklahoma City area (N = 24)	ACIR recommendation	Southern California study (N = 579)
Police protection	1	4	1
Fire protection	2	1	2
Planning and zoning	3	9	3
Parks and recreation	4	7	4
Urban renewal	5	6	5
Public education	6	2	7
Refuse collection & disposal	7	3	6
Water and sewage	8	10	9
Transportation planning	9	8	11
Public health	10	5	10
Libraries	11	4	8

Rank order correlation coefficients (Spearman rho):

(1) Oklahoma City area and ACIR = .24;

(2) Oklahoma City area and Southern California = .93.

deviant following this conceptual scheme, namely education, which was given a more area-wide classification by the officials than would be expected for an enterprise so vitally affecting life-style. Two tentative explanations come to mind in response to this. First, officials from both the Oklahoma City area and Southern California were not school

officials and therefore not so likely to have been concerned with maintaining close local control over public education. Second, in most metropolitan areas (Oklahoma City is no exception) school district boundaries do not coincide with municipal corporate limits, giving the impression that control of public education is already "area-wide" in its scope.

In short, from the data collected in the five Oklahoma City suburbs, it seems clear that suburban council members are not likely to favor any kind of governmental reorganization which would reduce local control over four or five basic urban services, namely police and fire protection, planning and zoning, parks and perhaps urban renewal.

Attitudes Toward the Association of Central Oklahoma Governments

Within the past few years, since the Federal government began requiring area-wide review of projects receiving federal funds,¹ metropolitan councils of government (COG) have sprung up in most of the nation's large urban areas.² The Oklahoma City area created its metropolitan council of governments (ACOG) by joint agreement of seventeen cities and the three counties within the SMSA on July 1, 1966.³ In its

¹This requirement was imposed by sec. 204, Title II, of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966.

²One hundred and eleven councils of government existed in the U. S. as of late 1968. Councils of Governments, Report No. 296, Management Information Service, (Washington, D. C.: International City Managers' Association, September, 1968), p. 3.

³For a discussion of ACOG's origin and purposes, see Robert M. Tinstman, "ACOG - An Experiment in Intergovernmental Relations," Midwest Review of Public Administration, I (February, 1967), 6-10.

scope, operation and purpose, ACOG is generally similar to most other councils of government across the country.¹ It has no taxing or legislative authority and may only recommend action on the part of its constituent members. Nevertheless, because of the Federal requirement that grants for most local purposes be reviewed before funding by ACOG or a metropolitan-wide planning agency, the agencies are not as helpless nor innocuous as they might seem. Some observers, in fact, have come to believe that COGs may represent that long-sought vehicle for achieving the ultimate goal of true metropolitan-wide control over planning and development.² Regardless of what form ACOG eventually assumes, it is currently an active force in attempting to achieve a greater degree of coordination among local jurisdictions within the Oklahoma City SMSA. As such, attitudes toward its present effectiveness and its future potential

¹For a discussion of early attempts to develop councils of government, see Samuel Humes, "Organization for Metropolitan Cooperation," Public Management, XLIV (May, 1962), 106-09; and John K. Parker, "Cooperation in Metropolitan Areas Through Councils of Government," ibid., XLV (October, 1963), 223-25. For a more recent and comprehensive examination see Royce Hanson, Metropolitan Councils of Government (Washington, D. C.: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, August, 1966). Also see Councils of Government.

²See Henry J. Schmandt, "Changing Directions," National Civic Review LIV (November, 1965), 530-34 and John C. Bollens, "Approaches to Metropolitan Problems: Revolution and Evolution," Public Affairs Bulletin, Arizona State University, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1967, pp. 1-4. Two faculty members at Columbia University School of Social Work have expressed considerable opposition to having COGs become surrogate metropolitan governments on the grounds that it is just another way of depriving Negroes of rightful control of central city politics. See Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, "Black Control of Cities: Heading it Off by Metropolitan Government," New Republic, September 30, 1967, pp. 19-21, and "Black Control of Cities - II: How the Negroes Will Lose," ibid., October 7, 1967, pp. 15-19.

on the part of elected officials from member cities are worth examining.¹

Officials in the five suburban cities² were first asked how satisfied they were with the way ACOG "is set up and operating." Results which reflect considerable contentment with ACOG are shown in Table 64.

TABLE 64

OFFICIALS' DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH ACOG

Degree of Satisfaction with ACOG	Officials	
	Number	Per Cent
Very satisfied	2	8.3
Reasonably well satisfied	15	62.5
Not too satisfied	5 ^a	20.8
Completely unsatisfied	<u>2^a</u>	<u>8.3</u>
	24	99.9

^aThree of the seven less favorable responses were recorded from Del City officials which, at that time, were not members.

Replies to the next question, "Is there anything about ACOG which you would like to see changed?" were varied. Only ten of the

¹As is the case with most large councils, ACOG has an Assembly (as well as an Executive Committee) to which each governmental unit is entitled to send one representative who must be a member of its governing body (i. e., not an appointed official). Each political unit, regardless of size, has only one vote in the Assembly which must meet twice a year for purposes of setting policy, adopting budget, etc. Tinstman, "ACOG." pp. 9-10.

²At the time of the survey, Del City was not a member of ACOG. Subsequently, in January of 1969, by a three to two vote, its council agreed to join. The Daily Oklahoman, January 21, 1969.

twenty-four officials indicated they wanted specific changes: one (from Del City) admitted he was against the whole idea; the rest gave such answers as change in personnel (three), provide better information (two), and abolish power to approve federal grants (two).

Council members were then asked how they would feel about the possibility of ACOG developing into a true metropolitan-wide government as long as each suburb retained its separate identity. Perhaps surprisingly, seven officials (29.2 per cent) favored the idea,¹ while five were opposed and eleven were strongly opposed (one refused). The percentage of officials supporting this sort of fundamental political change was somewhat higher than was found among the suburban resident sample where only 18 per cent favored either metropolitan government or merger of cities. When queried as to the reasons for their replies, officials who approved of metro government gave expected responses, such as "would bring greater cooperation" and "more efficient and effective for area-wide problems." Those who resisted the prospects of ACOG becoming a metro government also replied with familiar arguments. Six (of seventeen) mentioned such things as loss of autonomy, control or identity. Two persons each singled out "too much federal control" and "would lower quality of services" as reasons for objecting to the proposal. Four officials merely asserted that the present arrangement was sufficient without

¹Only one official (14 per cent) from the upper social rank communities supported the prospects of ACOG becoming a metro government, while three from the middle rank cities (23 per cent) and three from the lower rank city (75 per cent) favored the idea.

going into further detail.

Summary

The first part of this chapter compared attitudes of city council members (N = 24) from five Oklahoma City area suburbs with those of their constituents (N = 223) on a series of questions which were thought to have implications for prospects of governmental reorganization within the Oklahoma City metropolitan area. It was hypothesized that a considerable amount of agreement would be found between the two groups. And, to the extent that attitudinal configurations for both groups tended in the direction of support for values related to local autonomy, it was postulated that basic governmental change would likely be more difficult to achieve. Conversely, if divergences in outlook were found between the two groups over important issues, it was suggested that prospects for basic reorganization might be improved. The following general findings were reported:

- (1) As far as reasons for living in suburbia were concerned, no incompatible responses between officials and residents were found, although there were differences in emphasis on certain desirable features;
- (2) officials and their constituents had quite similar views on the quality of local services despite the tendency on the part of the former to give higher ratings to the three services ranked highest by both (police, fire, and schools);

- (3) leaders were more certain than the general suburban populace that suburban services were superior to those offered in the central city;
- (4) about half of both groups indicated they thought suburbanites considered lower taxes as an important reason for living in suburbia;
- (5) citizen respondents were much more likely to consider local taxes as too high than were officials;
- (6) council members were more firmly convinced than were residents that the suburban tax burden was less than that of the central city;
- (7) in the case of two questions dealing with willingness to lower suburban racial barriers, both groups were substantially opposed.

On the whole, it seems that substantial agreement exists on a number of questions relevant to metropolitan politics between officials from five Oklahoma City area suburbs and those they are elected to represent. In certain instances, such as perception of the local tax burden, however, where elected officials would be expected to possess greater knowledge and to be more aware of local needs, some divergence in outlook was noted.

Additional data were presented on the views of suburban council members toward area-wide versus local performance of certain urban functions and toward the operation and future role of the metropolitan

council of governments (ACOG). Evidence revealed that perhaps five service activities were considered by most officials to be essentially local in nature--police and fire protection, planning and zoning, and urban renewal. On the other hand, the feasibility of providing certain functions on an area-wide basis was also acknowledged, primarily in the case of two services currently functioning as a joint city-county operation, namely libraries and public health. General satisfaction with the operation of ACOG was expressed by most council members. A sizeable minority (29.2 per cent) even manifested a willingness to see the local council of governments evolve into a true metropolitan-wide government (in contrast with only 18 per cent of the suburban citizenry who favored drastic governmental change).

In all, little evidence was adduced to refute the basic hypothesis and the assumption emanating from it. Considerable convergence of views between suburban citizenry and officialdom was found on most issues which previous research suggests may have important ramifications for metropolitan political integration. Support for values associated with suburban living (good schools, small-town atmosphere, low taxes) was about equally strong for both groups leading one to conclude that leaders and followers would lend support to each other in resisting any change in the local governmental status quo if threats to these ideals were perceived.

CHAPTER VII

SUBURBAN DIFFERENCES AND PROSPECTS FOR METROPOLITAN POLITICAL INTEGRATION

The metropolitan political system, to paraphrase John Dyckman, is much described and little understood.¹ As emphasized at the outset in this study, the burden of attempting to understand how the nation's large urban complexes were governed had largely been borne, until quite recently, by those individuals and groups dedicated to the necessity for reform and reorganization. In the words of Norton Long:

The sad history of metropolitan reform is filled with brave efforts of adventurous businessmen armed with the research of political science, funded by Ford, and supported by the media, that have failed ingloriously. This history is little studied for its lessons and these remain largely unapplied to the problems of maintaining life in the new organizations.²

The desirability of bringing about a more unified form of metropolitan government had been taken literally as a given by most of the

¹John Dyckman, "Summary: Planning and Metropolitan Systems," in Explorations into Urban Structure, p. 222.

²Long, "Political Science and the City," in Urban Research and Policy Planning, p. 257. Those few successes at metropolitan reorganization have generally been thought to result from unique circumstances. "Radical reorganization plans tend to be approved only in areas with unusual social-economic-political characteristics," Thomas M. Scott, "Metropolitan Governmental Reorganization Proposals," Western Political Quarterly, XXI (June, 1968), 252-61.

early political scientists who studied the metropolis. In recent years, however, this automatic acceptance of the necessity for eliminating the "fragmented, " "crazy-quilt" patchwork of governments in metropolitan areas has been seriously questioned. Thomas Dye, for example, has actually enumerated eight positive attributes offered by metropolitan political decentralization, including such things as "reducing the scale of social experience, " offering "an opportunity for a larger number of elites to exercise power, " and "providing additional points of access, pressure, and control, " to give "additional insurance that political demands will be heard."¹ Other students of the social process of the metropolis have also pointed to the inevitability if not desirability of decentralizing certain heretofore centralized activities of urban life.² Despite these provocative observations, the question remains just how much centralization or decentralization is desirable. The time-worn rhetoric urging consolidation on grounds of efficiency

¹Dye, "Certain Political Correlates of Social and Economic Differentiation, " p. 5. Also, see Warren, Government in Metropolitan Regions, ch. 12; Ostrom, Tiebout, and Warren, "The Organization of Government in Metropolitan Areas: A Theoretical Inquiry"; and Greer, "Postscript, " in The Community Press in an Urban Setting, pp. 269-70.

²For a discussion of certain values of physical decentralization see Henry Winthrop, "Modern Proposals for the Physical Decentralization of Community, " Land Economics, XLIII (February, 1967), 10-24, and Jack Meltzer, "The Urban Conflict, " Urban Affairs Quarterly, III (March, 1968), 3-20. Large urban school systems in particular have been under great pressure recently to decentralize their operation. Apparently the Philadelphia public school system has been among the leaders in this area having announced in 1967 a plan which may eventually culminate in an arrangement where eight school districts within the city will be largely autonomous. The Christian Science Monitor, September 15, 1967.

and economy has generally been abandoned by all save a few die-hards. Nevertheless, there remain certain thoughtful observers who see dangers in an uncritical acceptance of decentralization as the ideal arrangement for metropolitan governance. Long, for example, provides this caveat: "the erosion of the central city and the fragmented triviality of suburbia make extraordinarily difficult the development, concentration, and structuring of a sustained public-spirited and competent leadership" for the nation's metropolitan areas.¹ The critical nature of race relations in most large cities brings home with a vengeance the comment made by Oliver Williams that while metropolitan political decentralization provides individual choice in living areas, it is a "choice for whites only."² Thus, for many, the issue of metropolitan governmental centralization is still a very live matter, made even more pressing by the turbulence of racial conflict.

In recent years there has been something of a resurgence of interest among empirically-oriented social scientists in devising more useful analytical tools essential to provide a better perspective on the nature of existing forms of metropolitan political organization and the values served thereby. Within the past decade or so, several potentially useful middle-level theories or models have been developed in an effort to improve the quality of this on-going research. In particular,

¹Norton Long, "Citizenship or Consumership in Metropolitan Areas," in The New Urbanization, p. 372.

²Williams, et al., Suburban Differences, p. 62.

the international relations model, the power structure approach, the systems approach, and the urban ecology framework were presented and examined earlier for their value in explaining the operation of the metropolitan system of governance and especially for the illumination they might provide on the prospects for greater political integration within the metropolis. The explanatory frame of reference which was singled out as being perhaps most promising was that of urban ecology.

The ecological orientation is grounded in an assumption that has been commonplace among urban sociologists for years: that the metropolitan area consists of a variety of diverse social communities spatially distributed. It has long been recognized that areal stratification resulting largely from functional differences gives rise to a high degree of economic interdependence among urban subareas. Perhaps the most persistent theme of metropolitan political reformers has been that the metropolitan area is an economic whole and thus should be transformed into a single political unit. The noteworthy weakness of this one-sided view was that social differentiation and the centrifugal forces generated by it were largely ignored. Political scientists, especially, were guilty of this narrowness of vision and often tended to dismiss expressions of separateness on the part of subareas as irrational or misguided. As Charles Liebman has noted, however, "specialization of the subunits may lead to opposition to central control."¹

¹ Liebman, "Some Political Effects of the Functional Differentiation," p. 36.

Ecology as a theory of urbanization has not been without its critics. In recent years the major controversy has centered about questions of determinism and free choice. The classical ecologists tended to minimize, if not totally discount, the influence of values and culture, relying instead on impersonal evolutionary concepts borrowed from biology stressing competition for sustenance and survival. One critic has gone so far as to state that "ecological explanations of social life are most applicable if the subjects under study lack the ability to make choices..."¹ Nevertheless, the emphasis on competition found in much ecological writing permitted theories of urban ecology to mesh with theories of urban land economics which were developed from models of market competition. This particular approach to metropolitan analysis, with some modifications, has been articulated most clearly by Oliver Williams,² and serves as the basic framework for the data presented in this study.

Despite urban ecology's initial reliance on the classical "hidden hand," there has been increasing recognition that values are, in fact, a key determinant of a city's ecology. Sidney Willhelm, for example, has extended the pioneering work of Walter Firey in this area and has argued that economic factors in themselves are values and cultural forces alone determine man's adaptation to urban space.³ Williams

¹Gans, "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life," p. 639.

²Williams, "Life Style Values and Decentralization."

³Willhelm, Urban Zoning and Land Use Theory, see especially ch. 6.

has recently begun to stress the importance of urban life-style as a major force shaping the social map of the metropolis. He insists that most persons (who can afford it) seek an urban location which will protect and sustain a particular way of life which they value. In the suburbs, for instance, middle-class families may opt for a site which provides quality education for the kids, compatible neighbors, and spacious lots with trees and green lawns reminiscent perhaps of the smaller, more peaceful town or rural environment. Williams rather persuasively reasons that a decentralized (suburbanized) metropolitan governmental structure may be superior to a centralized arrangement as a way of enhancing these middle-class life-style values, at least for suburban dwellers. Yet, at the same time, in the large metropolis there are a series of essential urban services which must extend over the entire geographical area. Such things as communications (including road networks) and utility systems help integrate and maintain the metropolitan area as a functioning whole. Williams' central proposition is that urban subareas will resist integration of life-style services, but will accept, and at times encourage, integration of system-maintenance services.¹

¹Williams, "Life Style Values and Political Decentralization," pp. 303-05. This concept of a dual process of political integration is very closely related to two basic theories of social integration which have an ancient and honorable place in sociological theory, namely normative and functional integration. The classic formulation and comparison of these two concepts is Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. by George Simpson (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1947). Normative integration proceeds on the assumption that

Undoubtedly, it is premature to suggest that Williams has evolved a consummated theory of metropolitan political integration. A considerable amount of testing and refining is surely called for at this point, although it would seem that Williams' conceptual scheme is promising indeed. A preliminary, tentative, and partial step in testing the usefulness of this approach has been the overall purpose of this study. In particular, two phenomena which may have considerable bearing on prospects for metropolitan political integration are dealt with in this research, (1) areal stratification among urban sub-areas, and (2) certain political and social attitudes held by suburban residents and office-holders.

The initial research thrust, which explores the implications of socio-economic differentiation among suburbs, is closely related to the more traditional ecological approach to urban social processes. The second major research effort, which involves attitudinal variations, supplies the "cultural" or value component deemed so essential by the sociocultural ecologists. Obviously, the two occurrences dealt with here are not unrelated. It was hypothesized, for instance, that variations in attitudes among urban sub-units would be directly

to preserve certain shared values, people establish common social organizations that become infused with those values and that operate in accordance with accepted norms. Functional integration occurs as complementary relationships among specialized and interdependent subparts are established and maintained through unified coordination. Marvin E. Olsen, The Process of Social Organization (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), pp. 159-60.

associated with differences in the socio-economic characteristics of those spatial units. As a logical correlate of this situation it would be expected that social heterogeneity would be related to political dissimilarities between suburban communities with respect to such things as voting behavior, background characteristics of local elected leaders, recruitment practices for local leaders, and a variety of municipal policy outputs. It is the contention of this study that insofar as such diversities exist in the political processes of suburbia, they will serve as significant barriers to any fundamental alteration of the metropolitan political structure. At the same time, it is hypothesized that to the extent attitudinal variations are found among the different suburban communities, these will have the effect of reinforcing the institutional impediments to greater metropolitan political unification. In sum, the essential proposition which this entire research tests is that socio-economic differences and attitudinal variations among suburban residents and political leaders are fundamental causal factors in the maintenance of a decentralized political structure within the metropolitan area.

Areal Differentiation and the Suburban Political Process

A modification of the Shevky-Bell social area typology was the basic conceptual approach used to delineate the socio-economic differences existing among suburbs in the Oklahoma City area. The distribution of social characteristics throughout this area was found to be

more than random; instead, persons with distinctive status and life-style attributes tended to place physical distance between themselves. Even among this group of ten "bedroom" suburbs, contrasts between communities on the basis of social qualities emerged. Subsequent investigation was able to verify that these socially differentiated sub-areas evidenced discernable variations with respect to certain political phenomena.

The first set of political occurrences to be analyzed in light of suburban status differences were the patterns of community voting behavior among the ten suburbs over the past twelve years. As anticipated, high status among cities was positively correlated not only with a greater tendency to vote Republican (in both Presidential and gubernatorial elections) but also with a greater willingness to support certain statewide capital improvement issues. The gap between the lowest and highest city based upon average per cent Republic vote for the eight partisan elections was approximately 34 per cent.¹ The spread between the high and low city on the basis of the average percentage of YES vote on five capital improvement issues was almost 31 per cent. While it might be tenuous indeed to argue that these variations in voting

¹An average differential between suburbs of 34 per cent may not seem excessive. However, it considerably exceeds the average differences in Democratic vote Banfield found between central city and suburbia for the 1954 election on the basis of which he concluded "... that for many years to come it will be difficult or impossible to integrate local governments where the two-party system operates." Banfield, "The Politics of Metropolitan Area Organizations," p. 85.

behavior between suburbs in the same SMSA would provide a serious obstacle to greater inter-governmental cooperation, it nonetheless does reveal an habitual divergence of political outlook between these communities which is related to status differentials. Partisan incompatibility in itself may not be the crucial variable in this equation at any rate; rather, as Banfield suggests, it is the deeper, underlying sources of potential conflict which these variations point to that may be potentially divisive.¹ Nonetheless, coupled with other manifestations of diversity between cities, differences in voting behavior may take on added significance.

Chapter IV was devoted to an examination of background characteristics and recruitment practices among elected office-holders from the ten suburbs. The working hypothesis guiding this research was that variation in the social composition of suburban political leadership would tend to correspond with similar distinctions between the communities themselves.

No real contrasts, however, between the background characteristics of the city council members were noted on the basis of community status differences. As it turned out, officials from the lower social rank communities possessed status attributes comparable to those of leaders from higher status municipalities. In all ten suburbs local elected officials were considerably higher than the citizenry in

¹Ibid., p. 87.

respect to occupation, education, and income levels. It was noted that the lack of dissimilarity among suburban officials in the Oklahoma City area was directly counter to the pattern of suburban leadership found in the Philadelphia and St. Louis areas, for example. In these locales, "fragmented" government permitted the social heterogeneity of the metropolis to be reflected in a heterogeneous suburban political leadership. Under circumstances of this sort, Dye's observation undoubtedly has considerable merit:

Proposals for metropolitan integration which promise to change the structure of government in the metropolitan area and consequently to undermine the representation which various groups today enjoy in that structure are unlikely to win the support of those groups.¹

Nevertheless, the absence of social diversification between suburban city councils in greater Oklahoma City can only be taken to mean that other factors and forces must be identified as the principal contributors to the maintenance of the decentralized metropolitan political structure in this area.

Political Attitudes and Prospects for Integration

A basic difficulty with any research which attempts to assess the effects (political or otherwise) of social homogeneity within specific groups or areas concerns the extent to which similarity or likeness is associated with feelings of homogeneity. Survey research is one of the

¹Dye, "Certain Political Correlates of Social and Economic Differentiation," pp. 251-52.

few techniques by which the existence or nonexistence of this attitudinal consistency can be ascertained. Thus, in this study, a sample survey taken in five Oklahoma City suburbs (N = 223) was an essential step in an effort to determine the prevalence of certain attitudinal patterns which might have crucial consequences for metropolitan integration.

The survey did, in fact, generate several pertinent findings. First, it was established that respondents were largely quite satisfied with the way of life currently enjoyed in suburbia. In particular, good schools, good municipal services and the small-town atmosphere were mentioned as prime suburban values. When asked to make comparisons between their community and life in the central city, overwhelming support for suburbia was evident.

Second, although most suburban respondents were not strongly attached to their local community (when measured by local group membership, civic knowledge, and local political activity), they nonetheless expressed considerable support for a series of questions designed to measure sympathy with a "grass-roots" political ideology. This philosophic commitment to the values of local autonomy was deemed to be of considerable import for prospects of greater centralization.

Third, several questions dealing with social contact with Negroes (all ten suburbs are virtually "lily-white") were included as a tentative and limited way of getting at whether suburbanites might see their separate municipal incorporation as a way of protecting themselves from

central city "undesirables." Very little support was found for lowering suburbia's racial barriers.

Attitudes toward the quality of local city services and the local tax rate were also probed. There was widespread satisfaction with most traditional urban services, while, at the same time, most suburbanites were generally content with the prevailing local tax structure. It was noted, as well, that a number of respondents recognized the tax advantage which they enjoy in comparison with the central city.

In addition to the above findings, significant differences in attitudes toward many of these items did appear when the five communities were compared on the basis of social rank. This discovery seems to lend considerable support to the general theme of the study that socioeconomic differences spatially distributed tend to be associated with a corresponding heterogeneity in attitudinal characteristics.

Another matter raised in the survey concerned the degree to which suburbanites would be willing to see basic structural changes take place within the existing Oklahoma City metropolitan governmental arrangement. It was rather apparent that little support would likely be forthcoming (based on present pre-dispositions) for any far-reaching proposal to centralize local governments in this area (only eighteen per cent of the sample favored either metro government or merger).

In sum, as far as attitudinal data is concerned, among Oklahoma City area suburbanites, there appears to be a considerable reservoir of attitudes and opinions favorably disposed toward the advantages of

small town living, with a government close to the local citizenry. Moreover, to approach the suburban populace in this area with any pro-integration argument based upon the alleged need for improving public services would indeed seem futile. Appeals to "efficiency and economy" would surely fall on deaf ears in the greater Oklahoma City area. Thus, if social values are to be accorded a prominent place in our analytical framework, as the cultural ecologists insist, data from the Oklahoma City suburban survey would lead one to conclude that pre-conditions for generating suburban support for greater metropolitan political integration are largely absent.

Finally, in Chapter VI, a comparison was undertaken between certain attitudes and opinions expressed by the elected council members from the five suburbs ($N = 24$) and the resident sample. It was assumed that there would be a rather high correlation between the views held by officials and those of their constituents. To a considerable extent this expectation materialized since officials, like those they represent, cherish certain values associated with suburban autonomy. The essential significance of this finding for metropolitan centralization would seem to be this: both suburban council members and citizens could be expected to support and reinforce each other in resisting any proposals which might be perceived as jeopardizing suburban political independence.

The Urban Ecology Model and Intervening Variables

The foregoing emphasis on the nature of the obstacles to

integration should not be interpreted to imply that greater political integration in the Oklahoma City area is either impossible or undesirable. Nor should it be construed as a firm prediction of the outcome of possible future efforts at achieving substantial structural change within the metropolitan area. No given metropolitan locale will behave in quite the way that a particular approach or model might predict. To the extent deviation occurs (assuming the model is reasonably complete and isomorphic), it can be accounted for within limits by the presence of intervening variables. In the narrative to follow, several potentially influential intervening variables will be discussed which might cause a metropolitan area, in particular Oklahoma City, to vary from the behavior which might be strictly deduced from the conceptual model being employed in this study (taken largely from Oliver Williams).

In a general sense, Williams has argued that the more specialized the political sub-units of a metropolitan area, the more closely political behavior in that area will conform to the model he has constructed. Three conditions were set forth (but not tested) which would likely affect the degree of specialization within a metropolis. First, the larger the metropolitan area, the more specialized the suburbs are apt to be. Second, the older the metropolis, the more heterogeneous its suburbs. Third, the more permissive the state incorporation laws (which permit local self-determination), the more specialized the suburbs. Finally, as another factor influencing the predictive capacity

of the urban ecology model, he mentions the influences from outside the metropolitan area (in particular state and national policies). A particularly troublesome research question which bears on the above consideration is also touched upon by Williams. This has to do with how one measures specialization or heterogeneity within or between metropolitan areas. Williams confesses that he has not been able to satisfactorily operationalize the concept and cites this as an essential research undertaking.¹

If one applies the four conditions which Williams suggests as influencing the predictive powers of his model to the Oklahoma City area, several factors become rather apparent. First, it seems logical to assume that the Oklahoma City SMSA is less heterogeneous as far as the socio-economic composition of its suburbs is concerned than many large urban areas particularly outside the South or Southwest.² At this time, however, there is still no data available to empirically verify this proposition. This particular research deficiency has prompted the author to initiate the process of gathering certain socio-economic census data for each city of over 10,000 population within a randomly selected group of the nation's SMSAs.³ It is hoped that from

¹Williams, "A Framework for Metropolitan Political Analysis," pp. 50-53.

²Sofen, The Miami Metropolitan Experiment, pp. 71-74, cites the relative lack of difference between central city and suburbs in Greater Miami as a factor contributing to the creation of "Metro" Miami.

³Controls were applied for area and size in order to achieve a representative sample. Data are being collected on cities in thirty-two SMSAs.

this effort some type of homogeneous-heterogeneous scale or continuum can be created which will make it possible to compare certain metropolitan areas with other areas.

Second, in terms of the liberality of state incorporation and annexation laws, Oklahoma City proper has benefited enormously, such that until 1968 it was the largest city in land area in the country. One of the primary purposes of the unprecedented annexation drive by the central city from 1959 until 1963 was to prevent new cities forming immediately adjacent to its borders.¹ This move substantially achieved its objective so that Oklahoma City, unlike many other large cities, now completely surrounds all but its most distant (twenty-thirty miles) suburbs. Since Oklahoma City is now about half the size of the state of Rhode Island, it seems that there is little likelihood of introducing greater diversification within the immediate area through new incorporations.² There has been another, and potentially important, side effect of this vast annexation program. The acquisition of new territory on the part of Oklahoma City was substantially motivated by the same leadership groups, in particular the central city Chamber of Commerce and the metropolitan press, which, in other areas, have been in the

¹Ballentine, "The Oklahoma City Annexation Program," p. 28. The primary objective of the annexation effort, according to Ballentine, was to insure the business leadership's objectives of providing controls over commercial and industrial development in the area. p. 26.

²Oklahoma law (Oklahoma Statutes, 1961, Title 11, section 551) prohibits new municipal incorporations within a five mile radius of any incorporated city having a population of more than 200,000 people.

forefront of metro reform campaigns.¹ Under these circumstances, because of the enormous success of the annexation program, perhaps these leadership elements might not be particularly anxious to initiate a reform movement in the Oklahoma City area.

There is one additional consideration one might wish to note regarding the Oklahoma City area in light of William's hypothesis dealing with the varying potential for integration between life-style activities and system-maintenance functions. Only a brief summary of these developments is possible or appropriate in this study. Nevertheless, it can be noted that a considerable number of activities of a system-maintenance type are performed in the Oklahoma City area across municipal boundaries. As far as highways and transportation are concerned, a plan for the overall development of the metropolitan area was completed (under pressure from the Federal government) in 1967. The local council of governments has now been given the official responsibility for keeping the plan current and, presumably, to urge its constituent members to abide by its provisions. However, there is no machinery existing at this time which can be used to compel local units of government to follow the metropolitan-wide plan.

Natural gas and electricity are furnished throughout the area by private utility firms. Water and sewer service, on the other hand,

¹Ballentine, "The Oklahoma City Annexation Program," states that the impetus for annexation came primarily from the Chamber of Commerce and that the Oklahoma City Planning Department "appears to have had a largely perfunctory role in developing annexation plans." p. 54.

is provided by the municipalities. It has been in this kind of operation, which is largely neutral in respect to life-style, that a number of inter-local agreements have been achieved. The central city currently supplies water, at least in part, to four of the suburbs included in this study (Nichols Hills, The Village, Warr Acres and Bethany) and has sewage disposal contracts with The Village, Midwest City and Del City. The newspaper account of Oklahoma City's sewer arrangements with the latter two cities, which were concluded in 1969, indicated that certain Oklahoma City council members were apprehensive about "whether the city (Oklahoma City) should assume responsibility for the metropolitan area's sewage treatment." The city manager, however, responded that "I hope that the city ultimately will provide waste treatment for the entire area."¹ In June of 1968, Oklahoma City agreed to provide sanitary landfill services for three adjoining suburbs.² Thus, it would appear that the dominant position of the central city in this area is permitting it to gradually take on some of the service functions which, in some places, have been handled by "urban" counties, such as Los Angeles County.³ Two activities mentioned previously, libraries and

¹The Oklahoma City Times, January 14, 1969.

²Ibid., June 18, 1968.

³One of the most complete descriptions of Los Angeles County as a provider of municipal services is Warren, Government in Metropolitan Regions, pp. 110-17 and 223-24. Also, see Cion, "Accommodation Par Excellence: The Lakewood Plan," pp. 272-80; and Winston W. Crouch, "Expanding Role of the Urban County: The Los Angeles Experiment," in Metropolitan Analysis: Important Elements of Study and Action, ed. by Stephen B. Sweeney and George S. Blair (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958), pp. 99-122.

public health, are currently being operated under joint city-county arrangement (this does not include Norman, Yukon and El Reno which lie outside Oklahoma County).

In the case of integrative activity among services more directly influencing life-style, much less interaction is evident. There is no metropolitan-wide planning and zoning agency in the Oklahoma City area although state legislation permits it.¹ As has been mentioned previously, two of the highest status communities are part of the independent school district which also includes the central city, although the remaining eight suburbs are not a part of this larger system. There have been no cooperative ventures undertaken in respect to park and recreation facilities although, again, such are authorized by state law.² Without going into further detail, it seems apparent that very little activity is occurring within the Oklahoma City area which will lead to greater integration of services affecting community life-styles. Accordingly, one might tentatively conclude on the basis of this admittedly limited data that there is evidence in this locale to support Williams' thesis regarding the differential rates of integration between these two broad sets of activities.

Outside Influences

Sometimes, metropolitan analysts proceed almost as if the urban

¹Oklahoma Statutes (1961), Title 19, sections 865.1-865.23.

²Ibid., 1965 Supplement, section 1003.

complex were a self-contained island cut off from interaction with its geographic regions and with the larger society. As Roland Warren has reminded us, however, "many aspects of community living are determined in whole or in part by policies and procedures of state or national organizations, by state and federal law, and by developments in the national economy."¹

As with most states, it is difficult to briefly summarize the concrete measures taken by the state of Oklahoma to assist metropolitan areas (the state has only three SMSAs) with problems related to coordinating area-wide services and activities. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that state legislation has had little effect on metropolitan development. A prime example has been the consequence of the extremely generous provisions of the laws pertaining to annexation which allowed Oklahoma City to grow from 80 square miles in 1958 to over 640 square miles by 1963. Other legislation which has benefited the state's larger cities include the prohibitions against new incorporations within five miles of any city over 200,000 population, the permissive legislation for certain joint city-county programs such as health, libraries, and parks, and the Inter Local Cooperation Act which permitted the creation of councils of government. Nevertheless, the description provided by Harold Herman of the state's role as "facilitative and only occasionally stimulative to local innovation," seems

¹Roland L. Warren, "Toward a Typology of Extra-Community Controls Limiting Local Community Autonomy," Social Forces, XXXIV (May, 1956), 338.

to fit the Oklahoma situation.¹

The Federal government until recently was often accused of inadvertently perpetuating metropolitan governmental fragmentation primarily as a result of the federal highway program and home mortgage insurance programs.² In the past few years, however, federal policy has begun to stress the need for regional planning and the importance of coordination among local governments in the nations' metropolitan areas. The prime result of this new federal emphasis has been the 1966 Model Cities and Metropolitan Development Act requiring many types of federal grant and loan applications to be transmitted for review to an area-wide organization, one type being a metropolitan council of governments. There would likely be general agreement that councils of government (COG) can accelerate the integrative process insofar as system-maintenance activities are concerned in many metropolitan areas. There is considerably less agreement on whether the council of government approach, which is still regarded as largely voluntary in nature, can have any real impact on these programs which affect the way people live. Perhaps the most telling criticism of the

¹Harold Herman, New York State and the Metropolitan Problem (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), p. 178.

²See, for example, Robert C. Wood, The Federal Government and the Cities (Washington, D. C.: George Washington University, 1961), pp. 51-53, and Michael N. Danielson, Federal-Metropolitan Politics and the Commuter Crisis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 183-89. For a contrary view see Daniel J. Elazar, "Fragmentation and Local Organizational Response to Federal-City Programs," Urban Affairs Quarterly, II (June, 1967), 30-46.

COGs has been that they either cannot or will not tackle the controversial realm of human problems pervading the nations' large urban areas.¹ Many observers, nevertheless, believe that something such as a council of governments is likely to be the closest thing to complete centralization that most metropolitan areas will tolerate.

The successes or lack thereof of COGs will undoubtedly be a subject of continuing debate. Less debatable, however, is the trend toward increasing federal involvement in metropolitan affairs. Some view this development with equanimity feeling that one of the basic difficulties with polycentric metropolitan government, the "unequal distribution of resources and services," can perhaps be best resolved at the state or especially federal level.² Others, aside from right-wing ideologues, are less certain as to the desirability of further federal intrusion into the metropolitan area. Robert Wood, prior to his service with the Department of Housing and Urban Development, had these words regarding the tendency for local governments to turn to

¹ See Martin, Metropolis in Transition, pp. 48-50, and Zimmerman, "Metropolitan Ecumenism," p. 456. Mayor Frank P. Zeidler of Milwaukee has been quoted as saying that fragmented government in metropolitan areas does have an effect on such things as housing problems because the outward pressure from the dense central city conflicts with suburban exclusiveness. Quoted in Banfield and Grodzins, Government and Housing in Metropolitan Areas, pp. 85-86. Edward C. Banfield in a recent article has taken an opposite position in the extreme. He has argued that the serious problems of the cities, such as chronic unemployment, poverty, crime, civil disorder, etc. are not amenable to solution by any level of government within the foreseeable future. See his "Why Government Cannot Solve the Urban Problem," Daedalus, XCVII (Fall, 1968), 1231-41.

² Williams et al., Suburban Differences, pp. 309-310.

higher levels for help:

The local governments of the region, by refusing to make policy, by attending strictly to the business of providing services, by defending local autonomy in the legal sense, forfeit the real authority to control and direct their own affairs.¹

Arthur Bromage has urged that federal block grants be made to cities and states as one way of countering the increased federal administrative supervision of urban projects and programs.² Regardless of what specific developments take place it appears rather certain that "federal involvement" will continue to be a very prominent intervening variable affecting the process of governing the metropolis.

Conclusion

No matter whether the concern is for political unification among nation-states or metropolitan political integration, the unification of social units is always a relative process. Too often students of the metropolis have been guilty of assuming that metropolitan unification was possible only through formal governmental consolidation. This would mean that integration is essentially static, an all or nothing arrangement with no middle ground. The contrary view, that integration is a relative, dynamic process, has been well expressed by H. Paul Friesema in his study of political integration in the Quad-City area of

¹Wood, Metropolis Against Itself, p. 42.

²Arthur W. Bromage, "Metropolitan Government," Public Affairs Bulletin (Arizona State University), VIII (1969), 5-6.

Iowa. He has argued that even without formal consolidation a real "sense of community" exists in this metropolitan area and that governmental institutions and practices have evolved which effectively meet the needs of area citizens. His concern, therefore, has been with a research perspective which will "uncover and analyze the widest range of processes by which this integration is achieved and... maintained."¹ Friesema has included such things as number and types of interjurisdictional agreements, transaction flows between communities, and direct and indirect communication between public officials as prime indicators of integrative activities.

Serious conceptual problems persist, nevertheless. Above all, it seems that a concerted effort must be made by students of metropolitan political behavior to reach some consensus on appropriate ways of operationalizing a concept in which relationships may be described as more or less integrated. Jacob and Tuene have suggested that a rough test of the degree of cohesiveness among political units might be worked out on a comparative basis using the broad notion of functional agreement. The actual test of integration would be the proportion of "public-oriented," cooperative, corporate activities in which people in various communities engaged, as opposed to actions that were

¹Harry Paul Friesema, "Metropolitan Political Structure: Intergovernmental Relations and Political Integration in the Quad-Cities," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1968), pp. 29-31.

non-corporate, or "privatistic."¹ Amitai Etzioni in conceptualizing integration as a dynamic process has offered a paradigm for political unification which includes four dimensions or stages of the unification process, (1) the preunification state, (2) the unification process with focus on the "integrating powers," (3) the unification process which deals with the various sectors undergoing unification, and (4) the termination state.² His paradigm is presented with examples drawn entirely from the international scene, and its usefulness for metropolitan analysis remains to be demonstrated.

Finally, it almost goes without saying that comparative research in the field of metropolitan politics and integration is an absolute necessity. Models, conceptual schemes, middle-level theories, all must be continually tested and applied in a variety of settings. Only in this way can political science continue to accumulate a body of empirically verified propositions which may eventually culminate in a broader, more inclusive theory of metropolitan political integration.

¹Jacob and Tuene, "The Integrative Process," in The Integration of Political Communities, pp. 7-8.

²Etzioni, Political Unification, p. 15.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Adrian, Charles R., and Press, Charles. Governing Urban America. 3rd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1968.

Adrian, Charles R. Public Attitudes and Metropolitan Decision-Making. Pittsburgh: Institute of Local Government, University of Pittsburgh, 1962.

Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Metropolitan America: Challenge to Federalism. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966.

_____. Governmental Structure, Organization and Planning in Metropolitan Areas. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, July, 1961.

_____. Metropolitan Councils of Governments. Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, August, 1961.

_____. Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, June, 1962.

_____. Factors Affecting Voter Reactions to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, May, 1962.

_____. Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, September, 1963.

_____. Impact of Federal Urban Redevelopment Programs on Local Government Organization and Planning. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, May, 1964.

- _____. Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities: Implications for Intergovernmental Relations in Central Cities and Suburbs. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, January, 1965.
- _____. Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, April, 1968.
- Ake, Claude. A Theory of Political Integration. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1967.
- Alford, Robert P., and Scoble, Harry M. "Political and Socioeconomic Characteristics of American Cities." The Municipal Year Book, 1965. Chicago: International City Manager's Association, 1965, pp. 82-97.
- Alford, Robert R. "The Comparative Study of Urban Politics." Urban Research and Policy Planning, Vol. I. Edited by Leo F. Schnore and Henry Fagin, Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 1967, pp. 287-92.
- Alihan, Milla. Social Ecology: A Critical Analysis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.
- Almond, Gabriel A. "A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics." The Politics of Developing Areas. Edited by Gabriel Almond and James Coleman. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960. pp. 3-65.
- _____, and Verba, Sidney. The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- American Bar Association. Structure of Local Government in Metropolitan Areas. New York: American Bar Association, 1965.
- Angell, Robert Cooley. The Moral Integration of American Cities. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951.
- Apter, David. Ghana in Transition. New York: Atheneum Press, 1963.
- Backstrom, Charles and Hursh, Gerald. Survey Research. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1963.
- Banfield, Edward C. Political Influence. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.

_____, and Grodzins, Morton. Government and Housing in Metropolitan Areas. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1958.

_____, and Wilson James Q. City Politics. New York: Vintage Books, 1963.

Barber, James D. Political Leadership in American Government. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1964.

_____. The Lawmakers: Recruitment and Adaptation to Legislative Life. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1965.

Bell, Wendell. "Social Choice, Life Styles and Suburban Residence." The Suburban Community. Edited by William M. Dobriner. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958.

_____. "Social Areas: Typology of Urban Neighborhoods." Community Structure and Analysis. Edited by Marvin Sussman. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1959, pp. 61-92.

_____. "The City, the Suburb, and a Theory of Social Choice." The New Urbanization. Edited by Scott Greer, Dennis L. McElrath, David W. Minar, and Peter Orleans. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968, pp. 132-163.

_____, Hill, Richard J., and Wright, Charles R. Public Leadership. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1961.

Berelson, Bernard R., Lazarsfeld, Paul F., and McPhee, William N. Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

_____, and Steiner, Gary A. Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964.

Blalock, Hubert M., Jr. Social Statistics. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1960.

Bogue, Donald J. The Structure of the Metropolitan Community. Ann Arbor: Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan, 1949.

Bollens, John C., ed. The States and the Metropolitan Problem. Chicago: Council of State Governments, 1956.

_____, ed. Exploring the Metropolitan Community. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961.

- _____, and Schmandt, Henry J. The Metropolis: Its People, Politics, and Economic Life. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.
- Bonjean, Charles M.; Hill, Richard J.; and McLemore, S. Dale. Sociological Measurement: An Inventory of Scales and Indices. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1967.
- Booth, David A. Metropolitics: The Nashville Consolidation. East Lansing: Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University, 1963.
- Boskoff, Alvin, and Zeigler, Harmon. Voting Patterns in a Local Election. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964.
- Brehm, Jack W. "A Dissonance Analysis of Attitude--Discrepant Behavior." Attitude Organization and Change: An Analysis of Consistency Among Attitude Components. Edited by Milton J. Rosenberg, et al. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960, pp. 164-197.
- Burgess, Ernest W. "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project." The City. Edited by Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925, pp. 47-62.
- _____, and Bogue, Donald J., eds. Contributions to Urban Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Campbell, Angus; Converse, Philip E.; Miller, Warren E.; and Stokes, Donald E. The American Voter, abridged ed. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964.
- _____; Gurin, Gerald; and Miller, Warren E. The Voter Decides. New York: Harper, Row and Co., 1954.
- Cantril, Hadley. Gauging Public Opinion. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944.
- Cartwright, Desmond S. "Ecological Variables." Sociological Methodology: 1969. Edited by Edgar F. Borgatta. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1968, pp. 155-218.
- Cion, Richard M. "Accomodation Par Excellence: The Laekwood Plan." Metropolitan Politics. Edited by Michael N. Danielson. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966, pp. 272-281.
- Clark, S. D. The Suburban Society. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.

- Clark, Terry N., ed. Community Structure and Decision-Making: Comparative Analyses. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1968.
- Coleman, James S. Community Conflict. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957.
- Committee for Economic Development. Modernizing Local Government. New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1966.
- Crouch, Winston W. "Expanding Role of the Urban County: The Los Angeles Experiment." Metropolitan Analysis: Important Elements of Study and Action. Edited by Stephen B. Sweeney and George S. Blair. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958, pp. 99-122.
- _____, and Dinerman, Beatrice. Southern California Metropolis. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964.
- Dahl, Robert A. Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.
- Daland, Robert. Dixie City: A Portrait of Political Leadership. University: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1956.
- Danielson, Michael N. Federal-Metropolitan Politics and the Commuter Crisis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965.
- Dean, John P.; Eichhorn, Robert L.; and Dean, Lois R. "The Survey," An Introduction to Social Research, 2d ed. Edited by John T. Doby, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967.
- Deutsh, Karl W. The Nerves of Government, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1963.
- _____; Burrell, Sidney; Kann, Robert; Lee, Maurice, Jr.; Lichterman, Martin; Lindgren, Raymond; Loewenheim, Francis; and Van Waginen, Richard. Political Community and the North Atlantic Area. Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1957.
- Dexter, Lewis A. "The Representative and His District." Politics and Social Life. Edited by Nelson W. Polsby, Robert A. Dentler, and Paul A. Smith. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963, pp. 495-512.
- Dobriner, William M. Class in Suburbia. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.

Downie, N. M., and Heath, R. W. Basic Statistical Methods, 2d ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

Duncan, Otis Dudley, and Reiss, Albert J., Jr. Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956.

_____; Scott, Richard W.; Lieberman, Stanley; Duncan, Beverly; and Winsborough, Hal H. Metropolis and Region. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960.

Durkheim, Emile. The Division of Labor in Society. Trans. by George Simpson. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1947.

Dyckman, John W. "Summary: Planning and Metropolitan Systems." Explorations into Urban Structure. By Melvin M. Webber, John W. Dyckman, Donald L. Foley, Albert Z. Guttenberg, William L. C. Wheaton, and Catherine Bauer Wurster. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964.

Dye, Thomas R. Politics, Economics, and the Public: Policy Outcomes in the American States. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1966.

Easton, David. The Political System. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953.

_____. A Framework for Political Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.

_____. A Systems Analysis of Political Life. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965.

_____, ed. Varieties of Political Theory. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

Elazar, Daniel. American Federalism: A View from the States. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1966.

Etzioni, Amitai. Political Unification: A Comparative Study of Leaders and Forces. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965.

Eulau, Heinz. The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics. New York: Random House, 1963.

_____, and Sprague, John D. Lawyers in Politics: A Study in Professional Convergence. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1964.

Firey, Walter. Land Use in Central Boston. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947.

Flanigan, William H. Political Behavior of the American Electorate. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1968.

_____, and Fogelman Edwin. "Functionalism in Political Science." Functionalism in the Social Sciences. Edited by Don Martindale. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1965.

Forstall, Richard L. "Economic Classification of Places over 10,000, 1960-1963." Municipal Year Book, 1967. Chicago: International City Manager's Association, 1967, 30-65.

Foskett, John M. "The Influence of Social Participation on Community Programs and Activities." Community Structure and Analysis. Edited by Marvin Sussman. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1959, pp. 311-330.

Frazier, E. Franklin. The Negro Family in Chicago. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.

_____. "Negro Harlem: An Ecological Study." Studies in Human Ecology. Edited by George A. Theodorson. New York: Harper and Row, 1961, pp. 165-174.

Free, Lloyd, and Cantril, Hadley. The Political Beliefs of Americans. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1968.

Freeman, Linton C.; Bloomberg, Warner Jr.; Koff, Stephen P.; Sunshine, Morris H.; and Fararo, Thomas J. Local Community Leadership. Syracuse: University College of Syracuse, 1960.

_____; Fararo, Thomas J.; Bloomberg, Warner Jr.; and Sunshine, Morris H. Metropolitan Decision-Making. Syracuse: University College of Syracuse, 1962.

Friesema, H. Paul. Communications, Coordination, and Control Among Local Governments in the Siouxland--A Study in Intergovernmental Relations. Iowa City: Institute of Public Affairs, University of Iowa, 1965.

Froman, Lewis A., Jr. Congressmen and Their Constituencies. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963.

- Gallup, George, and Rae, Saul F. The Pulse of Democracy. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1940.
- Gans, Herbert J. "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life: A Re-evaluation of Definitions." Human Behavior and Social Processes. Edited by Arnold M. Rose. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962, pp. 625-648.
- _____. The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community. New York: Pantheon Books, 1967.
- Garceau, Oliver. "Research in State Politics." American State Politics: Readings for Comparative Analysis. Edited by Frank Munger. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1966.
- Gibb, Cecil A. "Leadership." A Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. II. Edited by Gardner Lindzey. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954.
- Gilbert, Charles E. Governing the Suburbs. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967.
- Gilbert, Claire, "The Study of Community Power: A Summary and a Test." The New Urbanization. Edited by Scott Greer, Dennis L. McElrath, David W. Minar, and Peter Orleans. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968, 237-245.
- Gillmore, Harlan. Transportation and the Growth of Cities. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1953.
- Gist, Noel P., and Fava, Sylvia F. Urban Society, 5th ed. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964.
- Goodall, Leonard E. The American Metropolis. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1968.
- Goode, William J., and Hatt, Paul K. Methods in Social Research. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952.
- Governmental Affairs Foundation. Metropolitan Surveys: A Digest. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1958.
- Gras, N. S. B. An Introduction to Economic History. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922.
- Greer, Scott. "Individual Participation in a Mass Society." Approaches to the Study of Politics. Edited by Roland Young. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1958, pp. 329-42.

- _____. "Dilemmas of Action Research on the Metropolitan Problem." Community Political Systems. Edited by Morris Janowitz. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1961, pp. 185-206.
- _____. Governing the Metropolis. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962.
- _____. The Emerging City: Myth and Reality. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.
- _____. Metropolitics: A Study of Political Culture. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963.
- _____. "Postscript: Communication and Community." The Community Press in an Urban Setting, 2d ed. By Morris Janowitz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
- _____, and Kube, Ella. "Urbanism and Social Structure: A Los Angeles Study." Community Structure and Analysis. Edited by Marvin Sussman. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1959, pp. 93-112.
- Grodzins, Morton. "The New Shame of the Cities." Politics of Metropolitan Areas: Selected Readings. Edited by Philip B. Coulter. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1967, pp. 13-27.
- Gulick, Luther. The Metropolitan Problem and American Ideas. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962.
- Haas, Ernst B. Consensus Formation in the Council of Europe. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960.
- _____. Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964.
- Hadden, Jeffrey K., and Borgatta, Edgar F. American Cities: Their Social Characteristics. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965.
- Haig, Robert M. Major Economic Factors in Metropolitan Growth and Arrangement, Vol. I. New York: Regional Survey of New York and Environs, 1928.
- Hansen, Morris H.; Hurwitz, William N.; and Madow, William G. Sample Survey Methods and Theory, Vol. I, Methods and Applications. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1953.
- Hanson, Royce. Metropolitan Councils of Government. Washington, D. C.: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, August, 1966.

- Hawkins, Brett W. Nashville Metro: The Politics of City-County Consolidation. Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1966.
- Hawley, Amos H. Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950.
- _____, and Zimmer, Basil G. "Resistance to Unification in a Metropolitan Community." Community Political Systems. Edited by Morris Janowitz. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1961, pp. 146-84.
- Hawley, Willis D., and Wirth, Frederick M., eds. The Search for Community Power. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968.
- Hennessey, Bernard. Public Opinion. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1965.
- _____. "Public Opinion and Opinion Change." Political Science Annual: An International Review, Vol. I, 1966. Edited by James A. Robinson. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1966.
- Herman, Harold. New York State and the Metropolitan Problem. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963.
- Holden, Matthew, Jr. "Decision-Making on a Metropolitan Government Proposal." The New Urbanization. Edited by Scott Greer, Dennis L. McElrath, David W. Minar, and Peter Orleans. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968, pp. 315-338.
- Hollingshead, August B., and Redlich, F. C. Social Class and Mental Illness: A Community Study. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958.
- Holt, Robert A. "A Proposed Structural Functional Framework for Political Science." Functionalism in the Social Sciences. Edited by Don Martindale. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1965.
- Homans, George C. The Human Group. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950.
- Hoover, Edgar M. The Location of Economic Activity. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948.

- _____, and Vernon, Raymond. Anatomy of a Metropolis: The Changing Distribution of People and Jobs Within the New York Metropolitan Region. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Hoyt, Homer. The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1939.
- Hunter, Floyd. Community Power Structure. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.
- Hyman, Herbert. Interviewing in Social Research. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.
- _____. Survey Design and Analysis: Principles, Cases and Procedures. New York: Free Press, 1955.
- Isard, Walter. Location and Space-Economy. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956.
- Jacob, Philip E. "The Influence of Values in Political Integration." The Integration of Political Communities. Edited by Philip E. Jacob and James V. Toscano. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964, pp. 209-246.
- _____, and Teune, Henry. "The Integrative Process." The Integration of Political Communities. Edited by Philip E. Jacob and James V. Toscano. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964, pp. 1-45.
- _____, and Toscano, James V., eds. The Integration of Political Communities. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964.
- Jonassen, Christen F., and Peres, Sherwood H. Interrelationships Among Dimensions of Community Systems. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1959.
- Jones, Victor. Metropolitan Government. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.
- _____. "Economic Classification of Cities and Metropolitan Areas." The Municipal Year Book, 1953. Chicago: International City Manager's Association, 1953, pp. 49-57.
- _____. "Local Government in Metropolitan Areas." The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment. Edited by Coleman Woodbury. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, part IV.

- Kaplan, Abraham. The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964.
- Kaplan, Harold. Urban Political Systems: A Functional Analysis of Metro Toronto. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.
- Kaplan, Morton. System and Process in International Politics. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957.
- Keats, John. The Crack in the Picture Window. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1956.
- Kerlinger, Fred M. Foundations of Behavioral Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964.
- Key, V. O., Jr. Public Opinion and American Democracy. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.
- _____, and Munger, Frank. "Social Determinism and Electoral Decision: The Case of Indiana." American Voting Behavior. Edited by Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1959, pp. 281-99.
- _____, with Cummings, Milton, Jr. The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting: 1936-60. New York: Vintage Books, 1968.
- Kish, Leslie. Survey Sampling. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965.
- Kornhauser, Arthur. Detroit as the People See It. Wayne St. University Press, 1962.
- Kornhauser, William. The Politics of Mass Society. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1959.
- Kneedler, Grace M. "Economic Classification of Cities." Municipal Year Book, 1945. Chicago: International City Manager's Association, 1953, pp. 49-57.
- Krech, David; Crutchfield, Richard S.; Ballachey, Egerton L. Individual in Society: A Textbook of Social Psychology. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1962.
- Lane, Robert E. Political Life: Why and How People Get Involved in Politics. New York: Free Press, 1959.

- Lazarsfeld, Paul E.; Berelson, Bernard; and Gaudet, Hazel. The People's Choice, 2d ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.
- Laswell, Harold D.; Lerner, Daniel; and Rothwell, C. E. The Comparative Study of Elites. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1952.
- Lee, Eugene C. The Politics of Nonpartisanship: A Study of California City Elections. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960.
- Lenski, Gerhard E. Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966.
- Levy, Marion, Jr. The Structure of Society. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. Political Man. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1963.
- Long, Norton E. "Who Makes Decisions in Metropolitan Areas?" The Polity. Edited by Charles Press. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1962, pp. 158-161.
- _____. "Political Science and the City," Urban Research and Policy Planning, Vol. I. Edited by Leo F. Schnore and Henry Fagin, Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 1967, pp. 243-62.
- _____. "Citizenship or Consumership in Metropolitan Areas." The New Urbanization. Edited by Scott Greer, Dennis L. McElrath, David W. Minar, and Peter Orleans. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968, pp. 367-75.
- Luttbeg, Norman R., ed. Public Opinion and Public Policy: Models of Political Linkage. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1968.
- McClelland, Charles A. Theory and the International System. New York: Macmillan Co., 1966.
- McElrath, Dennis L. "Societal Scale and Social Differentiation: Accra, Ghana." The New Urbanization. Edited by Scott Greer, Dennis L. McElrath, David W. Minar, and Peter Orleans. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968, pp. 33-52.
- McKenzie, Roderick D. The Metropolitan Community. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933.

- Maass, Arthur, ed. Area and Power: A Theory of Local Government. New York: Free Press, 1959.
- Martin, Roscoe C. Metropolis in Transition: Local Government Adaptation to Changing Urban Needs. Washington, D. C.: Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1963.
- _____. Grass Roots, 2d ed. University: University of Alabama Press, 1964.
- _____; Munger, Frank J.; Birkhead, Jess; Birkhead, Guthrie S.; Herman, Harold; Kagi, Herbert M.; Welch, Lewis P.; Wingfield, Clyde J. Decisions in Syracuse. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961.
- _____, and Price, Douglas. The Metropolis and Its Problems. Syracuse: Institute on Metropolitan Research, Syracuse University, 1959.
- Martin, Walter T. The Rural-Urban Fringe. Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 1953.
- Martindale, Don. The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960.
- Marvick, Dwaine, and Nixon, Charles. "Recruitment Contrasts in Rival Campaign Groups." Political Decision-Makers. Edited by Dwaine Marvick. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1961, pp. 193-217.
- Matthews, Donald R. Social Backgrounds of Political Decision-Makers. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1954.
- _____. U. S. Senators and Their World. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960.
- Meehan, Eugene J. The Theory and Method of Political Analysis. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1965.
- Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1949.
- Metropolitan Portland Looks at Governmental Organization. Portland, Oregon: Portland Metropolitan Study Commission, 1967.
- 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. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.

- . Sociological Analysis and Politics: The Theories of Talcott Parsons. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.
- Moses, Leon N., and Williamson, Harold F. "The Location of Economic Activity in Cities." The New Urbanization. Edited by Scott Greer, Dennis L. McElrath, David W. Minar, and Peter Orleans. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968, pp. 114-31.
- Mowitz, Robert J., and Wright Deil S. Profile of a Metropolis. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1962.
- Mueller, John H., and Schuessler, Karl F. Statistical Reasoning in Sociology. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961.
- Newcomb, Theodore M.; Turner, Ralph H.; and Converse, Philip E. Social Psychology: The Study of Human Interaction. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965.
- Norton, James A. The Metro Experience. Cleveland: Press of the Western Reserve University, 1963.
- Ogburn, William F. Social Characteristics of Cities. Chicago: International City Manager's Association, 1937.
- Olsen, Marvin E. The Process of Social Organization. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.
- Oppenheim, A. N. Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement. New York: Basic Books, 1966.
- Orleans, Peter. "Urban Politics and the Nonpartisan Ballot: A Metropolitan Case." The New Urbanization. Edited by Scott Greer, Dennis L. McElrath, David W. Milnar, and Peter Orleans. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968, pp. 287-98.
- Parsons, Talcott. The Social System. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1951.
- Parten, Mildred. Surveys, Polls, and Samples. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.
- Polsby, Nelson W. Community Power and Political Theory. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.
- Poole, Richard W. Characteristics and Community Patterns of the Oklahoma City Air Material Area Labor Force. Oklahoma City: U. S. Air Force, October, 1962.

- Press, Charles. Main Street Politics: Policy Making at the Local Level. East Lansing: Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University, 1962.
- Presthus, Robert V. Men at the Top. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Rand McNally and Co. Rand McNally Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide, 98th ed. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1967.
- Ranney, Austin. "The Utility and Limitations of Aggregate Data in the Study of Electoral Behavior." Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics. Edited by Austin Ranney. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962, pp. 99-102.
- Ratcliff, Richard U. Urban Land Economics. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949.
- _____. "Efficiency and the Location of Urban Activities." The Metropolis in Modern Life. Edited by Robert M. Fisher. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1955.
- Reissman, Leonard. The Urban Process: Cities in Industrial Societies. New York: Free Press, 1964.
- Remmers, H. H. Introduction to Opinion and Attitude Measurement. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954.
- Rice, Stuart. Quantitative Methods in Politics. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928. Reprinted in Paul Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg. The Language of Social Research. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955, pp. 35-36.
- Richardson, L. F. Arms and Insecurity. Pittsburgh: Boxwood Press, 1960; Chicago: Quadrangle Press, 1960.
- Riemer, Neal, ed. The Representative: Trustee? Delegate? Partisan? Politico? Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1967.
- Riesman, David. "Flight and Search in the New Suburbs." Abundance for What? And Other Essays. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1964, pp. 258-69.
- Robinson, John P.; Rusk, Jerrold G.; and Head, Kendra B. Measures of Political Attitudes. Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, September, 1968.

- Rossi, Peter H. Why Families Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Urban Residential Mobility. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955.
- _____. "Trends in Voting Behavior Research: 1933-1963." Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior: Essays and Studies. Edited by Edward C. Dreyer and Walter A. Rosenbaum. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1966, pp. 67-78.
- Sayre, Wallace S., and Kaufman, Herbert. Governing New York City: Politics in the Metropolis. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960.
- _____, and Polsby, Nelson W. "American Political Science and the Study of Urbanization." The Study of Urbanization. Edited by Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965, pp. 115-156.
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. How They Became Governor. East Lansing: Government Research Bureau, Michigan State University, 1957.
- _____. Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.
- Schmandt, Henry J. "Toward Comparability in Metropolitan Research." Comparative Research in Community Politics. Edited by Thomas R. Dye. Proceedings of the Conference on Comparative Research in Community Politics, University of Georgia, 1966.
- _____; Steinbecker, Paul G.; and Wendel, George P. Metropolitan Reform in St. Louis: A Case Study. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.
- Schmid, Calvin F. "Research Techniques in Human Ecology." Scientific Social Surveys and Research, 2d ed. Edited by Pauline V. Young, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949, pp. 429-62.
- Schnore, Leo F. The Urban Scene: Human Ecology and Demography. New York: Free Press, 1965.
- Seeley, John; Sims, R. Alexander; and Loosely, Elizabeth. Crestwood Heights: A Study of the Culture of Suburban Life. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956.
- Selltiz, Claire; Jahoda, Marie; Deutsch, Morton; and Cook Stuart. Research Methods in Social Relations, revised one-vol. ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959.

Shevky, Eshref, and Bell, Wendell. Social Area Analysis. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955.

_____, and Williams, Marilyn. The Social Areas of Los Angeles. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949.

Siegel, Sidney. Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1956.

Sjoberg, Gideon. "Comparative Urban Sociology." Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects. Edited by Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. Harper Torchbook. New York: Harper and Row, 1965; Originally by Basic Books, Inc., 1959, pp. 334-359.

_____. "Theory and Research in Urban Sociology." The Study of Urbanization. Edited by Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965.

Slayton, William L., and Dewey, Richard. "Urban Redevelopment and the Urbanite." The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment. Edited by Coleman Woodbury. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 336-41.

Sofen, Edward. The Miami Metropolitan Experiment. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963.

Spectorsky, A. C. The Exurbanites. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1955.

Sprout, Harold, and Sprout, Margaret. The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs. Princeton: Princeton University Press for the Center of International Studies, 1965.

Stephan, Frederick F., and McCarthy, Philip J. Sampling Opinions: An Analysis of Survey Procedure. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958.

Stevens, Carl A. Oklahoma Directory of Manufacturers and Products. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma State Department of Commerce and Industry, 1963.

Stinchcombe, Arthur L. Constructing Social Theories. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1968.

Stinchcombe, Jean L. Reform and Reaction: City Politics in Toledo. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1968.

- Strange, John H. "Racial Segregation in the Metropolis." Metropolitan Politics: A Reader. Edited by Michael N. Danielson. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966, pp. 41-52.
- Studenski, Paul. The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States. New York: National Municipal League, 1930.
- Theodorson, George A. "Introduction to Part II, Current Theory and Research." Studies in Human Ecology. Edited by George A. Theodorson. New York: Harper and Row, 1961.
- Thometz, Carol E. The Decision-Makers: The Power Structure of Dallas. Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1963.
- Thompson, Wilbur R. "Toward an Urban Economics." Urban Research and Policy Planning, Vol. I. Edited by Leo F. Schnore and Henry Fagin. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 1967.
- Toscano, James. "Transaction Flow Analysis in Metropolitan Areas." The Integration of Political Communities. Edited by Philip E. Jacob and James V. Toscano. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964.
- Tryon, Robert C. Identification of Social Areas by Cluster Analysis. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955.
- Vernon, Raymond. The Changing Economic Function of the Central City. New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1959.
- Wahlke, John C.; Eulau, Heinz; Buchanan, William; and Ferguson, Le Roy. The Legislative System: Explorations in Legislative Behavior. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962.
- Wallace, David. "Suburbia--Predestined Republicanism?" Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior: Essays and Studies. Edited by Edward C. Dreyer and Walter A. Rosenbaum. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1966, pp. 102-10.
- Warren, Robert O. Government in Metropolitan Regions: A Reappraisal of Fractionated Political Organization. Davis: Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, 1966.
- Webber, Melvin M. "Order in Diversity: Community Without Propinquity." Cities and Space. Edited by Lowdon Wingo, Jr. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963.

- _____. "The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm." Explorations into Urban Structure. By Melvin M. Webber, John W. Dyckman, Donald L. Foley, Albert Z. Guttenberg, William L. C. Wheaton, and Catherine Bauer Wurster. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964, pp. 79-153.
- _____, and Webber, Carolyn C. "Culture, Territoriality, and the Elastic Mile." Taming Megalopolis, Vol. I. Edited by H. Wentworth Eldridge. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., Anchor Books, 1967, pp. 35-53.
- Westie, Frank R. "Race and Ethnic Relations." Handbook of Modern Sociology. Edited by E. L. Faris. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1964, pp. 576-86.
- Whyte, William H., Jr. The Organization Man. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956.
- _____. Man and the Modern City. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963.
- Willbern, York. The Withering Away of the City. University: University of Alabama Press, 1964.
- Willhelm, Sidney M. Urban Zoning and Land-Use Theory. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.
- Williams, Laurence A.; Veillette, Peter D.; and Bullis, Andrew S. Intergovernmental Civil Defense Organization and Programs. Washington, D. C.: National League of Cities, 1965.
- Williams, Oliver P. "A Framework for Metropolitan Political Analysis." Comparative Research in Community Politics. Edited by Thomas R. Dye. Proceedings of the Conference on Comparative Research in Community Politics, University of Georgia, 1966.
- _____, and Adrian, Charles R. Four Cities: A Study in Comparative Policy Making. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963.
- _____; Herman, Harold; Liebman, Charles S.; and Dye, Thomas R. Suburban Differences and Metropolitan Policies: A Philadelphia Story. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965.
- Wilson, James Q. "Introduction." City Politics and Public Policy. Edited by James Q. Wilson. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968, pp. 1-14.

_____, Banfield, Edward C. "Voting Behavior on Municipal Public Expenditures: A Study of Rationality and Self Interest." The Public Economy of Urban Communities. Edited by Julius Margolis. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press for Resources for the Future, 1965, pp. 74-91.

Wood, Robert C. The Federal Government and the Cities. Washington, D. C.: George Washington University, 1961.

_____. "The Contributions of Political Science to Urban Form." Urban Life and Form. Edited by Werner Z. Hirsch. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963.

Young, Oran R. Systems of Political Science. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968.

Zimmerman, Joseph F., ed. Government of the Metropolis. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.

Articles and Periodicals

Adrian, Charles R. "Some General Characteristics of Nonpartisan Elections." American Political Science Review, XLVI (September, 1952), 766-76.

_____. "A Typology of Nonpartisan Elections." Western Political Quarterly, XII (June, 1959), 449-58.

_____. "Metropology: Folklore and Field Research." Public Administration Review, XXI (Summer, 1961), 148-57.

Agger, Robert E. and Goldrich, Daniel. "Community Power Structures and Partisanship." American Sociological Review, XXIII (August, 1958), 383-92.

Alford, Robert R. "The Role of Social Class in American Voting Behavior." Western Political Quarterly, XVI (March, 1963), 180-94.

_____, and Lee, Eugene C. "Voting Turnout in American Cities." American Political Science Review, LXII (September, 1968), 796-813.

_____, and Scoble, Harry M. "Sources of Local Political Involvement." American Political Science Review, LXII (December, 1968), 1192-1206.

- Almond, Gabriel A. "Comparative Political Systems." Journal of Politics, XVIII (August, 1956), 391-409.
- Anderson, Theodore R., and Egeland, Janice A. "Spatial Aspects of Social Area Analysis." American Sociological Review, XXXVI (June, 1961), 392-99.
- Apter, David. "A Comparative Method for the Study of Politics." American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (November, 1958), 221-37.
- Bachrack, Stanley B., and Scoble, Harry M. "Mail Questionnaire Efficiency: Controlled Reduction of Nonresponse." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXI (Summer, 1967), 265-71.
- Banfield, Edward C. "The Politics of Metropolitan Area Organizations." Midwest Journal of Political Science, I (May, 1957), 77-91.
- _____. "Why Government Cannot Solve the Urban Problem." Daedalus, XCVII (Fall, 1968), 1231-41.
- Bell, Wendell. "The Social Areas of the San Francisco Bay Region." American Sociological Review, XVIII (February, 1953), 39-47.
- _____. "Economic, Family, and Ethnic Status: An Empirical Test." American Sociological Review, XX (February, 1955), 45-52.
- _____. "Familism and Suburbanization: One Test of the Social Choice Hypothesis." Rural Sociology, XXI (June, 1956), 276-83.
- _____. "The Utility of the Shevky Typology for the Design of Urban Subarea Field Studies." Journal of Social Psychology, XLVII (February, 1958), 71-83.
- _____, and Force Maryann T. "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations." American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 25-34.
- _____, and Force Maryann T. "Social Structure and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations." Social Forces, XXXIV (May, 1956), 345-50.
- _____, and Boat, Marion D. "Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations." American Journal of Sociology, LXII (January, 1957), 391-98.
- _____, and Greer, Scott. "Social Area Analysis and Its Critics." Pacific Sociological Review, V (Spring, 1962), 3-9.

- Beshers, James M. "Statistical Inferences from Small Area Data." Social Forces, XXXVIII (May, 1960), 341-48.
- Blake, Judith, and Davis, Kingsley, "Population and Public Opinion-- The Need for Basic Research." American Behavioral Scientist, VI (May, 1963), 24-29.
- Bollens, John C. "Approaches to Metropolitan Problems: Revolution and Evolution." Public Affairs Bulletin, Arizona State University, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1967, pp. 1-4.
- Bowman, Lewis, and Boynton, G. R. "Recruitment Patterns Among Local Party Officials: A Model and Some Preliminary Findings in Selected Locales." American Political Science Review, LX (September, 1966), 668.
- Bromage, Arthur W. "Metropolitan Government." Public Affairs Bulletin, Arizona State University, VIII (1969), 5-6.
- Broom, Leonard; Beem, Helen P.; Harris, Virginia. "Characteristics of 1,107 Petitioners for Change of Name." American Sociological Review, XX (February, 1955), 33-39.
- _____, and Shevsky, Eshref. "The Differentiation of an Ethnic Group." American Sociological Review, XIV (August, 1959), 476-81.
- Cahalan, Don. "Correlates of Respondent Accuracy in the Denver Validity Survey." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXII (Winter, 1968-69), 607-21.
- Clausen, Aage R. "Response Validity: Vote Report." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXII (Winter, 1968-69), 588-606.
- Cnuddle, Charles F. and McCrone, Donald J. "Constituency Attitudes and Congressional Voting: A Causal Model." American Political Science Review, LX (March, 1966), 66-72.
- Coke, James G., and Liebman, Charles S. "Political Values and Population Density Control." Land Economics, XXXVII (November, 1961), 347-61.
- Conway, M. Margaret, and Reigert, Frank B. "Motivation, Incentive Systems, and the Political Party Organization." American Political Science Review, LXII (December, 1968), 1159-73.

- Cowgill, Donald O., and Cowgill, Mary S. "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics." American Sociological Review, XVI (December, 1951), 825-31.
- _____. "Segregation Scores for Metropolitan Areas." American Sociological Review, XXVII (June, 1962), 400-12.
- Councils of Government. Report No. 296, Management Information Service. Washington, D. C.: International City Managers' Association, September, 1968.
- Crotty, William. "The Social Attributes of Party Organizational Activists in a Transitional Political System." Western Political Quarterly, XX (September, 1967), 669-81.
- Cutright, Phillips. "Nonpartisan Electoral Systems in American Cities." Comparative Studies in Society and History, V (January, 1963), 212-26.
- _____. "Urbanization and Competitive Party Politics." Journal of Politics, XXV (August, 1963), 552-64.
- Dahl, Robert A. "Critique of the Ruling Elite Model." American Political Science Review, LII (June, 1958), 463-69.
- Daland, Robert J. "Political Science and the Study of Urbanism." American Political Science Review, LI (June, 1957), 491-509.
- Davis, James A.; Spaeth, Joe L.; and Hudson, Carolyn. "A Technique for Analyzing the Effects of Group Composition." American Sociological Review, XXVI (April, 1961), 215-25.
- DeFleur, Melvin F., and Westie, Frank R. "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Acts: An Experiment on the Salience of Attitudes." American Sociological Review, XXIII (October, 1958), 667-73.
- DeFriesse, Gordon H., and Ford, W. Scott, Jr. "Open Occupancy--What Whites Say, What They Do." Trans-action, V (April, 1968), 53-56.
- de Grazia, Alfred. "The Limits of External Leadership Over a Minority Electorate." Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (Spring, 1956), 115-28.
- Dewey, Richard. "Peripheral Expansion in Milwaukee County." American Journal of Sociology, LIV (September, 1948), 118-25.
- Dollard, John. "Under What Conditions Do Opinions Predict Behavior." Public Opinion Quarterly, XII (Winter, 1948-49), 623-32.

- Duncan, Otis Dudley. "Review" of Shevky and Bell, *Social Area Analysis*. "American Journal of Sociology, LXI (July, 1955), 84-85.
- _____, and Davis, Beverly. "An Alternative to Ecological Correlation." "American Sociological Review, XVIII (December, 1953), 665-66.
- _____, and Duncan, Beverly. "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification." "American Journal of Sociology, LX (March, 1955), 493-503.
- _____, and Duncan, Beverly. "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes." "American Sociological Review, XX (April, 1955), 210-17.
- _____, and Duncan, Beverly. "Measuring Segregation." "American Sociological Review, XXVIII (February, 1963), 33.
- _____, and Schnore, Leo F. "Cultural, Behavioral, and Ecological Perspectives in the Study of Social Organization." "American Journal of Sociology, LXV (September, 1959), 132-46.
- Dye, Thomas R. "Metropolitan Integration by Bargaining Among Suburban Areas." "American Behavioral Scientist, V (May, 1962), 11-13.
- _____. "The Local-Cosmopolitan Dimension and the Study of Urban Politics." "Social Forces, XLI (March, 1963), 239-46.
- _____. "Urban Political Integration: Conditions Associated with Annexation in American Cities." "Midwest Journal of Political Science, VIII (November, 1964), 430-46.
- _____. "City-Suburban Social Distance and Public Policy." "Social Forces, XLIV (September, 1965), 100-106.
- _____. "Urban School Segregation: A Comparative Analysis." "Urban Affairs Quarterly, IV (December, 1968), 141-66.
- _____; Liebman, Charles S.; Williams, Oliver P.; and Herman, Harold. "Differentiation and Cooperation in a Metropolitan Area." "Midwest Journal of Political Science, VII (May, 1963), 145-55.
- Elazar, Daniel J. "Fragmentation and Local Organizational Response to Federal-City Programs." "Urban Affairs Quarterly, II (June, 1967), 30-46.
- Erbe, William. "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration." "American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1964), 198-215.

- Erskine, Hazel G. "The Polls: Negro Housing." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXI (Fall, 1967), 482-98.
- Eulau, Heinz. "The Ecological Basis of Party Systems: The Case of Ohio." Midwest Journal of Political Science, I (August, 1957), 125-35.
- Farley, Reynolds. "Suburban Persistence." American Sociological Review, XXIX (February, 1964), 38-47.
- Fava, Sylvia Fleis. "Suburbanism as a Way of Life." American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 34-37.
- Firey, Walter. "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables." American Sociological Review, X (April, 1945), 140-48.
- Form, William H. "The Place of Social Structure in the Determination of Land Use: Some Implications for a Theory of Urban Ecology." Social Forces, XXXII (May, 1964), 317-23.
- Francis, Wayne L. "The Role Concept in Legislatures: A Probability Model and a Note on Cognitive Structure." Journal of Politics, XXVII (August, 1965), 282-89.
- Freeman, J. Lieper. "Local Party Systems: Theoretical Considerations and a Case Analysis." American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (November, 1958), 282-89.
- Friesema, H. Paul. "The Metropolis and the Maze of Local Government." Urban Affairs Quarterly, II (December, 1966), 68-90.
- Gamson, William A. "Rancorous Conflict in Community Politics." American Sociological Review, XXXI (February, 1966), 71-80.
- Gilbert, Charles E. "Operative Doctrines of Representation." American Political Science Review, LVII (September, 1963), 604-18.
- _____, and Clague, Christopher. "Electoral Competition and Electoral Systems in Large Cities." Journal of Politics, XXIV (May, 1962), 323-49.
- Goodman, Leo A. "Ecological Regression and Behavior of Individuals." American Sociological Review, XVIII (December, 1953), 663-64.
- _____. "Some Alternatives to Ecological Correlation." American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (May, 1959), 610-25.
- Grant, Daniel R. "Urban and Suburban Nashville: A Case Study in Metropolitanism." Journal of Politics, XVII (February, 1955), 82-99.

- _____. "Metropolitcs and Professional Political Leadership: The Case of Nashville." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLIII (May, 1964), 73-81.
- _____. "The Metropolitan Government Approach: Should, Can and Will It Prevail?" Urban Affairs Quarterly, III (March, 1968), 103-10.
- Greenstein, Fred I., and Wolfinger, Raymond E. "The Suburbs and Shifting Party Loyalties." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII (Winter, 1958-59), 473-82.
- Greer, Scott. "Urbanism Reconsidered: A Comparative Study of Local Areas in a Metropolis." American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 19-24.
- _____. "The Social Structure and Political Process of Suburbia." American Sociological Review, XXV (August, 1960), 514-26.
- _____. "The Social Structure and Political Process of Suburbia: An Empirical Test." Rural Sociology, XXVII (December, 1962), 439-59.
- _____, and Orleans, Peter. "The Mass Society and the Parapolitical Structure." American Sociological Review, XXVII (October, 1962), 634-46.
- Gutman, Robert. "Urban Studies as a Field of Research." American Behavioral Scientist, VI (February, 1963), 9-14.
- Harris, Chauncy D. "A Functional Classification of Cities in the United States." Geographical Review, XXXIII (January, 1943), 86-99.
- _____, and Ullman, Edward. "The Nature of Cities." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXLII (November, 1945), 7-17.
- Hawkins, Brett W. "Public Opinion and Metropolitan Reorganization in Nashville." Journal of Politics, XXVIII (May, 1966), 408-18.
- _____. "Life Style, Demographic Distance and Voter Support of City-County Consolidation." Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, XLVIII (December, 1967), 325-37.
- Hawley, Amos H., and Duncan, Otis Dudley. "Social Area Analysis: A Critical Appraisal." Land Economics, XXXIII (November, 1957), 337-45.
- Herson, Lawrence J. R. "The Lost World of Municipal Government." American Political Science Review, LI (June, 1957), 330-45.

- Hirsch, Werner A. "Local Versus Areawide Urban Government Services." National Tax Journal, XVII (December, 1964), 331-39.
- Holden, Matthew, Jr. "The Governance of the Metropolis as a Problem in Diplomacy." Journal of Politics, XXVI (August, 1964), 627-48.
- Huckshorn, Robert J. "Spotlight on City Councilmen." BGR Observer, Los Angeles: Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, November, 1957.
- _____, and Young, Charles E. "Study of Voting Splits on City Councils in Los Angeles County." Western Political Quarterly, XIII (June, 1960), 479-97.
- Humes, Samuel. "Organization for Metropolitan Cooperation." Public Management, XLIV (May, 1962), 106-09.
- Ippolito, Dennis S. "Political Perspectives of Suburban Party Leaders." Social Science Quarterly, XLIX (March, 1969), 800-15.
- Jacob, Herbert. "Initial Recruitment of Elected Officials in the United States-A Model." Journal of Politics, XXIV (November, 1962), 705.
- Jonassen, Christen F. "Functional Unities in Eighty-Eight Community Systems." American Sociological Review, XXVI (June, 1961), 399-407.
- Jones, Victor. "The Organization of a Metropolitan Region." University of Pennsylvania Law Review, CV (February, 1957), 538-52.
- Kahl, James A., and Davis, James A. "A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-Economic Status." American Sociological Review, XX (June, 1955), 317-25.
- Kammerer, Gladys. "Role Diversity of City Managers." Administrative Science Quarterly, VII (March, 1964), 421-42.
- Kaufman, Herbert, and Jones, Victor. "The Mystery of Power." Public Administration Review, XIV (Summer, 1954), 205-12.
- Kaufman, Walter C., and Greer, Scott. "Voting in a Metropolitan Community: An Application of Social Area Analysis." Social Forces, XXXVIII (March, 1960), 196-204.
- Kessel, John H. "Governmental Structure and Political Environment." American Political Science Review, LVI (September, 1962), 615-20.
- Kish, Leslie. "Differentiation in Metropolitan Areas." American Sociological Review, XIX (August, 1954), 388-98.

- Kutner, Bernard; Wilkins, Carol; and Yarrow, Penny. "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Behavior Involving Racial Prejudice." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVII (1952), 649-52.
- La Piere, Richard. "Attitude vs. Action." Social Forces, XIII (December, 1934), 230-37.
- Lazerwitz, Bernard. "Suburban Voting Trends: 1948 to 1956." Social Forces, XXXIX (October, 1960), 29-36.
- Liebman, Charles S. "Functional Differentiation and Political Characteristics of Suburbs." American Journal of Sociology, LXVI (March, 1961), 485-90.
- Linn, Lawrence S. "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Behavior: A Study of Racial Discrimination." Social Forces, XLIII (March, 1965), 353-64.
- Long, Norton. "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games." American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (November, 1958), 251-61.
- Lowi, Theodore. "Toward Functionalism in Political Science." American Political Science Review, LVII (September, 1963), 570-83.
- Luttbeg, Norman R., and Zeigler, Harmon. "Attitude Consensus and Conflict in an Interest Group: An Assessment of Cohesion." American Political Science Review, LX (September, 1966), 655-65.
- McClosky, Herbert; Hoffman, Paul; and O'Hara, Rosemary. "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers." American Political Science Review, LIV (June, 1960), 406-27.
- McDill, Edward L., and Ridley, Jeanne Clare. "Status, Anomia, Political Alienation, and Political Participation." American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (September, 1962), 205-17.
- McElrath, Dennis L. "The Social Areas of Rome: A Comparative Analysis." American Sociological Review, XXVII (June, 1962), 376-91.
- McMurray, Carl D., and Parson, Malcolm B. "Public Attitudes Toward the Representational Role of Legislators and Judges." Midwest Journal of Political Science, IX (May, 1965), 167-85.
- Manis, Jerome G., and Stine, Leo C. "Suburban Residence and Political Behavior." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII (Winter, 1958-59), 483-89.
- Mars, David. "Localism and Regionalism in Southern California." Urban Affairs Quarterly, II (June, 1967), 47-74.

- Martin, Walter T. "Some Social-Psychological Aspects of Adjustment to Residence Location in the Rural-Urban Fringe." American Sociological Review, XVIII (June, 1953), 250-53.
- _____. "The Structuring of Social Relationships Engendered by Sub-urban Residence." American Sociological Review, XXI (August, 1956), 446-53.
- Meltzer, Jack. "The Urban Conflict." Urban Affairs Quarterly, III (March, 1968), 3-20.
- Menzel, Herbert. "Comments on Robinson's Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals." American Sociological Review, XV (June, 1950), 674.
- Miller, Warren E. and Stokes, Donald E. "Constituency Influence in Congress." American Political Science Review, LVII (March, 1963), 45-56.
- Mulford, Charles L. "On Role Consensus About Community Leaders." Sociological Inquiry, XXXVI (Winter, 1966), 15-18.
- Ostrom, Vincent; Tiebout, Charles M.; and Warren, Robert O. "The Organization of Government in Metropolitan Areas: A Theoretical Inquiry." American Political Science Review, LV (December, 1961), 831-42.
- Parker, John K. "Cooperation in Metropolitan Areas Through Councils of Government." Public Management, XLV (October, 1963), 223-25.
- Patterson, Samuel C. "Characteristics of Party Leaders." Western Political Quarterly, XVI (June, 1963), 332-52.
- _____. "The Political Cultures of the American States." Journal of Politics, XXX (February, 1968), 187-209.
- Pellegrin, Roland. "Selected Bibliography on Community Power Structure." Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, XLVIII (December, 1967), 451-65.
- Piven, Frances Fox and Cloward, Richard A. "Black Control of Cities: Heading it Off by Metropolitan Government." New Republic, September 30, 1967, pp. 19-21.
- _____, and Cloward, Richard A. "Black Control of Cities - II: How the Negroes Will Lose." New Republic, October 7, 1967, pp. 15-19.

- Press, Charles. "Attitudes Toward Annexation in a Small City Area." Western Political Quarterly, XVI (June, 1963), 271-78.
- _____. "Efficiency and Economy Arguments for Metropolitan Reorganization." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVIII (Winter, 1964), 584-94.
- Riesman, David. "The Suburban Dislocation." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCXIV (Fall, 1967), 123-46.
- Robinson, W. S. "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals." American Sociological Review, XV (June, 1950), 351-57.
- Rokeach, Milton. "Attitude Change and Behavioral Change." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXX (Winter, 1966-67), 529-50.
- Rosenzweig, Robert M. "The Politician and the Career in Politics." Midwest Journal of Political Science, I (May, 1957), 163-72.
- Salisbury, Robert H., and Black, Gordon. "Class and Party in Partisan and Non-Partisan Elections." American Political Science Review, LVII (September, 1963), 584-92.
- Scheffer, Walter F. "Problems in Municipal Finance." Western Political Quarterly, XV (September, 1962), 522-35.
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. "Lawyers and American Politics: A Clarified View." Midwest Journal of Political Science, I (May, 1957), 26-39.
- Schmandt, Henry J. "The City and the Ring." American Behavioral Scientist, IV (November, 1960), 17-19.
- _____. "Changing Directions." National Civic Review, LIV (November, 1965), 530-34.
- Schmidhauser, J. R. "The Justices of the Supreme Court: A Collective Portrait." Midwest Journal of Political Science, III (February, 1959), 1-57.
- Schnore, Leo F. "The Functions of Metropolitan Suburbs." American Journal of Sociology, LXI (March, 1956), 453-58.
- _____. "Socio-Economic Status of Cities and Suburbs." American Sociological Review, XXVIII (February, 1963), 76-85.
- _____. "Measuring City-Suburban Status Differences." Urban Affairs Quarterly, III (September, 1967), 95-108.

- _____, and Alford, Robert R. "Forms of Government and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Suburbs." Administrative Science Quarterly, VIII (June, 1963), 1-17.
- _____, and Sharp, Harry. "Racial Changes in Metropolitan Areas, 1950-1960." Social Forces, XLI (March, 1963), 247-53.
- Scott, Thomas M. "Metropolitan Governmental Reorganization Proposals." Western Political Quarterly, XXI (June, 1968), 252-61.
- Seligman, Lester G. "Political Recruitment and Party Structure." American Political Science Review, LV (March, 1961), 77-86.
- Sherbeneu, Edgar L. "Class, Participation, and the Council-Manager Plan." Public Administration Review, XXI (Summer, 1961), 131-35.
- Sigel, Roberta S., and Friesema, H. Paul. "Urban Community Leaders' Knowledge of Public Opinion." Western Political Quarterly, XVIII (December, 1965), 881-95.
- Smith, Paul A. "The Games of Community Politics." Midwest Journal of Political Science, IX (February, 1965), 37-60.
- Snowiss, Leo M. "Congressional Recruitment and Representation." American Political Science Review, LX (September, 1966), 627-40.
- Stauber, R. L., and Kline, Mary. "Profile of City Commissioners in Kansas." Your Government. University of Kansas, Bulletin of the Governmental Research Center, Vol. XX, April 15, 1965.
- "Survey of Buying Power." Sales Management, (Vol. 84, July 10, 1960; Vol. 98, June 10, 1967).
- Sykes, Gresham M. "The Differential Distribution of Community Knowledge." Social Forces, XXIX (May, 1951), 376-82.
- Tinstman, Robert M. "ACOG--An Experiment in Intergovernmental Relations." Midwest Review of Public Administration, I (February, 1967), 6-10.
- Uyeki, Eugene S. "Patterns of Voting in a Metropolitan Area, 1938-62." Urban Affairs Quarterly, I (June, 1966), 65-77.
- Van Arsdol, Maurice, Jr.; Camilleri, Santo; and Schmid, Calvin. "An Application of the Shevky Social Area Indexes to a Model of Urban Society." Social Forces, XXXVII (October, 1958), 26-32.

- _____; Camilleri, Santo; and Schmid, Calvin. "The Generality of Urban Social Area Indexes." American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958), 267-84.
- _____; Camilleri, Santo; and Schmid, Calvin. "An Investigation of the Utility of Urban Typology." Pacific Sociological Review, IV (Spring, 1961), 26-32.
- Warren, Robert O. "Political Form and Metropolitan Reform." Public Administration Review, XXIV (September, 1964), 180-87.
- Warren, Roland L. "Toward a Typology of Extra-Community Controls Limiting Local Community Autonomy." Social Forces, XXXIV (May, 1956), 338-41.
- Watson, Richard A., and Romani, John H. "Metropolitan Government for Metropolitan Cleveland: An Analysis of the Voting Record." Midwest Journal of Political Science, V (November, 1961), 365-90.
- Weiss, Carol H. "Validity of Welfare Mothers' Interview Responses." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXII (Winter, 1968-69), 622-33.
- Wells, Richard S. "The Legal Profession and Politics." Midwest Journal of Political Science, VIII (May, 1964), 166-90.
- Westie, Frank R. "Negro-White Status Differentials and Social Distance." American Sociological Review, XVII (October, 1952), 557-58.
- Willhelm, Sidney M., and Sjoberg, Gideon. "Economics vs. Protective Values in Urban Land Use Change." American Journal of Economics and Sociology, XIX (April, 1960), 151-60.
- _____. "The Concept of the 'Ecological Complex': A Critique." American Journal of Economics and Sociology, XXIII (July, 1964), 241-48.
- Williams, Oliver P. "Life Style Values and Political Decentralization in Metropolitan Areas." Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, XLVII (December, 1967), 299-310.
- Williamson, Robert C. "Socio-Economic Factors and Martial Adjustment in an Urban Setting." American Sociological Review, XIX (April, 1954), 213-16.
- Wilson, James Q. "The Urban Unease: Community vs. City." The Public Interest, No. 12 (Summer, 1968), 25-39.

- _____, and Banfield, Edward C. "Public-Regardingness as a Value Premise in Voting Behavior." American Political Science Review, LVIII (December, 1964), 876-87.
- Winsborough, Hal H. "An Ecological Approach to the Theory of Suburbanization." American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (March, 1963), 565-70.
- Winthrop, Henry. "Modern Proposals for the Physical Decentralization of Community." Land Economics, XLIII (February, 1967), 10-24.
- Wirt, Frederick M. "The Political Sociology of American Suburbia: A Reinterpretation." American Journal of Sociology, XXVII (August, 1965), 647-66.
- Wirth, Louis. "Urbanism as a Way of Life." American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (July, 1938), 1-24.
- Wolfinger, Raymond. "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power." American Sociological Review, XXV (October, 1960), 636-44.
- Wood, Robert C. "Metropolitan Government, 1975--An Extrapolation of Trends." American Political Science Review, LII (March, 1958), 108-22.
- Woodbury, Coleman. "Great Cities, Great Problems, Great Possibilities?" Public Administration Review, XVII (Autumn, 1958), 332-40.
- Wright, Charles R., and Hyman, Herbert. "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys." American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958), 286-94.
- Zimmer, Basil G., and Hawley, Amos H. "Local Government as Viewed by Fringe Resident." Rural Sociology, XXIII (December, 1958), 363-70.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. "Metropolitan Ecumenism: The Road to the Promised Land." Journal of Urban Law, University of Detroit, XLIV (Spring, 1967), 433-57.
- Zisk, Betty; Eulau, Heinz; and Prewitt, Kenneth. "City Councilmen and the Group Struggle: A Typology of Role Orientation." Journal of Politics, XXVII (August, 1965), 618-46.

Other Sources

Ballentine, Thomas M. "The Oklahoma City Annexation Program, 1958-63: Purposes, Processes, and Planning Implications." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1964.

The Daily Oklahoman, 1968. 1969.

Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act. Title II, sec. 204. (1966).

Downes, Bryan T. "Suburban Differentiation and Municipal Policy Choices: A Comparative Analysis of Suburban Political Systems." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 1966.

Dye, Thomas R. "Certain Political Correlates of Social and Economic Differentiation Among Suburban Communities." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1961.

Friesema, Harry Paul. "Metropolitan Political Structure: Intergovernmental Relations and Political Integration in the Quad-Cities." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1968.

Holden, Matthew, Jr. "Decision Making on a Metropolitan Government Proposition: The Case of Cuyahoga County, Ohio. 1958-59." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1961.

Liebman, Charles S. "Some Political Effects of the Functional Differentiation of Suburbs." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1960.

Main, Eleanor C. "The Impact of Urbanization: A Comparative Study of Urban and Non Urban Political Attitudes and Behavior." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1967.

The Oklahoma City Times, 1969.

The Oklahoma Journal, 1968.

Oklahoma, "Inter-Local Cooperation Act." Statutes (1965), Title 74, sec. 1001.

Oklahoma. Statutes (1961), Title 11, sec. 551.

Oklahoma. Statutes (1961), Title 19, sections 865.1-865.23.

Oklahoma. Statutes (1965 Supplement), sec. 1003.

Stewart, Ronald L. "The Influence of the Business Community in Oklahoma City Politics." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1967.

U. S. Bureau of the Budget. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1967.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1957 Census of Governments. Vol. I, No. 2. Local Government in Standard Metropolitan Areas. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1957.

_____. United States Census of Population: 1960. Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, pt. 38, Oklahoma. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1960.

_____. Census of Governments, 1962. Vol. V. Local Government in Metropolitan Areas. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1962.

_____. Census of Business. Vol. II, Retail Trade, Area Statistics, pt. 3. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966.

_____. Census of Business. Vol. V, Wholesale Trade, Area Statistics. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966.

_____. Census of Manufacturers, 1963. Vol. 3, Area Statistics. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966.

_____. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1967. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1967.

APPENDIX A

SUBURBAN POLITICAL ATTITUDES SURVEY INSTRUMENT

OKLAHOMA CITY UNIVERSITY
Institute of Metropolitan Studies

Suburban Survey of Community Attitudes - Fall, 1967

C1 _____
C2 _____
C3 _____ Case Number
C4 _____ Interviewer Number
_____ Date of Interview
_____ Time interview begun

C5 Residence Code
1 _____ Nichols Hills
2 _____ Village
3 _____ Bethany
4 _____ Warr Acres
5 _____ Del City

INTRODUCTION

Hello . . . my name is _____ from Oklahoma City University. We're doing a public opinion survey on what people think about their local community. I am not selling or soliciting anything, but I do need to ask you a few questions, please . . . Now, the questions I need to ask are not that personal, but I do want to assure you that the information you give me will be confidential and will be seen only by certain faculty members at O. C. U. who will prepare the final study.

First, let me ask you:

C6 About how long have you lived in _____ ? _____

C7 Where did you live before moving here? _____

C8 Where have you lived most of your life?

1 _____ on a farm

2 _____ small town

3 _____ medium-sized city

4 _____ big city

C9 Do you own your own home? CIRCLE YES NO

C10 Do you belong to any local clubs or associations - such as professional or business organizations, veterans organizations, a church-related group, labor union, fraternal group - or any sort of local group at all? (List names of groups - stop at 5)

C11 Can you tell me who your mayor is? (name) _____

C12 Does your city have a city manager? YES NO DON'T KNOW (DK)

C13 IF YES What is his name? _____

C14 Can you name any more local public officials . . . such as Police Chief, Fire Chief, city department heads, city council, members of school board members?

NAME

POSITION

C15 Is your city a member of any metropolitan association of local city governments? YES NO DK

C16 IF YES, ASK Do you know the name of this group? (Name)

C17 Are you a registered voter? YES NO

C18 IF YES, ASK About how often would you say that you vote in strictly
local elections, such as for bond issues or city council or school-

board elections.	1	Almost always

2 Usually

3 Sometimes

4 Hardly ever

C19 Have you ever attended any meeting of your local city council or school board? YES NO

C20 /IF YES, ASK/ About how often?

C21 Within the past year have you ever officially contacted, either in person, by phone or letter, any of your local public officials?

YES NO

C22 /IF YES, ASK/ Which official(s)?

C23 If you should make a complaint to your city government what are the chances of having it taken care of?

1 Almost always

2 Usually

3 Sometimes

4 Hardly ever

C24 Do you think the same kind of complaint would be taken care of in

about the same way if you lived in Oklahoma City? YES NO DK

C25 When people select a city to live in. . many things may be important

C26 to them. Can you tell me three things from this list HAND "DESIRABLE

C27 FEATURES" CARD that you like about living in _____,

CIRCLE THREE NUMBERS

1 Better property value for the money

2 Opportunity for civic participation

3 Close to convenience of large city

4 Small town atmosphere (friendly people, more space, less traffic)

5 Good city services (police, fire protection, etc.)

6 Lower taxes

7 Good schools

8 Less politics, less red tape and less corruption in public office

C28 Is there anything you don't like about living here? _____

C29 _____

C30 Are there any reasons in particular why you might not want to live in

C31 Oklahoma City? _____

C32 _____

Here is a card showing ratings for different services which you may

be receiving from your local government. Looking at the card HAND
RESPONDENT "SERVICE" CARD as I mention each service, would you
 tell me how you would rate that service . . as very good, good, fair,
 poor, or don't know.

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
C33 School System	VG	G	F	P	DK
C34 Police Protection	VG	G	F	P	DK
C35 Fire Protection	VG	G	F	P	DK
C36 Traffic Planning and Control	VG	G	F	P	DK
C37 Street Repair	VG	G	F	P	DK
C38 Parks and Recreation	VG	G	F	P	DK
C39 Garbage Collection	VG	G	F	P	DK
C40 Planning and Zoning	VG	G	F	P	DK

LET THEM KEEP CARD FOR THIS QUESTION

C41 Do you think any of the city services we just mentioned are better in
 Oklahoma City? YES NO DK

C42 IF YES OR SOME Which ones? _____

C43 _____

People seem to expect their local city government to do different
 things. Now here are some things which might be considered as de-
 sirable goals or objectives for your city government. Would you tell
 me how important you think it is for your city government to do each
 of these:

C44 1. Improve public services and make the city more attractive (is this)	Very Imp.	Imp.	Not too Imp.
C45 2. Keep the local tax rate low	V	I	N
C46 3. Try to get new business and industry for the community	V	I	N
C47 4. Keep undesirables from moving into the city	V	I	N
C48 5. Help maintain a peaceful community where there will be little conflict	V	I	N

C49 Do you think your local city officials generally represent the views of

- most residents here? 1 _____ to a great extent
 2 _____ only to some extent
 3 _____ not very much
 4 _____ DK

C50 How do you feel about the taxes you pay for local government . . that is, to support your city government, the county, and the school system?

- Are they, 1 _____ much too high
 2 _____ a little too high
 3 _____ about right
 4 _____ probably a little too low?

C51 Do you think your local property taxes are lower than what people in

Oklahoma City pay? YES NO ABOUT SAME DK

IF THEY ANSWER YES OR ABOUT SAME, ASK/

C52 Do you think people in _____ consider lower taxes to

be an important reason for living here? YES NO DK

C53 Do you think you and your property are probably safer here than you would be if you lived in Oklahoma City? YES NO DK

C54 Would you favor or oppose a plan to achieve greater racial balance in the schools in the Oklahoma City area by bussing Negro students into all-white areas which might include _____?
FAVOR OPPOSE

C55 Would you favor or oppose an open-housing law for your city which would require people in _____ to sell houses to anyone regardless of race? FAVOR OPPOSE _____

Now, let me ask you just a few questions for you to compare _____ with Oklahoma City. After each statement I will ask you whether you think the statement applies most to Oklahoma City, to _____ or about the same in each city. Now here are the statements:

CIRCLE

- C56 1. Which city's officials are easiest to contact? The city officials in: OKC _____ about same DK
- C57 2. Which city's officials are more aware of neighborhood problems? OKC _____ about same DK
- C58 3. In which city do people have the most say in running the government? OKC _____ about same DK
- C59 4. Which city government operates the most economically? OKC _____ about same DK
- C60 5. Which city officials look out for the whole city rather than a few favored interests? OKC _____ about same DK

C61 6. Which city government has the most politics and corruption? OKC _____ about same DK

C62 7. Which city government has the most conflict over public affairs? OKC _____ about same DK

Now, we're getting near the end, but I have one rather long but very important question for you. Let me give you a little explanation.

Some people believe that certain problems in metropolitan areas require that several cities work together in attempting to solve them. There might be several ways that cities could do this.

Now, the statements on this card HAND "ASSOCIATION" CARD represent various degrees of association which might be possible between _____ and other cities in this area, including Oklahoma City. Please follow along as I read these statements . . . 1 through 5, and then tell me which one of the following levels of association you think might be best for cities in this area.

C63 CHECK ONLY ONE

1. _____ no close relationship among cities in the area.
2. _____ cooperation between area cities of a strictly voluntary nature to work on particular problems as they come up.
3. _____ a voluntary association of local governments where locally elected officials would meet regularly to study and make recommendations only on area-wide problems.
4. _____ the consolidation of the cities in this area and the county into a metropolitan-wide government, where your city would keep its separate identity but might give up certain

services to the area-wide government.

5. _____ merger of all the smaller cities with Oklahoma City to
make one big city for the whole area.

Here are just a couple of final questions.

C64 What is your occupation? _____

C65 _____

C66 What is the name and place .. the city .. where you work?

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

C67 What is the last grade in school you completed?

1 _____ 0-8 years

2 _____ 1-2 years high school

3 _____ 3-4 years high school

4 _____ 1-2 years college

5 _____ 3-4 years college

6 _____ more than 4 years. SPECIFY: _____

C68 In politics . . do you consider yourself a Republican . . a Democrat

or something else? 1 _____ Republican

2 _____ Democrat

3 _____ other _____

IF "INDEPENDENT", ASK:

C69 Would you say you lean more toward the Republican side . . or toward

the Democratic side? CIRCLE R D I

C70 Looking at this card **HAND "AGE AND INCOME" CARD** can you

give me the number of the age group you fall in? 1 21-25

2 26-34

3 35-49

4 50-60

5 over 60

C71 Now, what yearly income group is your family in?

(Confidential)

1 under \$3000

2 \$3000 -4999

3 \$5000 -6999

4	\$7000-9999

5 \$10000-14999

6 \$15000 and over

C72	RECORD SEX	M	F
1	1		
2	1		
3	1		
4	1		
5	1		
6	1		
7	1		
8	1		
9	1		
10	1		
11	1		
12	1		
13	1		
14	1		
15	1		
16	1		
17	1		
18	1		
19	1		
20	1		
21	1		
22	1		
23	1		
24	1		
25	1		
26	1		
27	1		
28	1		
29	1		
30	1		
31	1		
32	1		
33	1		
34	1		
35	1		
36	1		
37	1		
38	1		
39	1		
40	1		
41	1		
42	1		
43	1		
44	1		
45	1		
46	1		
47	1		
48	1		
49	1		
50	1		
51	1		
52	1		
53	1		
54	1		
55	1		
56	1		
57	1		
58	1		
59	1		
60	1		
61	1		
62	1		
63	1		
64	1		
65	1		
66	1		
67	1		
68	1		
69	1		
70	1		
71	1		
72	1		
73	1		
74	1		
75	1		
76	1		
77	1		
78	1		
79	1		
80	1		
81	1		
82	1		
83	1		
84	1		
85	1		
86	1		
87	1		
88	1		
89	1		
90	1		
91	1		
92	1		
93	1		
94	1		
95	1		
96	1		
97	1		
98	1		
99	1		
100	1		

C73 RECORD RACE W N Other

So that my office can check in case I've made any mistakes, what is your name, please?

and phone number _____

RECORD ADDRESS

Thank you very much for your time. You have been very helpful.

/INTERVIEWER'S SIGNATURE/

APPENDIX B

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FIVE- COMMUNITY SAMPLE SURVEY, FALL 1967

	Number	Per Cent
1. Number respondents from each city		
Nichols Hills	16	7.2
The Village	44	19.8
Warr Acres	32	14.3
Bethany	59	26.5
Del City	72	32.2
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
2. Years lived in present city		
0 - 1.99 years	45	20.2
2 - 5.99	70	31.4
6 - 10.99	37	16.6
11 - 15.99	27	12.1
over 16	44	19.7
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
3. Where lived before present residence		
OKC	93	41.7
city comparable or larger than OKC	14	6.3
other suburb	27	12.1
town smaller than OKC (250,000)	76	34.1
farm or rural	9	4.0
lived here all life	4	1.8
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
4. Where lived most of life		
farm	28	12.6
small town (500-15,000)	60	26.9
medium sized city (14,001-150,000)	55	24.7
large city	80	35.9
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.1</u>
5. Home ownership		
yes	177	79.4
no	46	20.6
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>

6. Club or association membership		
none	123	55.2
1 group - church related	29	13.0
1 group - labor union	9	4.0
1 group - any other	35	15.7
more than 1	27	12.1
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
7. Name of mayor		
know	83	37.2
don't know	127	57.0
named central city mayor	13	5.8
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
8. City manager (does city have?)		
know	125	56.1
don't know	66	29.6
not applicable (Warr Acres)	32	14.3
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
9. Name of city manager		
know	58	26.0
don't know	131	58.7
not applicable	32	14.3
named central city manager	2	.9
	<u>223</u>	<u>99.9</u>
10. Name other local public officials		
none	148	66.4
one	39	17.5
two	20	9.0
three or more	16	7.2
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
11. Knowledge of ACOG membership		
know name	18	8.1
know, but not name	35	15.7
don't know	170	76.2
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
12. Index of civic knowledge		
little or no knowledge	135	60.5
some knowledge	55	24.7
considerable knowledge	33	14.8
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>

13. Registered voter		
yes	165	74.0
no	<u>58</u>	<u>26.0</u>
	223	100.0
14. Vote in local elections		
almost always	118	52.9
usually	28	12.6
sometimes	40	17.9
hardly ever	36	16.1
never	<u>1</u>	<u>.5</u>
	223	100.0
15. Ever attended city council or school board meeting		
yes	31	13.9
no	<u>192</u>	<u>86.1</u>
	223	100.0
16. Ever contacted local officials		
yes	44	19.7
no	<u>179</u>	<u>80.3</u>
	223	100.0
17. Complaint taken care of by city		
almost always	73	32.7
usually	54	24.2
sometimes	31	13.9
hardly ever	31	13.9
don't know	<u>34</u>	<u>15.3</u>
	223	100.0
18. Disposition of complaint same way in OKC		
yes	106	47.5
no	75	33.6
don't know	<u>42</u>	<u>18.9</u>
	223	100.0
19. Reasons for living in suburb	No. times mentioned	% of sample
lower taxes	95	42.6
opportunity for civic participation	14	6.3
good schools	142	63.7
small town atmosphere	108	48.4
less politics	27	12.1
better property value	49	22.0
close to big city	97	43.5
good city services	<u>137</u>	<u>61.4</u>
	669	

	Number	Per Cent
20. Things not liked about suburb		
nothing	165	74.0
inefficient and corrupt government	9	4.0
can't vote in OKC elections	2	.9
don't like schools	2	.9
inconvenient, too far away	6	2.7
minor annoyances	16	7.2
higher taxes	10	4.5
poor protection and services	7	3.1
lack of privacy; too conservative	6	2.7
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>

21. Reasons for not wanting to live in OKC		
yes, there are reasons	101	45.3
no reason	122	54.3

	No. Times Mentioned	Per Cent
too big, congested, traffic, etc.	63	43.8
inefficient gov't, too much politics, etc.	16	11.1
prices, property, taxes too high	29	20.1
suburban schools better	11	7.6
protection & services in suburbs better	16	11.1
too far from work	5	3.5
other unique features of that suburb	4	2.8
	<u>144</u>	<u>100.0</u>

	VG	%	G	%	F	%	P	%	DK	%
22. Ratings of local services										
schools	119	53.4	71	31.8	12	5.4	2	.9	19	8.5
police	128	57.4	73	32.7	9	4.0	3	1.2	10	4.5
fire	111	49.8	86	38.6	9	4.0	0	0	17	7.6
traffic	42	18.8	99	44.4	58	26.0	10	4.5	14	6.3
street repair	22	9.9	78	35.0	85	38.1	34	15.3	4	1.8
parks	36	16.1	98	44.0	65	29.2	10	4.5	14	6.3
garbage	72	32.3	111	49.8	31	13.9	8	3.6	1	.5
planning	28	12.6	104	46.6	42	18.8	10	4.5	39	17.5

	Number	Per Cent
23. Any services better in OKC		
yes	59	26.5
no	113	50.7
don't know	51	22.8
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>

(only 23 named any service as better in OKC)

24. Local officials representative		
to a great extent	96	43.1
only to some extent	67	30.0
not very much	13	5.8
don't know	47	21.1
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
25. Local taxes		
much too high	15	6.7
a little too high	45	20.2
about right	142	63.7
probably a little too low	8	3.6
don't know	13	5.8
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
26. Taxes lower than in OKC		
yes	117	52.5
no	25	11.2
about same	29	13.0
don't know	52	23.3
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
27. Do people consider low taxes as important reason for living in suburb		
yes	96	51.1
no	72	38.3
don't know	20	10.6
	<u>188</u>	<u>100.0</u>
28. Property safer in suburb		
yes	135	60.5
no	61	27.4
don't know	27	12.1
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
29. Achieve racial balance in schools by bussing		
favor	31	13.9
oppose	178	79.8
don't know, refused, don't care	14	6.3
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
30. Open housing law		
favor	52	23.3
oppose	152	68.2
don't know, refused, don't care	19	8.5
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>

	OKC		Sub.		Same		D. K.	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
31. "Grass Roots" Ideology Questions								
city officials easiest to contact	11	4.9	137	61.4	42	18.8	33	14.8
city officials aware of neighborhood prob.	20	9.0	134	60.1	31	13.9	38	17.0
people have most say in government	26	11.7	107	48.0	51	22.9	39	17.5
city operates most economically	11	4.9	115	51.6	20	9.0	77	34.5
city officials look out for whole city	21	9.4	101	45.3	50	22.4	51	22.9
city has most politics	163	73.1	1	.5	22	9.9	37	16.6
city has most conflict	183	82.1	2	.9	12	5.4	26	11.7
32. Level of association best for cities					Number		Per Cent	
no close relationship					10		4.5	
strictly voluntary cooperation					75		33.6	
voluntary association of cities					98		44.0	
metro-wide government					30		13.5	
total merger					10		4.5	
					223		100.1	
33. Occupation (head of household)								
prof, tech, mgr					78		35.3	
clerical					22		10.0	
sales					17		7.7	
craftsmen, operatives					58		26.2	
labor					6		2.7	
non-labor & military					40		18.1	
refused					2		(% based	
					223		on 221)	
34. Work place								
OKC					156		70.0	
their suburb					21		9.4	
Tinker AFB					30		13.5	
other					16		7.2	
					223		100.1	
35. Education								
0 - 8					28		12.6	
1 - 2 yrs high school					15		6.7	
3 - 4 yrs high school					93		41.7	
1 - 2 yrs college					45		20.2	
3 - 4 yrs college					28		12.6	
more than 4 yrs college					13		5.8	
prof, trade beyond high school					1		.5	
					223		100.1	

36. Political preference		
Republican	75	34.1
Democrat	120	54.5
Independent, Republican	8	3.6
Independent, Democrat	7	3.2
Independent	10	4.5
Refused	3	
	<u>223</u>	<u>99.9</u>
37. Age		
21 - 25	29	13.1
26 - 34	51	22.1
35 - 49	91	40.8
50 - 60	25	11.2
over 60	26	11.7
refused	1	
	<u>223</u>	<u>99.9</u>
38. Income (family)		
under \$3,000	20	9.5
3,000 - 4,999	19	9.0
5,000 - 6,999	35	16.6
7,000 - 9,999	65	30.8
10,000 - 14,999	48	22.7
15,000 and over	24	11.4
refused	12	
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
39. Sex		
male	103	46.2
female	120	53.8
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
40. Race		
white	221	99.1
nonwhite	2	.9
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
41. Index of political activity		
low	107	48.0
medium	80	35.9
high	36	16.1
	<u>223</u>	<u>100.0</u>
42. Index of "grass roots" ideology		
low	44	19.7
medium	106	47.5
high	73	32.7
	<u>223</u>	<u>99.9</u>

APPENDIX C

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF FIVE-COMMUNITY SAMPLE SURVEY (1967) COMPARED WITH 1960 CENSUS DATA

CHARACTERISTIC	SURVEY RESULTS (%)	CENSUS DATA (%)
1. Home ownership	79.4	83.8
2. Occupation		
(a) professional, technical, managerial	35.3	35.2
(b) clerical	10.0	9.1
(c) sales	7.7	11.2
(d) craftsmen, operatives	26.2	32.5
(e) labor and other	20.8	12.0
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
3. Education		
(a) one year or more college	38.6	36.1
4. Age		
(a) over age 60	11.7	9.2
5. Income		
(a) under \$ 3,000	9.5	8.3
(b) over \$10,000	34.1	21.7
6. Sex		
(a) male	46.2	48.2
(b) female	53.8	51.8

APPENDIX D

BACKGROUND AND RECRUITMENT QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SUBURBAN COUNCIL MEMBERS

OKLAHOMA CITY UNIVERSITY
Institute of Metropolitan Studies
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Survey of City Officials Fall, 1967

Instructions

The following questionnaire is designed to provide certain information about the background and attitudes of city officials of suburban cities in the Oklahoma City metropolitan area. Our final study will preserve the anonymity of each participant and the information contained in this questionnaire will be kept strictly confidential. The completed documents will be seen only by those who will complete the final study. Your cooperation in assisting us with this research project is greatly appreciated.

Please fill in the blank or place a check after the statement most applicable to you.

1. Office now held: Mayor _____ Councilman _____
2. Age at last birthday: _____ years.
3. Sex: male _____ female _____

4. Occupation (please be specific): _____
5. Length of service in present public office: _____ years
6. Other public or party office now held: _____
7. Previous public or party office held: _____
8. Public office for which you were an unsuccessful candidate: _____
9. Did anyone in your immediate family hold a public or party office before you entered politics: _____ Yes _____ No
10. Residence at time of birth (city and state): _____
11. Father's place of birth (city and state): _____
12. Father's occupation for most of his life: _____
13. How long have you lived in the city where you now hold office? _____
14. Is your place of business or work in Oklahoma City? _____
in the city where you hold office _____
elsewhere in suburban Ok. City _____
outside the Ok. City region _____
15. Please write in the name of clubs, organizations, and activities in which you take part and check the block which best describes your participation.
- | Names | Attended
seldom | Active
member | Officer |
|---------------------------|--------------------|------------------|---------|
| Civic associations: _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Church groups: _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

	Attended seldom	Active member	Officer
Fraternal: _____	_____	_____	_____
Service: _____	_____	_____	_____
Recreational: _____	_____	_____	_____
Trade Union: _____	_____	_____	_____
Business or occupation: _____	_____	_____	_____
Other: _____	_____	_____	_____

16. Formal education (check the highest category attained)

Elementary school _____

Some high school _____

High school graduate _____

Trade or business school after high school _____

Some college _____

College graduate _____

Post graduate degree _____

17. How did you first get into public office:

A friend or neighbor got me interested _____

Through work in a community organization _____

(What organization?) _____

My active interest in a particular issue _____

(What was the issue?) _____

The nature of my occupation got me involved _____

Other _____

18. Who first asked you to run for public office?

If you decided on your own, check here _____, and check below the first person who contacted you about your decision:

Political party official _____

Prominent club or service organization _____

Business or work associates _____

An important office holder _____ (What office?) _____

Other (please be specific) _____

19. What is your average income per year:

\$5,000-9,999 _____

\$10,000-14,999 _____

15,000-19,000 _____

20,000-24,999 _____

25,000-29,999 _____

30,000 or above _____

20. If a copy of this study is desired check here _____.

Send to: _____

Your cooperation in helping with this research project is immensely appreciated.

PLEASE RETURN TO: Institute of Metropolitan Studies
Oklahoma City University
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73106