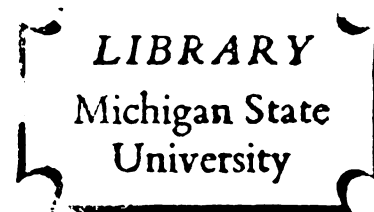


METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY SUB-SYSTEMS  
AS REFERENCE GROUPS IN A SUBURBAN  
ANNEXATION BALLOT DECISION

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
Theodore A. Rottman  
1965



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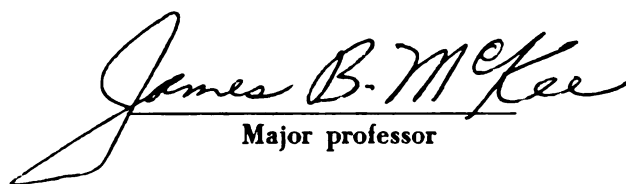
METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY SUB-SYSTEMS  
AS REFERENCE GROUPS IN A SUBURBAN  
ANNEXATION BALLOT DECISION

presented by

Theodore A. Rottman

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Sociology

  
Major professor

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ABSTRACT

METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY SUB-SYSTEMS  
AS REFERENCE GROUPS IN A SUBURBAN  
ANNEXATION BALLOT DECISION

by Theodore A. Rottman

The setting for this study is Grand Rapids, Michigan with its urbanized area containing approximately a quarter million people. The community issue analyzed is the attempted extension of core city bounds via annexation.

To clarify the study of community decision making, a critical review of the literature was undertaken. A vast majority of the studies were found to so emphasize social structural components of decision making (e.g., community power structure) as to neglect the individual cognitive dimension, or vice versa. As a theoretical corrective, the social psychological concept of reference groups was applied to both an urban and a suburban community sub-system (as politically delineated) in a manner permitting analysis of community decision-making behavior.

From data provided by a survey of randomly selected registered voters residing in Paris Township, an area subjected to annexation pressures, three separate indices of



social psychological orientation toward both urban and suburban sub-systems were constructed. They provide information on each respondent's (1) sub-system of primary membership (based on extent of participation), (2) sub-system to which he attributes the more positive image of political access, and (3) sub-system to which he attributes the more positive image of practical political affairs. These social psychological orientations were then related to the respondents' self report of intended annexation vote direction and to an official record of his actual turnout behavior. They were also tested against such community phenomena of decision-making significance as issue relevant participation in the suburban sub-system, opinions on practical problems of the suburban sub-system, and opinions on proposed solutions to core city expansion. Social status was introduced as a control.

The general hypothesis tested is that the suburbanite's political behavior is compatible with both his affiliation with, and image of the two competing community sub-systems. Thus, for example, a negative vote on annexation of suburb to core city is expected to be positively associated with the following: a greater affiliation with the suburbs than the core city, a relatively complimentary image of the suburbs, and a relatively uncomplimentary image of the core city. The converse direction is expected for those voting for annexation.



Using chi square analysis, all three social psychological orientations proved discriminating enough to successfully predict politically relevant community behaviors, opinions, and actual voting behavior. Consistently, controlling for social status resulted in specification of the upper more than the lower status respondents as exemplifying the aforementioned associations.

Concerning voting behavior, the sub-system orientations were much more strongly associated with direction than turnout. For the latter, intensity of sub-system orientation retained predictive value, but the extent of consonance between suburban and urban sub-system images did not.

The size of the chi square values gave support to the expectation, based on field theory, that the most situationally relevant of the three social psychological orientations would bear most directly on vote turnout and direction. The following ascending rank order prevailed: sub-system (1) membership, (2) access image, (3) state of affairs image. Prompted by this suggestive evidence of causal order, an attempt was made to tap temporal sequence by controlling for membership orientation when (either) image was related to vote behavior (turnout or direction). Insofar as survey data are amenable to causal analysis, the order Membership-Image-Vote Behavior is confirmed. It was suggested that this confirmation must remain tentative until tested via a panel design.

Efforts were made to assess the simultaneous significance of membership and (either) image orientation. For vote direction, the joint contribution of the two was the highest statistical significance; but for vote turnout predictive power was not substantially improved over the use of a single measure when not controlling the other variable.

In conclusion, note was taken of the prime impact that practical governmental affairs, as cognitively conceived, have on political decisions. Apparently, concern over governmental efficiency, tax structure, etc. are more central to community decision making than are the oft expressed matters of political access such as closeness to governmental officials, amount of voice in how the government is run, etc. A systematic analysis of the theoretical and practical implications of this finding awaits further empirical analysis.

METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY SUB-SYSTEMS AS  
REFERENCE GROUPS IN A SUBURBAN  
ANNEXATION BALLOT DECISION

By

Theodore A. Rottman

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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## CHAPTER I

### THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY AND THE NATURE OF THE DATA NEEDED TO ACCOMPLISH IT

#### General Problem Area

There exists today a host of academically important distinctions which, although crucial in stimulating conscious decisions in research design, are often elevated to a position so lofty as to impair, rather than foster, the accomplishment of significant research. Among the distinctions too easily regarded as competing are such potentially complementary concerns as: methodological as distinguished from substantive analysis; case as distinguished from correlational analysis; variate as distinguished from process analysis; and on the disciplinary level, sociological as distinguished from psychological analysis.

Concerning the sociological - psychological distinction, although it is true that a plethora of articles have appeared which point to the noncontradictory, in fact, compatible and congruent nature of endeavors which pay simultaneous attention to both disciplinary "extremes," they infrequently surpass the level of assertion and illustration.



This appears especially true for those studies involving both social and psychological variables which have been conducted outside the laboratory. Even some of the more carefully controlled studies however, deal only tacitly with the nature of the interrelationship.<sup>1</sup>

The problems of articulating social psychological relationships appear to be especially weighty in community studies. Especially in one area of community study, that of community power and decision making, has very uneven treatment been given to the two sets of variables. Too frequently, description of reputed power elites contains manipulative and superordinate connotations sufficient to becloud the significance of dynamic interrelationships that exist between the

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<sup>1</sup>Even the matter of what constitutes a social psychological study is seldom given explicit attention apart from textbook treatment. Many empirical studies which involve both sociological and psychological dimensions are classified into one camp rather than the other. In the case of empirical studies of causal inference, this is frequently done by regarding either the dependent or the independent variable as the determining criterion. For a fourfold classification scheme which distinguishes not only between sociology and psychology, but between sociological psychology and psychological sociology, see Schnore (1961). Although it is recognized that distinctive problems--not variables, belong to disciplines, this study nevertheless finds it useful to distinguish between sociology and psychology on the basis of the nature of the study unit usually selected. Those units which reflect states of mind or personality structures are classified as psychological, whereas those which reflect rates of collectivities or group structures are classified as sociological.

elite and those who follow them. Any allusions made regarding such relationships between social power figures and "grass-roots" decision makers are usually implicitly assumed rather than empirically traced. Sociologically speaking, a consequence of this imbalance is the frequent failure to recognize the significance of community structure as either the general framework for social interaction or the social object of personal identification. In political sociology, the imbalance is manifest in the paucity of studies which regard the franchise as a legally and traditionally constituted implement of community power. This seems especially strange in a culture where democratic ideology provides ample opportunity to test empirically the power the electorate can wield in community nonpartisan political affairs.

It is not that community power studies lack for critics. However, the majority of the criticisms take the form of proposed or enacted refinements exclusively from within a single disciplinary perspective. It is true that the rather rigid monolithic hierarchical structure propounded by Hunter (1953) and more recently, Mills (1956) is now generally regarded as an oversimplification.<sup>2</sup> It is recognized increasingly that the complexity of the industrial community

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<sup>2</sup>For instance, see Miller, 1961, Form, 1959; Schulze, 1958; McKee, 1959; and many others.

with its multiplex institutional cleavages and linkages makes a unified, pyramidal power structure not only implausible to conceive but impossible to study. Already a decade ago, McKee (1953, p. 369) spoke of decision making loci, within each of which "a number of groups may have varying effects upon decision making. . . ."

Recently, Lipset (1959, p. 107) has shown his displeasure with the dominant scarcity model of power by stating his preference for treating power as access rather than as conflict between elite and subordinates. Although the claim has been made by Miller (1961, p. 106) that most community researchers have combined the issue approach with the reputational approach, it remains true that insufficient research attention has been paid to the community relevant affiliations, as well as the perceptions, of those who interact with reputed leaders. Dahl's recent criticism (1961, p. 76) is becoming a recurrent one. He notes the possible invalidity that results from assessing power relations by reputational means when insufficient attention is paid to relating reputations for influence to a demonstration of influence in specific issue outcomes.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>This is partially countered by Simon (1953, pp. 511-512) who observes that power assessed by reputational means has predictive viability in that expectations of the participants (acting as if a person has power) constitute the power of the reputed leader.

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Suggestive leads into the linkage which exists between the power elite and hoi polloi have been made by several students of community. Vidich and Bensman (1958, p. 277) for instance, report that the dominant behind-the-scenes leader in Springdale has increased power because of an overestimation of his authority by others, who act on the basis of their estimation. Miller himself (1958, p. 309), in his treatment of "segmented power pyramids," speaks of a special power pyramid being created whenever an issue "galvanizes the people that are concerned with that type of issue. . . ." Presumably, it is the personal relevance of given issues which activates these "latent power sectors." The processual nature of the interchange between hoi polloi and reputed leaders is suggested by Boulding (1956, p. 103):

In one sense, in a successful political process all decisions are interim. We live in a perpetual state of unresolved conflict. A decision is a partial resolution of conflict. It should never be a complete resolution. The majority does not rule; a majority decision is simply a setting of the terms under which the minority continues the discussion. . . .

### Specific Research Interest

Clarification of the relationship existing between power elites and those below them awaits a better understanding of the relevance that community issues have on "average" community members. Operationally, the intent of this study is to demonstrate the theoretical and methodological relevance of a community survey study in which decision relevant sociological and psychological variables<sup>4</sup> relate to the same community ballot issue, namely, annexation of a suburban area to the central city. As such, it represents an attempt to restore interdisciplinary balance to community power and decision-making studies. It is an attempt to complement rather than discount the significance of more formal studies of elite power structures. By attempting to chart the specific relationships that exist between issue relevant community social structures and attitudes (as these relate to voting behavior) an additional basis is provided for understanding the general relationship that exists between social structure and community decision making.

By using three sets of variables which all bear an

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<sup>4</sup>Once again it must be stressed that the assignment of variables to academically distinct disciplines inevitably entails theoretical implications. This study regards those variables which best reveal cognitive states and processes as psychological; those which best reveal group and societal structures and processes as sociological.

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explicit relationship to the community structure--namely, extent of participation in the community (a sociological rate), nature of the image of the community (a psychological state), and annexation voting behavior toward the community, the way is open for a systematic analysis of their inter-relationships. Such a design surmounts Reiss's (1954, p. 53) criticism that

most studies of problematic behavior in a community context fail to specify how the community is a significant factor in explaining the observed relationships.

### Theoretical Significance

From one perspective, the study here proposed is fundamentally methodological. This perspective is grounded on the assumption that understanding of the process of community involvement and individual acquisition of community related images must follow a careful delineation of predictive relationships that exist between sociological and psychological loci of analysis on the one hand, and behavior on the other.

Apart from experimental studies, attempts to formally specify relationships between sociological and psychological phenomena have been mainly speculative, or at best, post hoc. In fact, in the realm of political sociology, many studies do not get beyond the level of the empirical generalization. According to Merton (1957, p. 95),

the empirical generalization is an isolated proposition summarizing observed uniformities of relationships between two or more variables. The sociological literature abounds with such generalizations which have not been assimilated to sociological theory.<sup>5</sup>

Notorious are the large number of studies which report correlations between social or demographic categories (e.g., race, religion, social status) and voting behavior,<sup>6</sup> with theoretical justifications which are tacit, if not entirely absent. Furthermore, those attempts which are made to relate social and psychological variables to voting behavior appear to benefit but little from any explicit theoretical formulations capable of generating hypotheses. For instance, these studies have, as a general case, not approached even the post hoc interpretative level so successfully used by Merton (1957, especially pp. 229-30) in applying the concept of relative deprivation to the relationship between social attributes and individual attitudes. That Merton was not yet looking for a finely detailed, fully elaborated and systematized theory--at least in the interdisciplinary venture, is apparent in his discussion (1957, pp. 77-78) of

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<sup>5</sup>The interpretative process which attempts to provide a conceptual imagery by turning an incidental classifier into a variate is discussed by Lazarsfeld (1955) in a chapter entitled "Interpretation of Statistical Relations as a Research Operation," pp. 115-125.

<sup>6</sup>For a descriptive summary of many of these studies see Berelson et al., 1954, Appendix A, pp. 327-347.

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general sociological orientations. These orientations

involve broad postulates which indicate types of variables which are somehow to be taken into account rather than specifying determinate relationships between particular values . . . the growing contributions of social theory to its sister disciplines lie more in the realm of general sociological orientations than in that of specific confirmed hypotheses.

In the same spirit, this study does not pretend to use a fully articulated theory, but relies rather on the general theoretical orientation provided by the reference group concept. By extending the applicability of the reference group concept to the community level, the way is open to explore both the sociological and psychological implications of community decision making.<sup>7</sup>

#### Limits of Valid Generalization

Although the danger of overgeneralizing research findings is not unique to decision-making studies, special attention is warranted in a study such as this. It must be made clear at the outset that the research concern here is with community decisions--not all decisions.<sup>8</sup> More

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<sup>7</sup>Cf. Snyder (1958, p. 25) who refers to a community decision-making scheme rather than to decision-making theory because the variables are from "fundamentally different perspectives. . . ."

<sup>8</sup>Quoting Rossi (1957, p. 417): "A community decision is a choice among several modes of action which is made by an authoritative person or group within the community institutions and of which the goals are the change or maintenance of community-wide institutions or facilities."

specifically, the data for this study are drawn from but one community, namely the Grand Rapids, Michigan metropolitan area. Furthermore, it concerns but one type of community issue, namely, annexation of suburban territory to the core city. Finally, this study deals with but one type of community decision, the referendum.

That the foregoing study limits are not as constrictive as they might first appear follows from the fact that community based decisions interrelate with institutional and organizational decisions.<sup>9</sup> The difficulty of the single case is alleviated, in a measure, by statistical analysis of community sub-system differences, as they exist within the overall urbanized area. That annexation is not an isolated community issue, but has economic, educational, and obviously political ramifications will become evident in the body of the study.

The selection of community issue relevant social and psychological indicators also imposes limits of legitimate generalization for this study. To trace extent of participation within the community "backward" to formalized social structures, or to trace the nature of the images members

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<sup>9</sup>This is revealed in the growing literature on social power. It was evident already in the early work of the Lynds (1929) and Hunter (1953).

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hold toward their community to underlying personality structures are endeavors beyond the scope of the study. Nevertheless suggestive leads for pursuing these basic concerns are offered.

A caution is also in order regarding the imputation of causal order between social and psychological variables. Whether extent of community participation is a major determinant of one's image of the community, or conversely, one's image of the community is the major determinant of his participation, cannot be finally determined by the research design here used. However, the study provides tentative tests for the assumption that community participation is the independent variable and community image the dependent one.<sup>10</sup> This assumption is not inconsistent with a field theoretical model used as an ordering device when sociological, psychological, and dependent behavioral variables are considered simultaneously.<sup>11</sup> The field theoretical model, however, is

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<sup>10</sup> Logical as well as empirical support for such an assumption rest on evidence such as that cited by Campbell (1958, p. 327): "When workers are promoted to the status of foremen or shop stewards of their unions and then moved back later to their rank and file positions, their attitudes toward the company and union change quite remarkably to suit the position in which they find themselves."

<sup>11</sup> See pp. 53-56 for a fuller treatment of the field theory model as applied to voting behavior.

[illegible]

constructed in a manner which enhances predictive description. By ordering the variables in terms of degree of psychological remoteness from the issue, Campbell et al. (1954), for instance, find identification with political party to be closer (more salient) to one's vote for a presidential candidate than his social class standing. Such ordering has definite implications for causal understanding.

Though not a panel study, this work can provide insights into the decision-making process. This is possible in that static analysis is not limited to two sets of variables. For example, in studying vote direction, one can ascertain whether the behavior relates more significantly to social or psychological determinants. Once one is successful in ordering more than two sets of variables (e.g., sociological, psychological, and dependent behavioral) he has taken a step toward meeting Blumer's criticism (1956, pp. 686-687) of studies which ignore, or take for granted, intervening processes which exist between independent and dependent variables. It is not necessary to accept Blumer's conclusion that "the objective of variable research is initially to isolate a simple and fixed relation between two variables" (1956, p. 688, italics mine). It is necessary to regard his caution however, that a chain of variables, no matter how long or how theoretically and logically sound, is not a substitute for analysis of the psychologically complex interpretative process. In any case, Blumer acknowledges

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that "variable analysis can be an effective means of unearthing stabilized patterns of interpretation which are not likely to be detected through the direct study of the experience of people" (1956, pp. 689-690).

### Key Components of Community Decision Making

#### The Voter as Decision Maker

The importance of voting in the decision-making process has been affirmed in several ways. Expecially significant is a recurrent definition of decision making in terms of the reduction of alternative courses of action (such as that of MacIver, 1947, p. 214; or Laswell and Kaplan, 1950, p. 24). "On the broadest level," says Rossi (1957, p. 417), "the citizen casting his vote in a local election is an authoritative decision maker in his role as voter." Be the voter regarded as the approver and legitimizer of decisions already made (Miller, 1957) the selector of those officials who shall make the substantive decisions (Coleman, 1957, p. 15), or the final arbiter who chooses a specific course of action from available alternatives (Snyder, 1958, pp. 19-20),<sup>12</sup> there is general agreement that

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<sup>12</sup>Snyder, in applying a breakdown of the decision-making process, defines the "point of decision" as "that stage in the sequence at which decision makers having the authority choose a specific course of action to be implemented and assume responsibility for it."

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he stands at an important juncture in the American political decision-making process.<sup>13</sup> Schumpeter (1942, p. 260) takes special recognition of the local electorate as an exception to "the general rule" that policy direction is beyond the reach or ambition of the average citizen.

Questions of the relative significance of legal authority and tradition aside, the social conflict which accompanies imposed restrictions on the franchise underscores the potentially powerful role the voter exercises in the American cultural scene.

There are several specific reasons why it is important to focus on the American voter as a key participant in the decision-making process. One lies in the equality of power which he shares with others in the voting role. The significance of this leveling factor in the democratic setting is apparent against the background of resource inequalities in many other power and influence dimensions. In fact, Dahl (1959, p. 15) states that access to resources is unevenly distributed throughout the community for all resources with the exception of the vote. The concept of access itself

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<sup>13</sup>That there may be greater consensus on this point among scholars than among the electorate is suggested by Buchanan's study (1956, p. 295). He finds that even the most purposive voters on the local level are not very conscious of the franchise as a policy controlling mechanism. Furthermore, even when seeing their vote as instrumental in achieving results, they often prefer social techniques to political ones.

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constitutes a second reason for focusing on the voter as the embodiment of social power.

To the extent that the predictable reaction of any group or individual to a decision will affect the result of the decision, the group or individual has access to the decision making process (Lipset, 1959, p. 106).

From this perspective, the power elite, to the extent they find it necessary to be sensitive to the referendum, become the enactors and executors of plans made by voters who have power of instigation in the decision-making process through access. Nor does the fact that many of the power sectors within the community are latent necessarily detract from their significance in the decision-making arena. As Miller (1961, p. 78) indicates, "power sectors can always be galvanized" to an issue. Thus, the role of censor emerges as a companion to the active voter role.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, even though it might be argued that few citizens exercise direct influence on decisions in the sense of initiating or vetoing policy from the full range of alternatives, they nevertheless possess power because

some leaders are extremely sensitive to the attitudes and preferences of individuals and groups who do not directly initiate or veto alternatives. Often this indirect influence is anticipatory:

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<sup>14</sup>That this role is more than a figment of the administrator's imagination is indicated by Coleman (1957, p. 8). He speaks of a large group of people, who though ordinarily passive, tend to become politically active when either (1) basic values and dispositions, lately dormant, become mobilized or (2) the administration commits a series of blunders in affairs regarded as important.



a leader initiates or vetoes a particular alternative because he anticipates rewards . . . or sanctions . . . (Dahl, 1961, p. 78).

How this power can be actualized in its own right is underscored by Merton (1957, p. 411) in his study of types of influentials. In the spirit of Carl Friedrich's "law of anticipated reactions," he says:

It appears likely that more personal decisions in a community may be the result of advice by the many people ranking low in the influence structure than by the few ranked at the top. For although the top influentials individually have a large measure of interpersonal influence, they are likely to be so few in number that they collectively have a minor share of the total amount of interpersonal influence in the community. And correlatively, although each person among the middle-influentials and the rank-and-file has relatively little influence, they may collectively account for the greater share of interpersonal influence, since these strata include the great bulk of people in the community.

From a similar perspective, Parsons (1957, p. 140) points out that in addition to the zero-sum concept of power which assumes that an increase in power for one social segment must occur at the expense of another there is the alternative image of power as "a facility for the performance of function in and on behalf of the society as a system. . . ." This latter conception focuses on ". . . the capacity to mobilize the resources of the society for the attainment of goals for which a general 'public' commitment has been made or may be made." Nor do any of the foregoing grounds for the significance of voting refute the significance of not voting when

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one has the opportunity. A decision not to vote is a decision nevertheless.

In addition to his power equality and access, the voter is a significant participant in the decision-making process in that his act of voting constitutes a social psychological act best understood by scientific analysis. Critics of voting studies notwithstanding, the voting act does not take place in a social or psychological vacuum, not even when it is constrictively defined as the point of decision. Although it is true that operationally, voting studies characteristically focus on individual voters taken cumulatively, it does not follow that the decisions these individuals make are detached from preceding influences. On the contrary, as a review of the research literature (Chapter II) indicates, the vote decision, though not enacted in the physical presence of others, is nevertheless the product of community and other preceding influences.

### The Community Social System

Definitions of community leave rich and varied connotations. Research has apparently been neither rigorous nor extensive enough to render precise conceptual directives. Kaufman (1959, p. 9) observes that most usage leaves the inference that "the community includes the totality of the social life in an area--all family living and voluntary associations, political and economic organizations (etc.)"

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rather than delimiting it to distinctively communal interaction patterns. In Bernard's words (1951, p. 17), sociologists have been interested in "the community structures which result from interaction rather than the interaction processes themselves. . . ."

One might argue that lack of consensus on precisely what the term community should denote is not to be viewed exclusively as an impediment to scientific usefulness, especially in the exploratory stage. This appears the justification for Campbell taking what otherwise appears to be an inconsistent position in his discussion of "The Political Implications of Community Identification" (1958). For on one hand, he decries the fact that

neighborhoods, suburban developments, towns, and metropolises are all spoken of as communities, with the result that the term has become so broad that it does not have great scientific usefulness (p. 318).

But on the other hand, he finds it useful to extend the applicability of the term in another direction by suggesting that while

demographic and social collectivities are not communities geographically . . . the phenomenon of identification with these groups is probably not essentially different from community identification (p. 321).

To the extent it is legitimate to distinguish between the conceptual precision and the heuristic function of the concept "community," it is the latter consideration which



accounts for its prominence in this research. Yet, terms with rich connotations survive the test of research design only to the extent they can be operationally delimited. While it remains true that the term "community" can be applied to many group forms, there persists the scientific requirement to attain operational precision sufficient to clarify existing relationships and to guide research. Consequently, a consideration of minimum criteria is required.

Few students of social system would disagree that community involves interaction, the force of which depends on interpersonal contact, often on the basis of propinquity. To capitalize on the territorial dimension of interpersonal behavior as a research strategy in no way implies that it is a sufficient theoretical framework for community analysis. In a sense, as Blackwell (1954, p. 63) points out, the ecological framework is a supplement to all more basic theoretical work "in defining the outer territorial limits within which the chief elements of social systems of a community function. . . ." That even this broad working rule is not immune from difficulty is implied in Shibutani's point (1955, p. 566) that territorial boundaries and communication networks are seldom contiguous. Nevertheless, since areal annexation is the issue under consideration in this study, it provides a significant reason for not neglecting the ecological dimension.

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Most students of community are justifiably impatient with a definition which lacks substantive propositions. Hillery (1955, p. 111), after charting areas of agreement in definitions of community, comes to the conclusion that "community consists of persons in social interaction within a geographical area and having one or more additional common ties." That territoriality itself can foster the crucial common tie is underscored in several recent definitions. Thus, Greer (1960, p. 517) regards community as that form of social organization which can be defined as "an aggregate in a state of functional interdependence, from which emerges a flow of communication, and a consequent ordering of behavior." Likewise Reiss (1959, p. 118), in stressing community origins, points to the significance of the spatial variable:

A community arises through sharing a limited territorial space for residence and for sustenance and functions to meet common needs generated in sharing this space by established characteristic forms of social action.

For purposes of this research the term community is defined as a territorially delimited social system in which the patterned interactions between the participants provide a field for ordering their experiences. Consequently, the external political bounds of four townships (Walker, Grand Rapids, Wyoming, and Paris) which encompass the core city and together with it comprize the Grand Rapids, Michigan urbanized area, is here taken to constitute the metropolitan

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community. To determine how patterned interactions for a random sample of members from one crucially situated suburban township of the broader social system affect their ballot decisions pertaining to political annexation to the core city is a major focus of this study. The position is taken that an understanding of such a relationship is deficient without knowledge of the suburbanites' (1) extent of participation in, and (2) valence of attitudes toward, both his residential subsystem and the core city. Such knowledge rests largely on the degree of operational clarity with which the terms "subsystem," "sub-system participation," and "sub-system image" are used. A discussion of these terms, especially in the light of reference group theory, follows.

#### Community Social Sub-Systems

While on the one hand, criticisms of community studies based on predominantly descriptive, geographical criteria persist, the more theoretically formalized social system alternative to community analysis is not immune from criticism. For instance, Reiss's interest in comparative studies leads him to a critical evaluation of all conventional social system studies which regard community as an irreducible microcosm of the larger social macrocosm, that is, as a society in miniature (1959, p. 125). Another difficulty, this one of a semantic and taxonomic nature, results from a lack of consistency in applying the term community to

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a single "locus" of system analysis. For instance, does society constitute the social system within which, e.g., communities are distinguishable as sub-systems? Or, should metropolitan community be regarded as the appropriate social system level within which, e.g., urban and suburban sub-systems are distinguishable? Or finally, do urban and suburban community bonds constitute social systems in their own right?

The present effort is based on a recognition of institutional (especially economic) interdependency which exists between residentially and politically distinct, though not autonomous, core city and suburban components of the metropolitan community. By concentrating on a suburban sub-system as it relates to other suburbs and especially the core city (which together comprise the global community system of patterned interaction), an answer is possible to the question of the relative significance of residentially based interaction as related to other forms of interaction carried on, e.g., within the core city.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Although the question of how sub-system cohesive-ness develops is not central to this study, it should be noted that a growing body of data points beyond selective migration in attempting to answer the question. Martin (1956, p. 453) is of the opinion that "when the suburban pattern of social relationships has been more fully documented it will be found to be an outgrowth of the definitive ecological characteristics on the one hand and a particular socio-psychological milieu on the other." Fava (1956, p. 35) actually traces the higher neighboring of residential suburbanites to both ecological selectivity and social psychological factors. Greer and

Justification for community analysis in terms of sub-systems is implicit in the work of Kaufman (1959, p. 9) who asserts that "if the concept [community] is not qualified by precise subclasses, it loses much if not all of its scientific usefulness." A bit more specific is Merton's point (1957, p. 287) that

any continuing event which increases the interaction among some and reduces the interaction among others will tend to make for sub-group formations. . . . sub-groups are structurally constituted by those who develop distinctive social relations among themselves which are not shared with other members of the larger group.

From a more psychological orientation, Strauss (1961, p. 8) regards the city, as a whole, to be "inaccessible to the imagination unless it can be reduced and simplified." Later, he suggests (p. 59) that the city "can be viewed as a complex related set of symbolized areas."

Greer (1960, p. 517) uses the theory of social organization as an ordering principle for differentiating between fields for social action. In ascending order of policy relevance and size, he lists the following three types of social organization: neighborhood, residential community,

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Orleans' study (1962, p. 636) provides a theoretical lead for understanding the differences between sub-systems in cohesiveness, issue salience, etc, in a manner which embraces the residential variable, but is not restricted to it. They conclude that "geographical contiguity becomes the basis for sociologically meaningful interdependence only when it constitutes a field for social action."

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and municipality.

Reiss (1959), in his attempt to break the tyranny of the microscopic social system approach, distinguishes between two convergent approaches to community study--the "interaction space approach" and the "social group approach." From the perspective of this study, the former approach can be regarded as focusing attention on the influences that different patterns of interaction, based on sub-system differences, can have upon issue relevant behavior.

The interaction space approach takes as its major focus that the community involves collective action toward the realization of common goals arising in a residence-subsistence locality (p. 125).

This does not necessarily imply a homogeneity of values however. The latter approach, while also useful in focusing upon sub-system differences in interaction patterns, de-emphasizes the behavioral relevance of sub-system goals in favor of the importance of the integration of the sub-system as based on locality differences.

The social group approach to community study rests on the postulate that a community system differs from other systems in that locality is a datum in the integration of the system (p. 127).

While the annexation referendum itself appears to be a rather forthright embodiment of the "interaction space approach" in that it involves locality based collective action, no such unambiguous referents exist for locality based integration of the sub-system. However, the literature

does contain certain leads as to what constitutes the important components of study in the "social group approach."

One such lead is given by Merton (1957, p. 286) who regards the significance of both objective interaction criteria and subjective criteria of social definitions in accounting for group boundaries. In a more descriptive vein, Reiss (1959, pp. 121-122) distinguishes between three major types of variables which can characterize a community. In addition to characteristics which refer to the community social system apart from direct reference to individuals are

attributes which are defined by an aggregation of some characteristic of the individuals who are residents of the community . . . [such as] the attitudes of members toward some "community problem."

. . . extra-individual properties which are derived from the interaction of individuals . . . [such as] their neighboring, their patterns of movement in time and space, or their patterns of community conflict or consensus.

The obvious psychological connotations of a study based on the former characterization, and the equally apparent sociological connotations of a study based on the latter characterization, points to the theoretical advantages of studying community sub-systems from both perspectives. The significance of the reference group concept in accomplishing this is dealt with in the following section. This is followed by separate sections which deal respectively with (1) extent of participation of the suburban resident within both core city sub-system and suburban residential sub-system,

and (2) images held by the suburban resident toward both the core city sub-system and the suburban residential sub-system.

### Community Social Sub-Systems as Reference Groups

The emergent theory of reference groups provides the disciplined flexibility necessary to study a set of behaviors as volatile as voting in a context as durable as community structure. Such usage, in a general sense, seems to have been anticipated already by Park in 1925 (p. 1) when he pointed out that

the city . . . is something more than a congeries of individual men and of social conveniences . . . something more, also, than a mere constellation of institutions. . . . The city is, rather, a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition.

The relevance of all this to decision making has recently, though only indirectly, been suggested by Strauss (1961, p. 17). He points out that "when the city has been symbolized in some way, personal action in the urban milieu becomes organized and relatively routinized."

According to Shibutani (1955, p. 563), "a reference group becomes any collectivity, real or imagined, envied or despised, whose perspective is assumed by the author." By focusing on the function of the reference group as a normative frame of reference by the actor in orienting his behavior (as distinguished from an assessment or appraisal by the

self of one's own status or role), Shibutani provides a course for political sociology in its attempt to understand voting behavior.

The power of the reference group concept is related, no doubt, to its effective range of application. The concept has been applied to nonmembership as well as membership groups, to negative as well as positive groups, and to social categories as well as social groups.<sup>16</sup>

Yet, very little systematic attention has been given to the differences in degree which exist between each set of these polar extremes. Regarding the social group-social category distinction, Merton's list of criteria for social groups is helpful (1957, pp. 285-286): (1) patterned interaction, (2) self-definition as a member, and (3) definition by others as "belonging to the group." In the broadest sense, these criteria might be used to define the entire metropolitan community as one group. For certainly, a pattern of interaction results in forms of expectation shared by all who are ecologically and institutionally involved in the community. On a less global level, these criteria are satisfied respectively by the core city and the suburban sub-systems. It must be admitted that the criteria are met

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<sup>16</sup>For a definitive treatment of reference groups from these and other perspectives see: Shibutani, 1958; Merton, 1957, chaps. 8 and 9; and Sherif and Sherif, 1956, especially chap. 18.

in a manner less precise and explicit than is possible for more formal groups.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, there is the danger of equating symbiotic relationships as based exclusively on residential and political delineation with normative reference groups. This tends to obscure the significance of (1) different degrees of sub-system membership and (2) the complex nature of the relationships that exist between positive and negative sub-system reference groups. Yet, these distinctions in no way minimize the significance of the core city and suburban sub-systems as politico-ecological units

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<sup>17</sup> There are dangers, however, in being overly concerned with the relationship between formal group membership and voting behavior. This manifests itself when such studies make no attempt to explicate how formal groups function as meaningful "links" between the political issue and its resolution via the decision-making process. The position is here taken that studies of how formal groups articulate sub-system political values must follow rather than precede a study of the "global" relationship between community sub-systems as reference groups and political decision making. It must be remembered also that formal group membership is not a universal phenomenon. And despite Axelrod's findings (1956, p. 14) that nearly two-thirds of his urban respondents reported membership in at least one formal group other than the church, one cannot automatically assume that these groups are more than tangentially related to community issues and activities. In this context, Campbell (1958, p. 325) points out that "pronounced standards may also prove ineffective if they are rejected by the membership as inappropriate to the character of the group." Greer (1957, p. 332) notes that most individuals "usually belong to one organization at most, and it is usually work connected for men, and child- and church-connected for women." To this must be added the fact of token membership. Greer (p. 340) concludes concerning formal organizations: "They are arenas for intensive participation to only a small minority of their members, and many individuals have no formal organization membership at all." For a study which examines the relationship between voting behavior and formal groups as reference points, see Kaplan, 1955.



of analysis--the objects toward which, and within which, differential participation and allegiance is manifested. As Shibutani (1955, pp. 568-569) suggests, reference groups are frequently fostered by interpersonal relations through which norms are supported by the confirming responses of fellow members.

Coleman (1957, p. 21) mentions both the distribution of citizen participation and variations in community identification as important variables in understanding the course of community controversy. By here specifying the sub-systems that articulate and embody these variations, the way appears open to a comparative approach within the framework of a community case-study.

#### Community Social Sub-System Participation

While it is true that the source of one's attitudes need not necessarily be a group of which the individual is currently a member,<sup>18</sup> group membership is nevertheless a primary foundation upon which normative orientations are built. This is especially true in those cases where memberships are not exclusive and closed.<sup>19</sup> Such appears to be

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<sup>18</sup>See Siegel and Siegel (1957) for empirical documentation of the significance that aspirations to a nonmembership reference group can have on attitude change.

<sup>19</sup>Merton (1957, p. 292) points to a high degree of social mobility as facilitating the adoption of reference groups by nonmembers. Extension of this point to include physical mobility seems to be appropriate.

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**Figure 1**

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the case for the suburbs and core city as community sub-systems.

But what constitutes membership in a community sub-system? That residence may be too restrictive as the sole criterion of sub-system affiliation is suggested by Kaufman (1959, p. 9):

A difficulty in delineating the modern community in urban life is the separation of production from consumption and residence, a situation which did not exist in a predominately agricultural society.

It is more explicitly evident in recent distinctions made between local and cosmopolitan types of influence or identity<sup>20</sup> among those who are formally members of the same group. On the ground that one inclined to identify with, or be influenced by either a local or an urban sub-system will be disposed to participate disproportionately within it, such participation can be taken as a measure of membership in each of the two sub-systems.

By extending the definition of sub-system reference group beyond one's own politically bounded, residentially based sub-system of interaction, the significance of degrees of reference group membership can be pursued from a dual perspective. In this way an overall urban-suburban membership

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<sup>20</sup>Merton (1957) makes this distinction on the basis of interpersonal influence; Gouldner (1958) does it on the basis of identity. Dobriner (1958) makes it on the basis of personality configurations.

ratio is possible, based on the percentage of metropolitan community affairs enacted in the suburbs as related to the percentage of those enacted in the core city.<sup>21</sup>

In an effort to use indicators of participation which are relevant to all respondents within the community, attention was shifted from formally organized secondary group memberships to actual associational situations confronted by the vast majority of adults in the daily rounds of their urban existence (e.g., job, newspaper readership, friendly visiting, etc.). Each of the community affairs selected to reveal the distribution of participation meets the following two requirements:

1. It can take place within, or with reference to, either the core city or the suburbs.
2. It has social system significance in that it provides the interaction framework through which sub-system differences can be articulated and become meaningful.

To the extent these affairs have issue relevant attitudinal

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<sup>21</sup>This complements the attention Merton (1957, pp. 286-287) pays to a single group: "There appear to be degrees of membership which are in part indicated by the rates of social interaction with others in the group." Earlier, this focus on a single group was evident in Simmil's notion of group completeness (cited by Merton, 1957, p. 288) as a group property measured by the proportion of potential members who are actual members.

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and behavioral consequences in the community, they may be regarded not simply as population properties but as sub-system attributes in their own right. As such, they are free from Kaufman's criticism (1959, p. 14):

Most so-called community context studies have been in the community but not of it. That is, they have used a locality as a basis of sampling but there has been no identification of the phenomena under study with interactional community.

Rossi (1957, p. 436) underscores the significance of informal association in understanding political decision making by showing the parallel that exists between politically relevant interaction and the experimental findings of Asch and others concerning the effect of group contexts on the interpretation of ambiguous stimuli:

Many of the issues faced by a decision maker lack clarity and definition, for example, the problem of the voter presented with a list of unknown candidates for equally unknown offices. In the laboratory the subject accepts cues for the interpretation offered by the group about him. In real life the voter is influenced heavily by his family, friends, coworkers, a precinct captain, and so on.

Coleman (1957, p. 18) points to reference group identification and group association as the two major processes through which social ties influence the course of community conflict. The potential that interaction and association within the group can have in the transmission of sub-system norms however remains implicit in his writing:

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Formal and informal associations in the community also make their influence felt through the very fact of association. Word-of-mouth discussions within organizations do more than communicate information; they influence and persuade, often more effectively than more formal channels, as social psychological literature illustrates over and over again.

To determine the strength of the relationship between informal interaction with those situated in a given sub-system (fellow workers, newspaper editors, etc.) and the internalization of sub-system norms as manifest in the vote is one important aspect of this study.

#### Community Social Sub-System Images

The point that opinions and attitudes are behaviorally relevant, even when objectively wrong has been confirmed too consistently by experimental and observational methods to warrant dismissal by students of community. Kaufman (1959, p. 16) is of the opinion that "it is just as important a social fact to discover what people think community ought to be as it is to describe what community is." He continues, "A much needed task for the sociologist is to analyze those ends and goals which the average citizen as well as the leaders of thought and opinion regard as desirable and good." Equally important is the consideration of images which residents hold of both their residential sub-system and the core city sub-system. By taking a phenomenological approach to decision making, Snyder (1958, p. 11) believes liberation is possible from an undue reliance on

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rational models of action which are too easily imposed by the observer. Thus, it appears profitable to regard attitudinal variables and social structural variables as complementing each other. Consequently, the present study rests on the assumption that the selective nature of the perceptions held toward the community suburban and core city subsystems can both emanate from, and relate back to major participationally based alignments.

Just as participation within a sub-system has been taken as the measure of sociological membership and affiliation with it, so now evaluative image of a sub-system might be taken as the measure of psychological sense of orientation toward and identification with it. In his consideration of the implications this sense of identification has for political attitudes and actions, Campbell (1958, p. 321) emphasizes the normative control that a community can exercise over members who are intimately identified with it. "When the members of a group are strongly identified with the group and there are clearly apparent group standards, true group effects are expected to occur." However, in the same context, he also notes that

consensus in the political attitudes and preferences . . . may occur because individual members of a group react independently but similarly to some outside stimulus which affects them similarly.

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toward a sub-system detached from a normative base.<sup>22</sup>

Although this study is more directly concerned with the impact of the existence of perceptions than their precise etiology, it remains necessary to regard the study of sub-system image as, at best, an approximation to sub-system identification; and sub-system identification, in turn, as an approximation of the normative significance the sub-system possesses. With this reservation, this study is an empirical attempt to meet Campbell's concern with the implications for political attitudes and actions of

the psychological phenomenon of a sense of community--the feelings of identification and attachment to the geographically localized society of which one perceives himself to be a member (1958, p. 318).

It extends beyond it by considering images held toward ecologically distinct community sub-systems--both the suburbs and the core city.

The nature of the relationship embracing ties and cleavages which exist between the suburbs and the core city still await definitive empirical treatment. The distinction between positive and negative reference groups as applied to suburban and core city sub-systems could well lead to greater

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<sup>22</sup>Even when this limitation exists, the significance of group participation is not thereby eclipsed. Turner (1956, p. 328), in fact, reserves the term "interaction groups" precisely for those which are neutral rather than normative, "whose members constitute merely conditions to . . . action."

clarity in this matter. Lack of progress in spelling out this relationship, no doubt, can be attributed in some measure, to a rather exclusive emphasis given either to group cohesion or alienation. Merton (1957, p. 269) observes that

although the field of sociology has for generations been concerned with the determinants and consequences of group cohesion, it has given little systematic attention to the complementary subject of group alienation.

Yet, at the level of political decision making, it is Lipset's contention (1959, pp. 92-93) that voting studies have been much more concerned with cleavage than consensus. The present study leaves the question of the extent of cleavage and consensus between images held of the two sub-systems open to empirical examination, manageable in terms of positive and negative reference group theory.

Certain general theoretical bounds have been drawn within which fruitful research might be done. Cooper (1961, p. 272) makes the point that there is no logical reason to assume that sub-group interests and overall group interests are necessarily conflicting. In actual practice however, "the quality of a member's identification may be affected by factions which require him to be loyal to a sub-group as well as to the larger organization." The former loyalty, he notes, is in many instances the more important behavioral determinant. Newcomb (1950, p. 227) shows how many attitudes, especially intensive ones, can be dually reinforced--anchored

in both positive and negative reference groups. Such insights should prove helpful in understanding the suburbanite's voting decision concerning annexation to the core city.

While this study attempts to relate distribution of participation in the two sub-systems to the nature of the image held toward each, it is not necessarily based on the assumption that extensive participation intrinsically fosters a "correct" image of the sub-system. It does assume that such participation exposes one to relatively precise (1) knowledge of the sub-system, or (2) attitudes concerning the sub-system, or (3) both. And it is the phenomenological relevance of the second possibility that can be fed by both popular and scholarly speculations. A generally positive, even idyllic, image of the suburbs seems to be dominant in the literature.<sup>23</sup> "One may contend," Kaufman (1959, p. 17) asserts, "that the rush to the suburbs represents a return to community in an age of urban living." Coleman (1957, p. 4) develops the same theme:

It may be that the movement to the suburbs, the increase in leisure time, and the consequent re-focusing of life around the home and the neighborhood, have brought people back into community life, both psychologically and physically.

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<sup>23</sup> A noteworthy exception is Riesman's "The Suburban Dislocation," (1957). See also Boskoff's "The Myth of the Homogeneous Suburb: A Case Study" (1962).

Lundberg and associates, already in 1934 (p. 60) differentiate between the suburbanite and the city dweller on the basis of the former's (1) "greater sensitivity to nature and the outdoor life . . ." and (2) "comparatively deep attachment to neighborhood and domestic life and the traditional family pattern. . . ." Wirth (1938) was among the first to cast the city in a negative light with his now classic discussion of urbanism as a segmental, secular, disorganized, and transitory way of life. More recently, Adrian (1961) in his attempt to expose folklore concerning metropolitan homogeneity, promotes both the negative image of the central city and the positive image of the suburbs.<sup>24</sup> Irrespective of the degree of validity of these speculations, they offer legitimation for the suburbanite in differentiating between his own sub-system and that of the core city.

To the extent the images of the two sub-systems are based on such speculations and are mutually supporting, the following example given by Newcomb (1950, p. 226) appears to be analogous to the situation of threat that locally committed suburbanites might feel when they assess the prospects of annexation to the core city:

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<sup>24</sup>For a dissenting voice, see Axelrod (1956) whose Detroit Area Study reveals relatively prevalent informal group contacts and participation with the city.

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For an enthusiastic group member . . . his membership group constitutes a very potent reference group. For a thoroughly dissatisfied or disgruntled group member--a child who has been adopted into a strange family against his will . . . the unwelcome membership group may serve as an equally potent reference group, but in reverse.

The significance of this case can best be judged empirically, when its impact is related to those cases e.g., in which the images are conflicting rather than supporting.

#### Composition of the Key Variables

The relevance of making formal distinctions between academic disciplines has, on occasion, been questioned.<sup>25</sup> Few disagree that when such distinctions take precedence over the analysis of significant problems, criticism is justified. It appears that the danger of eclipsing significant problems is greatest where distinct disciplinary bounds are constructed to delimit substantive matters rather than to differentiate between perspectives. Yet, even when the former is attempted, the assumption is not necessary that the variables so delimited as, e.g., predominantly sociological or psychological, are intrinsically such. Rather, recognition might be given to the pragmatic value of momentarily exaggerating a distinction between, e.g., social rates and psychological states, in stressing group attributes as

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<sup>25</sup>For example, see Kluckhohn (1949, pp. 290-291).

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grounds for the former and cognitive attributes for the latter (as integrated in social organization and personality organization respectively). Such a tactic may yield not only methodological insights but theoretical clarity as well.

In distinguishing between community relevant data that exist predominantly within the social system and community relevant data which exist predominantly within the human mind, this study directs attention at two dynamic forces not always given equal and explicit attention in empirical studies. Such attention is often lacking not only in those studies which do not pretend to have an interdisciplinary focus, but even among those which do.

The position is here taken that the merit of the social psychological approach is dependent upon careful empirical studies of the extent to which each of the disciplinary forces complements the other. To that end, community sub-systems are viewed in this study as both (1) social structures within which distinctive interaction patterns exist, and (2) social objects toward which cognitive images are oriented. Variables relating to the former are labeled sociological; those relating to the latter are labeled psychological. The extent to which these variables interrelate, and the extent to which each relates to community decision making (annexation) become empirical questions.

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Distinctions made between sociological and psychological attributes in terms of a voting decision concerning a community annexation issue entails specifications of the dimensions along which each of these variables are to be sought. Specifications for each of the components in the following paradigm will be explained in turn:

<u>Sub-System Participation</u>	<u>Sub-System Image</u>	<u>Annexation Vote Decision</u>
1. Local 2. Urban	1. Political Access 2. Political State of Affairs	1. Direction 2. Turnout

#### Local and Urban Sub-System Participation

Several experimental studies in social psychology have pointed to the significance of group participation and involvement in accounting for cognitive and behavioral adherence to group norms.<sup>26</sup> Concerning community relevant participation, however, neither the concepts nor techniques necessary to distinguish between either types or rates of participation are sufficiently delimited.<sup>27</sup> Merton (1957, pp. 387-420) offers the possibility of a conceptual breakthrough with his distinction between "local" and "cosmopolitan" orientations of community leaders. By restricting the

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<sup>26</sup>The work of Coch and French (1948) and Lewin (1952) appears to have been the stimulant which has led to many other studies yielding similar results.

<sup>27</sup>A recent lead in this direction has been provided by Greer and Orleans (1962).

terms, however, to personality orientations of selected members of the community, only indirect illumination can be shed on the nature of the social interactions taking place between a cross-section of community members, together with the impact these might have on such orientations.<sup>28</sup>

The psychological emphasis read into these concepts is perpetuated by Dobriner (1958) and Gouldner (1958). Dobriner's exploratory study focuses on local and cosmopolitan character types which he empirically differentiates, not on the basis of social relations as enacted within the community, but on the basis of ecologically relevant interests, identifications, and configurations. Gouldner's empirical attempt at concept construction utilizes the "local-cosmopolitan" framework to distinguish latent organizational (rather than community) identities, based on such criteria as personal loyalty, commitment to specialized role skills, and reference group orientation.<sup>29</sup>

It is noteworthy that both Dobriner and Gouldner find it necessary eventually to allude to the significance of participation within the social system in the adoption of

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<sup>28</sup>In paying his intellectual debt to Tonnies and others, Merton does recognize similar distinctions with varying terminologies which do refer to types of social organization and participation.

<sup>29</sup>While the orientation and terminology of these works are of chief concern here, a discussion of their broader significance to this thesis is reserved for a survey of the literature, found in Chapter II.

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the local and cosmopolitan orientation. At least this seems implicit in Gouldner's assertion (1958, p. 285) that "when group members orient themselves to the latent identities of others in their group, they are involved in a relationship with them. . . ." (italics mine). Dobriner (1958, p. 135) is more explicit:

The sociological significance of the two dichotomies lies in the assumption that the syndromes result from experience in the basic and essential mode of social relations which are characteristic of rural or urban social systems.

The difficulty the writer has with the foregoing treatment stems from a lack of conceptual clarity rather than an acknowledgement of the relevance of analyzing the psychological aspects of social system.<sup>30</sup> Application of the "Local-Cosmopolitan" distinction which embraces both the social and the psychological levels of social system must await an empirical study which gives explicit attention to both sets of variables.

Under the assumption that it is premature to expect a set of concepts such as "Local" and "Cosmopolitan" to "automatically" represent both social and psychological phenomena, this study distinguishes between participational rates and cognitive states as empirically distinct dimensions

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<sup>30</sup> That the latter is not the difficulty is evident in the next section--devoted to the very matters handled most directly by Dobriner and Gouldner.

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of urban and suburban sub-systems. Thus, although it "seems quite clear" to Dobriner (1958, p. 135) that Merton's usage of the terms 'Cosmopolitan' and 'Local' refer to "types of persons who have internalized divergent modes of social relationships," it is the intention of this study to test empirically the extent to which internalization is related to differential social participation rates.

From the sociological perspective, the concepts "Localite" and "Urbanite" will be reserved for those who participate predominately in the suburban and the core city respectively. The term "Urbanite" is used as complementary to "Localite," and is preferred to such terms as "Cosmopolite" or "Metropolite" for which concentric, rather than more mutually exclusive, connotation exist. That is, the Urbanite is not here regarded as necessarily having any more embrative or broader set of behavioral orientations than the Localite--they are only different. Although the size of the study units differ, this usage is similar to that of Foley (1952, p. 56 as cited in Dobriner, 1958, p. 135) who classifies community residents as "Urbanites" or "Neighbors."

The urbanite [has] emancipated himself from any marked dependence on or identification with a local neighborhood. . . . the neighbor [organizes] his living much more completely around the facilities and the friendships of his own residential neighborhood.

A clue as to the nature of the index needed to tap degrees of membership in the urban and local sub-system is

given by Kaufman (1959, p. 11):

The degree of involvement of a local population, in the interactional community runs all the way from assuming a major role in policy making to no more than identification with the locality resulting from "residence and sustenance" activities.

From this it can be seen that residence involves one distinguishable expression of community membership. The most direct way of determining degrees of membership, it would seem, is to specify the main activities in the respondent's daily rounds in terms of the specific sub-system in which each has been enacted. That each decision maker has at least a minimal involvement in the local (suburban) sub-system follows from the fact that all of them selected for this study are residents there. But economic sustenance patterns, communication patterns, visiting patterns, etc., can be enacted in the urban as well as in the local sub-system. To the extent that they are, the decision makers so involved can be regarded as urbanites. Thus, the localite-urbanite distinction is possible on the sociological basis of explicit participational criteria taken as indicators of degree of sub-system membership.

Linkage between participation rates and cognitive states is seen by Strauss (1961, pp. 5-6) who, in speaking of the urban resident, says:

He must make a living in it, make friends, find a home for himself and his family, and work out a suitable daily round. In dealing with these

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tasks, he senses some of the special qualities which seem to mark the city as a whole. Riding or walking about in the city, reading its local newspapers, talking with people about it, he is exposed to a persuasive propaganda about its distinctive attributes. He builds up a set of associations which prepare him to accept and appreciate a shorthand symbolic characterization of the place.

It is to the sub-system significance of this symbolic characterization that the next section is devoted.

#### Core City and Suburban Sub-System Image Orientation

As noted previously, the normative and behavioral significance of one's psychological orientation to group and community is recurrent in the literature. Campbell (1958, p. 326) asserts that the individual's "perception that his community approves or disapproves of this and that opinion or action is the ultimate test of the presence for him of community-related group standards." In another context, he (1960, p. 297) notes that, even when formal group boundaries are known,

the concept of group identification and psychological membership remains extremely valuable. Individuals, all of whom are nominal members, vary in degree of membership in a psychological sense. . . .

In pointing out the need for systematic research on group alienation, Merton (1958, p. 269) regards reference group theory as a means enabling the sociologist to distinguish between many different forms of identification, even with

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nonmembership groups. Empirical warrant for distinguishing between "Localite" and "Urbanite" forms of group identification is given by Dobriner and Gouldner. Dobriner (1958, p. 133), in his attempt to operationalize Merton's "Local-Cosmopolitan" distinction, focuses on the pervasiveness of character differences which result from the actor's selective orientation to either a rural or urban community. Such differences, quantified by means of an attitude scale, he uses as evidence to support his basic hypothesis that

"suburban man" [is] characterized by certain broad yet salient personality configurations more typical of urban social systems than rural.

Gouldner's investigation of latent organizational identities and roles emphasizes the significance of such culturally non-prescribed criteria of social identification as degree of loyalty to the group (high for the localite) and likelihood of using an outer reference group orientation (high for the cosmopolite). Thus, for Gouldner (1958, p. 292) while "performance rather than belief more commonly becomes the formal criterion for assigning organizational identity," it is belief which "becomes a basis on which more latent identities are assigned." "Every social system" he notes (p. 466) "requires that some degree of loyalty to it as a distinctive social structure." With the aid of factor analysis, he reveals the need to distinguish between types of cosmopolitans and locals:

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These qualifying or auxiliary characteristics can be formulated in terms of reference group orientations. For example . . . locals no longer need to be thought of as using a homogeneous reference group: the dedicated seem to use the college as a whole as their reference group . . . elders use an elder, informal peer group within the college (p. 452).

This suggests that different criteria may be emphasized by different members of a given community.

This study distinguishes between two components of sub-system orientation concerning the role of government: (1) a political access image and (2) a political state of affairs image. Whereas the former image is primarily based on an instrumental conception of government (e.g., absence or presence of mechanisms allowing two way communication between officials and citizens), the latter is based on a more substantive conception (the tangible results of governmental policy). The two images or frames of reference selected for this study are based on a distinction very similar to that used by Lipset (1959, p. 108) in distinguishing between the effectiveness and the legitimacy of a social system. What is here referred to as the Access Image can be understood in terms of Lipset's use of the concept 'effectiveness.'

By effectiveness is meant the capacity of a political system to satisfy the basic functions of government as defined by the expectations of most members. . . .

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On the other hand, the State of Affairs Image can be understood best in terms of his concept 'legitimacy.'

Legitimacy involves the capacity of a political system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are the best that could possibly be devised.

He concludes that:

While the effectiveness aspect of the relationship is primarily instrumental in character and is measured by individuals and groups in terms of self interest, the legitimacy component is much more affective and evaluative.<sup>31</sup>

A recent empirical refinement and demonstration of the usefulness of the access concept in distinguishing between suburban and city residents is found in Press (1961).

This study rests on the assumption that sub-system relevant perceptions combine to form the more general sub-system images. By focusing on images, an attempt is made to approximate a molar approach to decision-making behavior which, while based on variable analysis, does not oversimplify or overgeneralize the complexities of the psychological

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<sup>31</sup>Snyder (1958, p. 33) labels these psychological processes 'valuation' and 'evaluation' respectively.

"Valuation refers to the nature and range of objectives which will be injected into the situation by the actor. Evaluation refers to the appraisal of the relationship between specific acts and the objective envisaged."



cognitive process.<sup>32</sup> Although the focus on images in this study in no way denies the possibility or even ultimate necessity of using a cognitive concept having a higher level of abstraction, this study aims at capturing the regularity of perception that relates to politically and economically oriented affairs of the local and urban sub-systems.<sup>33</sup>

While concern with political access has predominated in the literature (probably due to its intimate relationship to American political ideology), the pragmatic image has recently begun to share in research attention. Typical is Peak's interest in attitude change as based on an

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<sup>32</sup>It is at this juncture that the labeling of cognitive states as "psychological" appears most tenuous, at least to the extent it pre-empts or eclipses the concept of culture in the sense of collective cognitive states. On the other hand, this dilemma points to the possible integration between psychological and anthropological theory. For, viewed from the interdisciplinary perspective, it may be appropriate to define culture as shared cognitive states, in this case embodied in images of community sub-systems held by suburbanites.

<sup>33</sup>To the extent the elements in each of these images are cohesive and transcend the momentary situation it is appropriate to speak of the existence of attitudes. Krech and Crutchfield (1948, p. 152) define attitude as "an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual, and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world." The sub-system components which this study attempts to measure and to relate to decision-making behavior may even have some of the essential characteristics of what Campbell et al. (1960, especially pp. 192-93) refer to as an ideology, that is, an abstract, closewoven, and far-ranging structure of attitudes which connects various facets of social, political, and economic experience. However, the significance of the temporally and spatially dynamic dimensions of the community issue under study does not encourage one to assume that sub-system images are organized and integrated sufficiently to qualify as an ideology.

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"instrumental relation." "An attitude toward any object or situation," he reports (1955),<sup>34</sup> "is related to the ends which the object serves." The importance of the pragmatic frame of reference is documented empirically by Campbell et al. (1960, p. 249), whose profile of a sample of American voters by levels of conceptualization yielded the following percentages:

Ideology	11.5
Group Benefits	42.0
Nature of the Times	24.0
No Issue Content	22.5

Note that well over a third are classified in the "Group Benefits" category. Also of interest is the fact that nearly a quarter fall in the "Nature of the Times" category, most closely approximated in this study by the Political State of Affairs Image of the community sub-systems. These voters, says Lipset (1959, p. 261), act

as a rather crude and insensitive thermostat geared to the goodness and badness of the times. They fail to perceive ideological niceties, and it may require bad times of some extremity before sufficient numbers of them shift. . . .

Note finally the relatively few (11.5 per cent) who actually take a relatively abstract politico-philosophical position.

In summary, to attempt an assessment of an overall attracting or repelling quality that a sub-system may have for its members is regarded as outside the limits of this

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<sup>34</sup>As cited in Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962, p. 238.

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study. Rather, selected items which relate most directly to recurrent governmental behaviors within the sub-systems are included. Practically, this limits the range of generalization mainly to politically and economically based images.

#### Direction and Turnout of Vote

In an effort to focus attention on community oriented behavior, a rather straightforward approach can be taken by tapping individual annexation voting records.

One primary interest in this study is the direction of the vote--for or against annexation to the core city--as it relates to social and psychological variables which precede it in the predictive model. This information was elicited from the respondents (all of whom were registered voters) not only for the most recent annexation attempt, but for one which occurred two years previously as well.

Information was obtained on voter turnout as well as direction. That is, it was necessary to get information not only on how an individual voted, but also whether or not he voted at all. Consistent with many others, this study considered failure to vote as a significant political behavior to be analyzed in social and psychological terms.

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### Relationships Among Key Variables

As previously noted, the research design used in this study does not enhance the possibility of abstracting causal priorities between variables. At best, the weight of causal inference must follow the empirical analysis of relationships which exist between different sets of variables. This is true mainly because the assessment of the size of correlations between different loci of variables leaves unsolved the question of temporal priorities between them. This qualification, however, does not minimize the importance of considering either the independent or joint significance of variables from such different loci of analysis as sub-system membership and sub-system image in accounting for the nature of one's annexation vote. Nor does it detract from an attempt to understand the relationships that exist between different loci of variables based on a predictive model ordered in terms of the imputed degree to which given sets of community related variables are relevant and important to the voter in making a community decision. To the extent such imputations of importance are correctly ordered and the predictions based thereon are confirmed, the predictive model enhances our understanding of community decision making.

In specifying the predictive levels of community relevant variables, a field theoretical model is useful.

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The general approach of this study resembles work carried on at the University of Michigan Survey Research Center, especially as embodied in the study of The American Voter (Campbell et al., 1960).<sup>35</sup> Here the authors use what they refer to as the "funnel of causality" metaphor, in which

the axis of the funnel represents a time dimension. Events are conceived to follow each other in a converging sequence of causal chains, moving from the mouth to the stem of the funnel. The funnel shape is a logical product of the explanatory task chosen. Most of the complex events in the funnel occur as a result of multiple effects as well, but our focus of interests narrows as we approach the dependent behavior. We progressively eliminate those effects that do not continue to have relevance for the political act. Since we are forced to take all partial causes as relevant at any juncture, relevant effects are therefore fewer in number than relevant causes. The result is a convergent effect (p. 24).

Using this metaphor, the strategy of this research is to rank community related variables<sup>36</sup> in the order of their

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<sup>35</sup>As will become apparent in the following chapters, this study comes close at points to replicating the design of Campbell et al. However, it differs from it in at least four significant ways. In the first place, it includes verified information on vote turnout rather than relying exclusively on the respondents' own report of their voting behavior. Secondly, it differs significantly in the object of perception upon which it focuses, namely the images of two community sub-systems rather than those of two political parties. Thirdly, it is more tentative in assigning a temporal (causal) position to the social psychological variables, regarding temporal order more as a research tactic than a conclusion. Finally, it taps the variables of perception and image in an indirect manner, rather than attempting to elicit a global, explicit response.

<sup>36</sup>Technically, these were reduced to dichotomies in the analysis stage.

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degree of imputed importance to the community decision maker, as based on the extent to which the substance of the variables selected bear an explicit relationship to the annexation issue in question. For instance, since the most explicit and forthright indicator of issue relevance is one's vote on that issue, this behavioral locus is taken as the initial rank--the criterion index in terms of which other loci can be assessed. Adjacent to the behavioral locus are those psychological variables which deal with sub-system images held by decision makers. In third position are those sociological variables which deal with differential sub-system and social class membership.

Within each of the sociological, psychological, and behavioral loci, sets of variables can in turn be distinguished and, except for behavioral variables, can be ordered tentatively in the manner indicated in the following paradigm:



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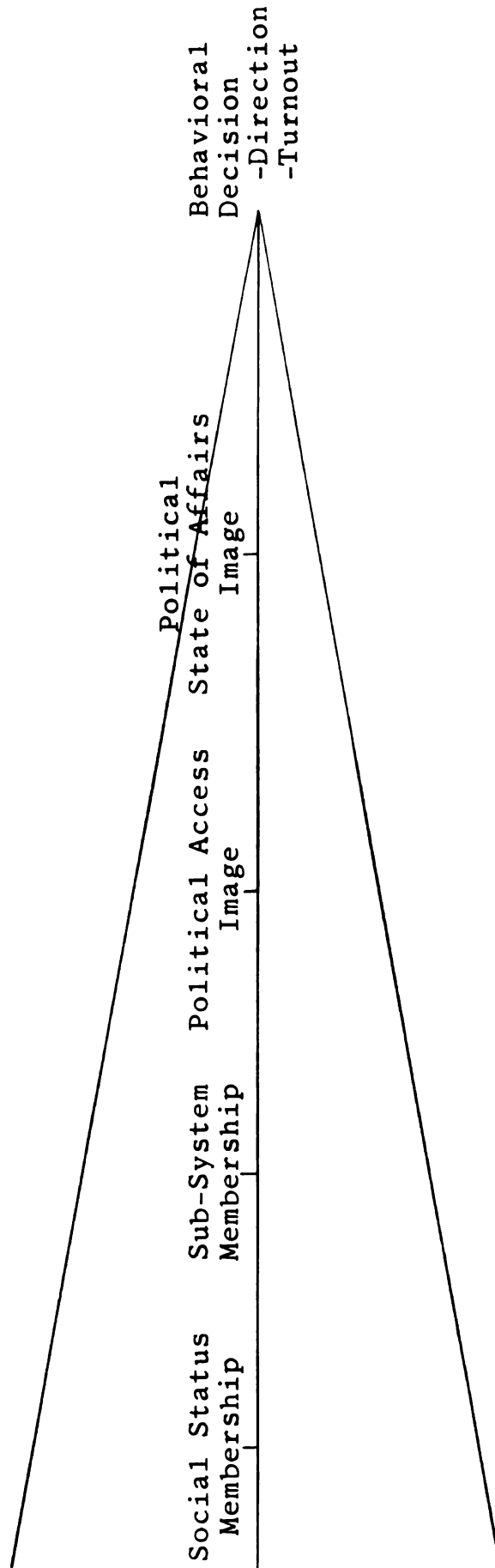
## SOCIOLOGICAL

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## BEHAVIORAL

Sets	Social Status	Sub-System Membership	Sub-System Political Access Image	Sub-System State of Affairs Image	Sub-System Direction	Vote Turnout
Components	1) Upper 2) Lower	1) Urban 2) Local	1)Pos. Urban 2)Pos. Local	1) Pos. Urban 2) Pos. Local	1) For 2) Against	1) Yes 2) No
Rank Order						
Issue						
Relevance	5	4	3	2	(1)	(1)

The sets can be schematically represented as follows:



To the extent it is legitimate to distinguish between "because of" and "in order to" behavioral motivations,<sup>37</sup> it is the latter which is here regarded as having the greater predictive potential. The relevance of so ordering the sets is implicit in Lazarsfeld (1959, pp. 52-53):

Some indicators express the underlying trait while others have the function of justifying the prediction. . . . Take this imputed sequence: occupation isolation makes for strong feelings of shared grievances, this leads to receptiveness to unionization, union leaders have a tendency to organize strikes, ergo occupational isolation is likely to lead to strikes . . . an indicator is more likely to be of the predictive type if it is taken from the end of such implied arguments. Attitudes toward strikes in this context is much more predictive and contact with occupational groups is much more expressive.

Thus, for the sets of variables included in this study, it is assumed that social class membership is the least directly and distinctively related to the community annexation issue and is consequently placed in the most remote position. For, to the extent that

it is important to distinguish between the patterns of behavior that develop from the life situations of group members without reference to the group qua group, and the residual distinctiveness that may be traced directly to the fact of group membership (Campbell et al., 1960, p. 304)

social class is most appropriately regarded as a "life situation" variable, whereas the adjacent set, sub-system

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<sup>37</sup>Snyder (1958, p. 31) finds this distinction helpful in understanding voting behavior.



membership, more closely approximates a "group membership" variable by at least providing an opportunity for adherence to sub-system norms. Moving from the expressive to the predictive pole of the paradigm, pragmatic image of the sub-system is ranked closest to the annexation vote under the assumption that it is most distinctively and explicitly related to the community annexation issue. Likewise, indices for the intermediate positions were constructed in terms of their assumed "psychological distance" from the decision-making behavior in question.<sup>38</sup>

One of the advantages in using a formalized causal paradigm is that it reminds the observer that he makes a choice wittingly or unwittingly as to what he regards as an appropriate temporal "cross section" from which to launch his investigation.<sup>39</sup> Another advantage is that it makes possible an understanding of the relationship that exists between such academically separate loci of explanation as, for example, sociological and psychological variables. In this sense, it complements Merton's attempt, by means of

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<sup>38</sup>For the items used in the construction of each of these indices, and the manner of their selection, see Chapter IV.

<sup>39</sup>The fact that this choice may be dictated in part by the nature of the research problem only shifts attention to the selection problem at this prior juncture, and in no way detracts from the consequences of the decision made.

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reference group theory, to integrate the two loci. He (1957, pp. 247-248) traces the consistency of personal frames of reference to organizational patterns within the social structure, insisting that

the theory of reference group behavior must include in its fuller psychological elaboration some treatment of the dynamics of perception and in its sociological elaboration, some treatment of channels of communication through which this knowledge is gained.

A related function of this conceptual framework, according to Campbell et al. (1960, p. 24), is "to provide us with a way to use several levels of explanation without confusion" and thereby "give us some satisfactory way of assigning a conceptual status to any variable that we wish to include in our explanatory system." Thus, once an array of attitudes is established which relates highly to the vote,

it provides us with a set of empirical priorities to guide research deeper into the funnel. If the components isolated analytically "in the immediate neighborhood at a time just past" have differing capacities to predict the vote, we will do well to trace first the roots of those elements that are the strongest determinants (p. 35).

This answers one of the criticisms of the field theoretical approach, or rather of those who make exclusive use of it, namely that of the phenomenological emphasis constricting the explanatory range to the behavioral present. More specifically, Campbell et al. (p. 120) regard attitudes as

intervening variables linking behavior with a host of antecedent factors. The very success of these forces in accounting for behavior heightens

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interest in locating prior factors by which the properties of individual attitudes may in turn be explained.

Yet, the elegance of this research strategy must not eclipse alternative designs which attempt to assess either the relatively independent significance of sociological and psychological variables or their mutual dependence on other variables.

The foregoing paradigm provides the major framework from which the specific hypotheses are generated and tested in the succeeding chapters. All of the hypotheses, more or less directly, rest on the assumption of the phenomenological significance of local and urban sub-systems as community reference groups having normative relevance for decision making in the rather volatile situation of a referendum on annexation to the core city.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL  
LITERATURE ON DECISION MAKING

Introduction

This thesis represents an attempt to clarify the nature of community decision making by means of the reference group concept. It focuses on community relevant sociological and psychological variables involved in the resolution of a community issue. As the following review of the literature will indicate, the distinctive character of this study is not to be found primarily in any of its isolated aspects, but rather in the manner in which these are brought together in a single research design. For instance, while there are a host of community decision-making studies,<sup>1</sup> few of them give explicit attention to the nature of the relationship between social rates and psychological states that are involved in decision making. On the other hand, while social psychological studies have been growing in volume and

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<sup>1</sup>For a systematic appraisal of these, see Rossi (1957).

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significance, articulation in the area of community decision making has been lagging. A recent statement by Olmstead (1961, p. iii, preface) seems a fair appraisal:

During the past several decades, efforts on the part of social scientists to gain a fuller comprehension of the nature of communities have exhibited a curious gap: the failure to pay much attention to social-psychological facets of community life. . . .

Many social psychologists in recent years have attuned their theoretical antennae to the general problem of the relations between social structure and a range of interpersonal variables, such as personality and the self, but again, not often on the community level of analysis.

Such an assessment, however, can too easily prompt one to overlook the general relevance of social psychological research in areas not initially thought of as relevant to community decision making. The shortest route to a social psychological understanding of community decision making need not necessarily begin in the community context. Under this assumption, the chapter begins with a resumé of some of the more significant interdisciplinary studies of decision making undertaken in noncommunity contexts. Selected articles here range from assertions made by leading theorists to carefully controlled laboratory studies. This will be followed by a more systematic review of community studies that have bearing on a social psychological understanding of decision making.

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### General Interdisciplinary Works

For the sake of convenience, selected studies can be categorized in terms of their interdisciplinary orientation as follows: (1) those that assert that interdisciplinary work is necessary, (2) those that indicate how fruitful interdisciplinary work should proceed, and (3) those that actually make an empirical attempt to carry out the interdisciplinary research.

### The Necessity of Interdisciplinary Work

The history of sociological theory indicates that interest in interdisciplinary matters is not a recent development. While the progress of the interdisciplinary trend is probably best seen against the background of Durkheim's doctrinaire position, even he recognized the existence of psychological states. "Social facts," he said (1895, p. 104), "are not simply the development of psychic facts; the latter are in large part merely the continuation of the former inside people's minds." In choosing to settle by assertion a relationship best understood by empirical test, he explicitly bypassed the level of psychological, subjective valuation as irrelevant, or at least as an impediment to the sociological business of objectively designating the

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influences of the group qua group.<sup>2</sup> For him, social facts were to be explained almost automatically and mechanically in terms of other social facts. Significantly, his doctrine of disciplinary purity embodied in his polemic against psychology was not followed by many early sociologists either in Germany or America. From Germany, Weber focused on the study of oriented social action, regarding behavior stripped of its subjective meaning as somewhat peripheral to the sociologist's interest. For him, meaningfully adequate understanding (verstehen) was as important in research design as causally adequate variables. Scientific sociology, he believed, did violence to its subject matter when it slighted either one. Weber's psychologically sensitive sociology took roots in America under the introspective impetus of Cooley, the cognitive emphasis of Mead, and the empirical implementation of Thomas and Znaniecki whose Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1918) is a classic attempt to relate sociologically grounded values to psychologically grounded attitudes. The currency of this quest is evident in a recent suggestion by Blumer (1956, pp. 685-686) that sociological analysis can be made more adequate by regarding the personality system as

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<sup>2</sup>This does not necessarily detract from the predictive significance of many of his empirically based conclusions in e.g., Le Suicide.

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an intervening variable between social structure and behavior. He regards human group life as "chiefly a vast interpretative process in which people, singly and collectively, guide themselves by defining the objects, events, and situations which they encounter." This statement is not alien to contemporary theoretical attempts at interdisciplinary integration. While to a certain extent, efforts by sociologists appear to be in the direction of socio-cultural integration (following the lead of Sorokin), motivational concepts assume a rather significant place in the works of such theorists as Parsons and Shils. Parsons conceives of human action as constituting three interpenetrating systems: personality, social, and cultural.<sup>3</sup>

The interdisciplinary trend in sociology is matched,

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<sup>3</sup>Even his recent statement (1959, p. 37) however, that "good general theory in the field of human action, no matter how firmly grounded in one discipline, is inevitable interdisciplinary theory" probably will not resolve questions posed by critics as to the relative emphasis that must be given to each component. Swanson (1953) is uneasy over the psychological underpinnings which he detects in Parsons and Shils's approach to action theory. He is disturbed by his finding that the principal independent variable in their theoretical system is the actor's motivational orientation, from which value orientations are merely derivations. Dubin (1960), on the other hand, appears somewhat disconcerted to find that Parsons' recent attempt at providing categories to generate a theoretical system (Parsons, 1959) deemphasizes social psychological units in favor of social structural units. Parsons responds (1960) by claiming that this apparent shift is no more than a "filling out" of but one dimension in the broader action system.

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no doubt, in other disciplines. In anthropology, indirect evidence for this trend is contained in the failure of Culturology to attract more than a small band of adherents. A major deficiency in this position is clearly evident in the false dichotomy constructed by White (1949, p. 688) its leading exponent:

Everything that any people does--as human beings, that is, everything that it thinks, feels, and does, is culturally determined. . . . Instead of explaining culture in psychological terms, we interpret human behavior in terms of culture. We thus distinguish and contrast culturological and psychological interpretations of human behavior. (*Italics mine.*)

It is here assumed that the position of Krech and Crutchfield (1948, p. 24) has general currency in the discipline of psychology. After distinguishing between psychological, group dynamic, and institutional levels of analysis, they conclude:

The three approaches are complementary and, in many instances, so interdependent as to make the interpretation of data collected at one level impossible without data collected at another level. Thus, for example, the beliefs and attitudes of an individual (a psychological problem) may be difficult to understand unless we know something about his group loyalties and group membership (a group dynamics problem) and something about his social class and institutions within whose confines he is operating (an institutional or sociological problem).

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Although each of these three levels of social analysis must be kept methodologically clean, we must still seek for meaningful relations between data on one level and data on another level.

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### Interdisciplinary Models

One of the more precise articulations of the nature of the relationship between psychological and sociological variables is given by Inkeles (1959). Asserting that sociologists are no longer living in Durkheim's era of "rampant psychologism" (p. 250), he argues that they must use as their primary criterion for social analysis, not disciplinary purity, but analytical adequacy. This requires that explicit psychological theory be brought to bear systematically on sociological problems.<sup>4</sup> Using a sequential model of analysis, he regards the personality system as a main intervening variable in that "all institutional arrangements are ultimately mediated through individual human action" (p. 251). In demonstrating the importance for social analysis of an explicit psychological theory, he refers to Durkheim's study of Suicide.

Even those most skeptical of Durkheim's analysis cannot deny the fact that he exposed the main pattern of correlation. But one is left in

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<sup>4</sup>He distinguishes between the two disciplines as follows:

"I will treat sociology as the study of the structure and functioning of social systems--that is, relatively enduring systems of action shared by groups of people. . . . Psychology I take to be the study of the structure and functioning of the personal system, the system of action which characterizes a particular biological organism, notably a human being" (p. 250).



serious doubt as to the causal nexus which converts a state of integration of social structure into a rate of suicide.

A corrective he finds in Henry and Short's Suicide and Homicide (1954):

By combining in their analysis the situational factor stressed by Durkheim--namely, the degree of external restraint--and the personality factor of propensity to express aggression inwardly or outwardly, Henry and Short are able to suggest important connections between suicide and homicide rates, to resolve certain contradictions in Durkheim's analysis, to explain some new data . . . and to suggest important lines of further research. All this is accomplished without any 'reduction' in the importance of the sociological factors. . . . (p. 253).

About the only occasion that this writer has to disagree with Inkeles is when he includes urban sociology as one of "many areas of traditional social research for which personality theory or knowledge of modal personality patterns would seem to have little or no relevance. . . ." (p. 272). No doubt this conclusion follows in part from his position (pp. 263-264) that the simultaneous control of personality and social structure necessary to explain the greater amount of variance presumes small group research under laboratory conditions. That less exacting designs have value in contributing to our understanding of social psychological relationships--even when social and personality structures may not be as formally controlled or even as directly specified--is evident, for instance, in Cantril's The Psychology of Social Movements (1941). Inkeles himself cites this work

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(p. 259) to illustrate the illumination that can be shed on social movements by paying attention to one's cognitive need to find meaning in events.

The possibility of more controlled studies of the function of cognition and motivation in understanding human behavior is provided by psychological balance models. Although balance theorists often concern themselves with intra-individual phenomena, Newcomb (1953) is concerned with the interplay of forces among individuals, more particularly a "strain toward symmetry" resulting in mutual orientations toward an object or event. Consensus, in his model, is achieved through communication. The theoretical implications of this approach to community decision making seem obvious.

#### Interdisciplinary Research<sup>5</sup>

Interdisciplinary studies range from those which approximate the laboratory experiment to those which are based on survey research methods.

The general interdisciplinary significance of laboratory studies is evident in Rokeach's statement (1960, p. 255) that "every experimental situation represents some sort of

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<sup>5</sup>For a general review of empirical studies dealing with "Psychological Aspects of Social Structure" see Riecken and Homans (1954). Research in the group dynamics tradition is thoroughly reviewed and presented in Cartwright and Zander (1960).

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social system and, in the final analysis, cognitive behavior is a joint function of mental activity and the social system in which it takes place." More specifically, Rossi (1957, p. 433) notes the relevance that a laboratory study of small groups has for an understanding of community decision making:

Since much of the decision making on the community level takes place within a group context . . . a study of the interaction processes which occur as people are brought together to solve given problems must to some extent illuminate our understanding of the decision-making process in the natural setting.

Of the more influential laboratory controlled studies dealing with the relationship between social and psychological variables, the pioneering work of Sherif (1936) stands out. Its importance lies not only in its demonstration of how social norms function as psychological frames of reference, but also in its pursuit of knowledge as to how social norms arise and converge as group members interact and become more aware of one another's judgments. Cartwright and Zander (1960, p. 25) conclude that "by subjecting a group level concept, like social norm, to psychological analysis, Sherif helped obliterate what he considered to be the unfortunate categorical separation of individual and group." In this tradition too is the work of Asch (1951) who has experimentally demonstrated the force of consensus in group beliefs as a factor affecting one's sensory perception. Elsewhere (1952), Asch demonstrates the importance of

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prestige suggestion by indicating the relationship that exists between purported authorship of given statements and the evaluation given by the subject.

More in the tradition of field experiments are studies by Lewin (1952) and Coch and French (1948). Both point to the importance of membership participation in enacting behaviorally relevant group decisions. Another field experiment, which contributes more directly to the psychological and behavioral significance of reference groups is that of Siegel and Siegel (1957). This study reveals the impact on attitudes of both membership and nonmembership groups. Evidence indicates independent as well as joint impact of the two sets of influences. Of central significance to this study is their finding that the attitudes of the subjects tended to reflect the most common beliefs of their membership groups.

Several field studies have interdisciplinary significance. Those of Deutsch and Collins (1951) and Festinger, Schachter, and Back (1950) indicate that attitude change is related to group cohesiveness, produced by interpersonal contacts bearing social norms. For instance, Deutsch and Collins find that more favorable attitudes toward Negroes is a consequence of increased contacts with them provided in integrated (as contrasted with segregated) housing projects. The classic analysis of stability and shift in social anchorages of attitudes is Newcomb's study of Bennington College

students (1943). He finds that an individual's conformity to those political attitudes dominant in a membership group is rewarded by increased acceptance by the group and is associated with a high degree of identification with the group. Of central significance to this thesis is his finding that, when two membership groups hold conflicting attitudes (e.g., politically conservative family vs. politically liberal peers), dual support for one's choice is possible by retaining one group as a positive reference point while using the other group as a negative reference point. Thus, attitude development becomes a function of selectively identifying oneself with the group that is rewarding. Newcomb's finding that those students who used the family (or the college) as a negative reference group had the least amount of contact with, and participation in it, increases confidence in the assumption of this study that participation is a valid measure of sub-system membership in a reference group. It also leads to increased confidence in the hypothesis stating the direct relationship between sub-system participation and positive image of the group. At Bennington, in fact, liberal attitudes functioned as a means of securing independence from conservative parents. Conversely, conservative attitudes functioned to strengthen affiliation with parents and simultaneously decrease participation with the college community.

**Figure 1**

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Using a macro-sociological approach, Inkeles (1960) conducts an exploratory, comparative study of the influence of industrial environment on attitude. He compiles a host of statistics which, though initially gathered for other purposes, lend confidence in the social psychological relationship, even when considered cross-culturally. His basic hypothesis is that attitude structure is a product of a social structure (industrialism) which transcends cultural bounds. Using a basic sample of nine industrialized societies, he relates standardized institutional role patterns to a general, systematically ordered set of perceptions and attitudes. He contends that these perceptions and attitudes are not institutionally prescribed but arise spontaneously through differentiated role structures. The social stratification hierarchy, for instance, is found to yield attitudinally standard response patterns for such a diverse range of issues as job satisfaction, child-rearing, war, and happiness. That is, attitudinal responses systematically vary as one moves up or down such typical status ladders as occupation, education, and income. As Inkeles (p. 28) concludes:

This similarity in the patterning of response seems best explained by assuming that, in significant degree, perceptions, attitudes, and values are shaped by the networks of interpersonal relations in which individuals are enmeshed and particularly by rewards and punishments.

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Several national sample surveys involving social psychological variables have special significance because of attention paid to political decision making. Converse and Campbell (1960), using data from attitude studies conducted in 1948 (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and others) and 1956 (their own data) national election campaigns, illustrate the pressures toward conformity to political standards which arise in the interaction among members of labor, racial, and religious secondary groups. Using a triangle scheme for charting a set of relationships which exist between the individual, a membership group, and the world of politics, they set out to determine the effects a membership group has upon the response of an individual to the world of politics. Through the use of both precision and distribution controls, they obtain a measurement of the distinctiveness of vote direction for each group. This, in turn, they relate to group cohesiveness as measured by strength of membership identification with the group. Their finding of a direct relationship between cohesiveness and conformity to group standards lends support for studies previously reviewed.

Thus we get a sense that trends in the partisan solidarity of groups in the national electorate may be traced in some measure to the same mechanisms which have been subjected to examination in the laboratory with face-to-face groups (p. 305).

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The lack of perfect match between vote direction and cohesiveness (membership identification) however led the authors to consider the third leg of their triangle--the member's perception of the relevance of the group standard in relating to the political world (voting). This dimension was especially important in Converse and Campbell's design in that the groups they examined (unlike the sub-systems in this study) were not basically politically organized or oriented. Under the assumption that union members, more so than church members, perceive of their group as appropriately possessing politically relevant standards, Converse and Campbell expected and found that while union members are similar in cohesiveness to Catholics, they are more distinctive in their voting. In summary, the authors found that both identification and perceived group standards influence vote direction:

. . . influence only appears with clarity when both identification and unequivocal standards are present in combination. If either is missing, the evidence for influence is weak indeed (p. 309).

The chief significance of Converse and Campbell's work lies in its empirical articulation of a social psychological model explicating dimensions of the group influence process (identification and standards) within secondary group structures as these relate to a national vote. In terms of their model (see scheme), relationships number 1 and number 2 both bear on the individual's political behavior (number 3).

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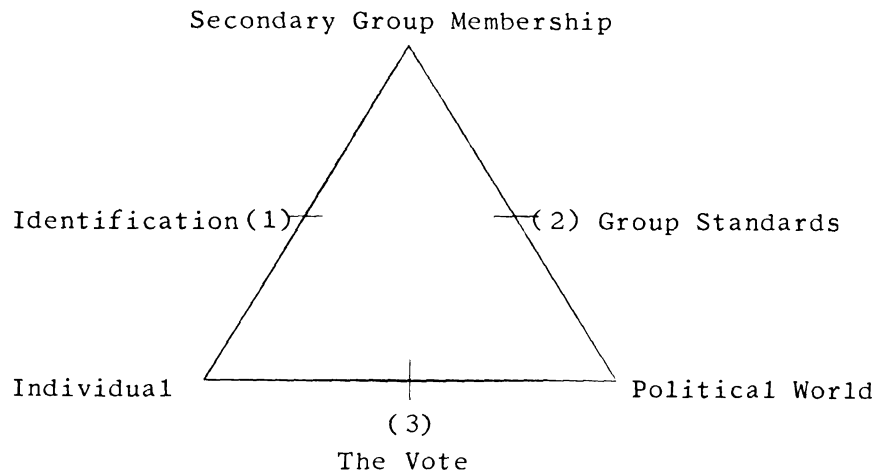
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The design undertaken in this thesis differs from theirs in the following ways:

1. Relationship number 1 is tapped in both directions; not only the subjective identification of the individual toward his group, but the extent of the individual's participation within the group as well. That is, absorption in the group is regarded in both objective and subjective dimensions, rather than in just the latter.

2. The groups analyzed, namely the core city and suburban sub-systems, while also of a nonprimary nature, in the present study are more politically relevant--in fact they are politically defined entities. Consequently, relationship number 2 need not be tapped in that it is fair to assume that the emission and perception of relevant group standards exist for both sub-systems.

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3. Voting behavior is studied within and oriented to a community annexation issue rather than a national partisan issue. One disadvantage of this is the difficulty of generalizing to the national scene. Such is possible for Converse and Campbell, of course, only to the extent that they were successful in their attempt to get at group distinctiveness by controlling for regional differences (e.g., rural-urban, North-South, etc.).

Representative of recent work in national surveys done by Campbell and his associates is their analysis of The American Voter (1960).<sup>6</sup> The problem they set out to solve pivots around the impact of political party identification (perception) in determining voting behavior. Using attitudinal data derived from a sampling of the United States electorate involved in recent national issues, they find general confirmation of the significance of perception of political party in understanding vote direction and change. Their conclusion that this variable has primary significance in understanding voting behavior, however, appears premature until more intensive treatment is given to an endeavor which

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<sup>6</sup>The design of this study is similar to their 1954 work The Voter Decides. As Chapter I of this thesis indicates, the field theoretical model they use provides the framework for our work. However, in this chapter interest is mainly in the substantive relationships they uncover as these have bearing on the research model.

they themselves acknowledge, namely, the tracing of these psychological perceptions to social antecedents. While it is true that sociological variables are included within their explanatory system, this is accompanied by a dissipation of rigor which does not sufficiently take into account the affect that participation within the party might have on either (1) one's perception of it or (2) the direction or change of vote. This deficiency appears to follow from their starting assumption (p. 33) that social and attitudinal approaches to behavioral analysis "represent different solutions to the problem of strategy. In several key respects these solutions are diametrically opposed." (Italics mine.) The closest they actually come to tracing behaviorally relevant attitudes to social structural roots is in their consideration of socio-economic position. To conclude as they do that socio-economic position operates somewhat independently of party identification is a poor substitute for studying those sociological variables which bear a more psychologically salient relationship to the political issue.

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### Works on Community Decision Making

Attention now shifts to those studies which consider decision making from the community context. Studies can be categorized in terms of whether or not more than passing attention is given to the four dimensions considered most relevant to this thesis. These are:

1. An empirical base
2. Social system participation rates within the community
3. Psychological states toward the community
4. An issue with electoral decision making relevance.

Only those studies will be included which possess at least three of the four characteristics listed.<sup>7</sup> After the two most significant nonempirical studies are reviewed, the remainder of the relevant studies will be assessed in terms of the interrelationships existing between the remaining three dimensions, pictorially viewed as follows:

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<sup>7</sup>These standards of selection simultaneously provide guidelines for the evaluation of each qualifying article. However, the plethora of studies which qualify under these general criteria necessitates that more thorough reviews be given those works which most nearly conform to the specific research interest of this thesis, namely the interdisciplinary nature of community decision making.

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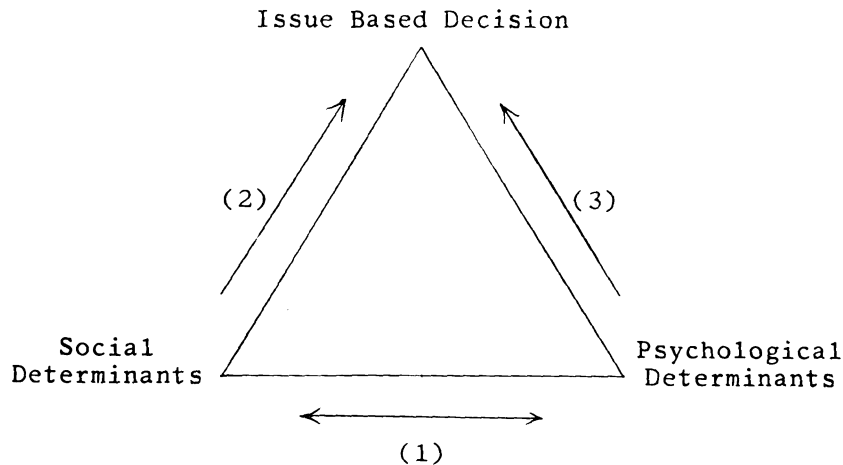
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It is precisely these three sets of relationships which are spelled out most explicitly by the nonempirically based articles of Campbell (1958) and Snyder (1958).

Nonempirical Interdisciplinary Works  
on Community Decision Making

While Snyder's "Decision-Making Approach to the Study of Political Phenomena" (1958) does not apply exclusively to the community decision-making process, it is definitely applicable to this area. His decision-making schema contains properties both of the social system and of the individual actor. Snyder (p. 15) insists that

there are two fundamental purposes of the decision-making approach: to help identify and isolate the "crucial structures" in the political realm where changes take place--where action is initiated and carried out, where decisions must be made; and to help analyze systematically the decision-making behavior which leads to action and which sustains action.

That such a study program, for Snyder, involves analysis of both social interaction and psychological perception follows from his quest for a "sociological conception of personality":

This scheme places the individual decision-maker (actor) in a special kind of social organization. Therefore, I believe we must think of a social person whose "personality" is shaped also by his interactions with other actors and by his place in the system. This does not mean that the influence of ego-related needs and tensions is rejected, but only that the behavior of the actor be explained first in terms of personality factors relevant to his membership and participation in the decision-making system (pp. 35-36).

These seminal ideas complement the more explicit concern of Campbell (1958) over "The Political Implication of Community Identification." Although he is chiefly concerned with the impact that a psychological sense of community has on political attitudes and actions, he does not view this identification and attachment apart from the operation of community influences upon its members. While admitting that the measurement of community identification may prove more difficult than the measurement of group identification, his discussion proceeds from the latter perspective. After considering a host of rather commonplace generalities, he constructs the following interrelated set of formal propositions:

(1) Group consensus may result either from independent but similar reactions to a common outside stimulus or from conformity to perceived group standards; (2) consensus resulting from conformity will be highest in those groups having the strongest membership identification; (3) consensus in such groups will be highest on those attitudes and behaviors regarding which group standards are

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strongest; (4) within such groups, consensus will be highest among those group members whose identification is strongest (p. 322).

While the design of this thesis will yield no definitive answer to the relative impact of the two components of the first proposition above, it is capable of shedding light on propositions (2), (3), and (4). Illumination is possible to the extent that it is legitimate to use sub-system annexation voting behavior as a measure of group consensus, sub-system participation as a measure of membership identification, and sub-system image as a measure of the (potential) impact of group standards.

Empirical Works on Community Decision  
Making from a Single Disciplinary  
Perspective

While it is true that the level of sophistication with which sociological variables are incorporated in community studies certainly varies, nevertheless few studies totally neglect such variables. Such is not as generally the case for psychological variables, as Rossi (1957, p. 437) testifies:

Consideration of how an issue . . . is viewed by decision makers has not been given much attention in the studies of the decision-making process within the community context. The decision maker is almost regarded as having no internal dynamics of his own but as ruled by his group affiliations and interaction patterns.



Although community decision-making studies which include a psychological dimension will be considered in later sections (since this is not their exclusive concern), attention is here directed to studies which focus rather exclusively on sociological variables. Since such studies have been reviewed rather intensively by Press (1962), a study summary table will suffice to indicate (1) the chief empirical method(s) used, (2) the theoretical model(s) in which the sociological analyses are cast, and (3) the type(s) of index used to tap decision-making behavior. The studies are ordered roughly in the ascending order of their contribution to the solution of the problem of this thesis. Thus, those near the bottom of the list tend toward use of the sample survey, group membership information, and election data on specific community issues. The most noteworthy aspects of these studies, as they relate to the research design of this thesis are now discussed.

The chief advance made by Polsby (1959) over the homogeneous, elite model proposed by Hunter (1953) is his empirical explication of a range of institutional sectors involved in community power structure as these relate to the determination of community policies. It is Hanson (1959) however, building on the provocative theoretical and empirical leads established by Miller (1957) who operationalizes the power of differentially structured institutional sectors



Table II-1. Community decision-making studies emphasizing sociological variables

Study	Method		Sociological Model				Dec. Making Index		
	Selective Interview	Census Chars.	Sample Survey	Elite Str.	Inst'l Sectors	Group or Category Mem.	Inst'l	Partisan Election	Local Issue Election
Hunter (1953)	x	..	..	x	..	..	x	..	..
Polsby (1959)	x	..	..	..	x	..	x	..	..
Miller (1957)	x	..	..	..	x	..	..	..	x
Hanson (1959)	x	..	..	..	x	..	..	..	x
D'Antonion & Erickson (1962)	x	..	..	x	..	..	x	x	x
McKee (1953)	x	..	..	..	x	x	x	x	x
Kaufman & Greer (1960)	..	x	..	..	..	x	..	x	..
Kaplan (1955)	..	..	x	..	..	x	..	x	..
Freeman et al. (1960)	x	..	x	..	x	x	x	..	..
King et al. (1963)	x	..	x	..	x	x	..	..	x
Greer & Orleans (1962)	..	..	x	..	..	x	..	..	x

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sufficiently to demonstrate their utility in prediction of community issue outcomes. His success in testing a theory of community power for both high and low saliency issues (right to work and civil service issues respectively) demonstrates the significance of social system knowledge in understanding community decision making. D'Antonio and Erickson (1962), in a comparative and longitudinal study of community power, also recognize the fact that influentials represent different institutional sectors. However, more in the tradition of Hunter, they are primarily interested in demonstrating the existence of general community influence as embodied in a semiautonomous structure. Using the reputational technique, they find evidence in support of their hypothesis that a homogeneous group of reputed influentials not only exists, but exerts power over a broad range of community decision-making issues. The fact that their study is based not only on community referendum issues, but on partisan and institutionally based decisions as well, increases the significance of their finding. McKee (1953) points out how managerial power in Steeltown did not constitute an autonomous or monolithic community structure. Rather, he points to the emerging role of organized labor in institutional and organizational affairs resulting in a more integrated and democratized approach to several decision-making issues.

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Kaufman and Greer's study (1960) of both a presidential election and a metropolitan sewer district referendum in St. Louis increases our knowledge of the decision-making process by demonstrating the predictive utility of the Shevky-Bell census tract indices (social rank, segregation, and urbanization). Inferences derived from these social characteristics were incorporated in specific hypotheses predicting both extent and direction of voting for sub-population aggregates. One of their important conclusions is that "significant differences exist between types of elections. Therefore, we cannot extrapolate the findings from studies of national elections to the local scene" (p. 204). While Kaufman and Greer rightly recognize the limitation of their study in not tapping the psychological dynamics of decision making, it contributes to a clarification of the problem of this thesis by paying attention to (1) issue relevant sociological rates (e.g., differential sub-population participation rates as embodied in urbanization scores) and (2) differential types of community decision-making behavior (i.e., turnout and direction). However, an analysis of the interplay between psychological and social characteristics remains speculative without the aid of the sample survey.

Although Kaplan's study (1955) of Reference Group Theory and Voting Behavior is concerned with a national

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partisan issue (presidential election) rather than a community based issue, he finds interpersonal interaction within the community to be a significant mechanism facilitating the adoption of key reference groups. In fact, he suggests that a change in voting behavior can be traced to the adoption of new norms brought about by a change in such social relationships as are affected by residential and social mobility.

Freeman and his associates (1960) are primarily interested in discovering the social characteristics that distinguish between reputed leaders and nonleaders. Noteworthy is their methodological attempt to use the sample survey in tapping the social characteristics of those not found in leadership clusters. After assuming that reputed leaders exert the key influence in deciding a range of community issues, they use fifteen social group characteristics as a device to distinguish between leaders and nonleaders (89 per cent accuracy). However, by failing to analyze the decision-making significance of those not in reputed positions of leadership, their substantive conclusions become somewhat tangential to the main purpose of this thesis. This failure to take seriously the characteristics of the hoi polloi is corrected by King, Freeman, and Sower (1963). Their work is here included as one of the more rigorous of a recent proliferation of descriptive case studies involving

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community conflict over specific decision relevant issues.<sup>8</sup> Their study of a suburban school bond election (both vote turnout and direction) is based on an analysis of socio-economic and demographic characteristics of both the sponsors of the election proposal and the electorate. In addition, length of residence and residential location are considered. All such evidence leads to a refutation of the assumption of the homogeneous suburb. Statistical analysis of their data permits the conclusion that, contrary to the typical person who would vote against the bond issue,

the voter who would be expected to support the issue would be a subdivision resident under 50, who had some education beyond high school, a white collar worker, with children presently in school (p. 23).

Furthermore, it was found that the sponsoring group is not typical of the overall community, but has social characteristics very similar to the composite description of those who voted in favor of the issue. The authors then go on to speculate how perception by the voters of the group that sponsored the proposal possibly affected the decision-making process (p. 34). Similarly without the benefit of systematic data on perception, they conclude that "residential choice is

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<sup>8</sup>A valuable resource here is the large number of cases collected by the Inter-University Case Program--although many of the cases deal with nonlocal issues. For a theoretically oriented comparison of community case studies, see Coleman, Community Conflict (1957).

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a fundamental indicator of orientation to community life" (p. 25). Such a conclusion appears premature. It must await an empirical test of the relationship between community participation rates and community images.

Greer and Orleans (1962) contribute to a better understanding of political behavior by viewing it both in terms of gross variations in sub-area population types<sup>9</sup> and interactional variations resulting from differential use of social opportunity structures. More specifically, ecologically relevant aggregated social characteristics and participation differentials within a network of parapolitical organizations are analyzed in terms of political behavior. Their research design sets out "to analyze the interrelationship of sub-area population type and parapolitical structure with an eye to the way in which the covariation of these two factors affects the political process" (p. 636). Of significance here is their careful tracing of the impact that sociological memberships in ecologically relevant categories and associations has on political behavior. This necessitated the use of the sample survey. Their findings consistently confirm the importance of relationships between each of the

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<sup>9</sup>To distinguish between types they utilize the Shevky-Bell typology indices of urbanism and social rank. However, unlike most who use this typology, they directly consult a representative sample of respondents rather than referring to census tract data.

following: (1) sub-area population type and the parapolitical structure, (2) the parapolitical structure and the political process, and (3) sub-area population type and the political process. Furthermore, these relationships are found to hold with greatest force in the suburban area. They conclude that the predominant suburban population type "we may well identify with the 'localities' studied by Merton and Gouldner" (p. 645). While this conclusion may have merit as a first approximation--especially when contrasted with certain urban areas, it is the task of more intensive analysis to demonstrate the absence or presence of interactional differences within the suburbs.<sup>10</sup> This may be but another case of the myth of the homogeneous suburb.<sup>11</sup>

#### Empirical Interdisciplinary Attempts at Understanding Community Decision Making

While all of the following studies involve community based decision making, they are not necessarily oriented toward a solution of specific community issues. Those with the more general orientations are reviewed first.

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<sup>10</sup>Interestingly, it is the presence of such interactional differences within the city that the authors stress (see especially, p. 645).

<sup>11</sup>For empirical dimensions of this myth, see Boskoff's work "The Myth of the Homogeneous Suburb: A Case Study" (1962).

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As in Table 1, the studies in Table 2 are ordered roughly in ascending order of their relevance for this thesis. In addition to the dimensions handled in Table 1, however, the psychological variable is included. Assessment of it is made in terms of how each study handles the psychological identification with, or image of, the group or community in question.

Gouldner's study of a college faculty (1958), although focusing on the relevance of organizational rather than more general community roles, makes a major attempt at empirical development of the concepts "local" and "cosmopolitan." He demonstrates how these, as latent identities embodied in ostensibly unrelated group and category memberships, performances, and opinions, serve as nonprescribed reference points for behavior. While Gouldner does not test the relationship between these identities and specific decisions, the implications are clear. For instance, he shows how lines of orientation have a determining effect on such matters as organizational participation, personal influence, and sociometric choice.

Dobriner (1958) shares Gouldner's interest in an exploratory empirical study of local-cosmopolitan orientations. However, he operates from within the community rather than the organizational context. His interest in suburbanization as a social psychological phenomenon leads him to

Table II-2. Community decision-making studies emphasizing both sociological and psychological variables

Study	Method			Sociological Model		
	Selective Interview	Census Chars.	Sample Survey	Elite Str.	Inst'l Sectors	Group or Category Mem
Gouldner (1958)	...	...	X	...	...	X
Dobriner (1958)	...	...	X	...	...	X
Fanelli (1956)	...	...	X	...	...	X
Merton (1957)	X	...	...	X	(X)	X
Form & Sauer (1963)	X	...	...	...	X	X
Lazarsfeld et al. (1944)	...	...	X	...	...	X
Berelson et al. (1954)	...	...	X	...	...	X
Miller (1952)	X	...	X	...	X	X
Booth (1963)	X	...	X	X	X	X
Press (1961)	...	...	X	...	...	X
Manis (1959)	...	...	X	...	...	X
Buchanan (1956)	...	...	X	...	...	X
Thompson & Horton (1960)	...	...	X	...	...	X
Zimmer & Hawley (1958)	...	...	X	...	...	X

Psychological Model		Pol. Dec.-Making Index			
Latent Community Image	Explicit Community Image	Not Specified	Inst'l Fiat	Partisan Election	Local Issue Election
X	...	X	...	...	...
...	X	X	...	...	...
...	X	X	...	...	...
X	...	X	...	...	...
...	X	X	...	...	...
...	X	...	...	X	...
...	X	...	...	X	...
X	...	...	X	...	X
...	X	...	...	...	X
...	X	...	...	...	X
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hypothesize that a suburban social system produces a characterological counterpart predominantly cosmopolitan oriented while a village social system produces a more locally oriented counterpart (p. 133). He then proceeds to empirically distinguish between these social systems on the tenuous basis of a single variable--length of residential tenure. While the attitude scale Dobriner used permitted explicit differentiation between local and cosmopolitan orientations, it had no single community as an explicit reference. That is, while the community of Huntington was used as the context for the study, it was not used as an unambiguous reference. His conclusion that "cosmopolitanism is a significant characteristic of the newcomer-suburbanite and that localism is concentrated among the oldtimer-villagers" (p. 141) is a poor substitute for demonstrating how the social and psychological variables interrelate. It also leaves unattended the relationship between these variables and decision-making behavior.

Fanelli (1956), although primarily interested in communication contacts, rather than local and cosmopolitan orientations, presents a research model which distinguishes between general social position, community participation, community identification, and community perception. While not ascribing causal order to these variables, his community study is noteworthy in its attempt to clarify some of their

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interrelationships. His findings permitted the conclusion that

extensiveness of communication contacts appear to be a function of the individual's relationship to his community--his perception of the community and of his place in it, and his actual participation in its affairs (p. 441).

He does not deal with specific decision-making issues, but rather with perceptions toward "community problems" used in a generic sense.

Reference has already been made to Merton's contribution to a social psychological understanding of community decision making via the reference group concept. This finds empirical expression in his exploratory<sup>12</sup> study of local and cosmopolitan types of influentials in Rovere (1957, pp. 387-420). His study is based on interviews with 86 residents selected from diverse social and economic strata. These respondents, in turn, selected 30 influentials who were then also interviewed. Local and cosmopolitan orientations were differentiated both on the basis of behavioral expressions (e.g., length of residence in Rovere) and directly solicited community based images (e.g., attitude toward leaving). Merton finds that these orientations often cut across such formal institutional sectors as occupation and education.

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<sup>12</sup>He is careful in noting that the descriptive statistics he uses "serve only to indicate the sources of interpretative hypotheses which await systematic detailed inquiry" (p. 387, footnote).

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That is, when occupation and education are held constant, differences in orientation persist. Similarly, "location within various social hierarchies of wealth, power, and class does not predetermine localism within a local structure of interpersonal influence" (p. 415). It is to be noted that Merton's conclusions are not meant to hold for social influence in general, but only for interpersonal influence. "Interpersonal influence," he says (p. 415), "refers to the direct interaction of persons in so far as this affects the future behavior or attitude of participants." While such a focus is not inconsistent with that used in this thesis, it does not appear realistic to limit analysis to this single dimension. Merton himself, after decrying the fact that "if influence referred to any and all alterations of behavior, it would be virtually identical with social interaction, since all interaction has an affect" (p. 415, footnote), admits that the empirical problem of distinguishing between social influence and interpersonal influence (as pure types) is yet to be resolved (p. 416). This thesis takes the position that community participation rates best embody interpersonal influences whereas socioeconomic status best embodies general social influences. The bearing these have on the images people have toward the community is an empirical problem central to this thesis. To the question of how these images, in turn, affect specific decisions, Merton gives no answer.

[illegible]

One of the most significant of recent studies on community power structure is that of Form and Sauer (1963). Although restricted to an analysis of reputed community influentials, they broaden the base by interviewing a group of labor leaders as well as a group of predominantly business leaders. While not a substitute for a study of the hoi polloi (nor is it meant to be), their study is significant for at least two reasons: (1) it uncovers differences between the two groups in such sociological variables as community participation, formal associational membership, and social background characteristics; and (2) it taps the perceptions that members of these power elites hold both of their own and of each other's action in the community decision-making process relative to a variety of community issues.<sup>13</sup> Some of the more significant of their findings

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<sup>13</sup>This complements an earlier study of theirs (1960) which focuses on "Organized Labor's Image of Community Power Structure." Here they first suggest that the "images of community power held by local influentials may decisively determine local decision making" (p. 332). They begin by assuming that the perception of cleavage in a power structure is inversely related to community involvement. Using variations in age, community participation, union position, and reputed influence as measures of community involvement, they attempt to show how these can account for variations of labor's image of its community power. They conclude that "there is a slight tendency for those who were most involved in community activities to recognize the shape and reality of business power more sharply" (p. 341).

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can be summarized as follows:

1. The business panel has an advantage (quantitatively) over the labor panel in such social background characteristics as amount of formal education and number of community organizational affiliations (pp. 7-8).
2. Concerning the matter of who dominates community decision making, both panels agree that business does. This evaluation was validated by independent analysis (pp. 8-12).
3. The two groups are similar in their judgment of the most important issues facing the community (although rank orders differ somewhat), (pp. 12-14).

Although perceptions of how and by whom community decisions are handled is explicitly written into the research design, Form and Sauer do not directly study either perceptions of the community as a whole or actual community decisions made.

One of the earlier sample surveys of political decision making in the community context is Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet's The People's Choice (1944). They use the panel technique in an attempt to determine how voters make up their minds between presidential candidates. The significance of their Erie County, Ohio study lies in its careful analysis of the impact of both primary and secondary memberships, as well as campaign participation, on issue relevant attitudes, images, and eventually, votes.

Likewise documenting the group basis of voting is a more recent study by Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee (1954). Their panel study in Elmira, New York seeks to use reference

group theory in relating both selective group participation and allegiance to decision making. Like Lazarsfeld's earlier study, however, the community itself is regarded, not as a reference group in its own right, but as merely the context within which more formal reference groups exist (p. 4). The authors themselves go so far as to acknowledge that a "step in the right direction will be made when panel studies are set up in local elections where voters choose among nonpartisan candidates and unstructured referenda. . . ." (preface, p. ix).

Miller's approach to community decision making (1952) is important for several reasons. Chief among them is his attempt to distinguish between community types on the basis of a conceptual scheme which embraces the dynamic qualities of decision making. Miller pays attention not only to formal social roles but also to images and attitudes held toward both the community at large and its reputed leaders. He implements this design with a survey of small communities, all of which are involved in the same community issue, namely, the construction of community health facilities. This survey, in turn, is complemented by an intensive analysis of two regionally dispersed community case studies. On the basis of all of the foregoing data he finds it possible to distinguish between communities which make decisions mainly within the context of constituted authority

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structures (authority) and those which do so primarily within the social psychological context (influence). One of the limitations of the study, from the perspective of this thesis, is the disproportionate attention given to the first of three phases of decision making that Miller distinguishes--that is, the initiation of decisions rather than their legitimation and execution.<sup>14</sup> And it is the legitimation phase within which Miller would classify the central focus of this thesis--the referendum and the people who enact it. His emphasis leads him to focus primary attention on the group affiliations and attitudes of the highly reputed decision initiators rather than the rank and file. The data he did gather on the latter (via post card questionnaires) appear not to be well incorporated into his conclusions.

Several recent surveys have focused on metropolitan issues in an attempt to clarify the social psychological dynamics of decision making.<sup>15</sup> Typical of recent work on

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<sup>14</sup>For further clarification and empirical implementation of this theoretical model see Hoffer and Freeman (1955) and Sower, Holland, Tiedke, and Freeman (1957).

<sup>15</sup>For instance, see Bollens' Exploring the Metropolitan Community (1961). This contains information on St. Louis city-county residents' interests, formal and informal participation in public affairs, as well as opinions of community leaders. In the same tradition is Bollens and others' Metropolitan Challenge analyzing the Dayton, Ohio metropolitan area. For appraisal of these and other studies by a political scientist see Adrian (1961). He says of Metropolitan Challenge, for instance, that it "remains a great lump of only slightly digested data." On the positive side:

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the issue of metropolitan government is Booth's Metropolitics: The Nashville Consolidation (1963). Unlike Miller's study reviewed above, Booth devotes as much attention to the attitudes and group affiliations of the rank and file as he does to reputed community leaders. A third arena singled out for attention is that occupied by political office holders. His most intensive analysis is reserved for those in the voting arena, from which he selects a random sample of respondents. Thorough descriptive and sporadic analytic attempts are made to understand voting behavior on the basis of the following types of data: socio-economic status, formal group memberships, attitudes toward metropolitan governmental issues, and images and beliefs about both urban and suburban social structures.<sup>16</sup> Among his most significant

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"The principal innovation is a serious effort to find out what the people of Dayton and its two rings of suburbs think about metropolitan-area problems, what their concerns are, and how committed they are to action on perceived problems" (p. 153).

<sup>16</sup>The nature of the question which comes closest to tapping this dimension, unfortunately, was couched in general terms rather than directed specifically at the suburb of residence and the core city of Nashville. Thus, after presenting a list with items such as the following: desirable and healthy neighborhoods in which to raise children; less politics, less red tape, less corruption in public offices; and lower taxes, the respondent was asked: "Now, looking down the list, would you tell me which of these things a person is more likely to find if he selects an area to live in which is outside the central city? How about those he is more likely to find if he lives in the city?" (p. 43).

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findings are the following:

1. Few who live in the suburbs have an "uncontaminated" image of their place of residence relative to the core city.

Only 20 per cent of those interviewed perceived all of their three most important values as being more readily available outside the central city, while over 60 per cent specifically indicated that one or more of their most important values was more readily available inside the central city (p. 44).

2. Those with uniform and consistent suburban images tend to oppose consolidation. Conversely, those with mixed images tend to support it (pp. 44-45).
3. There is a positive relationship between socio-economic level and tendency to favor consolidation. However, exposure to campaign propaganda via formal group membership constitutes an intervening variable of greater significance<sup>17</sup> (pp. 46-53).
4. Reputed community leaders were generally inactive in this issue (pp. 57-63).

The empirical richness of Booth's study is matched only by its general lack of explicit theoretical direction. His theme for the entire work seems to be that used to conclude the second chapter: "It may be appropriate to summarize some of the questions raised rather than answered by the research reported on in this chapter" (p. 36, italics mine).

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<sup>17</sup>When data provided (but not analyzed) by Booth on membership vs. nonmembership in a formal group and on whether or not consolidation was favored is independently analyzed by chi square, the relationship is found to be statistically significant.

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While his data have undeniable value for theory building, the direction and illumination provided by explicit theory seems a more economical route to similar ends. Simultaneously, this would provide for a more systematic and complete analysis of variable interrelationships.

Such theoretical underpinnings are provided by Press (1961) who tests the hypothesis that the resistance suburban voters have to annexation can be traced to their relatively greater access to local government as contrasted with core city voters. Measurements were taken of enacted as well as perceived access. By sampling the attitudes of registered voters toward annexation, he was able to analyze the significance of access for three separate sub-samples of residents: Grand Rapids core city, suburban cities, and townships. Access is found to be a significant determinant of resistance to annexation for suburban city dwellers but not for township residents. While Press is right in studying the impact of values other than economics and efficiency, it appears unfortunate that he does not devote empirical attention to these latter values. This leaves the question of the relationship between values of access and economy in

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the context of the annexation ballot decision.<sup>18</sup>

Interpretation of an attitude survey conducted in a midwestern community leads Manis (1959) to the conclusion that a new pattern of suburban life is emerging, one inclined toward reurbanization via the process of annexation. He finds the urban center, not the neighborhood of residence, to be the significant community tie for suburbanites. It is to the urban center, he claims, that suburbanites are oriented, be it in terms of formal group affiliations, quest for services, or community images or attitudes. Such a finding increases interest in the possibility of understanding annexation voting behavior in terms of the urban and the local social psychological frames of reference considered as juxtaposed variables rather than ideal types.

Buchanan (1956) surveys residents of a southern county seat to ascertain the nature of the community decision process with reference to a series of completed, current, and proposed civic projects. Interested mainly in vote turnout, and the reasons behind it, he finds that socioeconomic status, attitudes toward the community (identification), and non-political participation in community affairs

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<sup>18</sup>This present study, based on 1961 Grand Rapids data, builds on the foundation of Press' 1959 study. It differs however by focusing on residents of but one suburban township, by shifting attention from attitudes on annexation to a reported vote on annexation, and by analyzing the voter's perception of the political state of affairs of the local government as well as of political access.

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all positively relate to voting. On the other hand, he finds dissatisfaction with the performance of the existing political administration to be unrelated to vote turnout.

In summary, we confirmed most of the usual demographic differences between voters and non-voters, and in addition found that those who thought highly of their community and participated in its nonpolitical affairs also tended to vote (p. 291).

The remainder of his study, analyzing the data in terms of purposive as over against nonpurposive voting, need not concern us here. Of chief interest is his inclusion of the very four sets of variables on which this thesis is built--namely, socio-economic status, community participation rates, attitudes toward the community, and behaviorally relevant community issues. His focus differs mainly in (1) not distinguishing between sub-systems within the overall community and (2) giving exclusive attention to vote turnout, without considering vote direction.

The work of Thompson and Horton (1960) is also concerned chiefly with voting behavior. They analyze the relationship between political alienation and the direction of attitude and vote toward a community referendum. Political alienation, defined and measured not only in terms of a perceived lack of power in local affairs, but also in terms of perceived dissatisfaction with the existing political structure (local officials), is found to be a factor accounting for vote direction on a local school bond issue. Compatible

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with other studies, they find an inverse relationship between socio-economic status and political alienation. Thus, those typically most estranged from the community power structure are found to hold an attitude on a given issue which represents a protest against the existing power structure. This attitude of political alienation, Thompson and Horton suggest (p. 194), is translated into a negative protest vote in community referenda. Such seminal findings relating perceived alienation to voting behavior will be of even greater significance when knowledge of community membership and participation are incorporated into the design.

A final study to be reviewed here is that of Zimmer and Hawley (1958). Like this thesis, their study involves a community annexation issue, images of distinct sub-communities, and politically delimited memberships, all of which are tapped by means of interviews with a sample of suburbanites. Against this common background, assessment of the placement of this thesis is aided.

Zimmer and Hawley (1958) seek empirical answers to such general questions as to how suburbanites appraise governmental structures, and to whether or not suburbanites are as active and responsible in local political affairs as is commonly believed. To answer these, they gather attitudinal and participational information as it relates explicitly to local governmental (township) and central city (Flint) affairs--especially as it involves the annexation issue.

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Their findings reveal a more generally positive perception held of the township government than of the central city government. General preference to retain township government rather than annex to Flint, despite general recognition of more adequate services that could be provided by the core city, the authors conclude, must be based on something other than informed opinion (p. 370).

Not included in Zimmer and Hawley's study is a behavioral check on attitudes and community membership such as provided by the referendum. This is not unexpected in a study which is manifestly exploratory and descriptive in nature, not designed to analyze relationships between sets of variables. Nevertheless, a design which restricts empirical analysis to a simple refutation or confirmation of the conventional notion that suburbanites are directly and personally related to their government has limited theoretical utility. A final contrast between their work and this thesis is their restriction of community variables to those which are explicitly related to formal governmental functioning. The present work embraces a broader range of community affairs, including those in family and economic, as well as political institutions.

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## CHAPTER III

### THE COMMUNITY AND THE ISSUE

#### Introduction

The general community problem to be analyzed is the extent and nature of autonomy or interdependence felt necessary by suburbanites with reference to the core city of Grand Rapids, Michigan. The metropolitan community is here taken to be delimited by the external bounds of a tier of four past or present townships<sup>1</sup> that are contiguous to, and completely surround the core city. This area represents seven separate governmental units--the core city of Grand Rapids; the three suburban cities of East Grand Rapids, Grandville, and Wyoming; and the three townships of Grand Rapids, Paris, and Walker. Reference to Plate I and Table III-1 will reveal that although the metropolitan community includes only one-sixth of the Kent County area (four of 24 townships), it contains over four-fifths (82 per cent) of

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<sup>1</sup>Sometime prior to this study the township of Wyoming incorporated into a city; soon after the study, the township of Walker did likewise. The significance of these political changes is analyzed in subsequent sections.

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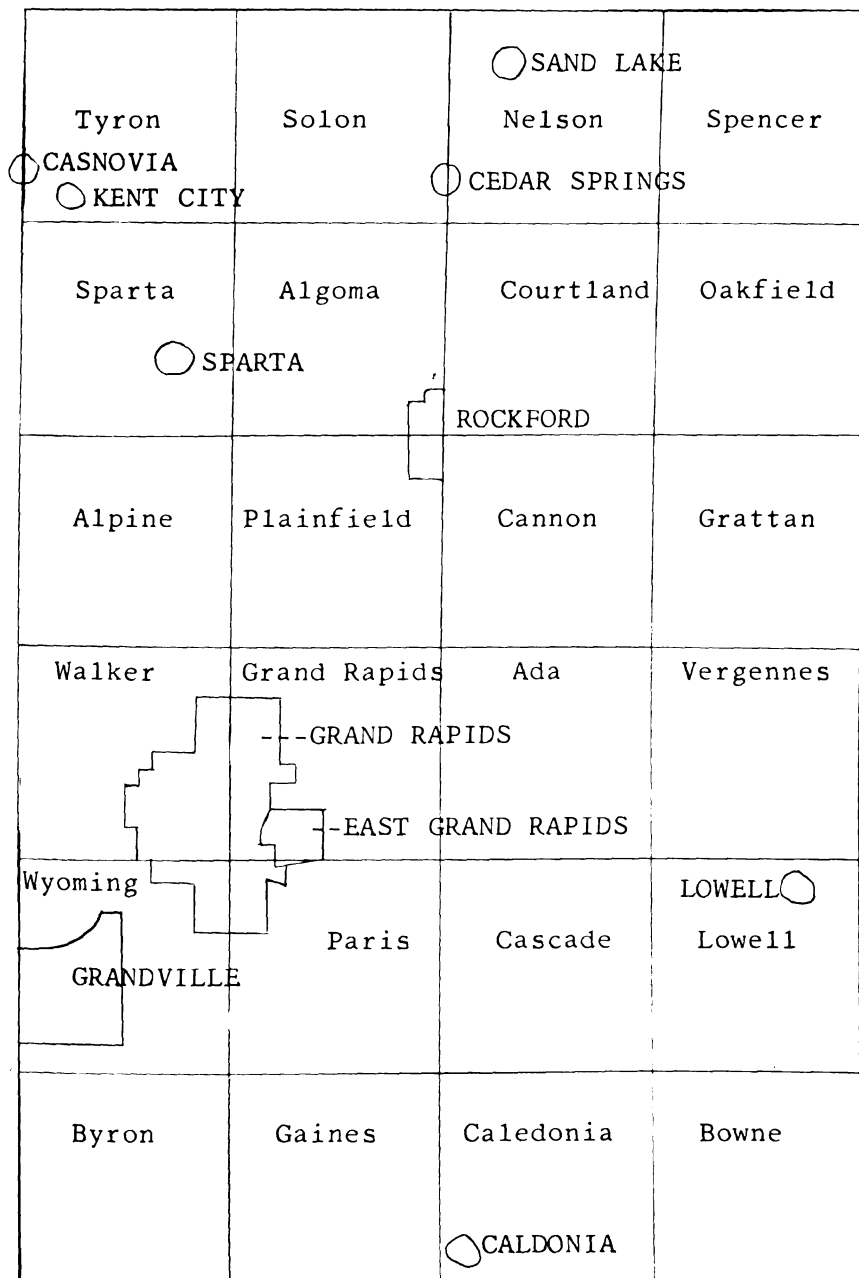
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Plate 1. Map of Kent County, by townships, 1960



Key: Squares: Townships  
 Circles: Villages  
 Rectangles: Cities

Table III-1. Metropolitan community population, size and percentage increase for governmental units by decade, 1930-1960

Table III-1.\* Metropolitan community population, size and percentage increase for governmental units by decade, 1920-1960

Governmental Unit	Population Size					Percentage Increase			
	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1920-1930	1930-1940	1940-1950	1950-1960
Core City of Grand Rapids	137,634	168,592	164,292	176,515	177,313				
Suburban Units	18,739	39,908	45,581	65,249	117,082				
Cities									
E Grand Rapids	1,310	4,024	4,899	6,403	10,924				
Grandville	799	1,346	1,566	2,022	7,975				
Wyoming	6,501	18,277	20,396	28,977	45,829				
Townships									
Grand Rapids	5,260	5,460	6,069	9,241	16,738				
Paris	2,036	5,527	6,414	9,578	19,235				
Walker	2,833	5,274	6,237	9,028	16,381				
Total M.C.**	156,373	208,500	209,873	241,764	294,395				
						22.49	-2.55	7.44	0.45
						112.97	14.22	43.17	79.44
						207.17	21.74	30.70	70.68
						68.46	16.34	29.19	294.41
						181.14	11.63	42.07	58.16
						3.80	11.15	52.27	81.13
						171.46	26.05	49.33	101.87
						86.16	18.26	44.75	81.45
						33.33	0.66	15.19	21.77

\*Basic Source: Grand Rapids Metropolitan Area Study Committee Report No. 1, "Population," 1956, p. 8, Table 14. The above table is abridged and updated on the basis of the 1960 census.

\*\*M.C. = Metropolitan Community.

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the population. It can be noted from the table that each of the governmental units has grown rather consistently in population from decade to decade, with suburban growth being more rapid than that of the core city. The only general plateau in the growth trend appears in the 1930-40 decade during which the suburban units gained only 14.22 per cent while the core city was losing 2.55 per cent.

A decision as to the extent one can legitimately generalize from this case study of a mid-western metropolitan community can only be made following a description of each of its several governmental units. Of particular significance for this study is the Paris Township unit, which serves as the universe from which a sample of registered voters is surveyed in terms of community relevant participation rates, attitudes, and behaviors.

Explicit attention to formal political bounds in no way implies the absence of overall metropolitan community interdependence. It does point to the fact that political bounds, although sometimes arbitrary and imposed, constitute a practically meaningful set of realities that citizens must cope with, either consciously or otherwise. For instance, the hard realities of taxes and services are bound up with these units, as are the less formal contacts caught in the daily rounds and raised to the level of consciousness by such channels as informal conversation and the media. This

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is not to suggest that autonomy is accomplished by simply acknowledging lines drawn on a map. The extent to which a governmental unit becomes a basis for social participation and identification is an empirical question pursued in the next three chapters.

### Description of the Metropolitan Community

The hub of the metropolitan community is Grand Rapids, the largest city in Western Michigan (see Plate 2).<sup>2</sup> As is the case for the overall community, employment here is based predominantly on manufacturing, with trade and construction also making major contributions to the economy. Since its incorporation in 1850, the city of Grand Rapids has had national stature as a furniture capital. Currently, the manufacturing of furniture ranks second in economic importance to metal manufacturing. While mass production has undoubtedly made inroads in the sense of pride in craftsmanship held by residents, this trait still finds expression in the community. Another matter of pride frequently professed by members of the entire community centers in what is regarded as its high percentage of home ownership. In 1960, 64.4 per cent of Grand Rapids city residents owned their homes, or were buying them.

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<sup>2</sup>For more detailed information, see Press (1959, Chapters 2 and 3) from which much of this information has been taken.

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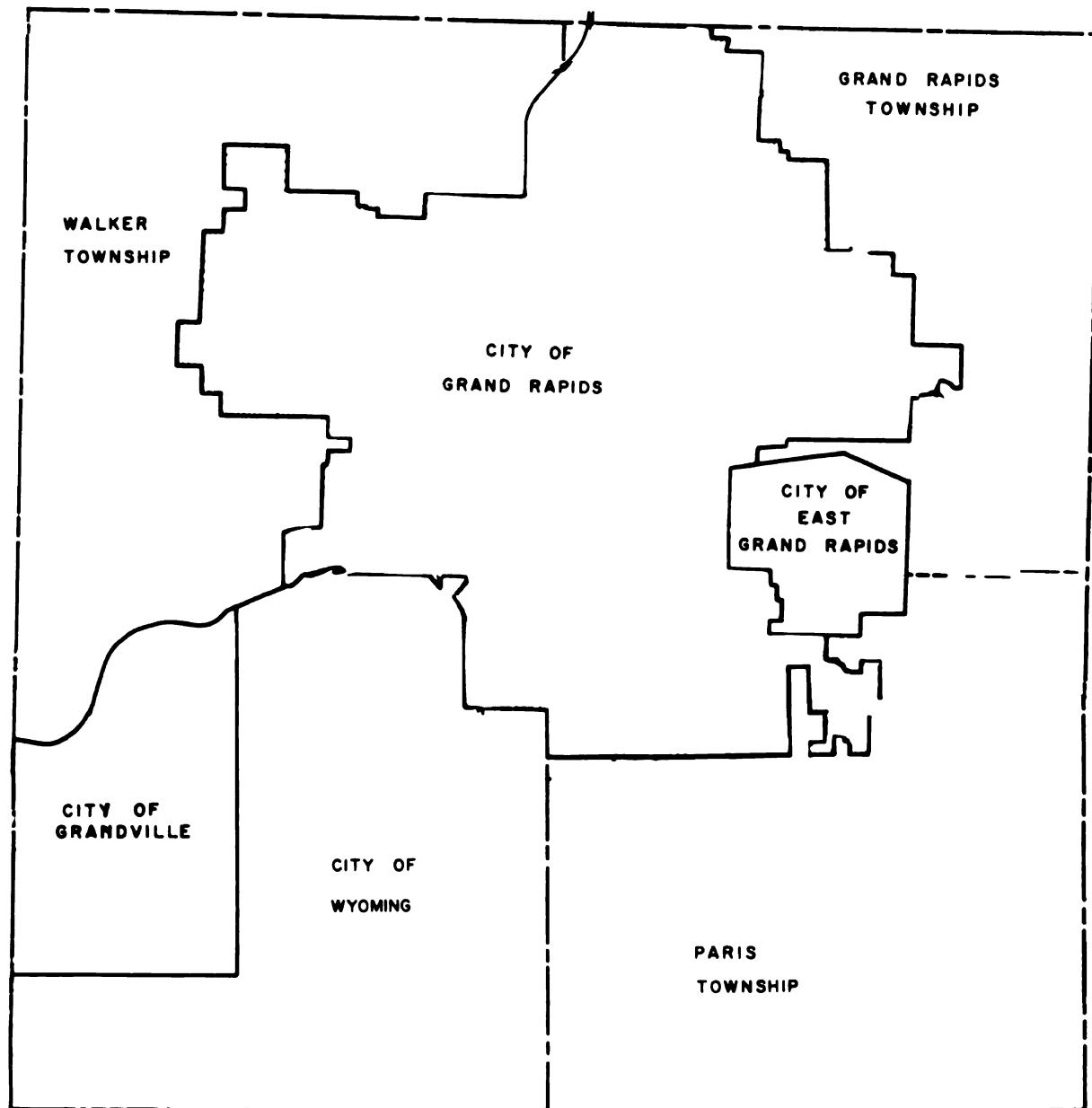
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Plate 2. Map of Grand Rapids Metropolitan Community - 1960.



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To the south and west of the core city is her most populous neighbor, Wyoming. The political complexion of the entire metropolitan community was changed radically following the conversion of this highly industrialized and residential area from township to city status. This was accomplished by referendum in 1957 and went into effect in 1958. Many observers attribute this change in political status to an earlier (1956) loss by Wyoming Township of approximately five square miles of territory containing approximately 2,100 residents to the suburban city of Grandville via annexation.

Grandville, incorporated in 1933, occupies a geographical position most remote from the core city. Existing at the extreme northwest corner of what was Wyoming township, its autonomy from the core city is relatively great.

The smallest and oldest suburban city is East Grand Rapids, incorporated in 1926. Situated centrally at the eastern edge of the core city, it is generally recognized as a rather exclusive residential area, with a preponderance of professional and business leaders. Its per capita wealth exceeds that of any of the other metropolitan units. Pride in home ownership and high quality schools is communicated throughout, and recognized by the entire metropolitan community. East Grand Rapids is unique among the units in having a minimum of commercial establishments and an absence of industry.

To the northwest of the central city is Walker Township. Like Grand Rapids Township on the northeast, it has several upper middle class residential developments, many unsettled areas, and a moderate amount of industrial development.

Southeast of the city of Grand Rapids is Paris Township. Like the other two townships, it contains a considerable amount of rural land. Rapid population growth in the past decade, however, has prompted a series of residential subdivisions constructed to meet the needs and desires of residents from a rather broad socio-economic range. The industry that exists in Paris Township is concentrated in the northern and western sectors--precisely those sectors that abut the cities of Grand Rapids and Wyoming. The Kent County airport lies in this area also.<sup>3</sup> The several implications of these geographically related facts will subsequently be considered in the light of the community issue in question, namely, the expansion of core city bounds. The forces fostering and counteracting this expansion are reviewed next.

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<sup>3</sup>Recently a new airport has been constructed and put in use. It exists outside of the metropolitan area as here defined. This only increases interest in the now closed airport as it prompts planning as to how the land might be used. Previously, industrial usage was only a matter of speculation, now it is material for the drawing board.

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General Forces Tending to Unify the  
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Inter Sub-System Harmony

The very nature of the annexation issue here analyzed inevitably points up differences and cleavages between community sub-systems. Such an analysis remains impoverished, however, unless attention is also paid to the complementary forces of similarity and harmony between the sub-systems. One such point of agreement dates back to 1952 when the core city, through its planning commission, informally approved an "urban service policy." Formal approval of this policy by the four surrounding townships permitted them to buy city water and sewage services for contiguous residential and industrial districts. In return, the townships consented to meet city minimum residential plotting requirements. In addition, several more limited agreements were made, such as the selling of fire protection to outlying units and private plants. This fact of formal agreements is not to imply that the sale of services is regarded as the best solution to the problem. The sale of water, for instance, may indicate nothing more than a temporary measure agreed to by the suburbs in order to alleviate an acute situation. That the sale

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of services by the city is opposed by an appreciable and rather stable percentage of a sample of registered voters from every political unit in the metropolitan community including the core city, is evident from a survey conducted in 1959<sup>4</sup>(see Table III-2). Specifically, the percentage of those who did not like to see the core city sell important services to the suburbs varied from about one-third (Grand Rapids Township and the core city) to one-half (Paris Township). Only in Grand Rapids Township did the majority of respondents favor this as a solution.

Table III-2. Percentage from each sub-system who favored the sale of services by Grand Rapids to the suburbs (1959)

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Grand Rapids City	49.0	34.9	16.1
East Grand Rapids	50.0	42.0	8.0
Grandville	44.4	42.2	13.4
Wyoming	45.6	44.6	9.8
Grand Rapids Township	55.2	34.3	10.5
Paris Township	32.3	51.6	16.1
Walker Township	44.1	47.5	12.4

<sup>4</sup>The research design for this study is very similar to the one used in 1961. See Chapter IV.

That the sale of water is not regarded as a permanent solution was evident already in 1956 at which time an organization known as the Kent-Ottawa Water Authority (KENOWA) was established. Kent County charter members were the core city, East Grand Rapids, Grandville, Paris Township, and Wyoming Township. In a 1957 referendum, however, prior to any workable plan being actualized, core city voters turned down membership in the Authority. Two years later, East Grand Rapids and Paris Township did likewise. Earlier in 1959, officials from the seven governmental units met jointly to discuss the water problem. Probing attempts were made at such meetings to give attention also to a host of other area-wide problems on which the metropolitan community might concentrate a unified attack.

That residents of all governmental units recognized the crucial role that the core city would play in a water authority is evident from Table III-3. Note that whereas the majority of registered voters favored the water authority when the core city was included as a participant with the suburbs, in only one instance (Wyoming Township) did more than one-third favor it when the core city was excluded.



Table III-3. Percentages from each sub-system who favored a water authority (1959)

	Including Grand Rapids			Excluding Grand Rapids		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Grand Rapids City	59.9	21.4	18.7	17.7	53.6	28.7
East Grand Rapids	82.0	14.0	4.0	28.0	62.0	10.0
Grandville	75.6	13.3	11.1	33.3	42.2	25.5
Wyoming	76.6	14.7	6.7	36.4	55.4	8.2
Grand Rapids Township	73.1	13.4	13.5	17.6	70.1	12.3
Paris Township	74.2	14.5	11.3	22.6	67.7	9.7
Walker Township	64.4	16.9	8.7	25.4	49.1	25.5

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When respondents were asked the general question as to whether or not they felt that the metropolitan areas of Grand Rapids (city and suburbs) is becoming more united as a single social and economic community, affirmative responses were consistently high. Table III-4 indicates that in only two instances (Grandville and Wyoming) did the majority fail to respond affirmatively.

Table III -4. Percentage from each sub-system who felt the metropolitan area was becoming more united (1959)

	Yes, More United	About the Same	No, Less United	Don't Know
Grand Rapids City	61.1	15.0	13.0	10.9
East Grand Rapids	68.0	22.0	2.0	8.0
Grandville	37.8	24.4	31.1	6.7
Wyoming	44.6	22.3	23.4	9.8
Grand Rapids Township	71.6	14.9	4.5	9.0
Paris Township	74.2	9.7	9.7	6.4
Walker Township	52.5	16.9	15.3	15.3

That interdependence is manifest in behavior as well as in feeling is revealed in Table III-5 which reports the extent to which suburbanites engaged in selected activities in other than their own residential sub-system.

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Table III-5. Percentage from each sub-system who engaged in selected activities in different parts of the metropolitan community (1959)

	In Own Twp. or City	In Grand Rapids	In Other Suburb	Does Not Apply*
<u>East Grand Rapids</u>				
Where Work	2.0	64.0	6.0	28.0
Where Go To Church	42.0	54.0	0.0	04.0
Where See M.D.	20.0	70.0	0.0	10.0
Where Buy Clothing	4.0	94.0	0.0	2.0
Where Buy Groceries	48.0	52.0	0.0	0.0
Where Visit Friends	62.0	32.0	4.0	2.0
<u>Grandville</u>				
Where Work	26.7	26.7	33.4	13.2
Where Go To Church	77.8	6.6	4.6	11.0
Where See M.D.	57.8	26.7	6.7	8.8
Where Buy Clothing	31.1	66.7	0.0	2.2
Where Buy Groceries	97.8	2.2	0.0	0.0
Where Visit Friends	51.1	37.8	8.9	2.2
<u>Wyoming</u>				
Where Work	32.6	42.4	14.7	10.3
Where Go To Church	64.7	20.1	6.5	8.7
Where See M.D.	32.1	56.5	8.2	3.2
Where Buy Clothing	22.3	72.8	0.5	4.4
Where Buy Groceries	83.7	6.0	10.3	0.0
Where Visit Friends	63.6	20.6	10.9	4.9
<u>G.R. Township</u>				
Where Work	16.4	59.7	14.9	9.0
Where Go To Church	28.4	62.7	5.9	3.0
Where See M.D.	9.0	85.1	4.4	1.5
Where Buy Clothing	4.5	91.0	3.0	1.5
Where Buy Groceries	47.8	44.8	7.4	0.0
Where Visit Friends	32.8	53.7	7.5	6.0
<u>Paris Township</u>				
Where Work	21.0	41.9	19.4	17.7
Where Go To Church	30.6	50.0	16.2	3.2
Where See M.D.	12.9	69.4	14.5	3.2
Where Buy Clothing	19.4	72.6	3.2	4.8
Where Buy Groceries	75.8	16.1	8.1	0.0
Where Visit Friends	43.5	41.9	9.8	4.8
<u>Walker Township</u>				
Where Work	16.9	59.3	11.9	11.9
Where Go To Church	28.8	64.4	0.0	6.8
Where See M.D.	16.9	69.5	5.1	8.5
Where Buy Clothing	8.5	86.4	5.1	0.0
Where Buy Groceries	78.0	20.3	1.7	0.0
Where Visit Friends	45.8	49.1	3.4	1.7

\*Includes those who engaged in these activities outside the metropolitan community.

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Respondents report a strong tendency to engage elsewhere in a number of activities which could be met in one's own residential sub-system. Especially prevalent is the use of the core city. A rough rank order of the extent to which the suburban sub-systems depend on the core city can be derived by simply counting and then ordering the number of activities for which the core city services 50 per cent or more of the residents. Using this criterion, the sub-systems rank from relatively high (possible rank of 6) to low (possible rank of 0) dependence as follows:

East Grand Rapids . . . .	5
Grand Rapids Twp. . . .	5
Walker Twp. . . . .	4
Paris Twp. . . . .	3
Wyoming . . . . .	2
Grandville . . . . .	1

Two things must be borne in mind when interpreting the foregoing list: (1) These are somewhat optional activities, and are not necessarily representative of overall suburban needs for urban services. Need for sewer and water services, for instance, are possibly of more general importance. (2) The extent to which the core city, in turn, is dependent on the suburbs is more difficult to get at through the survey technique. The core city's dependence appears to rest mainly on its need for additional space necessary as a minimum condition to expand residentially and to attract industry. Since this type of dependence is most directly related to the annexation issue, discussion of it will be deferred until the last

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section of this chapter (p. 132).

#### Intra Suburban Sub-System Conflict

The position is here taken that a lack of close working relationships among suburban sub-systems constitutes a force potentially drawing at least some of them closer to the core city. Manifest conflict among the suburban units is neither sharp nor intensive. Although differences between them occasionally become a matter of public record, they are usually not handled on an official or legal basis. Apparently, amity exists in no small measure due to a lack of close contact, each unit existing from day to day either on its own or core city resources. When the question of closer governmental relationships between suburban neighbors is raised, however, consensus and harmony is not a foregone conclusion. Differences of opinion are most likely to arise between dissimilar governmental units, i.e., a suburban township and a suburban city. Interestingly, when residents of the township sub-systems were asked in 1959 the dual question if they favored annexation (1) to the core city and (2) to a nearby suburban city, the most negative reactions in all three cases was toward the suburban city (see Table III-6). A similar incipient cleavage is apparent in alignments made between representatives of these township areas. These alignments are reflected in decisions made in such bodies as the County Board of Supervisors and the State of Michigan Legislature.

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Table III-6. Percentage from each township sub-system who favored annexation to specific cities (1959)

	City of Grand Rapids			Neighboring Suburban City		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Grand Rapids Twp.	50.7	38.8	10.5	10.4	70.1	19.5
Paris Twp.	35.5	50.0	14.5	17.7	64.5	17.8
Walker Twp.	22.0	64.4	13.6	6.8	74.6	18.6

In many such cases, a common suburban bond is eclipsed by paying attention to the difference that exists between township and city type of government. One expression of this on the state level is the employment by the Michigan Township Association of a full time lobbyist to represent their distinctive interests. This organized effort is complemented by such urban interests as, e.g., the Michigan Municipal League. On the local community level, sporadic efforts have been made to keep the cities in close enough contact to protect and promote their mutual municipal interests. For instance, late in 1960 and early in 1961, officials of the three suburban cities and the core city gathered in "summit meetings" to explore areas of mutual interest and possible cooperation. Although very little of a tangible nature may have been accomplished at these meetings, such moves exist

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as a qualifier to assertions concerning the homogeneity of an overall suburban community. They also point to the existence of bounds or limits to otherwise uncontrolled conflicts. At least in this case, formal channels for communication between the sub-systems have been left partially open.

General Forces Tending to Widen the Cleavage  
Between the Core City and the Suburbs

Inter Sub-System Conflict

Although this section concentrates on general forces of rivalry and conflict between the core city and the suburban sub-systems, it will often touch on matters related to the issue of annexation. Such is inevitable because the history of core city expansion is, from at least one point of view, the embodiment of past relationships between sub-systems. Public expressions of conflict between core city and suburban units have generally increased in frequency and intensity as the 1961 annexation referendum drew near.

Most of the publicly aired conflicts have concerned one or more of four needs: water supply, sewage disposal, formal schooling, and land for industrial expansion. Of these, the suburban units have been most dependent on the core city for water supply and sewage disposal, while the city has become increasingly dependent on the suburban units for obtaining land for industrial and residential expansion.

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Mention has been made previously of the "urban service policy" enacted by the city planning commission which provided for the sale of city services to contiguous suburbs, within the city's ability to do so. The 1957 city vote turning down membership in the Kenowa area water authority apparently marks the beginning of a trend toward greater scrutiny on the part of city officials toward its policy of extending services. In turn, suburban officials have become increasingly critical of what they regard as excessive service rates. Late in 1957, the Kenowa Authority turned down the city's offer to sell it water from a proposed new pipeline. By the summer of 1959, Paris Township, East Grand Rapids, and Wyoming had been informed by the Grand Rapids City Commission that their requests for further water extensions were at least temporarily deferred pending further study of its own needs and facilities. At about this same time, the mayor of Grand Rapids pointed to suburban usage of city water as the reason for a sprinkling ban imposed on all users. Earlier, city officials reported a lack of cooperation on the part of township residents in adhering to the ban. The preliminary decennial U.S. census report showing a decrease in core city population brought with it hints by commissioners that the unwritten no-service extension policy might get tougher. Soon after this they boosted the rates for areas already serviced. By the middle of 1960, the city

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commissioners had publicly agreed on a "no city services without annexation" policy.

A similar trend is apparent in regard to sewage service. In the summer of 1959, core city officials branded Grand Rapids Township school officials' plans to connect a newly completed school to city facilities as presumptuous. About the same time, the problem was aggravated by a county health department crack down on sewage disposal pollution. It was estimated that in excess of 1,700 overflowing septic tanks then existed in Kent County. The health department's action was precipitated by earlier state action in disconnecting a Paris Township drain used by many residences and businesses. The sewage issue reached an emotional climax in the fall of 1959 when an allegedly unauthorized sewer connection was detected in Walker Township. This was the prelude to a series of city refusals to requests for extensions into suburban townships. By 1960, the Federal Housing Administration had stopped processing loan insurance applications in the parts of Paris Township having the most serious faults. In 1961, just prior to the Paris annexation issue, the Grand Rapids city commission unanimously turned down Wyoming's request for the core city to treat its sewage on a contract basis. A Wyoming official labeled this action proof that

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the core city lacked the facilities to take on new customers.<sup>5</sup>

Core city administrative boards also began to adopt more restrictive policies. In the spring of 1960 the board of education unanimously approved termination dates for future suburban tuition students. This action was felt especially by the township school districts which had no high schools. The core city recreation board also issued a statement of policy in the spring of 1960 restricting participation of nonresidents in their programs. The stated reason for this policy was that of insuring the primary right of core city residents to the use of the facilities. Like the other policies, it was justified in terms of overloaded facilities. Annexation was pointed to as the solution. These pressures on the suburbs to annex, no doubt, antagonized many of the residents as well as officials. At least it gave them an opportunity to consciously question core city motivations.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>In action subsequent to the time span under study here, the Grand Rapids city commission ordered Wyoming to disconnect two allegedly illegal connections. The issue next went into the courts. A new Wyoming sewage system eventually went into operation.

<sup>6</sup>For an early analysis of the city's actions from Wyoming's perspective, see Verburg (1960).

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### Intra Core City Conflict

Those suburbanites who are inclined to regard core city political administration in a negative light have never, in recent years, been pressed to find examples of bickering, in-fighting, and factionalism.<sup>7</sup> What was true when Press

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<sup>7</sup>On the other hand, those inclined to regard the city in a more positive light have many historical and current evidences of efficiency and competence. It is Press' judgment (1959, p. 15) that the juxtaposition of the repelling character of political turmoil and the appealing character of competent administration is central to the issue of community wide cooperation. Although Press' 1959 study is a compilation of descriptive reports on the status of urban services in the Grand Rapids community, and not an attitude study, he is probably right in his interpretation that:

"The principal effect of the factional fighting in relation to metropolitan government is that it tends to re-enforce the stereotype of big city government that suburbanites often hold. They see it as fruitless turmoil which they wish to avoid if possible.

Another effect that the factional political fights has had on the suburbs is to give them the feeling that the government of the central city lacks stability and therefore is difficult to deal with or depend on"(p. 15).

Yet, in the absence of empirical data, it appears a bit tenuous to conclude that

"the performance of the other side of city government, its professionally competent administration . . . suburban residents tend to minimize or take for granted until their own services appear inadequate" (p. 16).

In any case, it appears plausible that "hastening this recognition has been a policy generally supported by both factions of reconsidering the desirability of extending city services to suburban areas" (p. 16). This policy, as the foregoing pages indicate, has been tightened since Press' study of 1959.

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studied city affairs in 1959 is still valid:

The city still bears the scars of a political campaign of [1950] in which a locally organized good government party called Citizens Action unseated the incumbent administration in a campaign based on charges of inefficiency and suspicion of corruption. Citizens Action has since disbanded, but the factional lines still remain.

The factional fight has been based in part on a difference in philosophies about city government. The Citizens Action group has emphasized efficiency and "clean" government in its appeals to the voters while the opposition faction places heavy emphasis on representativeness in terms reminiscent of the slogans of Jacksonian Democracy (1959, pp. 14-15).

This observation aids in the understanding of the decision-making clashes which have marked city commission proceedings. For most of its recent history, the decisions have been marked by alignments based on a majority and a minority bloc. Many of the issues have been decided, with or without compromise, against the backdrop of a 4-3 commission split. Since 1958, the mayor and the two commissioners from the first ward (west of the Grand River) have frequently opposed the four commissioners from the second and third wards (east of the Grand River).<sup>8</sup> The first ward is distinguished from the second and the third not only by geographical placement, but by nationality, religious, and political differences as well.

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<sup>8</sup>In the mayoralty election of 1960, and again in 1962 and 1964, the incumbent defeated "east side" opponents.

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A sampling of issues on which commissioners have clashed publically include capital improvements, Sunday sale of liquor, renewing liquor licenses, secret commission meetings, charges of vice and corruption, the mayor's 1960 campaign theme of city hall harmony, annexation policies and tactics, and the role of the city manager.

The proper role of the city manager has been a recurrent matter of contention which probably exemplifies, better than any other issue, the depth and perseverance of factionalism.<sup>9</sup> In the decade preceding this study, the city has had no fewer than five city managers. Although the majority of these appear to have resigned voluntarily, dissension within the commission over the extent of power legitimately vested in the manager appears to be the dominant reason for short tenure. By 1958, the contention of the commission minority that the current manager had usurped power became the basis for a plank in the mayor's campaign for re-election that the city manager "must go." Although reappointed in 1958 by a 4-3 commission vote, his annual reappointment was turned down in 1959 when a second ward commissioner sided with the minority bloc "for the good of the city." The manager was replaced by the former deputy

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<sup>9</sup>For an intensive study of this issue, see Buys (1962).

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manager--a Grand Rapids native.<sup>10</sup> This marked the beginning of a period of relative calm in commission deliberations.

### The Annexation Issue

#### The Core City As a Vantage Point

As in most communities, the Grand Rapids metropolitan community has periodically, and with varied intensity, faced referendum issues relative to the extension of the corporate bounds of the core city, Grand Rapids. Although the entire county of Kent is included by the U.S. Bureau of Census in the standard metropolitan area, none of the public issues relative to annexation have involved more than the immediately contiguous tier of four townships which surround the core city. As is apparent from Table III-7 and Plate 3, on only four occasions in its entire history has the core city annexed more than two square miles of territory. The first two of these occurred before the turn of the century, adding concentric bands around the original four square mile city.

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<sup>10</sup>He, in turn, resigned in the fall of 1961, at which time a series of meetings were held to find a replacement. Hot debates emanated from the commission chambers on such matters as the merits and demerits of seeking local candidates, the charter provision for yearly reappointment rather than the granting of tenure, and relatively tight restrictions on managerial powers--all favored by the minority bloc. Eventually the post was offered to an out-state man, but not without a general public display of dissension and hostility. After he declined the offer, it was accepted by a former city manager who had held the post from 1950 to 1953.

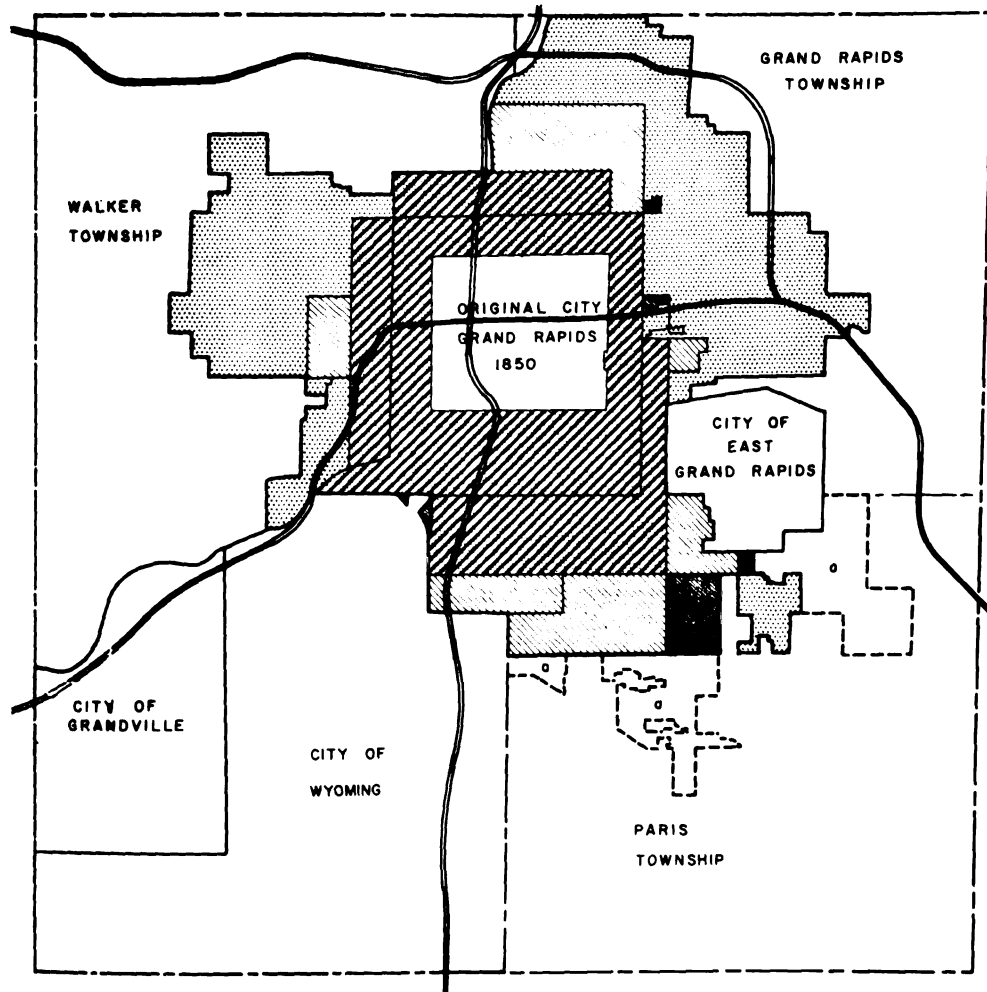
Table III-7. A history of core city growth by annexations\*

Date	Square Miles	Total Square Miles
April 2, 1850	4.00	4.00
February 18, 1857	6.50	10.50
April 2, 1891	6.75	17.25
August 29, 1916	1.25	18.50
November 4, 1924	1.75	20.25
November 23, 1925	1.75	22.00
June 7, 1926	.50	22.50
April 4, 1927	1.00	23.50
November 24, 1952	.03	23.53
April 20, 1954	.12	23.65
October 22, 1957	.02	23.67
April 7, 1958	.75	24.42
October 7, 1958	.03	24.45
November 25, 1958	.01	24.46
June 23, 1959	.03	24.49
August 2, 1960	12.67	37.16
September 13, 1960	.01	37.17
November 8, 1960	1.07	38.24
April 3, 1961	3.66	41.90

\*Source: Grand Rapids City Planning Department.  
Each of these areas is separately demarcated on a map in Appendix A.

From 1891 to 1959 only sporadic piecemeal annexations were made. Then, in one referendum in 1960 more territory was added in one attempt than had been added in the twelve previous annexations covering a span of 69 years. This was followed closely by two other expansions, one in 1960 and another in 1961. It is the 1961 issue, involving Paris Township, which is the prime object of this thesis.

Plate 3. Annexations in the Grand Rapids Metropolitan Community



**ANNEXATIONS TO  
CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS**

 1851-1900

 1901-1950

 1951-1959

 1960

 APRIL 1961

It is significant that while the population of the core city increased over 200 per cent from 1900 to 1960 (87,565 to 177,313), its increase in land area for the same time span up to the 1960 annexation was only 42 per cent (17.25 square miles to 24.49 square miles). By 1960 very little land remained in the core city for either residential or industrial expansion or development. The three most recent annexations, of course, have relieved this core city problem.

Also of significance is the shift in population concentration in the metropolitan community from the core city to the surrounding suburbs. In 1920, only 12 per cent of the area residents lived in the suburbs, in 1930 it had risen to 20 per cent, in 1940 to 22 per cent, by 1950 to 27 per cent, and by 1960 to 40 per cent. Put differently, while the core city population increased 29 per cent between the years 1920-1960 (137,634 to 177,313), the suburban population increased 525 per cent (18,739 to 117,082). In terms of metropolitan population growth in that 40 year span, 71 per cent of it occurred in the suburbs, and the remaining 29 per cent in the core city. This constitutes a core city problem to the extent that its services and facilities are used by those who do not contribute to their support through residential taxes. This charge is made repeatedly by core city residents; it constitutes a significant driving force behind annexation attempts.

Although annexation attempts were rather frequent throughout the 1950's, a general resurgence of interest in expanding the core city appeared near the end of the decade. In his 1958 inaugural address, the mayor explicitly brought the issue of annexation to public attention. Soon after, he appointed a special committee to study problems of area annexation and consolidation. Also operative by this time was an action group called The Citizen's Committee for Metropolitan Unification which began circulating petitions calling for annexation of suburban residential and industrial areas. By the end of the year, three small chunks of land had been annexed to the core city; two larger areas turned it down.

The year 1959 found the core city considering several different means of expanding its bounds. Early in the year a second ward commissioner proposed a "leap frog" plan whereby the city would annex noncontiguous industrial territory. Suburban opposition to this proposal was led by Wyoming officials. At about this time the city's special annexation study committee issued its "Snow Report" recommending a no-service extension policy pending a decision as to what action would be in the best interest of the core city as well as the overall metropolitan community. The decision as to whether or not to approve this controversial report became deadlocked 3-3 on the city commission. In the

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meantime, the Grand Rapids Metropolitan Area study,<sup>11</sup> after compiling twelve detailed fact finding reports on metropolitan problems, services, and potentials recommended that the solution not be attempted on a piecemeal basis. Already in 1958 they stated:

We recommend consolidation of the cities of Grand Rapids, East Grand Rapids and Grandville, and the townships of Wyoming, Paris, Grand Rapids, Walker and Plainfield, into one new and greater city, abolishing all present boundaries, with a new charter and government in which all sections would be represented and help in creating (Final Report, p. 11).

In May of 1959 they organized a consolidation committee to disseminate information favorable to metropolitan unification.

In the spring of 1959 the Grand Rapids city commission unanimously adopted its own plan in the form of a proposal to its suburban neighbors to form a "new city." A composite of various current ideas, it invited the cities of Wyoming and East Grand Rapids, together with the townships of Grand Rapids, Paris, and Walker to participate in working out a plan whereby the areas annexed would form a united

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<sup>11</sup>Initiated in 1955, the study was conducted by the Community Council, composed of over 100 members from all parts of the metropolitan community who represented nearly 100 civic organizations. The Michigan State University Institute of Community Development provided consultants for the study.

community.<sup>12</sup> The invitation was accepted by all five suburbs and the New City study committee was formed. After only a few meetings, however, the officials of Wyoming withdrew on the ground that they deemed annexation to be detrimental to the interest of Wyoming citizens. Grand Rapids commissioners immediately claimed that this move was an attempt on the part of Wyoming officials to perpetuate themselves in office by disenfranchising their own citizens. Later, the Grand Rapids mayor took the offensive in the New City study committee by repeatedly reminding suburban members that while the core city could get along without them, the reverse was not true. In a public meeting he stated his belief that the city would adopt the "Snow Report" recommending no service extensions if the pending annexation vote failed.

Over the months the city commission made promises to the suburbs contingent on annexation. These were eventually itemized in an annexation "bill of rights" approved by the commission. This included full rights to all services and facilities; preservation, when desired, of existing suburban

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<sup>12</sup>The plan differed from consolidation in that it was based on separate votes for each of the areas--essentially five simultaneous annexations. The Grand Rapids city attorney ruled that state law prohibited consolidation as based on a single vote through which a simple majority would bring a new city into being. At about the same time, consolidation of this latter type attempted in Flint was ruled unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court.

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residential and education characteristics; provision for school bus transportation; immediate representation via charter amendment; and a ballot on a new charter.

Apparently, many suburban officials remained skeptical of core city motivations. This skepticism was probably accentuated by attempts of the Citizen's Committee for Metropolitan Unification (composed of core city residents) to annex suburban industrial, nonresidential land. The so called "Dilley Petitions," named after the committee's attorney chairman, sought to annex contiguous land on the basis of a simple majority of "yes" votes when the votes of the city and the township involved were combined. Seeing the city could override any opposition put up by the relatively sparse suburb, suburban officials often referred to the petitions as "land steals" of the tax base. As the Walker Township supervisor stated (G. R. Press, August 8, 1959, p. 17) the policy of "subdivide and annex has done much to kill the good neighbor policy."

The final version of the new city plan, drafted along school district lines with two exceptions in Paris Township, embraced major parts of all three townships and all of East Grand Rapids. It was approved unanimously by committee members from the core city and the four suburban units.

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The Community Council Consolidation Committee, though it voiced certain reservations to the new city plan, endorsed it and began to promote it actively. Major concern was over the splitting of townships and school districts, and the fact that some areas, such as Wyoming, were now excluded from the opportunity to join. To meet the latter problem, they were instrumental in having petitions circulated in Wyoming so that they too might vote on the December 8, 1959 "new city" election.

A persistent impediment to the metropolitan unity theme espoused by the core city was the efforts of the Citizen's Committee for Metropolitan Unification. Chairman Dilley held that annexation petitions he filed already in the summer of 1958 to annex industrial land in Wyoming, Walker, and Grand Rapids Township, though temporarily held up due to legal complications, had priority over "conflicting" new city petitions covering some of the same territory. Certain suburban officials contended that the Grand Rapids mayor reneged on a promise to get the petitions withdrawn in time for the annexation vote. The whole matter, one of some embarrassment for core city officials, was alleviated when Circuit judges denied Dilley's motion to set aside the new city election until after his industrial annexation issue was settled. When the new city proposal finally came to a vote in December, 1959, core city residents favored it

nearly two to one; however it was defeated in each of the five suburbs. Rank order of resistance was as follows: Paris Township (83.8 per cent), Wyoming City (81.0 per cent), Walker Township (69.3 per cent), East Grand Rapids City (58.1 per cent), and Grand Rapids Township (53.1 per cent).

After the defeat, political activity in the core city temporarily shifted to the mayoralty campaign between the incumbent from the first ward and a second ward commissioner. Even here the issue of core city expansion was prominent. The incumbent blamed the challenger's proposed "leap frog" annexation plan for engendering suburban skepticism resulting in the defeat of the 1959 new city referendum. The mayor was re-elected, primarily on the basis of his strength in the first ward.

By early spring of 1960, residents of several suburban areas began looking into the possibilities of annexing. Eventually, petitions for a spot on the ballot were circulated successfully in eleven township areas. Six of these parcels were in Grand Rapids Township, three in Walker Township, and two in Paris Township. The majority of these formed school districts. A favorable atmosphere for annexation was created by the Grand Rapids Board of Education by its promise to ask Grand Rapids voters to approve a uniform and equal tax to meet debt requirements of those school districts which would annex. Threatened by the loss of land to

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Grand Rapids, township officials began considering such ideas as incorporation into a charter township (Walker) and incorporation into a home rule city (Grand Rapids Township). The outcome of the annexation election, held just eight months after the "new city" plan was defeated, was overwhelmingly favorable. In only two of the eleven areas was the annexation proposal not passed. The only area where the issue was defeated was a school district in Walker Township where it was turned down by a close 51-49 percentage margin. The other unsuccessful area was a farm in Paris Township where its only registered voter had his "yes" ballot ruled illegal when he marked it with a check rather than with an X. Collectively the Grand Rapids Township voters involved favored annexation by a 69-31 percentage margin; the Walker Township voters by a 58-42 percentage margin; the only Paris Township resident to vote favored it. In the other Paris Township area, the only one of all eleven without residents, the township electors voted against annexation by a more than 3 to 1 ratio but this was offset by core city residents who favored this as well as the other ten annexations by a margin in excess of 4 to 1.<sup>13</sup> Consequently, when the vote on the

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<sup>13</sup>Under the home rule act, where residents are involved, successful annexation requires a majority of the core city and unaffected suburban vote combined, plus a majority of the voters in the area to be annexed. The Dilley type annexations, involving no residents, were based only on a majority of the combined core city and suburban vote in as much as no residents lived within the industrial areas who might otherwise cast a veto vote.

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nonpopulated area was combined the favorable vote margin percentage was 70-30. In addition to the annexation election, Grand Rapids city voters approved a downtown urban renewal project by a 72-28 percentage margin, and Walker Township voters rejected a charter township proposal by 61-39 percentage margin. Soon after, Walker residents filed petitions for a vote on incorporation as a home rule city. Haste in this matter was apparently motivated by increased use of Dilley petitions to annex industrial land.

In the twelve months between this successful annexation ballot and that which was primarily to affect Paris Township in the spring of 1961, two core city activities dominated the metropolitan community scene: (1) the manner in which the core city assimilated its newly annexed areas and their citizens and (2) the increasing use by the Citizens Committee for Metropolitan Unification of Dilley petitions.

Concerning the former, city officials encouraged its newly acquired residents to make early requests for service extensions, promising to make urgently needed extensions even before the effective date for formally becoming part of the city. On the other hand, an ordinance was passed unanimously permitting newly annexed areas to continue usage of functioning septic tanks. Also on the positive side, the board of education assured its new school personnel that most

would receive a pay increase and no one would receive a decrease. The core citizens contributed their bit by voting to increase millage in order to share the indebtedness of the newly annexed school districts. Reports of meetings with township officials to determine the shifting of assets and liabilities were generally favorable, pointing to the cooperative spirit that prevailed.

On a less positive note, some friction was generated between residents of newly annexed areas north of the city and the city assessor's office. Unfair assessments were cited as the chief ground for circulation, in this area, of threats to de-annex. In some instances, neighborhood committees were actually formed to pursue the matter. At this point, much speculation prevailed among city commissioners as to the extent to which such complaints would affect the upcoming annexation attempt in Paris Township. In February 1961 the city assessor decided to give a blanket 10 per cent cut on all new assessments, pledging to continue to work toward a solution of all inequities. Commissioners granted certain errors and inequities had prevailed and upheld the assessor's decision. Certain new citizens of the city, especially those from Walker Township, publicly judged the reduction offer to be unacceptable. However they decided de-annexation proceedings were too unworkable to pursue.

The year between the nine successful annexations and the April 1961 Paris Township annexation vote marked a growing interest and generally sharpened feelings toward Dilley type annexations of uninhabited but industrialized areas. Some of the opposition can be accounted for by the fact that the State Supreme Court, after a long battle over the legality of Dilley petitions, declared them valid and ordered the county supervisors to place four proposals on the ballot. This involved industrial developments in the city of Wyoming and in the townships of Grand Rapids and Walker. The prospect of losing nearly \$10 million in state equalized valuation sparked a vigorous suburban campaign to defeat the proposals. Emotional appeals were made even to core city residents to vote against the "land steal" not only on political and economic grounds but also on moral grounds. Organized meetings and media advertisements were two of the chief means used to propagate and disseminate such ideas. The Committee on Metropolitan Unification responded in kind, charging that the welfare of the metropolitan community was impaired by the selfishness of suburban units in requesting extension of core city services. These requests, it was charged, were made with the intent of luring industry away from the core city, thereby undermining its tax base. The editor of the core city newspaper, by responding to suburban charges of Supreme Court injustice in ordering the election,

sided with the unification committee:

The decision was based on the laws as written by the legislature. . . . The fact is that every reasonable attempt to bring annexation laws up to date has been thwarted by township officials and their representatives in the legislature, regardless of the plight of Michigan's cities (Grand Rapids Press, September 20, 1960, p. 22).

The issue became more heated when a registered voter took up house trailer residence in a Walker Township industrial area up for annexation.<sup>14</sup> City authorities took public note of this maneuver by ordering his unauthorized connection to city water severed.

Complete consensus did not exist among city authorities as to the appropriate stance to take toward the admittedly militant and pragmatic Dilley tactic. In September 1960, the city commission defeated a proposal by the unsuccessful mayoralty candidate and still second ward commissioner to go on record as opposing this controversial measure. What remained was an implicit and informal "hands-off" policy which became the subject for heated commission debates, especially between the mayor and his old campaign rival. Such controversy eventually forced a formal discussion of the matter. This resulted in a general concurrence of

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<sup>14</sup>Theoretically, this single elector would be enough to defeat the proposal under the home rule act since his negative vote would constitute the majority of the area affected.

opinion rejecting the legitimacy of the moral arguments used by opponents. The second ward commissioner took exception to this opinion, admitting that he had already signed a petition condemning the Dilley method. From another quarter, the Grand Rapids board of education went on record urging city voters to approve the upcoming annexations. They, like their opponents, used the public school students to disseminate information on their position.

In the November ballot the Grand Rapids Township proposal passed by a wide margin, 71-29 per cent. One of the Walker Township industrial sites also passed--but by a narrower margin, 58-42 per cent. The other Walker industrial development would have passed by a 69-31 per cent margin had it not been overturned by the negative vote of its house trailer resident. In the Wyoming issue, however, the proposal to annex was turned down by a 53-47 per cent margin. In the only residentially based area, the Walker Township school district of Fairview, for the second time in four months, defeated annexation by a slim margin, 51-49 per cent. Table III-8 contains a breakdown of votes for separate areas. Deciding votes are asterisked. Note that, while core city residents favored all proposals, the margin was least for the Wyoming area. Note also that the township involved favored annexation in only one instance, that of Grand Rapids Township, where the surrounding residential area had previously



been annexed.<sup>15</sup> The most resistant area was Wyoming, where only 6 per cent favored annexation to Grand Rapids.

Table III-8. Vote on November 1960 annexation ballot in percentages

	Favor	Oppose
<u>Grand Rapids Township</u>		
Core City . . . . .	72	28
Township . . . . .	58	42
*Combined . . . . .	71	29
<u>Walker Township (West)</u>		
Core City . . . . .	71	29
Township . . . . .	38	62
*Combined . . . . .	58	42
<u>Walker Township (North)</u>		
Core City . . . . .	71	29
Township . . . . .	44	56
*Combined . . . . .	69	31
<u>Wyoming City</u>		
Core City . . . . .	59	41
Wyoming . . . . .	06	94
*Combined . . . . .	47	53
<u>Walker Residential</u>		
Core City . . . . .	71	29
Remainder of Township . . . . .	47	53
*Area Involved . . . . .	49	51
*Combined City & Twp. Remainder . . . . .	69	31

\*Deciding votes.

Immediately after the election, opponents of the Dilley plan bought space in the Grand Rapids Press so that the Wyoming mayor might publicly thank core city residents for helping defeat annexation there. Except for a bitterly

<sup>15</sup>The industrial area was not voted on at that time because a decision on the Dilley plan was then pending in court.

fought contest with Wyoming over annexation of the vacated county airport,<sup>16</sup> the most intensive annexation activities now shifted to Paris Township.

#### Paris Township as a Vantage Point

Before dealing with the recent history of annexation from the Paris Township perspective, it is in order to comment briefly on the criteria used in this community study which resulted in the selection of Paris Township as the primary research site.

The attitude study conducted throughout the metropolitan community in 1959 revealed that, on many counts, Paris Township residents were inclined to be more resistant to core city annexation ventures than were the other two contiguous townships. Furthermore, in the only instance when all suburban sub-systems had a simultaneous opportunity to vote on annexing to Grand Rapids in 1959, Paris Township was the most resistant, even more so than the suburban cities of East Grand Rapids and Wyoming.<sup>17</sup>

Barth and Johnson (1959, pp. 30-31) offer a typology of community issues useful in characterizing the Paris Township annexation issue. They distinguish between five

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<sup>16</sup>This was not settled legally until the State Supreme Court allowed Wyoming's annexation of it from Paris Township but disallowed a later annexation of it by the core city from Wyoming.

<sup>17</sup>See p. 141 for details.

dimensions, each of which utilizes a continuum bounded by polar extremes. These dimensions are: (1) Unique-Recurrent, (2) Salient-Nonsalient to Leadership, (3) Salient-Nonsalient to Community Publics, (4) Effective Action Possible-Effective Action Impossible, (5) Local-Cosmopolitan. Viewed in this light, the Paris Township annexation issue tended toward the recurrent pole with the passage of time. Since 1958 no fewer than five annexation elections concerning eight separate township plots had been held. Four of these eight plots were annexed. These attempts were but a prelude for the April 1961 election to decide the fate of eleven additional township parcels. Not only did the issue have salience for community leaders, especially governmental and school officials, but for the lay citizens as well. Matters of taxes, services (especially sewage and water), and formal education touched the values and interests of all. It appears justifiable to assume that the importance and salience<sup>18</sup> of the annexation issue was enhanced in the minds of Paris

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<sup>18</sup>Krech and Crutchfield (1948, p. 164) state that

"In general, beliefs and attitudes are likely to be more important when they are functionally related to the more central characteristics of the individual's personality structure, when they are well organized and generalized, and when they are based upon needs for identification with other people and groups. They are likely to be more salient when they are newly formed or when they are in process of change or when they are being subjected to challenge by other people or by apparent logical inconsistency with other newly developing beliefs and attitudes."

Township voters as core city annexation activity and interest progressively concentrated in this sub-system, culminating in the 1961 attempt. Furthermore, this issue was one in which summary and effective action could be taken in the form of a ballot decision. Finally, although the issue had been predominantly a local one in the sense that leaders did not go to state organizations or "experts" for guidance, direction, or action, there was by 1961 a growing number of attempts by township officials and school district officials to encourage favorable state legislation in controlling piecemeal annexations.

Lack of consensus by Paris Township voters on the relative merits of joining the core city was evident in 1958 when two of its residential areas voted on the issue. One turned annexation down by a 62-38 percentage margin, the other passed it by a 71-29 percentage margin.

From the time of this election in the spring of 1958 until the December 1959 "new city" election, the services of water, sewage disposal, and schools were major topics of concern. The sewer problem occupied the center of attention in the spring of 1959 when approximately 200 Paris residents were ordered by the state to disconnect all sanitary sewage connections emptying into storm drains. Not having its own disposal plant, this forced the township to reconsider annexation as a means of using the core city's facility. Similar

discussions were oriented around the relative merits of township well water vs. core city Lake Michigan water. This issue came to a head in the summer of 1959 when those relatively few township residents who were water customers of the core city were switched over to the township system. This was done by township officials in an attempt to increase water pressure. This action alienated township officials not only from core city officials in that the cutoff was made without core city sanction, but also from the effected citizens who protested the use of well water. These citizens then signed a petition requesting restoration of city water. It was submitted to both township and city officials. The core city approved the cut off and referred the petition to township officials. Later in the summer, Paris Township, following the lead of East Grand Rapids and Wyoming, officially requested the city to supplement its water supply. As the "new city" annexation vote approached, increasing attention was given to the matter of schooling. One of the chief criticisms of the "new city" plan was that it split Paris Township school districts. The involved boards of education led the opposition, claiming also that they were not consulted by the new city study committee when the plan was drawn up. They were supported by a group of residents organized to study the annexation proposal and by the Paris Township Committee Against Annexation. Finally, the Paris

Township Board passed a resolution opposing the new city plan in terms of educational as well as other problems. On the other hand, a group of residents favoring annexation purchased space in the Grand Rapids Press to correct "unfounded rumors" concerning the consequences of split school districts and other problems. As previously reported, Paris Township defeated the new city proposal by a wide margin, 84-16 per cent.

The next annexation attempt in Paris Township occurred in the spring of 1960 when the core city, by resolution, brought into the city an undeveloped park which it owned. This was immediately contested by the township attorney on a technical point.<sup>19</sup>

By the early summer of 1960, both residential and Dilley type landowner petitions were again being circulated in Paris Township. Knowledge of these renewed piecemeal annexation attempts is generally credited with prompting the hasty circulation of petitions to incorporate the township into the City of Kentwood.<sup>20</sup> Although the incorporation

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<sup>19</sup>In the fall, a court decision upheld the validity of the annexation.

<sup>20</sup>The township attorney acknowledged the incorporation move was precipitated by the recent annexation petitions. Later, however, he advised the township trustees that successful incorporation would not invalidate pending annexation petitions.

proposal was endorsed by most township officials, the township clerk refused to sign the petition on the ground that it was not conceived in a deliberate, rational manner. He publically predicted defeat for the proposal. He was later joined in his protest by one of the township trustees who resigned as the general chairman of the study committee on incorporation. This cleavage among township trustees was widened when the clerk requested public funds in order to promote an anti-incorporation campaign. This he did to counteract an approved request for money to print and mail the findings of the incorporation study committee.<sup>21</sup> The clerk's appeal for matching funds was based on his contention that the committee was collecting propaganda for incorporation.

The earlier filing date gave the incorporation petitions priority on the ballot over the annexation petitions. Pros and cons of incorporation were aired both in public meetings and through the mass media. The most active group supporting the proposal, calling itself Citizens for Kentwood City, was composed predominantly of individuals who had rather direct investments (psychological or financial) with the township. These included several past or present

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<sup>21</sup>An eventual threat of legal action resulted in the township board not implementing this program. Instead, it let it out to private sponsors.

township officials and employees. Eight of its sixteen members were charter commission candidates to draw up the proposed Kentwood City charter. This group not only sponsored public meetings but also circulated much printed matter, even obtaining newspaper space in order to "beat Dilley." The township clerk, on the other hand, although he too opposed piecemeal annexation, took up "the case against incorporation" in the Grand Rapids Press on the same page the township supervisor gave "the case for incorporation."

With approximately 70 per cent of those registered voting, the November 8 ballot resulted in a defeat for incorporation, the percentage margin being 58-42.

Just as annexation petitions crystalized the move for incorporation, the incorporation proposal acted as a catalyst for the circulation of additional annexation petitions by those who preferred annexation to incorporation. Even before the vote on incorporation was cast, two residential areas had filed annexation petitions with the core city after surveying the wishes of the residents involved. The tempo quickened after the incorporation defeat until by the end of the year eleven separate annexation petitions were filed. Of these, five were the direct result of citizen committees' efforts; the remaining six were landowner type petitions. Combined, these parcels had an estimated state equalized value of over \$27 million. Over \$7 million of this valuation existed in

one of the areas. This area was part of a larger area which had also petitioned to place on the ballot its annexation to the suburban city of Wyoming. The Wyoming petition sought to annex approximately two square miles of a high school district lying partially in Paris Township and partially in Wyoming City. The controversy over competing petitions came to a legal showdown early in 1961 when the Wyoming petition was ruled invalid due to insufficient signatures. The aggrieved board of education appealed the county attorney's decision to the Michigan Supreme Court. The appeal was denied.

In spite of the intensive campaign waged by the school board against the proposed annexations, the April ballot resulted in all eleven parcels joining the core city. Of these, the three most densely populated favored the proposal to annex by the following margins: Millbrook (660 votes) 57-43 per cent, Woodlands (558 votes) 64-36 per cent, and Knollcrest (349 votes) 70-30 per cent. When the decisions of the five more sparsely populated involved areas are analyzed together (a total of 98 votes) they are found to favor joining the city by a 76-24 per cent margin.

Although a majority of favorable votes in the township area is the crucial determinant in deciding the issue (in that the core city vote, combined as it is with the remainder of the township not subject to annexation, has

always provided more than enough favorable votes to give majority consent) there are theoretical advantages to analyzing the votes of those not resident in the areas directly involved. Voters in precincts which would lose territory but who would not themselves be annexed, favored the proposal by a small margin, 52-48 per cent. On the other hand, the outlying precincts most remotely involved in annexation proceedings, without exception recorded overwhelmingly negative votes. Rank order of resistance by outlying precincts (see accompanying precinct map) is as follows: Precinct IV, 88-12 per cent; Precinct VI, 90-10 per cent; Precinct VII, 92-8 per cent; Precinct IX, 96-4 per cent; and Precinct III, 97-3 per cent. Reasons for these and other differentials will be pursued in succeeding chapters.

### Summary

This chapter has given evidence, derived from both survey and historical sources, of the social psychological reality of politically delimited sub-systems within the metropolitan community. More particularly, it has uncovered reasons for the general salience of the annexation issue in the minds of the members of one sub-system, Paris Township.

Social forces are described which, sometimes simultaneously, operate to attract and to repel members of the

two key sub-systems, Paris Township and the City of Grand Rapids. Among the attracting forces is the symbiotic relationship existing between suburb and city. Specifically, suburban units have been most dependent on the core city for services, such as water supply and sewage disposal; the city has become increasingly dependent on the suburban units for obtaining land for industrial and residential expansion to broaden its tax base. But as to whether or not annexation constitutes a feasible and equitable solution in meeting the needs of both sub-systems is, as it has been, a hotly debated issue. In fact, it is plausible to regard the annexation issue as the catalyst which has brought incipient township-city conflicts to the level of general public expression. On the other hand, some of the repelling forces producing cleavages between the sub-systems are intrinsic to the nature of annexation issues. These include political jealousies, vested interests, and relatively exclusive psychological identification with a given sub-system. Also fostering the cleavage is the existence of two different philosophies of the prime function of city government, namely efficiency and representativeness. These and their opposites have a sufficient number of expressions in the core city to enable members of the township sub-system to construct a cohesive and plausible image or stereotype of core city government. Press (1959, pp. 15-16) contends that

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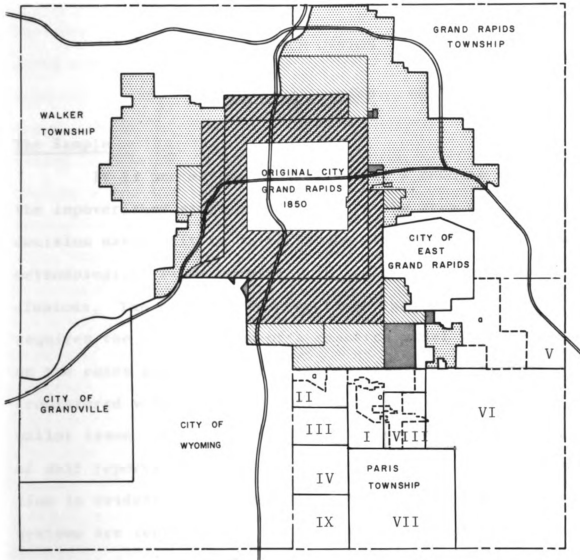
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the principal effect of the factional fighting in relation to metropolitan government is that it tends to re-enforce the stereotype of big city government that suburbanites often hold. They see it as fruitless turmoil which they wish to avoid if possible.

. . . . .  
The performance of the other side of city government, its professionally competent administration . . . suburban residents tend to minimize or take for granted until their own services appear inadequate.

It is to an empirical analysis of the relationship of these images (1) to each other, (2) to extent of participation within each sub-system, and (3) to one's vote on the annexation issue that the following chapters are devoted.

Plate 4. The Relationship of Paris Township Precincts to Areas Up for Annexation in 1961.




**CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS**

 1851-1900

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 TO BE VOTED ON IN APRIL 1961

## CHAPTER IV

### RESEARCH DESIGN

#### Data Collection

##### The Sample

It is one matter to acknowledge a need to improve the impoverished state of research in the area of community decision making; it is quite another to attack it with the methodological rigor necessary to yield valid empirical conclusions. The position is here taken that such an attack requires the construction of a research model that focuses on the roles and images of a random sample of citizens (registered voters) in the context of a salient community ballot issue. The investigation is launched at the level of self reports of images and roles. A sociological orientation is evident in the fact that metropolitan community subsystems are central both as objects and as sources of citizen participation. That is, while the individual registered voter is taken as the data collection unit, social structure as well as psychological structure is retained as a central unit of analysis.

Central attention is directed to ballot decision

making in Paris Township. This is done against the background of a more general context: the metropolitan community system of which Paris Township is a component sub-system. The necessity of studying the context resulted in a preliminary survey of attitudes and reported behaviors of residents from all of the sub-systems involved in the 1959 annexation issue. This study embraced the core city, two suburban cities, and three suburban townships. It was followed in 1961 by a similar survey in Paris Township involving the annexation issue there. Not knowing who would or would not vote, the surest means of obtaining relevant and representative information was to sample randomly from the entire universe of registered voters.<sup>1</sup> In 1959, a systematic random sample of approximately 1 per cent was taken from the voter registration lists of each suburban governmental unit. In 1961, a random sample of approximately 3 per cent was taken from the voter registration lists of the Paris Township sub-system. The larger percentage was necessary to insure sufficient sample size in this area with a relatively small population base.

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<sup>1</sup>Rules for drawing the samples were worked out with members of the Institute for Community Development of Michigan State University.

### Measures Promoting Validity

Since the data were to be obtained from interviews with registered voters, the construction of an interview schedule had a fundamental bearing on the eventual conclusions. Prior to the 1959 metropolitan community study the schedule went through several revisions.<sup>2</sup> It was so constructed as to yield information on a range of dimensions having both specific and general relationships to the issue of annexation. It included indicators of attitudes toward sub-systems, reported activities within the sub-systems, and reported vote turnout and direction. Differences in importance and salience of attitudes were tapped not only by the inclusion of open-ended questions, but also by fixed alternative questions based on the continuum structure.

The dynamics of the annexation issue between the time of the first major referendum in December 1959 and the April 1961 referendum in Paris Township necessitated a number of refinements and additions in the schedule before it could be used again.<sup>3</sup> Most of the refinements involved minor

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<sup>2</sup>Each draft benefited from pretests conducted by the author and selected graduate students. That part of the fourth and final draft which bears on this phase of a larger Michigan State University Institute of Community Development project is found in Appendix B.

<sup>3</sup>See Appendix B for the items that were added to the schedule.

changes in terminology, directing the interview exclusively to Paris Township residents. Substantive additions were the result of either (1) insights uncovered in the course of the 1959 field research or (2) relevant events which unfolded subsequent to the 1959 research. For the most part, these additions were made up of (1) questions designed to tap past (1959) and future (1961) vote direction and (2) questions to ascertain changes in sub-system images as the result of a changing political situation.

The writer personally supervised all aspects of actual data collecting, including making follow-ups on interviews where rapport difficulties were uncovered. The direct supervision was compatible with a continued affiliation with, and sponsorship by, the Institute for Community Development of Michigan State University. Although initially (1959) their interest in matters broader than community image and participation resulted in expansion of the schedule to include "peripheral" matters, the attendant advantages far outweighed this inconvenience. One outstanding advantage was that economic support was sufficient to insure an adequate sample size; furthermore, it allowed the employment of qualified interviewers both for the 1959 study and the more focused 1961 follow-up study. Other advantages resulted from professional and technical advice in the critical matters of sampling, schedule construction

and pretesting, training of interviewers,<sup>4</sup> and the codification of data.<sup>5</sup> A final key advantage was the entree it afforded the interviewers in a potentially explosive situation. By legitimizing the role of the "objective data gatherer," reduction of suspicion and consequent establishment of rapport between interviewer and respondent was facilitated. This relationship was developed even prior to actual interviewing by means of mass media publicity and a letter sent to each member of the sample alerting them to the nature of the study.<sup>6</sup>

In both 1959 and 1961, interviewing was so timed as to immediately precede actual balloting. In the 1959 study, extended attempts to contact the 487 selected registered

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<sup>4</sup>The survey was carried out by college students who were under strict instructions to be neutral when interviewing. The respondents were assured anonymity. While constant supervision of the interviewers was necessary throughout the course of the study, attendance at a "mock" interview and the submission of a "dry-run" completed schedule to the supervisor for approval were prerequisites to actual interviewing. In addition, each interviewer was required to attend training sessions as well as to familiarize himself with instructions and suggestions which accompanied the schedule. See Appendix C.

<sup>5</sup>Graduate students at the Institute for Community Development were responsible for the coding in 1959. Frequent checks were made for accuracy and consistency. The writer was directly responsible for coding the 1961 data.

<sup>6</sup>See Appendix D.

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voters resulted in 422 completed interviews--an attrition of 13.3 per cent.<sup>7</sup> In the 1961 study, of the 297 individuals drawn, 271 were interviewed--an attrition rate of 8.8 per cent. The relatively high percentage of completed interviews is but one reflection of the elaborate precautions taken to permit a high degree of validity in the conclusions derived from the data.

### Operationalizing the Study

#### General Design

Many of the decisions made concerning research design cannot be understood apart from study objectives. The major goal of this study is to analyze the social psychological dimensions of community decision making. A summary paradigm of the chief dimensions initially considered follows:

Sub-System Membership	Sub-System Image
1. Local Participation	1. Political Access Image
2. Urban Participation	a. Positive Local
	b. Positive Urban
	2. Political State of Affairs Image
	a. Positive Local
	b. Positive Urban
	3. Social Economic Cohesiveness Image
	a. Positive Local
	b. Positive Urban.

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<sup>7</sup>That only a minority of those who failed to respond were openly resistive is obvious from a breakdown of the final status of all sampled potential respondents. See Appendix E.

Since indices were not available for these exact dimensions, it was necessary to construct them. To obtain schedule items necessary to make up the membership index and the three image indices, use was made both of the relevant research literature<sup>8</sup> and of the writer's general knowledge of the community issue at hand. Specific items were selected or constructed systematically with the aid of the foregoing paradigm. This procedure bears striking similarities to the initial stages of facet analysis.<sup>9</sup> Facet analysis, by its concern with a systematic construction of underlying structure, functions not only as a general guide to research but also as a device to cull redundant, ambiguous, and poorly worded items from the initial battery of questions. It also provides minimum assurance that the retained questions are logically related to the construct in question, and thus provides the foundation for statistical refinements.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Some of the items were lifted nearly verbatim. This was true especially for items dealing with opinions of government services, as initially constructed by Zimmer and Hawley (1958). They analyzed each of these items separately.

<sup>9</sup>Facet analysis is a technique developed by Guttman. For a brief description see Guttman (1958).

<sup>10</sup>This procedure can be used as an alternative to factor analysis in index construction. Unlike factor analysis which has no explicit culling rule other than a statistically imposed one, facet analysis is based on an explicit set of definitions for each concept from which rules are derived to generate items. Factor analysis was inadmissible here in that the data lack a true interval scale. Had it been eligible, however, the initial stages of facet analysis still appear preferable in that they provide minimum

By analyzing the items contained in the 1959 sample in facet terms, appropriate deletions, additions, and refinements were possible in the 1961 study. As will be seen, the 1959 survey functions not only as a reconnaissance study to sharpen the 1961 analysis but also to provide information on the reliability of the data.<sup>11</sup> Thus, while the 1961 schedule is not constricted to the limits of the 1959 schedule, it is generally based on it.

Moving beyond the consideration of conceptual to that of statistical justification for inclusion or exclusion of index items, it is necessary to test empirically the items which yield the underlying structure provided by the facet approach. Especially for the Likert type of ordinally scaled items is it essential to provide a statistical measure for index construction. Intermediate between the pragmatic validation provided by traditional forms of item analysis which depends on the correlation of the item with the total

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specification of the social psychological factors in advance of any statistical analysis. That is, it obviates the blind selection of factors on the basis of strictly empirical and statistical criteria without the necessity of systematic thought. See Guttman (1958, pp. 510-511).

<sup>11</sup>The design must be flexible enough to incorporate fresh situations and insights, since the social-psychological dimensions are both progressively revealed and modified through time. Simultaneously the design must possess sufficient continuity to permit comparability over time.

raw score (without removing self correlations) and, e.g., the Guttman scalogram which allows reproducibility as the only appropriate measure of internal consistency is the method of trace line analysis. According to Copp (1960), one of the advantages of trace line analysis is that, while retaining some of the ease of administration characteristic of classical forms of item analysis, it substitutes an underlying mathematical model for sheer pragmatic justification.

"A trace line" says Copp (1960, p. 5), "is a curve resulting when the percentages of subjects endorsing (or characterized by) an item at different points on the latent variable continuum are plotted." He adds, "Trace line analysis is a procedure for selecting behavior items which bear a consistent relationship to the latent variable continuum."

When the percentages of endorsement for each item are plotted on a graph, the internally consistent ones form roughly parallel monotonically increasing curves. According to Copp (1960, p. 10), although a more rigorous, mathematical criterion is available, "the acceptability of items can be determined visually with a high degree of precision."

Trace lines were constructed for each of the initial battery of schedule items dealing with social psychological matters. In order to secure adequate indices, it was necessary to refine each by progressively removing those items

least scalable. This was done even though in some instances it produced an index with fewer items than an ideal research design would call for.

In addition to the social psychological indices refined by trace line analysis, information was collected and organized for socio-economic status (for which relevant items are confirmed by a vast literature) and voting behavior. The specific ingredients of these as well as of the social psychological indices are reviewed below.

#### Sub-System Membership Index

Germane to the construction of a community sub-system membership index are considerations of the nature of social structure. Blackwell (1954, pp. 60-61) presents a case for using the structure-function framework of Parsons (in his Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied) as an approach to understanding community.

This approach holds that social structure, the patterned relationships between individuals and groups, is a determinant of social action. The dynamics of the structure . . . are found in the functions which structure serves in the maintenance of a social system. The community may be conceived as a set of dynamic interacting social systems.

Though the concept of social structure embraces aspects of social differentiation and stratification, Parsons (1949, p. 163) points out that "institutions constitute as it were the structural 'backbone' of social systems." As such,

institutions provide the interactional framework within which community members can meet basic needs and share common values. Community sub-system membership can thus be tapped by investigating the respondents' major loci of interaction. This calls for a design more elaborate and sensitive than that which assumes that place of residence is an adequate indicator of social psychological affiliation. Research among suburbanites leads Manis (1959, p. 360) to the conclusion that

locality ties do not characterize these individuals. Rather, their main social bonds involve family, work, religion, and national origins. Under such circumstances the influence of physical locale is a limiting but not a decisive factor.

What is called for is a design which penetrates beyond any summary fact or statement on the part of the respondent as to his acknowledged affiliation with one or the other of the delimited community sub-systems. This involves the gathering of information concerning the locale in which each respondent has engaged in specifically enumerated institutionally related social actions. Ideally, these activities must be as subject to easy recall as membership in formal associations, yet more directly relevant to community issues than such traditional sociological variables as social

strata or demographic placement.<sup>12</sup>

On the one hand, such a level of inquiry is quite unlike that of Berelson et al. (1954, p. 287) who attempted to get beyond the inferential use of the reference group concept by asking the respondents to indicate which groups were important to them. On the other hand, it is quite similar in pursuing the question of how actively they participated in them. Here the present study appears to have the advantage over Berelson's design in that it focuses on groups having informal structures. Their interest in vote direction in a national election pursued through direct questions about, e.g., political party membership, is more formal in character and probably more mechanically related to vote direction than is participation in institutional activities in the context of a specified sub-system. Furthermore, whereas one can join a political party for any number of reasons, his more informal activities inevitably result in his belonging to a community sub-system. Hence, intensity of membership can be determined behaviorally rather than elicited

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<sup>12</sup>This is not to deny the significance of such variables. It is rather to recognize, along with Rossi (1957, p. 423) that "to look at social background and personality characteristics as the major explanation of man's behavior in a decision-maker role is to deny that a given individual may act differently when placed in different roles." It is the intervening variables which must also receive attention. In this study, socio-economic status will be used as a control.

orally.

While it is true that the simple locating of institutionally relevant interactions is not necessarily a substitute for articulating the etiology of reference group behavior within the community, it does provide an important first step. In the words of Cartwright and Zander (1960, p. 80), "Heightened interaction among persons may increase the attractiveness that a group has for its members." Assuming that attractiveness is a prerequisite to norm adoption, interaction then appears to be a significant element. Williams (1958, p. 627) goes further to point to evidence which suggests that

even in discordant or "prejudiced" interaction which, for any cause, is continued over a considerable span of time, the participants mutually come to have increased concern for each other: the relationship grows in salience and importance. The data also suggest that in the course of such interaction the interpersonal perceptions and affective attitudes will become increasingly differentiated, complex, and organized, that is cognitive, cathectic, and evaluative orientations become richer, more dense, more elaborately structured.

In an empirical study of voting behavior, previously referred to, Kaplan (1955) points to interpersonal interaction as one of the significant mechanisms in adoption of small groups as points of reference.

Attempts to provide theoretical linkage and a conceptual framework for the normative significance of social

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interaction are being made by several students of community.

Kaufman and Greer (1960, p. 199) differentiate between neighborhoods on the basis of commitment:

One of the most important implications of the variation in style of life measured by the urbanization index is variation in degree of commitment to the local area as a community. The highly urban neighborhood is likely to afford few if any local ties, whereas the family-centered neighborhoods involve many kinds of commitment to the community.

In a similar vein, Coleman (1957, pp. 25-26) uses a conceptual framework in which

individuals are seen as an aggregate of attachments of various kinds and strengths: attachments to persons, to groups, to beliefs or ideologies, to status, to power, etc. . . . the social structure of the community is simply the configuration of attachments of individuals to one another and to groups.

Merton (1957, p. 350), with his concept of 'visibility' as an attribute of social structure, extends the foregoing ideas by viewing interaction in its normative significance.

Visibility is the counterpart in social structure of what, from the standpoint of psychological theory, is social perception. The sociological study of visibility is addressed to the problems of how social structures make for ready or difficult awareness of the norms prevailing in the group and of the extent to which members of the group live up to these norms. "Visibility," then, is a name for the extent to which the structure of a social organization provides occasion to those variously located in that structure to perceive the norms obtaining in the organization and the character of role-performance by those manning the organization.

While the data of this study are restricted to those who reside in the suburbs, it concerns two social structural loci of participation, namely the politically bounded urban and the politically bounded suburban interactional sub-systems. Consequently, one can distinguish between place of residence (Paris Township) and place of interaction (either the suburbs or the core city).<sup>13</sup> Those who participate primarily in the suburbs will be designated "localités"; those who participate mainly in the core city will be referred to as "urbanites."<sup>14</sup> The distinction here made does not perpetuate the classic caricature of urban impersonality and anonymity as contrasted with suburban personal and informal relationships. On the contrary, just as a growing body of research findings testifies to the existence of informal and personal relationships within the urban structure,<sup>15</sup> as well

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<sup>13</sup> The same political bounds will later constitute the framework for the sub-system image index.

<sup>14</sup> This usage is not consistent with that employed by Merton (1957, p. 393) in that his terms 'local' and 'cosmopolitan' "do not refer, of course, to the regions in which interpersonal influence is exercised. Both types of influences are effective almost exclusively within the local community." Stated positively, "The chief criterion for distinguishing the two is found in their orientation toward Rovere."

<sup>15</sup> Greer's (1957) summary and discussion of a substantial body of recent research on this point is a needed corrective to the earlier interpretations of Wirth (1938) and others of the "Chicago School." Landmarks in this corrective movement are the works of Janowitz (1952), Smith, Form, and Stone (1954), Greer (1956), and Axelrod (1956).

as the existence of a degree of anonymity in the suburban structure,<sup>16</sup> the mobile suburbanites are considered as subject to both sets of influences. It is the more personal, informal, and volitional types of institutionally oriented relationships here selected for scrutiny which allows for the possibility of residential suburbanites to become participating members of the urban interactional system.

Recent literature abounds with items relevant to distinguish between degrees of participation within the community. The chief methodological problem here is one of deleting those which are of peripheral utility to the purposes of this study. In constructing the sub-system membership index, only those items which dealt with participation potentially engaged in either the suburban or urban sub-systems were considered.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Perspective into this dimension has been given recently by Stein (1960). Doing much to shatter the idyllic image of the homogeneous suburb is Riesman's essay (1957) on the "Suburban Dislocation." Empirical support for Riesman's position has come from Boskoff's case study (1962) on "The Myth of the Homogeneous Suburb."

<sup>17</sup>This emphasis on similar activities available in different political sub-systems differs from the emphasis of Greer and Orleans (1962, p. 636) on different types of political participation produced by differential facilities existing in different metropolitan sub-areas. They contend that

"the contemporary metropolis consists of a variety of sub-areas which represent variations in the social concerns and commitments of resident populations, and, therefore, variations in opportunities

An attempt was made to embrace a range of dimensions within a limited number of selected items. Emphasis was given to present more than past roles, face-to-face more than vicarious roles, and volitionally chosen rather than ascribed roles.

Initially singled out as functional in distinguishing "localite" from "urbanite" participant types were the following: extent to which respondents rely on the core city (or conversely, the suburbs) for friendly visiting, job location, community of socialization, personal contact with political officials, newspaper subscriptions, voluntary associational affiliation, and object of interest in voting activity. Justification for the selection of each indicator follows.

Friendly visiting.--Many studies have uncovered the importance of visiting patterns, even for urban residents. Greer (1956), in testing Shevky-Bell's urbanization dimension for differences in social participation in Los Angeles, found kinship visiting to be the most important social bond

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for social interaction. . . . The social characteristics of individual residents are indicators of their potential for interaction (their access to the structure of social opportunities), whereas the aggregated social characteristics of spatially distinct sub-area populations denote the prevailing conditions for social interaction (the structure of available social opportunities).

in a high as well as a low urban sub-area.<sup>18</sup> Nearly half of the respondents of each sample reported visiting their kin at least once a week (p. 22). Also important to the residents, especially those of the low-urban sample, was the visiting of friends. This has been supported by others. Axelrod (1956, pp. 16-17), after noting that "a principal function of informal association seems to be that of creating cohesive and common values in the population," points to the importance of visiting patterns with kin and friends in this regard. His Detroit study indicates that after relatives, friends constitute the most frequent type of informal association. Nearly two-thirds of all respondents reported getting together with friends at least once a month. Smith, Form, and Stone's study (1956) of visiting patterns in Lansing likewise gives evidence of social intimacy within the city. More particularly, their data led them to suggest that the more localized visiting patterns develop as the result of residential stability (p. 283). This being the case, it seems reasonable to expect the visiting patterns of the relatively mobile suburbanites to be somewhat diverse and scattered. Friendly visiting patterns of suburbanites becomes increasingly significant in the light of Stein's judgment (1960, p. 329) that present day suburbia is

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<sup>18</sup>One of these sub-areas was always part of the city; the other was once a suburb.

characterized by a weakening of family loyalties as well as larger loyalties. In the political realm, Manis and Stine (1958, p. 489) find that Kalamazoo suburbanites are more apt to discuss politics with long-time friends and work associates than with neighbors.

Job location.--Considering the significance of work associates, Greer (1957, p. 339) sees it as a group, though one of limited liability,<sup>19</sup> in which "the individual must interact continuously and for a large share of his waking life." In a similar vein, Greer and Orleans (1962, p. 635) cite the world of work as a

basis for strong social groups, since out of the interdependence entailed in such associations grow communication, norms, and constraint. They in turn allow a dependable structure for mobilizing political opinion and action.

An empirical study among suburbanites by Manis and Stine (1958, p. 359) verifies the significance of occupational association. They find that suburbanites, in this way (as well as through kin and ethnic groups) tend to retain primary ties. The potential significance of the urban center in housing such a primary group is underscored in a study by Boskoff (1962, p. 3) which reveals that almost two-thirds

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<sup>19</sup>The fact that several findings indicate that work associates constitute a minor proportion of the individual's primary relations when he is away from his job, does not thereby render them insignificant.



(62.9 per cent) of the suburbanites he studied held jobs in the core city (Atlanta).

Community of socialization.--The matter of the significance of contemporary ecological residential placement has already been touched on. Tempered by the trend toward increasing mobility in American society, there appears to be valid reason for discounting an earlier general consensus among urban sociologists that one's residence is an adequate reflector of his identification and participation. Manis and Stine's study (1958) of attitudes toward annexation most directly bears on this issue. They state that "the findings pertaining to length of residence suggest that, in this [midwestern] locale, suburban residence has little influence upon political attitudes" (p. 487). In fact, "none of the attitudes studied was found to be associated with length of suburban residence" (p. 488).

However, the foregoing conclusion does not necessarily eclipse the significance of community of socialization. A greater measure of past residential stability is one possible reason for this. Furthermore, on the general grounds of socialization theory, it is reasonable to expect that those who grew up in suburban or rural areas would develop norms and values appropriate to this residential complex distinct from those reared in relatively large cities. Although this appears as a favorite theme of many essays and

ad hoc interpretations, it has not been researched systematically. The inclusion of community of socialization in this study is warranted by its explicit relationship to the issue at hand, namely urban and suburban sub-system images and decisions.<sup>20</sup>

Personal contacts with political officials.--Familiarity with local (Paris Township) governmental officials was selected for possible inclusion in the sub-area membership index basically on the same grounds as those justifying information on visiting patterns and work patterns. An additional justification is the degree to which such an informal association is explicitly relevant to the annexation issue at hand.<sup>21</sup> Greer (1956, p. 21) found that especially among the low-urban sample was there sufficient familiarity with local community leaders to name at least one.<sup>22</sup> It is obvious that the matter of personal acquaintance with a local official is a matter of relatively greater intimacy.

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<sup>20</sup>This is not to imply that empirical studies in all or even most instances verify its significance. Booth (1963, pp. 47-48) for instance, found that the urban-rural background factor lacked significance when related to attitudes toward metropolitan consolidation in Nashville.

<sup>21</sup>This is based on the assumption that the majority of local political officials will oppose rather than favor a form of governmental revision which threatens their own status.

<sup>22</sup>He found the samples equally (un)able to name city leaders.

Each of the types of participation analyzed so far places each respondent in the physical context of suburb or city, and in so doing reveals his membership. There are other participational indicators, on the other hand, which permit a more vicarious type of membership--but a membership none the less in one rather than the other community subsystem. Kind of newspaper subscription, type of voluntary associational affiliations, and selective patterns of voting behavior are three such reflectors of distinctive subsystem membership.

Newspaper readership.--There is evidence that newspapers constitute community relevant channels of communication. Janowitz (1952) was first to give systematic attention to this dimension by taking newspaper readership as an index of community participation. His description of the community paper in terms of parochialism, by translating metropolitan events into their effects on the local area while deemphasizing national news, may be a mark of the suburban paper that varies in degree rather than in essence from the core city daily. Consequently, readership of the urban paper might also constitute a meaningful link to subsystem membership. The social psychological significance of this measure is evident in Janowitz's finding (as cited in Greer, 1957, p. 335) that

regardless of the respondents' political affiliations, relative confidence in the effectiveness and honesty of local politics--projective measures

of personal political competence--tended to be associated with high community newspaper readership.

Voluntary associational affiliation.--In a sense, voluntary organizations can be looked upon as constituting selective channels for politically relevant communication.<sup>23</sup> Merton (1957, pp. 398-399) finds that "local" influentials can be differentiated from "cosmopolitan" influentials in terms of the different types of organizations in which they hold membership.

The local influentials evidently crowd into those organizations which are largely designed for "making contacts," for establishing personal ties. Thus they are found largely in the secret societies (Masons), fraternal organizations (Elks) and local service clubs--the Rotary, Lions, and the Kiwanis. . . .

The cosmopolitans . . . tend to belong to those organizations in which they can exercise their special skills and knowledge . . . professional societies and in hobby groups.

Interest in this thesis however is not primarily in one's orbit of influence as aided or hindered by his formal memberships, but rather in his exposure to selective values and norms relevant to different community sub-systems. Consequently, the key distinction made here between "urban" and "local" organizations is based on that sub-system which is most compatible with the organization's activity, interest,

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<sup>23</sup>Cf. Coleman (1957) as summarized by Schermerhorn (1961, p. 100). Also see Greer and Orleans (1962).

and orientation. This usage is similar to that of Greer (1956, p. 21) who reports that

the low-urban sample had a higher rate of membership and participation in formal organizations other than the church, and, more important, a larger proportion of their organizations were local in nature. A large majority of the respondents' organizations held meetings in the local area. . . .

Voting activity.--There have been several attempts to measure political participation directly. Greer and Orleans (1962) for instance, employ a range of four indicators of extent of political participation. At the minimal end they place voting in any of six local elections. Intermediate positions involve taking a stand on local government issues and trying to persuade others regarding local government issues. The maximal pole is represented by attendance at public meetings dealing with local government issues. Others have used such tests of knowledge of governmental affairs as ability to name local leaders, knowing election rules, etc. This study uses vote turnout information taken directly from registration records as a test of selective political participation in suburbs or core city. It is based on the assumption that those suburbanites who have a record of high turnout when exclusively local issues are decided are "localites" and conversely those who have a high record of turnout when nonlocal affairs are being decided are "urbanites."

The grounds presented for the seven items above were judged sufficient to justify operationalizing each. In each case, specific criteria were established to enable distinguishing between "urban" and "local" membership types. The indicators were then subjected to trace line analysis. The following five survived. They comprize the sub-system membership index: location of friends visited, location of occupation, community of socialization, personal contact with local officials, and origin of newspaper read. Information on type of voluntary associational affiliation and voting turnout were nondiscriminating and therefore deleted.<sup>24</sup>

#### Sub-System Image Index

Whereas the last section was concerned with selecting indicators of social structural loci instrumental in influencing one toward either urban or local values and norms, this section is concerned with one's perceptions of the urban and the local (suburban) sub-systems. The necessity of penetrating behind the more explicit, public expressions of group membership in understanding political decision making has been emphasized by Campbell and associates in their study of political parties (1960, p. 297):

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<sup>24</sup>For a description of the criteria used, the resulting trace lines, and possible reasons for unacceptable trace lines for the two excluded items, see Appendix F.

The concept of group identification and psychological membership remains extremely valuable. Individuals, all of whom are nominal group members, vary in degree of membership, in a psychological sense; and this variation provides us with an excellent tool for breaking apart a voting "bloc". . . .

Yet, many of the empirical attempts to deal with perception of groups by individuals tend toward one of two difficulties. Either they solicit from the respondent point blank a blanket evaluation of the group in question or they attempt to establish perceptions indirectly by testing assumed behavioral correlates of group identification rather than self classification.

Asking the respondent to be his own expert in summarizing his perception of the group runs the danger of not specifying the dimensions most relevant to the issue under consideration. For instance, to ask voters, as Berelson and associates did (1954, p. 287), "Which of these groups are most important to you?" may be successful in uncovering the degree of belonging they feel toward certain groups, but it is unable to determine in what ways or for what reasons these general feelings exist. Furthermore, for the researcher to expect the group member to give a valid estimate of the strength of his group attachment is tantamount to

surrendering his role as researcher.<sup>25</sup>

The difficulty of attempting to derive group oriented perceptions directly from behavioral expressions is one of confusing distinct levels of analysis. Lack of consistently high correlation between group membership and behavioral indicators of perception may be attributable to failure to take into account the dynamic quality of the perceptual process itself as it is geared to the contemporary psychological field. Campbell and associates (1960, pp. 136-137) were aware of this difficulty when they wrote:

If some voters respond directly to a lasting sense of party identification, the behavior of most of the electorate is better explained as a response to current evaluations of what they are acting toward. We have conceived these evaluations as a field of attitude forces whose strength and direction and mutual consistency determine behavior in an immediate sense. The role of party identification seems primarily to be that of an antecedent factor that color these attitudes as they are formed.

The central significance this study assigned the variable of sub-system oriented perceptions (as intervening between social structural factors and voting behaviors) necessitated an early decision as to the level of generality

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<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, to ask such direct questions can contaminate more specific image questions which follow. For the consequence of failure to control for the variable of measurement itself, see for instance, Charters and Newcomb (1952). They find that even a general reminder of group affiliation prior to answering attitudinal questions appreciably affects the results.

from which such perceptions should be analyzed. Under the awareness of the danger of creating an ideology not possessed by the respondents, the decision was made to focus on a limited number of the more salient components of any overall sub-system image.<sup>26</sup>

Although not a few students have been concerned with the perceptions of voters toward local governmental structures, few have attempted to construct indices reducing a host of items to a more limited number of internally consistent underlying dimensions. A probable reason why no acceptable model exists is that those interested in politically oriented perceptions have frequently emphasized the pragmatic goal of vote prediction apart from theoretical underpinnings. Those who do at least hint at index construction are seldom sufficiently concerned to do more than assert that the items they use constitute a cohesive unit.<sup>27</sup> Others

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<sup>26</sup>For another attempt to distinguish between different images of local government, in this case in terms of role, see Williams (1961).

<sup>27</sup>For instance, Fanelli (1956, p. 442) simply asserts:

"An index of 'community identification' was constructed for the purpose of differentiating the sample members along this variable. The index was derived from responses to four questions: (a) Do you feel that you really have a say in what goes on here in this community? (b) Have you ever thought about leaving Bakersville and going somewhere else to live? (c) Would you like your children to settle somewhere else? (d) Do you feel that you are really a part of this community?"

Similar is the fiat of Buchanan (1956, p. 290).

make no pretensions about the matter, being satisfied to deal with ostensibly related items--but in consecutive fashion or in relative isolation of one another.<sup>28</sup> Admittedly, it is difficult to expect justification, logical or statistical, for many perception questions, in that they are oriented specifically to local community issues in a manner that defies easy generalization. A fruitful lead, however, has been made by Press (1961), who suggests voter resistance to annexation can be traced to two sets of community oriented values: not only the traditional set of administrative efficiency and economy, but also access to local government.<sup>29</sup> This distinction provides the lead for construction of two indices of sub-system perception as used here, namely a "Political Access" image of the sub-systems, and a "Political State of Affairs" image of the sub-systems. A third possible component of an overall sub-system image revolves around non-governmental aspects of life. This is here labeled the

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<sup>28</sup>See Zimmer and Hawley (1958), from whom, incidently, many of the items in this study were subsequently incorporated into an index.

<sup>29</sup>He attempted to measure access both in terms of reported behavior and in terms of perception. The latter was based on a single question however. Analyzing the 1959 data from Grand Rapids metropolitan study in this way, he found that suburban residents tended to have greater access than central city residents. On the other hand, access, as measured this way, was not consistently related to resistance to annexation (pp. 15-16).

"Social-Economic Cohesiveness" image of the sub-systems.

The initial battery of items comprising each of these images follows in terms of the assessment the respondents gave to each of the situations listed (based on the Likert scale):

a. Political Access Image

1. Relative closeness of citizens to government officials in the two sub-systems.
2. Amount of voice township residents have concerning how their government is run.
3. Relative amount of voice citizens have concerning government operation in the two sub-systems.
4. Amount of effort made by Grand Rapids city officials to tap citizen opinion.
5. Amount of effort made by Paris Township officials to tap citizen opinion.

b. Political State of Affairs Image

1. Sub-system where fewer election matters end up as "political issues."
2. Quality of job Grand Rapids city government is doing in solving major problems.
3. Quality of job Paris Township government is doing in solving major problems.
4. Whether suburbs can solve their problems without core city assistance.
5. Whether Grand Rapids city government would gain or lose from annexations.
6. Whether Grand Rapids should be permitted to annex some suburban areas.
7. Whether the local schools are worth the taxes paid.
8. Whether local services are worth the taxes paid.

c. Social-Economic Cohesiveness Image

1. Stature of Grand Rapids city as a place to raise a family.
2. Whether metropolitan community sub-systems are becoming more united.
3. Relative emphasis on preserving home values in the two sub-systems.
4. Relative friendliness of people from the two sub-systems.
5. Relative cost of living in the two sub-systems.

When trace line analysis is made of all of the items, a stable core of twelve items remains. Inspection of the trace lines indicates that two of the three indices listed above are comprized of consistent and homogeneous sub-sets of items. This is partially evident from the fact that whereas trace line analysis was instrumental in deleting none of the five items in the Political Access image, and only one of the eight items in the Political State of Affairs image, all five items of the Social-Economic Cohesiveness image failed to survive.<sup>30</sup> This failure might be interpreted as additional evidence that residence per se is not a salient determinant of perception or action.

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<sup>30</sup>For a description of the criteria used, the resulting trace lines, and possible reasons for unacceptable trace lines for the excluded items, see Appendix G.

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### Socio-Economic Status

As stated elsewhere, socio-economic status will be used in this study as a control, in order to more clearly ascertain the impact of social psychological variables on community decision making. This usage is not meant to deny the possible independent impact that such status might have on attitude or behavior. It is rather to agree with Clausen (1959, p. 497) that it, being a rather gross sociological index, leaves difficult questions of interpretation even when highly correlated with other variables.<sup>31</sup>

In order to obtain a workable index of socio-economic status, this study combines two items: formal education and occupation. The well established nature of these renders a documented defense superfluous. Any standard reference in sociology will justify this index.<sup>32</sup>

### Voting Behavior

While there are several other items of political behavior which will be used to illuminate subsequent chapters, the summary act of casting a ballot is central to any

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<sup>31</sup> That the correlations between social status items and community relevant attitudes and behaviors are not necessarily high is established by Dobriner (1958, p. 139) who finds that "occupation and education do not play a significant role in shaping the Local-Cosmopolitan syndrome."

<sup>32</sup> For a description of the criteria used, see Appendix B.

analysis of political decision making. As a dependent variable, voting behavior provides the opportunity to better understand the social psychology of community oriented decisions. Since the act of not voting may be as significant an indicator of the influence of social psychological factors, it too must be studied. In summary both direction and turnout are dimensions of political decision making upon which social psychological variables will be expected to shed light.

A rather straightforward approach was taken in the matter of recording annexation voting behavior. A direct report from respondents was used in 1961 to ascertain in which direction (for or against) each voted. The matter of turnout, although also directly elicited, was checked by consulting precinct and township voting records as kept by governmental officials. Although there are many possible reasons for nonvoting, there are grounds<sup>33</sup> for using it as an indicator of political apathy. To the extent that nonvoting can be taken as an indicator of apathy, it occupies an intermediate position on an intensity scale bounded on one pole by voting for annexation, and on the other by voting against annexation.

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<sup>33</sup>See Hastings (1956).

### Temporal Stability and Validity of Data

To yield information on the reliability of the schedule, and the validity of the data derived from it, it is useful to compare that part of the 1959 study done in Paris Township with its complement in 1961. A reliability measure is possible on the basis of reinterviews concerning schedule items for which the assumption of stability over time is a reasonable one.<sup>34</sup> Simultaneously, the reinterviews provide a measurement of the relative rates of change for variables at different loci of analysis. On the basis of the "funnel of causality" metaphor,<sup>35</sup> one might expect the socio-economic status index to be the most stable over time, the sub-system membership index to be the next most stable, and the sub-system image index, because of its direct situational relevance in the field of the annexation issue, to manifest the greatest amount of change.<sup>36</sup> The thirty-one respondents who were

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<sup>34</sup>This method is preferable to estimating equivalence by the split-half technique in that the items for given indices are not sufficiently numerous to yield randomly selected sub-sets which are balanced and stable. Furthermore, trace line analysis of the social psychological variables has already, in a sense, established a lower bound of equivalence by deleting those items not scalable.

<sup>35</sup>For a brief explication of Campbell and associates' field theory as it applies to political decision making in general, and to the indices of this study in particular, see pp. 53-59 of this thesis.

<sup>36</sup>This present study can do little more than illustrate the point. The fact that items within each index are differentially sensitive to change indicates the need for a more careful sampling of items with this in mind. Furthermore, the sample is too small for refined analysis.

interviewed both in 1959 and 1961 constitute a basis for these temporal stability estimates. Responses to all index items were trichotomized by means of questions so constructed that any response indicating an orientation toward the suburban sub-system was assigned a weight of 3, all responses oriented toward the urban sub-system received weights of 1, and all intermediate, "balanced" responses were scored an intermediate weight of 2.<sup>37</sup>

To obtain a measurement of temporal stability and change, the 1959 "position" each respondent held on each item in an index was used as a base from which to calculate both potential and actual shifts. For instance, a person who occupied position 2 on an item in 1959 could shift in 1961 no more than one position--either in the direction of more positive orientation to the core city (i.e., a move from position number 2 to number 1) or to the suburbs (i.e., a move from position number 2 to number 3). On the other hand, one occupying a polar position in 1959 (either 3 or 1) could shift two places (i.e., from 3 to 1 or from 1 to 3). When scores are added for all individuals for all items constituting an index, the overall percentage of actual to potential shift can be calculated.

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<sup>37</sup>As an example, if a person works in Paris Township he scores a 3, if he works in the core city he scores a 1, if he works elsewhere or for extraneous reasons the question does not apply, he gets a score of 2. The direction and weight of each question is specified in Appendix B.

Stability of Socio-Economic  
Status Index

There are certain items for which the expectation of stability over time is especially strong. Such is the case with formal education. It is a fair general assumption that any deviation in levels of formal education<sup>38</sup> between 1959 and 1961 is best accounted for by unreliability traced either to inaccurate giving or recording of information. A check of the extent of error shows that all but one of the respondents reported the same educational attainment in 1961 as they had in 1959. Stated more precisely in terms of actual and potential shifts, whereas an aggregate of 41 shifts in position was possible, only one was realized. This represents a shift of 2.4 per cent from the 1959 base. Thus, assuming no changes over time as the actual state of affairs, reliability in this instance is relatively high--97.6 per cent of the base.<sup>39</sup>

The overall social-economic status index likewise proved to be stable over time, with eight of 125 or 6.4 per cent potential shifts actualized; a stability percentage of 93.6.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>This study distinguishes between three levels. In fact, all index items are trichotomized. See Appendix B.

<sup>39</sup>When the three levels are assigned weights and the 1959 and 1961 values for each individual are correlated, the product moment correlation coefficient = .91.

<sup>40</sup>Product moment correlation coefficient = .89.

### Stability of Membership Index

As in the case of socio-economic status, there are certain items which are particularly sensitive measures of reliability. One such is the community of socialization. This is true in the first place because it is a matter of historical fact not "contaminated" by a legitimate expectation of change. In the second place, it detects unreliability produced by such diverse influences as the respondent's difficulty in recalling the community (especially for those from mobile families) and in describing its political bounds accurately enough so that its size might be checked; the interviewer's failure to distinguish between actual residence and place of psychological identification; and the coder's decision as to which census figure to use in determining community size (e.g., the contemporary census, or the one current when the respondent was growing up). As the item with greatest potential unreliability, data on it recorded in 1959 was compared to that recorded in 1961 for the 31 respondents. Whereas a total of 55 shifts in position were possible, four actually occurred. This 7.3 per cent shift from the 1959 base leaves a stability percentage of 92.7.<sup>41</sup>

While it is generally true that the items of the subsystem membership index are expected to manifest a high

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<sup>41</sup>Product moment correlation coefficient = .87.

degree of stability over time, a certain amount of change is expected. For instance, newspaper subscriptions and personal acquaintance with governmental officials can be expected to shift somewhat as the community changes. When the overall membership index, composed of five items, is traced over the two year span, 46 out of a possible 285 shifts are found. This represents a 16.1 per cent change from the 1959 base.<sup>42</sup>

In summary, checks on the stability of the data elicited from respondents in 1959 and again in 1961 promotes confidence in the findings. For, when the test-retest method is applied to an item based on recall for which no changes over time can reasonably be tolerated, the responses are 92.7 per cent reliable. On the other hand, where contemporary rather than historical membership patterns are concerned, a certain amount of change over a two year span is expected. This is reflected in the overall sub-system membership index to the extent of 16.1 per cent, or 83.9 per cent stable.

#### Stability of Image Index

While none of the items comprizing either the Political Access index or the Political State of Affairs index are assumed to be sufficiently stable over time to

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<sup>42</sup>Product moment correlation coefficient = .76.

constitute reliability checks, they can be checked for stability. Analyzed together, the eight items<sup>43</sup> collectively shift 34.6 per cent, or 145 shifts in position out of a possible 419.<sup>44</sup>

In summary, items used to check the reliability of the data justify the placing of confidence in it. Furthermore, a stability measure of each of the three major indices are in the expected quantitative relationship to one another, with socio-economic status being the most stable (02.4 per cent shift); the membership index being next most stable (16.1 per cent shift); and the image index being least stable (34.6 per cent shift).

### Voting Behavior

To check the validity of individual reports on political behavior, both past and anticipated, respondents were asked in 1961 (1) if they voted in the 1959 annexation referendum and (2) if they planned to vote in the upcoming annexation referendum. These responses were checked against the actual voting turnout record of each respondent as contained

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<sup>43</sup>Three of the 11 items in the final index were not part of the 1959 schedule and were therefore not subject to comparability. The reduced number of items made analysis of the two image sub-sets (Access and State of Affairs) somewhat tenuous and was not attempted.

<sup>44</sup>Product moment correlation coefficient = .26.

in official registration lists.<sup>45</sup>

Of the 25 in the sub-sample of those interviewed in both 1959 and 1961 for whom voting turnout records were still available,<sup>46</sup> all but three (88 per cent) correctly recalled

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<sup>45</sup>While many have questioned reliance on the self report of behavior so ideologically and emotionally toned as voting, the writer came across no study which took the pains to check self report against available records. The statement of Campbell and associates (1960, pp. 93-94) is typical:

"The possibility that verbal reports may depart from actual behavior has been of interest to a number of investigators, and the problems that a departure of this sort would raise for inference from the data are important enough that the likelihood of this error should be carefully assessed. In the case of partisan choice a test of the extent of error is to compare the division of the two-party vote within the sample with the division of the vote as recorded in official election statistics.  
. . .

Unfortunately, a parallel test of the extent of error in reporting turnout is not easily made.

This lack of rigor even invades those studies in which the major concern is in voting turnout. Hastings (1956, p. 465, *italics mine*) for instance, in his study of "The Voter and The Non-Voter" rests his case with those "who claimed that they had voted" and those "who said they had not voted. . . ." So too Glaser (1958) in a study of "Intention and Voting Turnout" extols the virtues of panel interviews over "static analyses." Yet, in seeking to explicate the dynamics of translating intention into turnout he apparently relies exclusively on the self report for his data. This he does without adhering to his own advice (p. 1032, footnote) to remind the respondent that the penalties and barriers related to turnout (e.g., neglect or rival commitments) often exceed the penalties against abstention, and hence compete with positive intentions to vote.

<sup>46</sup>The check was made in the spring of 1962.

their voting turnout of two years previous.<sup>47</sup> All but two (92 per cent) validated their stated intentions to vote or not by consequently carrying that intention out.

When the same validity test is not restricted to those interviewed also in 1959 but is applied to all Paris Township residents interviewed in 1961 for whom registration information was available, the degree of compatibility is rather sharply reduced. Of the 182 respondents whose memory of the 1959 vote turnout could be checked, 77.5 per cent were correct in their recall. In the matter of vote intention, only 65.4 per cent of the 254 eligible respondents correctly carried out their verbalized intention to either vote or not. In line with other findings, the majority of those who were inconsistent defected from a positive intention.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>No direct questions on voting were asked in the 1959 survey.

<sup>48</sup>Glaser (1958, p. 1031) attempts the following explanation:

"The discrepancy between turnout intention and execution is not in itself surprising and follows from the very nature of the act. In America voting is expected, and so most persons can establish tentative self-perceptions of themselves as 'good citizens' by telling preelection interviewers that they intend to vote. But for the individual, turnout is conducted with almost no publicity and is enforced by few sanctions; all such kinds of social action are unstable in execution. Another reason for the net loss in turnout intention is that most Americans perceive voting as a kind of semi-spectator activity

Concerning vote direction, individual records are not available to validate respondent reports of how they voted. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to expect that the 1961 sample, selected as it was by random procedures, will contain the same proportion of favorable and unfavorable votes as were cast by the total voting population at election time. In 1959, 83.8 per cent of Paris Township voters

rather than a serious involvement of their own interests.

Similar reasons, no doubt, hold true for the relationship between voting turnout memory and execution.

Although Glaser's study was significantly different from this one in that (1) he relies on a self report for turnout information rather than an objective validity check and (2) his data concern a national rather than a local election, discrepancies between his data and those reported here, as the following comparative tables indicate, warrant a more extended consideration of this facet. This is done in Appendix H.

Official Record of Turnout		Paris Twp. 1959 Vote Turnout Memory		Glaser's Nat'l Election Vote Turnout Intention**		Paris Twp. 1961 Vote Turnout Intention		
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
		Yes	(119) 65.4	(11) 06.0	Yes	(898) 69.7	(29) 02.4	Yes
No	(30) 16.5	(22) 12.1	No	(192) 14.9	(169) 13.1	No	(83) 32.7	(19) 07.5
		(182) 100.0		(1288) 100.1		(254) 100.1		

\*By number (in parentheses) and percentage.

**\*\*Derived from Glaser (1958, p. 1031, Table I).**

voted against annexation; 16.2 per cent of them voted for it. When respondents of the 1961 sample who voted in 1959 were asked to recall how they voted, 70.1 per cent reported casting negative votes; 29.9 per cent positive. This discrepancy is probably accounted for in large measure by the social psychological dynamics of the political situation between the actual casting of the vote in 1959 and its recall in 1961.<sup>49</sup> Confounding the matter further is the population movement in and out of the area during the two year interval between voting behavior in the area and individual reports of it. To control for such changes over time, vote intention reported just prior to the 1961 vote can be related to the consequent vote. A comparison of the division of the reported vote with the recorded election statistics for the entire study universe shows discrepancies within the range one might expect from sampling error. Thus, when this analysis is restricted to those residents living in parcels of land up for annexation, the percentages are nearly identical. Whereas this sub-sample reports a favorable intention by a 60.7-39.3 percentage margin, the actual vote was favorable by a 62.9-37.1 percentage margin.<sup>50</sup> Likewise, for Paris

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<sup>49</sup>A test of the difference between two sample proportions from independent samples yields a z value of 4.4.

<sup>50</sup> $z = 0.34$ , based on a test of the difference between two sample proportions.

Township areas lying outside the directly affected parcels, the percentages in the sub-sample and the overall voting population are very similar. While the sub-sample reported an intention to vote down annexation by a 73.6-26.4 percentage margin, the actual vote in the outlying area<sup>51</sup> was negative by a 74.3-25.7 percentage margin.<sup>52</sup> Collectively, these figures constitute grounds for confidence in the reliability and validity of self-reported data on vote direction.

#### Overall Description of Sample

Prior to the analysis of the following chapters, a brief description of the 1961 sample will be given. The following sets of variables are handled in turn: demographic and ecological, social structural, attitudinal, and political behavioral.

Of the 271 registered voters constituting the sample, 136 were male and 135 female. The majority of these Paris Township residents held relatively short residential tenure; 52 per cent of them had lived in the township for five years or less, while at the other extreme, 25 per cent of them had

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<sup>51</sup>Since each of the parcels up for annexation was voted on separately, an overall estimate of direction was made by combining all of the separate votes.

<sup>52</sup> $z = 0.17$ , based on a test of the difference between two sample proportions.

lived there for more than ten years.

Members of the sample represent a range of socioeconomic status positions. Occupationally, for instance, 26 per cent came from professional, managerial and kindred ranks; 53 per cent belonged to clerical, sales, craftsmen and kindred occupations; and 21 per cent were operatives, service workers, laborers, and kindred. Educationally, 32 per cent had at least some college experience; 52 per cent had at least some high school but no college experience; and 15 per cent had no more than an eighth grade formal education. Of the 246 who volunteered information on income, 9 per cent reported making less than \$4,000 per year; 57 per cent between \$4,000 and \$7,500; and 34 per cent over \$7,500.

The majority of the sample (57 per cent) belonged to at least one formal organization exclusive of church, labor union, or professional groups. Some idea of the salience of the annexation issue is suggested by the fact that nearly two-thirds (63 per cent) of the group members reported being involved in group discussions of local governmental issues within the past year. This is supported by an overwhelming majority of the sample (86 per cent) who reported discussing such issues with friends during the same time span. Furthermore, nearly half (46 per cent) reported having attended in the past two years at least one public meeting dealing with governmental problems.

Concerning sub-system participation, all indicators reveal a preponderance of urban orientation. Thus, whereas 33 per cent of the sample were reared on a farm or in a village of less than 5,000 inhabitants, 58 per cent were reared in a city of over 50,000 people. In the contemporary situation, 64 per cent relied exclusively on the core city for newspaper subscriptions, while 32 per cent got as many or more suburban papers as city papers. Whereas 40 per cent of the sample reported that the majority of their close friends lived in the core city, 27 per cent reported the same for Paris Township. Comparable figures for place of work are 49 per cent and 20 per cent respectively.

General perceptions of the sub-systems held by the suburban respondents are not, as some might expect, summarily unfavorable to the core city. In fact, about as many believed the cost of living to be higher in the suburbs than in the core city (18 per cent) as believed the converse (20 per cent), with the majority (62 per cent) regarding them as equal. When asked to rate the core city as a place to rear a family, 62 per cent said good or excellent, while only 11 per cent regarded it as poor or worse. More generally, 51 per cent felt that the core city and the suburbs was becoming more united into a single social and economic community, as contrasted with 23 per cent who felt that it was becoming less united.

Contrasted with the rather favorable general impression of the core city held by Paris Township residents is their perception of relative access to the respective local governments. All indicators put the suburban sub-system in a more favorable light than the urban sub-system. For instance, when the question is asked whether or not the respondents were satisfied with the efforts made by governmental officials in finding out about citizen's opinions, 63 per cent of the responses were affirmative for Paris Township officials while 28 per cent were affirmative for core city officials. On the other hand, negative responses accounted for 25 per cent and 47 per cent respectively. In the same vein, although only a third (36 per cent) would assert that Paris residents had more to say about how their government is run than do core city residents (21 per cent didn't commit themselves, 43 per cent responded in the negative), 59 per cent claimed that citizens were not as close to officials in the central city as they were in the suburbs; 32 per cent thought they were; 9 per cent didn't know. That the respondents held their sub-system of residence in high regard is evident in the large majority (72 per cent) who regarded Paris Township residents as having much to say about how their government is run. This is in contrast to the 14 per cent who held the contrary and the 13 per cent who didn't commit themselves.

As in the case of political access, perceptions of the general state of political affairs tend to favor the suburban sub-system. Most distinctive is the designation of the sub-system in which fewer matters were believed to end up as political "campaign" issues. Fifty per cent said Paris Township, whereas only 12 per cent said the central city. When parallel questions were asked as to how "good" each sub-system was doing in solving its major problems, 30 per cent believed Paris Township was doing "very good" whereas 20 per cent held the same high regard for the core city. At the other extreme, 6 per cent believed the township was "failing badly"; 9 per cent believed this for the core city. It is probably significant that the majority assessed the job of both systems as "fair," "not so good," or "unknown." This is true for 65 per cent of the evaluations of the township sub-system and 71 per cent of those of the city sub-system. This rather low appraisal of success in problem solving does not necessarily reflect discontent with services rendered by the local government. Thirty-seven per cent responded that township services were worth the taxes paid; on a more specific level, 71 per cent stated the schools were worth the taxes paid. Yet, it may well be that the average resident is not satisfied with the present level of services. This is suggested by the fact that 44 per cent of the respondents indicated a willingness to pay more taxes to provide better services. When asked to specify the type of

service, the two recurrent themes were water and sanitary sewer. When later asked specifically whether they considered water supply and sanitary sewage as major township problems, an affirmative answer was given 42 and 71 per cent of the time respectively. Confidence in the ability of the suburbs in solving its own problems without central city assistance is far from unanimous. Forty-six per cent believed the suburbs were able; 49 per cent believed they were not; 4 per cent were undecided.

Perceptions such as the foregoing are inevitably intertwined with attitudes toward annexation, be it viewed as a means of alleviating or of aggravating the recognized problems.

For the majority, annexation does not provide a simple attractive solution to their suburban problems. In fact, 67 per cent of the sample said they were not in favor of having Grand Rapids annex any suburban areas; 77 per cent believed annexation would be accompanied by a rise in taxes. When the question of the effect of recent annexation activities in other suburban areas was posed, only 4 per cent reported becoming more favorably inclined, whereas 43 per cent became less favorably so. Yet, it is unwarranted to assume that respondents are blind to the possible advantages or necessity of annexation, or that annexation to the city of Grand Rapids is the most distasteful alternative.

When asked if they thought that a large part of what was then the suburbs would become part of the city of Grand Rapids in the next 20 years, 87 per cent responded in the affirmative. While a similarly high percentage (88 per cent) thought that Grand Rapids would gain more than it would lose by such annexations (only 2 per cent thought the latter), a greater number (28 per cent) favored annexation of the built up parts of the township to Grand Rapids than to a neighboring city (15 per cent). Concerning their own area, when asked to select the most favorable of the following three alternatives: (1) annexation to the city of Grand Rapids, (2) annexation to the city of Wyoming, or (3) incorporation, the respective percentages were (1) 54 per cent, (2) 12 per cent, and (3) 26 per cent. When the same three alternatives were presented for the least favorable choice, the results were (1) 24 per cent, (2) 39 per cent, and (3) 31 per cent respectively.

Finally, a descriptive breakdown of vote turnout and direction provides the backdrop for the use of these as dependent variables in the following chapters. Concerning turnout in 1959, 16 per cent were ineligible because they didn't live in Paris Township then, 3 per cent couldn't recall if they voted or not, 17 per cent reported not voting, and 64 per cent reported voting. In 1961, when all were eligible, 2 per cent couldn't recall if they voted or not,

9 per cent recalled not voting, and 89 per cent said they voted. Concerning vote direction, the 64 per cent who voted in 1959 were divided as follows: in favor of annexation, 18 per cent of the overall sample; opposed to annexation, 44 per cent; and refusal to state direction, 2 per cent. Comparable figures for the 89 per cent who intended to vote in 1961 are: favor, 29 per cent; oppose, 48 per cent, still undecided, 9 per cent; and refused to state direction, 3 per cent. Concerning reported change in direction between 1959 and 1961, the study universe inevitably shrinks due to the large number of respondents who do not report voting in both elections (41 per cent) and to the even larger segment who report voting consistently (44 per cent).<sup>53</sup> Significantly, of the 15 per cent who shifted in the two year span, all but four individuals, that is, 12 per cent of the overall sample were more favorably disposed to annexation in 1961 than they were in 1959.

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<sup>53</sup>Of these consistent voters, over twice as many voted against annexation as voted for it: 31 per cent and 13 per cent of the study universe respectively.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
SUB-SYSTEM MEMBERSHIP, IMAGE,  
AND ANNEXATION ISSUE

Overview

This thesis is based on the theoretical utility of analyzing political decision making in terms of community sub-systems used as reference groups. While it is recognized that the influence of such sub-systems as reference groups does not operate in a vacuum, the position is taken that certain social psychological influences are mediated through the local (suburban) and urban (core city) sub-systems and translated into voting decisions.

Although the main thrust of this thesis is to probe the social psychological facets of reference group theory in order to better understand community decision making, this must be prefaced by an analysis of the interrelations among the social psychological facets themselves. More specifically, preliminary attention must be paid to the relationship between extent of participation in both urban and local sub-systems on the one hand, and to the perceptions

held toward community sub-systems (as these are assumed to emanate from differential participation in them) on the other hand.

Stated in terms of a general hypothesis, it is expected that the extent to which favorable perceptions of a given sub-system are held will be directly related to the extent of participation in that sub-system. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that selective community interaction within a given sub-system provides the values--via sanctions and/or socialization, which result in a relatively favorable image of that sub-system.

The dynamics of this process are probably little different from that described by Williams (1958, p. 625) in accounting for the behavioral significance at the community level of broad social categories such as engendered by ethnic, racial, and religious differences. In fact, categories based on sub-system participation, probably to an even greater extent than the social categories he mentions, can be defined

by more or less definite and more or less widely shared stereotypes and affective-evaluative attitudes. Given these definitions, the social categories begin to mark off real collectivities just to the extent that cumulative interaction, segregated intercourse, and differentiated behavior lead to awareness of collective differences, of common fate, and to identification with an in-group and its symbols. Through these processes, what was originally a mere aggregate becomes a functioning collectivity, a diffuse but often quite powerful part of the social structure.

Eventually, such a set of social forces should be evident not only in community decisions involving the local and urban sub-systems, but more generally in the community related attitudes and self reported activities of its members.

As reported in the last chapter, trace line analysis was used to select the ingredients of the three indices of sub-system orientation: membership, political access image, and political state of affairs image. Items for all three indices were constructed in such a way as to differentiate between the local and urban community sub-systems. That is, responses to all questions were assigned numerical values according to whether they indicated positive, neutral, or negative orientations toward the political sub-systems involved. This allows the summation of numerical values yielding a composite orientation score for each respondent on each index. On the basis of these scores, the sample can be divided into two roughly equal parts for each index, one revealing a predominantly urban orientation, the other a predominantly local orientation.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Each local oriented response was assigned a weight of 3, each urban oriented response a weight of 1, and each neutral response a weight of 2. Thus, the five items on sub-system membership yielded a potential range of 5-15; the five items of the access image likewise had a potential range of 5-15; the six items of the state of affairs index had a 6-18 potential range. Urban orientations, as contrasted with local orientations, were judged to dominate in those respondents whose membership index was 9 or below, whose access index was 11 or below, or whose state of affairs index was 12 or below.

Since one can reasonably assume that a direct relationship exists between the extent to which an individual's index score is extreme and the intensiveness of his orientation (irrespective of the sub-system toward which it is directed), it is possible to obtain measures of participational and image intensity by simply accumulating the number of extreme responses an individual gives to the total items in each index. Again, the sample can be divided into two parts for each index, one containing intense orientations, the other relatively mild ones.<sup>2</sup>

Another important consideration is the extent to which images of the core city and the suburbs are consonant with each other rather than dissonant. Since strictly parallel questions concerning each sub-system are needed to shed light on this, all image items do not qualify for inclusion in an index. However, one set of complementary questions was asked concerning both the access image and the state of affairs image.<sup>3</sup> The images were regarded as consonant if

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<sup>2</sup>For a respondent's orientation to be considered intensive rather than mild, he must have taken a minimum of five extreme positions on items within a given index.

<sup>3</sup>Concerning the former, each respondent was asked, "Do you think the city officials in Grand Rapids make enough effort to find out about citizen opinions?" The same question was then asked about Paris Township officials. Likewise, concerning the state of affairs image, respondents were asked, "How good a job do you feel that Paris Township government is doing in solving its major problems?" This was followed immediately by the same question about the Grand Rapids city government.

the response to the core city sub-system was complemented by the response to the suburbs. That is, the following images for core city and suburbs respectively were regarded as consonant: Positive-Negative, Negative-Positive, and Neutral-Neutral. All other permutations<sup>4</sup> were regarded as dissonant.

### The Effect of Social Status

The oft found relationship between social status and a host of political behaviors and attitudes warrants its inclusion as a control variable in this study. Generally, studies have found that higher status people, to a greater extent than lower status people, manifest those behaviors and attitudes which appear most central to a commonly espoused American political ideology. This has been variously attributed to such situationally and historically related phenomena as their possession of social resources (e.g., formal education) fostering increased sensitivity to the existence of, and insight into the resolution of complex issues (Coleman, 1957, pp. 18-19; Kaufman and Greer, 1960, pp. 199-200; Campbell et al., 1960, p. 175); their differential exposure to politically relevant experience (Lipset et al., 1954, p. 1130); and their heightened sense of social

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<sup>4</sup>Positive-Positive, Negative-Negative, Positive-Neutral, Neutral-Negative, Neutral-Positive, and Negative-Neutral.

obligation, especially as the general norms of "responsible citizenship" and the role definitions grounded on political efficacies and civic duties have been internalized through the socialization process (Lipset et al., 1954, p. 1132; Campbell et al., 1960, p. 336 and p. 479).

In this study, social status<sup>5</sup> is not regarded as a necessarily self contained or clearly defined frame of reference embodied in a keen class consciousness of shared interest or norms translatable into political terms. At minimum, it may be no more than an analytic construct differentiating between the allocation of social resources. In the words of Merton (1957, p. 299):

Distinct from both groups and collectivities are the social categories. They are aggregates of social statuses, the occupants of which are not in social interaction. They have like social characteristics . . . but are not necessarily oriented toward a common body of norms.

The important point, however, is that

having like statuses, and consequently similar interests and values, social categories can be mobilized into collectivities or even groups (Merton, 1957, pp. 299-300).

The existence of this mobilization becomes an empirical matter. For, on the one hand, if such similarities in

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<sup>5</sup>As measured jointly by formal educational attainment and occupation. Both measures were trichotimized, yielding a potential index range of 2-6. Upper status was assigned to those who scored 4 or above; lower status to those who scored below 4.

resources are sufficient to instill within their holders a sense of identification and shared interest as a result of membership in a common stratum,<sup>6</sup> this interest should be manifested in politically relevant behaviors and attitudes. On the other hand, even in those instances when the strata have little normative or evaluative significance, the differential resources themselves become socially significant variables that must somehow yet be integrated theoretically in the political context (lest the concept be reified). And in lieu of theoretical integration, it becomes doubly important to control for these common aspects of life situation so that variables of known theoretical importance can be brought into sharper focus.

It is Campbell and associates' judgment (1960, p. 337) that

social strata, the molds in which social classes may form, seem present in all societies. But the class itself emerges and disappears. . . . An adequate approach to the problem of social class in politics involves consideration of the conditions under which a sense of class identity develops in the social stratum.

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<sup>6</sup>One does not have to assume that the dynamics of the process are direct or explicit. Campbell (1958, p. 325) points out that

"some group standards are never recognized in any formal way. It is probably true that a large proportion of the American public takes on the peculiar coloration of their social class, for example, by a form of social osmosis, by a quiet and unconscious absorption of the values and standards of the people around them."

This leaves the necessity of regarding the reference group significance of social status as itself variable, determined by the context and circumstances.<sup>7</sup>

The Relationship Between Sub-System  
Membership and Image

If it is true, as illustrated in Chapter III,<sup>8</sup> that politico-ecologically based differences between core city and suburbs engenders a boundary maintaining mutual suspicion of each other's motives and actions, it might be expected that one's negative image of the "competing" sub-system will be most dominant for those who do not participate much in that system. More generally, one might expect the extent to which one participates in a given sub-system to the exclusion of the other to be directly related to the positiveness of his image of the sub-system of participation and negativeness of the "competing" sub-system.

This study assigns temporal priority in the causal chain to sub-system membership, making image formation a

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<sup>7</sup>See Campbell et al. (1960, p. 335) for a similar statement concerning social class. Elsewhere (p. 332) he points out the danger of distinguishing too sharply between parallel behaviors of similarly situated individuals and "group mediated" behavior. "We must recognize," he notes, "that we are using two ideal types" and that in fact such a phenomenon as social class has interest "because of the combination of these two types."

<sup>8</sup>Pp. 125-157.

dependent variable. While this assignment remains partially a matter of assumption,<sup>9</sup> there is a theoretical precedent for it. Hanson (1962, pp. 304-305) for instance, uses a systemic linkage hypothesis and an interaction-obligation hypothesis to successfully predict role expectations.

Building on the theoretical foundation of small group research, he states the interaction-obligation hypothesis as follows:

Other things being equal, the more frequently persons cooperatively interact with each other, the stronger their perceptions of obligation to each other are apt to be.

He continues:

A corollary can be formulated immediately: Because of their more frequent cooperative interaction with each other, members of the same social system are apt to express more obligation to each other than to non-members.

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<sup>9</sup>The data here utilized are not wholly sufficient to trace the temporal priority of the variables necessary to establish causal sequence. They are sufficient, however, as the next chapter will indicate, to order variables in terms of their predictive power. Such a test of field theory is based on the size of the correlations between each of a battery of independent variables initially ordered in terms of an assumed temporal sequence and a given dependent variable. At best, this constitutes indirect evidence of causal order, on the expectation that the most stable in the assumed causal chain will be least related to a relatively volatile dependent variable such as e.g., vote direction. However, this leaves unresolved the theoretical dilemma of accounting for change in terms of stability--unless theoretically alien variables are introduced into the system.

Inkeles (1960) provides an empirical demonstration of the independent effect that the industrial environment has on individual perceptions, attitudes, and values. It is his position (p. 2) that

within broad limits, the same situational pressures, the same framework for living, will be experienced as similar and will generate the same or similar response by people from different countries. This is, of course, not a denial of individual variation, of personality as a determinant of perception, cognition, or affect. Neither is it meant to deny the effect of traditional cultural ways of behavior. These will mute the independent effect of the industrial institutional environment, but it is assumed that they cannot eliminate it.

The foregoing concern over causal priority must not eclipse the possibility of reciprocal effects. The main intent of this chapter is to view the social correlates of cognitive organization (be they cause or effect) in the context of a community issue. As such it recognizes the findings of the Cornell Studies in Intergroup Relations (cited in Williams, 1958, pp. 624-625 as confirmed in 14 surveys) that the frequency of interaction with members of an outgroup is associated with favorable attitudes toward them. Williams (p. 625) adds:

Panel data show that changes in interaction follow changes in attitudes and attitudes follow changes in interaction. The causal sequence is reciprocal, mutual, and circular. In any case, the more we interact with a particular person, the greater the likelihood of positive attraction.

It is also consistent with the injunction of Merton (1957, p. 336) that

the theory of reference group behavior must include in its fuller psychological elaboration some treatment of the dynamics of perception and in its sociological elaboration, some treatment of channels of communication through which this knowledge is gained.

He adds:

Since some perceptual and cognitive elements are definitely implied even in a description of reference group behavior, it will be necessary for these elements to be explicitly incorporated into the theory.

Frequently, the matter of allegiance to a given discipline seems to dictate one's decision as to the relative emphasis to be placed on different variables. This can be seen when the work of Inkeles (1959) is compared with that of Campbell and associates (1960). From a rather superficial perspective, the similarities between the two eclipse any important differences. Yet, while both share a concern for increasing the adequacy of theory by inclusion of both social and psychological variables in a theoretical model based on the same temporal sequence (social-psychological-behavioral), they give priority to different junctures of the model consistent with their theoretical interest. Inkeles' primary interest appears to be that of increasing the adequacy of sociological theory. This he does by introducing psychological theory as an intervening variable. He points out (1959, p. 255) that the sociological S-R (or state-rate) theory "suffers seriously from failure to utilize an explicit theory of human personality . . . as an

intervening variable." It follows that "the simplest formula,  $(S) (P) = R$ , although far from adequate, would nevertheless be greatly superior . . . since it provides for the simultaneous effect of two elements influencing action." On the other hand, Campbell and associates seem primarily concerned with the psychological (field theoretical) significance of cognition on voting behavior. They describe their research project (p. 16) as a

shift in emphasis from explanation in sociological terms to the exploration of political attitudes that orient the individual voter's behavior in an immediate sense.

While quick to add (p. 17) that this choice "was not intended to disparage the importance of other variables" but on the contrary to clarify "the relation of psychological influences to factors whose causal connection with behavior is less immediate," they nonetheless by implication and example minimize social interaction rates in favor of cognitive states. Thus, while admitting (p. 18) that the advantages of sociological as well as psychological analysis of voting behavior "should be preserved in a broader framework of theory," they are equally ready to assert that social and psychological analysis "are attacking the problem at different levels and consequently in different languages." If the languages are different, of course, one can hardly expect the researcher to achieve empirical integration. About the best Campbell can offer under these circumstances is an

interrelationship between psychological identification with the group (attracting or repelling quality of the political party) on the one hand, and political attitudes and decisions on the other. Formal membership and active participation within the party apparatus is thereby discounted in favor of the psychological reality of the group (see especially p. 121 and p. 296). Their data led them to the conclusion (p. 132) that political party identification gives a central coherence to political attitudes and images.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> It is significant that they assign causal priority to the variable to which they pay the least empirical attention. This apparently stems from their field theoretical position. Their argument for the causal priority of group affiliation, however, is nonetheless convincing, and provides the logic upon which the same causal assumption has been made in this study with reference to community subsystem participation as related to sub-system images. They point out (p. 135) that

"an adequate account of the relation of party identification to the attitudes we have considered must allow for the fact that attitudes of this sort, when they agree with party allegiance, help to conserve this partisan tie; and when they disagree with party allegiance, are potential agents of change in the individual's basic partisan orientation. But this does not alter our judgment that in the period of our studies the influence of party identification on attitudes toward the perceived elements of politics has been far more important than the influence of these attitudes on party identification itself. We are convinced that the relationships in our data reflect primarily the role of enduring partisan commitments in shaping attitudes toward political objects. Our conviction on this point is rooted in what we know of the relative stability and priority in time of party identification and the attitudes it may affect. We know that persons who identify with one of the parties typically have held the

This study, on the other hand, now attempts to clarify the relationship between actual participation within the politico-ecological sub-system and images held toward it.

When the sample of suburbanites is divided according to their predominant sub-system membership,<sup>11</sup> and this is related to one's sub-system of positive image orientation,<sup>12</sup> the predicted positive association between the two holds.<sup>13</sup> As Tables V-1 and V-2 reveal, members of the urban sub-system are more likely to have favorable images of urban government, both with reference to political access and political state of affairs, than is the case for local members. Conversely, local members are more likely to have favorable images of suburban government than are urban members.

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same partisan tie for all or almost all of their adult lives. But within their experience since coming of voting age many of the elements of politics have changed."

They then add the qualifier (p. 136) that

"because the influence of party identification extends through time, its workings cannot be fully disclosed by the relationships seen at a particular moment. For this reason, our statement of causal priorities is in the end an inference, but one for which the evidence is strong."

<sup>11</sup>As measured by reported locale of participation in a series of important daily rounds. See Chapter IV, pp. 170-185.

<sup>12</sup>As measured by questions oriented around political access and political state of affairs. See Chapter IV, pp. 185-192.

<sup>13</sup>As tested by chi square, incorporating the correction for continuity. See Siegel (1956, pp. 107-110).

Table V-1. Relationship between favored sub-system membership and political access image (in percentages)

	Urban Membership	Local Membership
Urban Access Image	57	43
Local Access Image	43	57
Total	100	100
No. of Cases	171	100

$$\chi^2 = 4.23; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .025$$

Table V-2. Relationship between favored sub-system membership and political state of affairs image (in percentages)

	Urban Membership	Local Membership
Urban State of Affairs Image	58	38
Local State of Affairs Image	42	62
Total	100	100
No. of Cases	171	100

$$\chi^2 = 9.78; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .005$$

It is of interest to determine next, whether or not confirmation of this direct relationship between extent of sub-system participation and the positiveness of one's image of that sub-system persists when social status is introduced

as a control (see Tables V-3 and V-4).

Table V-3. Relationship between favored sub-system membership and political access image, controlling for social status (in percentages)

	Upper Social Status		Lower Social Status	
	Membership		Membership	
	Urban	Local	Urban	Local
Urban Access Image	68	45	43	38
Local Access Image	32	55	57	62
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases	96	66	75	34

$$\chi^2 = 7.09; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .005 \quad \chi^2 = 0.05; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .45$$

Table V-4. Relationship between favored sub-system membership and political state of affairs image, controlling for social status (in percentages)

	Upper Social Status		Lower Social Status	
	Membership		Membership	
	Urban	Local	Urban	Local
Urban State of Affairs Image	52	32	67	50
Local State of Affairs Image	48	68	33	50
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases	96	66	75	34

$$\chi^2 = 5.73; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .01 \quad \chi^2 = 2.08; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .10$$

For both sub-system images, the association persists for the upper status group but diminishes to insignificance for the lower status group. When one recognizes that both images in question rest on political grounds, these findings are consistent with the large body of evidence showing that the extent of involvement in political affairs is greater at upper than at lower social status levels. This involvement is attributable, in part, to the upper status person's greater sensitivity to exposure to ongoing politically relevant experiences.<sup>14</sup> Specifically, he is more inclined than is the lower class person to abstract the political significance of his sub-system participation and to convert it into a consistent set of images. Hence, participation-image compatibility (be it urban or local) is fostered by political sensitivity characteristic of upper status occupants.

It is possible, of course, that the very intensive-ness with which membership and image are held is a more important variable than the sub-system itself which provides

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<sup>14</sup> Lipset et al. (1954, p. 1130) makes this point. On the other hand, it is conceivable that some critics might argue that it is not increased sensitivity that upper status people are blessed with, but rather excessive passivity and malleability in the face of general social forces. This criticism is effectively tempered in Chapters VI and VII which deal with the relationship of social psychological variables to vote direction and vote turnout.

the milieu of membership and object of image. It will be recalled that the intensity of a person's orientation is measured simply by determining the number of extreme responses he gives to items which constitute an index (see p. 173). Since the intensity measure disregards substantive differences between sub-systems in favor of the structure of one's response (i.e., extreme orientations, irrespective of which sub-system is emphasized) it may be taken to represent the extent of involvement in the overall metropolitan community. It then becomes possible to test the extent to which different measures of community involvement relate to each other. As Tables V-5 and V-6 indicate, intensive participation within the metropolitan community is unrelated to intensiveness with which sub-system images are held. Apparently, the substantive issues involving potential conflict between sub-system images within the overall community are sufficient to contaminate the above relationships. It is at this point that the variable of image consonance-dissonance becomes important.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Analysis of this variable is reserved for later chapters in that it is exclusively a cognitive component with no parallel measure of social participation.

Table V-5. Relationship between intensity of sub-system membership and political access image (in percentages)

	Intense Membership	Mild Membership
Intense Access Image	53	52
Mild Access Image	47	48
Total	100	100
No. of Cases	116	155

$$\chi^2 = 0.03; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .45$$

Table V-6. Relationship between intensity of sub-system membership and political state of affairs image (in percentages)

	Intense Membership	Mild Membership
Intense State of Affairs Image	27	32
Mild State of Affairs Image	73	68
Total	100	100
No. of Cases	116	155

$$\chi^2 = 0.72; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .25$$

The Relationship of Sub-System Orientations  
to Annexation Related Issues

The foregoing sections have given evidence of significant association between social psychological variables. This section is devoted to testing the significance of the relationship between each of the major social psychological variables, on the one hand, and a battery of attitudes and reported actions relevant to the community issue of core city expansion, on the other. The battery of issue relevant items is divided into three main sections: (1) issue relevant community participation, (2) opinions which deal with specific practical problems currently faced in the suburbs, and (3) opinions toward proposed solution possibilities. Each of these are analyzed in turn, in terms of all three social psychological indices previously assigned reference group significance; namely sub-system membership, political access image, and political state of affairs image.

Issue Relevant Community Participation  
and Social Psychological Orientations

In this section, each of the three social psychological variables is again dichotomized in terms of dominant orientation, local or urban, and each is then related to a two-fold breakdown of selected measures of community participation. These measures are: whether or not the respondent (1) lived in an area not up for annexation in 1961, (2) was a long time resident of the township, (3) had recently

attended public meetings involving governmental issues, (4) had recently been involved in formal group discussions of governmental issues, and (5) had recently discussed governmental issues with friends. To the extent these affairs are predominantly of a local nature, one would expect, on the basis of the interaction-obligation hypothesis,<sup>16</sup> the extent of participation within them to be positively related to local rather than urban orientations. Stated differently, one would expect the nonparticipants to be urban oriented. In testing these relationships, social status is again used as a control, with the expectation that the predicted relationships will be especially strong for upper status people. Table V-7 summarizes the findings, giving percentages of those in each category who are urban oriented.

Reading across the rows, it is evident that access image (b) is least related to issue relevant community participation. In fact, the lack of statistically significant relationship is consistent for all five measures. On the other hand, the state of affairs image (c) is consistently related to all five measures, without exception in the expected direction. Intermediate is membership (a), significant in three instances, all in the predicted direction.

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<sup>16</sup>See p. 220.

Table V-7. Relationship between participation in issue relevant community affairs and social psychological orientations, also controlling for social status (by percentage urban oriented)

	Reside in Directly Affected Area Yes No (1)		Over Five Years Local Residence Yes No (2)		Attended Public Meeting Yes No (3)		Discussed Issue With Group Yes No (4)		Discussed Issue With Friends Yes No (5)	
(a) Urban Membership Upper Status Lower Status	85 78 81	* * *	57 56 57	* 63 74	60 55 64	66 62 75	55 49 62	* * 73	61 57 67	73 70 80
(b) Urban Access Image Upper Status Lower Status	51 67 42	52 57 41	51 59 45	52 58 34	52 45 59	50 43 65	49 47 51	52 42 * 69	52 44 62	46 41 60
(c) Urban State Image Upper Status Lower Status	68 70 67	* * 57	42 41 43	* 47 * 70	43 46 39	* * 44	36 47 22	* * * 55	48 54 40	* * 50

\*Significant at least at the .05 level in the expected direction, using chi square. All other differences are insignificant.

When simple direction rather than statistical significance is used as the criterion, the prediction of association is confirmed in twelve of the fifteen cases. All exceptions involve the access image.

When social status is introduced, the three orientations are significant in the same order, with access image manifesting but one statistically significant relationship, and that favoring lower status; state of affairs image showing five statistically significant relationships, with only one pair (length of residence) manifesting significance for lower and not for upper status; and membership having three significant relationships, none of which refutes the expected finding and one of which confirms it (column 4).

In conclusion, it is apparent that the interaction-obligation hypothesis, predicting a significant relationship between issue relevant local sub-system participation and local orientations, is most salient for one's "practical" image of political state of affairs in the sub-systems; it is least salient for one's image of political access within the sub-systems. It is to the opinions which the respondents expressed concerning some practical community issues themselves to which the next section is directed.

Opinions on Practical Problems and  
Social Psychological Orientations

Under the expectation that the urban oriented would be more willing than localities to admit local problems exist, and likewise be more willing to favor economic means to alleviate them, respondents were asked the following three specific questions: (1) "Do you consider the water supply a major problem in Paris Township?" (2) "Would you favor paying more taxes to provide better services of a specified type in this area?" (3) "Do you think that annexation of this area to the city would cause a rise in taxes?"<sup>17</sup> As before, it is expected that the predicted relationships will be especially strong for upper status people. Table V-8 summarizes the findings.

Glancing down the columns, it is immediately apparent that the urban-local distinction does not differentiate between those willing and those unwilling to pay increased taxes for better services (column 1). A post hoc explanation for this unexpected finding lies in the possible ambiguity of the question as phrased. For, although the prediction was made on the basis of assuming that the respondent's answer was framed in the context of anticipated annexation to the core city, this was not written into the question.

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<sup>17</sup> Answers to these questions were dichotomized in a manner specified in Appendix B.

Table V-8. Relationship between opinions on practical problems and social psychological orientations, also controlling for social status (by percentage urban oriented)

	Favor Tax Rise For Better Services Yes (1)		Think Annexation Would Cause Tax Rise Yes (2)		Water a Major Problem in Paris Township Yes (3)	
	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
(a) Urban Membership						
Upper Status	60	66	58	79	71	58
Lower Status	53	64	54	80	65	56
	69	68	65	79	78	60
(b) Urban Access Image						
Upper Status	50	53	42	67	56	49
Lower Status	57	60	51	86	69	52
	41	42	41	43	39	43
(c) Urban State Image						
Upper Status	55	48	45	70	59	45
Lower Status	49	40	37	69	51	39
	63	60	58	71	69	55

\* Significant at least at the .05 level in the expected direction, using chi square. All other differences are insignificant.

Equally plausible is the alternative interpretation of paying increased taxes to the township government for better services. The remaining two questions are unambiguous, and elicit the expected responses for all three orientations, statistically significant in five of six instances, the exception again involving the access image. Even this exception is directionally consistent.

Responses to the two questions also render strong support for the influence of social status. Note that, while urban oriented, upper status respondents, without exception, were significantly more apt to believe annexation would not cause a rise in taxes (column 2), in none of the three orientations, were the lower status respondents significantly different in this matter (though directionally consistent). Concerning the matter of water as a major problem (column 3), the relationship is less clear cut. There is one instance (a) where both status categories are significantly related; one (b) where only upper status is significant; and one (c) where neither is statistically significant (though all are in the expected direction).

In conclusion, on the basis of limited data, it appears possible to predict one's assessment of contemporary community problems on the basis of his social psychological orientations, although access image has less power than membership and state of affairs images. Furthermore, the fact that the urban oriented people are more inclined to identify

local problems, yet less inclined to think that annexation would cause taxes to rise, increases interest in the relationship between these orientations and attitudes toward a broad spectrum of possible solutions to community problems faced by suburban sub-systems. This matter is taken up next.

Opinions Toward Proposed Solution  
Possibilities and Social  
Psychological Orientations

Of the many proposed solutions to the lack of community cohesiveness engendered by urban expansion, three have been prominent in Paris Township: (1) annexation to the core city of Grand Rapids, (2) annexation to the suburban city of Wyoming, and (3) incorporation into a home rule city. To test the hypothesis that urban oriented people would be most disposed to core city annexation and local oriented people most attracted to incorporation or annexation to Wyoming, it was necessary to have the respondents order the three proposed solutions from most to least favorable. Such a ranking provides the flexibility necessary to juxtapose extreme sub-samples so as to arrive at a tentative hierarchy of the strength of relationship between each of the three solution possibilities to each of the three measures of social psychological orientation.

A general survey question was also asked in order to link the respondents' present feelings with recent Grand Rapids annexation activities. It was expected that the favorableness of the response would depend on one's social



psychological orientation, with urban oriented more favorably inclined to the core city than the locally oriented. Findings are summarized in Table V-9.

Although once again it is the access image (b) which contains an exception to the predicted relationship, seventeen of the eighteen general relationships are statistically significant. This almost unanimous confirmation of a relationship between sub-system orientation and type of solution which is favored to problems of community growth heightens interest in differentiation by social status within each of the orientations. As in previous tables, upper status is found to be more sensitive an indicator than is lower status. Thus, whereas upper status is associated with the opinions in question in sixteen of the eighteen possible cases, this is true in only eight out of the eighteen lower status cases. When the cases are paired off, the following is found: there are five cases where both are equally significant (including the one case where both are insignificant); there are eleven cases where upper status is more significant than is lower status, whereas the converse is true in but two cases.

Looking down columns 2, 3, and 4, it is apparent that the social psychological orientations are more saliently related to Grand Rapids annexation and to incorporation than they are to Wyoming annexation.

Table V-9. Relationship between opinions toward proposed solution possibilities and social psychological orientations, also controlling for social status (by percentage urban oriented)

	Effect on					
	Attitudes of G.R. Annex Attempts	Favor Annex. to G.R.	Favor Annex. to Wyo.	Favor Incorp.	Favor Most Annex. to	Favor Least
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Favor- Unfavor- Most Least Most Least G.R. Wyo. Annex Inc. able able						
(a) Urban Member- ship	72 ** 50	73 ** 45	44 * 63	53 * 77	73 ** 44	45 ** 77
Upper Status	71 ** 41	73 ** 45	45 63	51 68	73 * 45	45 * 68
Lower Status	72 63	74 * 47	40 63	58 ** 86	74 40	47 ** 86
(b) Urban Access Image	62 ** 35	62 ** 29	41 58	34 * 59	62 ** 41	29 ** 59
Upper Status	70 ** 41	74 ** 30	38 ** 73	43 ** 65	74 * 38	30 ** 65
Lower Status	50 * 27	49 26	60 35	17 ** 53	49 60	26 * 53
(c) Urban State Image	61 ** 35	70 ** 21	29 ** 57	21 ** 69	70 ** 29	21 ** 69
Upper Status	56 ** 25	66 ** 17	24 ** 57	19 ** 55	66 ** 24	17 ** 55
Lower Status	68 51	74 ** 32	60 56	25 ** 81	74 60	32 ** 81

\*Significant at least at the .05 level; \*\*Significant at the .005 level.  
Based on chi square. All other differences are insignificant.

This is underscored in column 6. That the role of recent annexation efforts by Grand Rapids may be perceived differently by those holding different orientations is supported by the evidence in column 1, indicating a tendency for the urban oriented to look favorably on such attempts and for local oriented to look unfavorably upon them.

### Summary

In summary, as in the case of issue relevant community participation and opinions on practical community problems, so too opinions on solution possibilities are associated with the type of orientation one holds to community sub-systems. That is, an urban oriented person, as contrasted with a local oriented person, is not only more apt to be uninvolved in local sub-system affairs and to be more willing to admit the existence of local problems and the need to alleviate them, but also to be more willing to look to the core city for solutions. This does not mean that all three social psychological orientations are equally salient in these matters, nor that an orientation is uniformly significant for different social strata. In fact, the political access image appears consistently to be the least potent indicator (cf. Tables V-7, V-8, and V-9), just as lower social status is consistently a less sensitive measure than is upper status. Whether or not these qualifiers

persist when analysis shifts from background and perceptual matters to the actual point of political decision itself as embodied in the vote, will be pursued in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF ANNEXATION

#### VOTE DIRECTION

##### Overview

This chapter attempts to clarify the relationship between an end point in community decision making, namely the vote on annexation, and the social psychological facets of community sub-systems that are believed to account for it.<sup>1</sup> The theoretical orientation of this chapter is that of reference group theory as articulated in community sub-system orientations caught up in interaction obligations and fortified by shared perceptions. From this basic foundation, four general hypotheses are distinguishable:

1. Those with urban rather than local membership will disproportionately vote for annexation.  
Ground: Those who disproportionately interact within the city are inclined to use it as a positive reference group, or at least as a shared pattern of stimulation based on a similar life style. In either case, they can be expected to vote for extension of city bounds.

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<sup>1</sup>As previously mentioned, a potential methodological limitation of this study is that it relies on self reports of vote direction. However, reliability checks restore confidence in this means of gathering voting information (see pp. 203-204).

2. Those holding a positive rather than a negative political access image of the city will disproportionately vote for annexation.  
 Ground: Those who use the city as a positive idealized reference group in evaluating the general political climate of the sub-systems will tend to vote in favor of increasing the city's size.<sup>2</sup>
3. Those holding a positive rather than a negative pragmatic state of affairs image of the city will disproportionately vote for annexation.  
 Ground: Those who use the city as a positive reference group in evaluating such specific practical matters as level of services, taxes, etc. will tend to vote in favor of increasing its size.
4. The size of the correlations in the above trio will be ranked from low to high.  
 Ground: The greater the direct bearing that the substance of a variable has on the annexation issue, the more dominant will be the use of the sub-system as a reference group affecting vote direction. Assumption: Pragmatic concerns are foremost in the minds of those who vote for or against annexation to the city. Concerns over political organization are somewhat less salient, but more so than sub-system membership based on participation alone.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>It may be that the localite's skepticism of core city intentions can be traced to his lack of first hand exposure gained only through urban participation. In any case, the dynamics of the voting decision must be traced to sub-system reference points. Thompson and Horton's plausible explanation (1960, p. 194) for lower status people voting "no" on a school bond issue is provocative in the local sub-system context. "A differential distribution of power in the community is reflected in an attitude of political alienation which, in turn, is translated into a vote of protest against the 'powers that be.'"

<sup>3</sup>For a fuller theoretical statement on this, see section "Relationships Among Key Variables," of Chapter I, pp. 53-59.

These hypotheses will be tested in turn. This will be followed by a study of the relationship between annexation related issues and vote direction. Finally, methods are used to "isolate" each of the three major social psychological components in order to determine the independent effect each has on vote direction.

The Relationship of Sub-System Orientation  
to Vote Direction

Table VI-1a confirms the first hypothesis above, lending support to the proposition that the frequency of daily interaction within a community sub-system fosters its use as a positive reference group which in turn finds expression in the annexation vote. Thus, urban participants are found to vote in favor of annexation, just as local participants are inclined to vote against it. When social status is taken into account, the extremely high level of statistical significance remains for the upper, but not for the lower status category (see Table VI-1b). This is in line with earlier expectations and findings concerning the greater saliency of political affairs for upper status people.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>When social status is related to vote direction, however, those of upper status disproportionately voted against annexation ( $\chi^2 = 3.35$ ;  $p < .05$ ). This finding is contrary to that of most other studies, e.g., Thompson and Horton (1960) and King et al. (1963).

Table VI-1a. Relationship between annexation vote intention and favored sub-system membership (in percentages)

	Vote For	Vote Against
Urban Membership	81	51
Local Membership	19	49
Total	100	100
No. of Cases*	78	128

$$\chi^2 = 17.27; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .0005$$

\*Percentages are computed on the basis of those who stated a definite direction in their vote intention. Those who did not plan to vote, who did not know whether or not they would vote, or who did not know in which direction they were going to vote, were disregarded.

Table VI-1b. Relationship between annexation vote intention and favored sub-system membership, controlling for social status (in percentages)

	Upper Social Status		Lower Social Status	
	Annexation Vote For	Annexation Vote Against	Annexation Vote For	Annexation Vote Against
Urban Membership	83	46	78	60
Local Membership	17	54	22	40
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	41	85	37	43

$$\chi^2 = 14.09; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .0005 \quad \chi^2 = 2.19; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .10$$

\*See footnote, Table VI-1a.

What is true concerning the relationship between sub-system membership and vote intention is even more true concerning sub-system images. Thus, those who regard the core city government as having relatively open access to its citizens are disposed to a favorable vote intention to a significantly greater extent than those who do not share the positive urban access image (see Table VI-2a). This is the case (as Table VI-2b reveals) for both upper and lower status respondents. While both are statistically significant, it must be noted that the relationship is especially strong, as expected, for upper status people.

Table VI-2a. Relationship between annexation vote intention and political access image (in percentages)

	Vote For	Vote Against
Urban Access Image	73	37
Local Access Image	27	63
Total	100	100
No. of Cases*	78	128

$$\chi^2 = 24.19; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .0005$$

\*See footnote, Table VI-1a, p. 246.

Table VI-2b. Relationship between annexation vote intention and political access image, controlling for social status (in percentages)

	Upper Social Status		Lower Social Status	
	Annexation Vote For	Annexation Vote Against	Annexation Vote For	Annexation Vote Against
Urban Access Image	85	45	60	23
Local Access Image	15	55	40	77
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	41	85	37	43

$$\chi^2 = 17.13; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .0005 \quad \chi^2 = 9.40; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .005$$

\*See footnote, Table VI-1a, p. 246.

Turning to the political state of affairs image, the hypothesis of association between favorable core city image and favorable vote is confirmed (Table VI-3a).

Table VI-3a. Relationship between annexation vote intention and political state of affairs image (in percentages)

	Vote For	Vote Against
Urban State of Affairs Image	82	30
Local State of Affairs Image	18	70
Total	100	100
No. of Cases*	78	128

$$\chi^2 = 49.54; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .0005$$

\*See footnote, Table VI-1a, p. 246.

And again, while this holds for both social strata, it is most exaggerated among the upper stratum (see Table VI-3b).

Table VI-3b. Relationship between annexation vote intention and political state of affairs image, controlling for social status (in percentages)

	Upper Social Status		Lower Social Status	
	Annexation Vote For	Annexation Vote Against	Annexation Vote For	Annexation Vote Against
Urban State of Affairs Image	78	28	86	35
Local State of Affairs Image	22	72	14	65
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	41	85	37	43

$$\chi^2 = 25.81; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .0001 \quad \chi^2 = 19.77; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .0005$$

\*See footnote, Table VI-1a, p. 246.

In summary, confirmation is found for the relationship between each of three major variables and vote intention at a high level of statistical significance (even when controlling for social status in five of six instances). Note furthermore that the size of the chi square associations are ordered in the direction predicted in hypothesis number four above. That is, the relationship of vote direction to membership, though statistically significant, is not as highly significant as its relationship to the political access image.

The access image, in turn, is not as highly significant as the political state of affairs image. This finding supports the theory that the bearing of the community sub-system as a reference group varies from one frame of reference to another, and that the more issue salient the frame of reference, the greater the association to vote direction. In the context of annexation at least, the image of the practical effects of the local governmental structure looms more significant in the eyes of the voter than does the more ideological consideration of the extent of political access.

The Relationship of Annexation Related  
Issues to Vote Direction

Issue Relevant Community Participation  
and Vote Direction

Previously, it was found that the extent of issue relevant participation in the local sub-system was related to positive local and negative urban orientations. Especially was this true for the political state of affairs image and those in the upper status category. This finding would lead one to expect that those participating in local affairs would be inclined to vote against annexation just as urban participators would be inclined to vote for it. However, as Table VI-4 shows, this generalization lacks consistent empirical support. In fact, the matter of formal and informal discussion (rows 3, 4, and 5) are not only statistically insignificant, but are in some instances in

the wrong direction. This is true for both upper and lower status. Apparently, discussion of issue relevant affairs is used as much by those who eventually decide to vote against as by those who vote for annexation. This finding carries with it the strong implication that the content of the discussion (as it relates to the vote) cannot be judged on the basis of knowledge as to within which sub-system the discussion was held.

Table VI-4. Relationship between annexation vote intention and participation in issue relevant community affairs, also controlling for social status (by percentage of total who voted in the specified direction)

	Vote For		Vote Against
(1) Reside in Directly Affected Area	42	*	19
Upper Status	44	*	07
Lower Status	41		42
(2) Five Years or Less Local Residence	60	*	43
Upper Status	46		35
Lower Status	76		58
(3) No Public Meeting Attendance	49		51
Upper Status	49		61
Lower Status	49		33
(4) No Group Discussion of Issues	64		59
Upper Status	66		64
Lower Status	62		51
(5) No Discussion of Issues With Friends	10		14
Upper Status	15		15
Lower Status	06		12

\*Significant at least at the .05 level in the expected direction, using chi square. All other differences are insignificant.

On the other hand, factors of residential placement and tenure both do relate to vote direction in the expected manner. That is, those without the commitment of long residential tenure in the suburb disproportionately vote for annexation (row 2), as do those who live in areas to be included in the core city if the annexation issue passes (row 1). These five relationships, though directionally consistent, lose their statistical significance, with one exception, when social status is controlled. This exception is for upper status people from directly affected areas who highly favor annexation. These generally negative findings raise questions as to whether even opinions on such expedient issues as taxes and water problems relate to vote direction.

#### Opinions of Practical Problems and Vote Direction

On strictly practical grounds, one would expect the most resistance to annexation from those who think it would cause a tax rise and from those who do not admit the existence of local problems such as the water problem. These expectations are confirmed in Table VI-5. The previously suspected ambiguity of the question as to whether or not the respondent favors a tax increase for better services (see p. 236) is strengthened by the lack of a clear association between it and vote direction. Note that for the two discriminating questions, both upper and lower status categories



are directionally consistent with expectations, but only the upper status category is related in a statistically significant way with vote direction.

Table VI-5. Relationship between annexation vote intention and opinions on practical problems, also controlling for social status (by percentage of total who voted in the specified direction)

	Vote For		Vote Against
Favor Tax Rise for Better Services	49		41
Upper Status	51		39
Lower Status	46		44
Believe Annexation Causes Tax Rise	56	*	86
Upper Status	49	*	89
Lower Status	65		74
Believe Water Not Major Local Problem	44	*	63
Upper Status	46	*	65
Lower Status	41		60

\*Significant at least at the .05 level in the expected direction, using chi square. All other differences are insignificant.

#### Opinions Toward Proposed Solution Possibilities and Vote Direction

It is not sufficient to characterize suburban residents as simply in favor of or opposed to urban expansion, since such expansion can take different forms. Respondents were asked to order the three current expansion proposals (annexation to Grand Rapids, annexation to Wyoming,

and incorporation) from most to least favorable. This allowed juxtaposing extreme sub-samples so as to arrive at a hierarchy of the strength of each of the three solution possibilities and vote direction. However, all sub-sample distinctions relate to vote direction at such high levels of statistical significance that they appear interchangeable as predictive measures. Thus, as Table VI-6 shows, one's general opinion of recent Grand Rapids annexation attempts, as well as one's opinion toward future annexation to Grand Rapids, to Wyoming, or toward incorporation, all bear a strong relationship to vote direction. Note that favorableness to annex to Grand Rapids relates positively to a favorable vote, whereas favorableness to annex to Wyoming and incorporation relate positively to a vote against core city annexation. This indicates the conflicting nature of the solution proposals in the minds of the voters. With only two exceptions, these relationships persist even when social status is controlled. In these two cases, in line with expectations, it is the lower status category that is not discriminating.

In summary, community issues regarded in this paper as salient are not equally related to vote direction. In fact, of the five measures of participation in issue relevant community affairs, only length and area of residence relate significantly to vote direction.

Table VI-6. Relationship between annexation vote intention and opinions toward proposed solution possibilities, also controlling for social status (by percentage of total who voted in the specified direction

	Vote For		Vote Against
Favorable (vs. Unfavorable) Effect of Recent Grand Rapids Annexation Attempts	83	**	43
Upper Status	90	**	42
Lower Status	76	**	44
Most (vs. Least) Favorable to Grand Rapids Annexation	99	**	38
Upper Status	100	**	28
Lower Status	97	**	55
Least (vs. Most) Favorable to Wyoming Annexation	97	**	61
Upper Status	96	**	50
Lower Status	100		89
Least (vs. Most) Favorable to Incorporation	92	**	29
Upper Status	87	**	26
Lower Status	96	**	34
Most Favorable to Grand Rapids (vs. Wyoming) Annexation	99	**	57
Upper Status	97	**	41
Lower Status	100		90
Most Favorable to Grand Rapids Annex- ation (vs. Incorporation)	97	**	28
Upper Status	100	**	23
Lower Status	96	**	40

\*\* Significant at least at the .005 level; based on chi square. All other differences are insignificant.

Issue oriented discussion in three different contexts do not. Moving to opinions on practical matters such as taxes and deficient township service, a relationship is found between each of them and vote direction. This relationship persists for upper but not for lower status respondents. Finally, on the matter of different expansion possibilities, opinions on all three proposed solutions successfully differentiate between those who intend to vote in opposite directions on the annexation issue. More specifically, unlike those who favor annexation to Grand Rapids, those who favor either annexation to Wyoming or incorporation tend to vote against the annexation proposal. With few exceptions, this is true for lower as well as upper status voters.

The Nature of the Interrelationship Between  
Sub-System Membership, Image,  
and Vote Direction

A case has already been made<sup>5</sup> for the proposition that differential participation in urban and local sub-systems is reflected in the images respondents hold of these sub-systems. This section goes more intensively into that relationship by including, in turn, how such images might be translated into vote direction. The causal sequence may be viewed as follows:

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<sup>5</sup>pp. 219-231.

- a. Local and urban sub-systems exist as reference groups for voters.
- b. The extent to which images of the core city sub-system are positive or negative depends on the extent of participation within it as compared to extent of local sub-system participation.
- c. A negative annexation vote is a function of negative images of the core city, just as a positive vote is a function of positive images of the core city, as such images are contrasted with images of the local sub-system of residence.

Attention has already been given in the first part of this chapter to the relative salience of these social psychological variables in terms of vote direction. There the predictive power of the field-theoretical approach, with its strategy of maximizing predictive power by emphasizing the most issue salient variables, was confirmed. It now remains to assess the relative as well as the joint impact of the social psychological variables when they are considered simultaneously. That such endeavors are necessary is recognized by field theorists themselves. Campbell and associates (1960, p. 35) note that

a . . . shortcoming of the attitudinal approach to explanation lies in the failure to span a greater distance in the funnel. If we were interested in prediction without understanding, we could hardly improve upon such a system of attitudinal variables. . . . But since we are interested in the way events unfold . . . we want a set of empirical relationships that carry us deeper. . . .

That is, they do not regard their phenomenological emphasis on the voter's definition of the situation as eclipsing a "broader" social psychological analysis. This is equally

clear in their assertion (p. 19) that "prediction alone simply leads one to amass factors that have been found to be related to the dependent event." Rather, "we are concerned with prediction per se only as it serves our understanding of the sequence of events leading to the dependent behavior."

### Relative Significance of the Social Psychological Variables

The general hypothesis to be considered here is that sub-system membership influences sub-system image which, in turn, influences the annexation vote. To support this hypothesis, it is necessary, at minimum, for the association between sub-system image and vote direction to be significant when sub-system membership is held constant. As Lazarsfeld (1955, p. 125) points out,

if we have a relationship between "x" and "y";  
and if for any antecedent test factor the partial  
relationships between x and y do not disappear,  
then the original relationship should be called  
a causal one.

That this is the case when either political access image or political state of affairs image is examined is apparent from Tables VI-7 and VI-8. In all four instances, the association between image and vote direction is significant in the predicted direction at a very high statistical level. Note more specifically, and in line with observations in prior chapters, that the state of affairs image (Table VI-8) bears a statistical association to vote direction even higher than does the access image.

Table VI-7. Vote direction as related to political access image, holding constant sub-system membership (in percentages)

	Urban Membership		Local Membership	
	For	Vote Against	For	Vote Against
Urban Access Image	70	40	87	33
Local Access Image	30	60	13	67
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	63	65	15	63

$$\chi^2 = 13.24; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .0005 \quad \chi^2 = 11.84; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .0005$$

\*See footnote, Table VI-1a, p. 246.

Table VI-8. Vote intention as related to political state of affairs image, holding constant sub-system membership (in percentages)

	Urban Membership		Local Membership	
	For	Vote Against	For	Vote Against
Urban State of Affairs Image	81	32	87	29
Local State of Affairs Image	19	68	13	71
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	63	65	15	63

$$\chi^2 = 28.46; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .0005 \quad \chi^2 = 14.74; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .0005$$

\*See footnote, Table VI-1a, p. 246.

The general support that the foregoing data provide for the hypothesized causal sequence is insufficient, however, to clinch the case. One reason for this insufficiency can be traced back to the survey nature of the data. Like Campbell's observation on political party influence (1960, p. 136), so too the impact of sub-system membership on image

extends through time [and therefore] its workings cannot be fully disclosed by the relationships seen at a particular moment. For this reason, our statement of causal priorities is in the end an inference, but one for which the evidence is strong.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, some additional light can be shed on the problem of causal sequence by noting what happens to the association between membership and vote direction when the variable of sub-system image is held constant. To lend support to the sequence hypothesis, it is necessary for the association between membership and vote direction to diminish when image is held constant.<sup>7</sup> Under this criterion, the relationship between membership and vote direction certainly

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<sup>6</sup>This does not deny the validity of Lazarsfeld's observation (1955, p. 121) that "as a matter of principle, it is always possible to establish the time sequence of variables. Progress in research consists in getting this point straightened out."

<sup>7</sup>Gold (1962, p. 85) summarizes this pattern (as explicated more fully by Hyman, 1955, pp. 276-295) as follows: "In general, the association between two variables in a developmental or causal sequence will tend to disappear when an intervening variable is held constant."

qualifies, as Tables VI-9 and VI-10 indicate. Note that while all four associations between membership and vote direction have a high level of statistical significance, in no instance is it as high as that found between vote direction and either membership or image. On this comparative basis, it seems reasonable to infer that the image variable is more important phenomenologically as a determinant of vote direction than the variable of membership. Furthermore, image appears to be an intervening variable between membership and vote direction. Both of these points are based on the fact that the association between sub-system membership and vote direction tends to diminish when sub-system image is held constant.

Table VI-9. Vote intention as related to sub-system membership, holding constant political access image (in percentages)

	Urban Access Image		Local Access Image	
	For	Vote Against	For	Vote Against
Urban Membership	77	55	90	48
Local Membership	23	45	10	52
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	57	47	21	81

$$\chi^2 = 3.84; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .025 \quad \chi^2 = 10.52; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .005$$

\*See footnote, Table VI-1a, p. 246.

Table VI-10. Vote intention as related to sub-system membership, holding constant political state of affairs image (in percentages)

	Urban State of Affairs Image		Local State of Affairs Image	
	For	Against	For	Against
Urban Membership	80	54	86	50
Local Membership	20	46	14	50
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	64	39	14	89

$$\chi^2 = 6.50; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .010 \quad \chi^2 = 5.03; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .025$$

\*See footnote, Table VI-1a, p. 246.

To gain information on whether the association of image and the vote is dependent on the simultaneous effect of membership, vote direction is held constant. Independence can be said to exist if the association between membership and image tends to disappear when vote is held constant. In the words of Gold (1962, p. 86),

if two variables are separately producing an effect, which is to say there is no simple causal sequence or interaction, then holding the effect constant should eliminate the association between them.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Gold provides an explication and illustration of the concept of independence specifically for the three variable case. He concludes (p. 87) that

"among three variables, all of which are related to each other at the zero-order level, the only non-trivial sense in which the association between

Tables VI-11 and VI-12 give strong indications that membership and images independently influence the vote, in that in none of the four instances is a concentration of membership and image sufficiently great to yield statistical significance.

Table VI-11. Sub-system membership as related to political access image, holding constant vote intention (in percentages)

	Vote For		Vote Against	
	Membership Urban	Local	Membership Urban	Local
Urban Access Image	70	87	40	33
Local Access Image	30	13	60	67
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	63	15	65	63

$$\chi^2 = 1.01; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .25 \quad \chi^2 = 0.36; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .35$$

\*See footnote, Table VI-1a, p. 246.

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one independent and one dependent variable can be independent of the second independent variable is that of independent causation. Demonstration of independent causation requires that the association between the two independent variables tends to disappear when the dependent variable is held constant."

Table VI-12. Sub-system membership as related to political state of affairs image, holding constant vote intention (in percentages)

	Vote For		Vote Against	
	Membership Urban	Local	Membership Urban	Local
Urban State of Affairs Image	81	87	32	29
Local State of Affairs Image	19	13	68	71
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	63	15	65	63

$$\chi^2 = 0.02; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .45 \quad \chi^2 = 0.07; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .40$$

\*See footnote, Table VI-1a, p. 246.

While the above signifies that membership does not influence the association between image and the vote in the contemporaneous context, it denies neither the developmental inter-relationship between membership and image nor their joint impact on the vote. It is to the latter issue that the final section of this chapter is devoted.

#### Joint Significance of the Social Psychological Variables

Kaufman and Greer (1960) take special note of the "paucity of investigators using multivariate analysis in the explanation of voting." They attempt to alleviate this condition by considering all three dimensions of the Shevky-Bell

typology in studying the outcome of a local sewer district issue. Using a multiple regression and correlation analysis, they are drawn to the conclusion that predictive power is enhanced by taking more than one dimension into account. In an attempt to follow their lead, this study attempts to assess the joint impact of sub-system membership and image on vote direction, based on the chi square technique. Although this technique does not utilize information beyond the nominal scale, it is successful in indicating a joint impact. Specifically, when a chi square analysis is made of the combined impact of sub-system membership and political access image on vote direction, the value is highly significant (37.59; 3 d.f.;  $p < .0005$ ); consistent with earlier findings reported of their "independent" significance, the chi square value is even greater when political state of affairs image is substituted for access image (68.12; 3 d.f.;  $p < .0005$ ).

### Summary

In summary, both membership and image exist as sub-system orientations useful as predictors of vote direction in an annexation election. More specifically, the political state of affairs image bears a greater association to vote direction than does political access image. Also, when social status is held constant, upper status is a more

sensitive predictor of vote direction than is lower status. In general, the power of a variable as a predictor is directly related to its phenomenological closeness to the annexation issue. This appears true not only for the major social psychological orientations of membership and image, but also for a host of annexation related issues involving community participation, practical community problems, and opinions toward proposed solutions to the problem of community expansion. The foregoing series is ranked from least to most salient. Returning to the nature of the relationship between (1) sub-system membership, (2) political image of the sub-systems, and (3) vote direction, it was found that a case can be made for the causal sequence as given. However, methodological barriers disallow a final answer on the question. This hesitancy, however, does not detract from the finding that (1) in the contemporary setting, sub-system images are more intimately associated with vote direction than is sub-system membership and (2) the joint impact of membership and image on vote direction is of the highest order of statistical significance. The relationship between these two main social psychological orientations and vote turnout will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF ANNEXATION

VOTE TURNOUT

Overview

Although the matter of vote direction is often considered the central object in studies of political decision making, in reality there is a politically relevant decision that must be made prior to deciding how one is going to vote. This is the decision as to whether or not one is going to vote at all. Although the specifics of vote turnout are, no doubt, different than those involved in vote direction, it seems pertinent to pursue them in terms of their social psychological dynamics, again as based on community sub-systems as reference groups. "Turnout," says Campbell (1960, p. 90), "as much as partisan preference, can be conceived as the end variable of a causal funnel. . . ."

Unlike the last chapter, where the sub-system of chief orientation was regarded as the chief predictor of vote direction, this chapter emphasizes two determinants we believe to relate directly to vote turnout: (1) the intensity of an orientation (irrespective of its urban or local

direction), and (2) the extent of consonance rather than dissonance between urban and local orientations.

First, concerning intensity of orientation, it must be recalled that this measure taps the number of extreme responses the individual makes irrespective of the specific sub-system toward which this orientation is directed. Thus, it represents the extent to which the respondent is involved in the overall metropolitan community.

It seems reasonable to hypothesize that those who manifest relatively intense social psychological community involvement will most certainly avail themselves of the opportunity to vote on the community issue of annexation. This general hypothesis is in keeping with Campbell's conclusion (1960, pp. 97-98) that "the probability that a person will vote depends on the strength of his partisan preference." This he found along the entire range, to the point that, "the rate of voting at the highest levels of intensity shows that the individual's preference virtually insures his turnout." This has been confirmed for nonpartisan affairs as well. Glaser (1958, p. 1035) reports that "the stronger the social influences which might arouse an individual respondent's political awareness, then the higher the . . . turnout rate." In a study centering on a nonpresidential election in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Hastings (1956, pp. 305-306) finds that indefinite attitudes toward current politico-economic

issues is a correlate of nonvoting.

Findings such as the foregoing are compatible with the following specific hypotheses to be tested:

1. Turnout will be higher for those who most actively participate in the metropolitan community (either the local or urban sub-system) than for those who, for whatever reason, withdraw from active community participation.
2. Turnout will be higher for those who most intensively hold to a political access image (of either the local or urban sub-system), than for those who hold to a more tempered image.
3. Turnout will be higher for those who most intensively hold to a political state of affairs image (of either the local or urban sub-system), than for those who hold to a more tempered image.
4. The size of the correlations in the above trio will be ranked from low to high.<sup>1</sup>

Next, concerning the consonance-dissonance image variable, it is well to recall the history of conflict between urban and local sub-systems in the Grand Rapids metropolitan community (see Chapter III, pp. 125-157). In many ways the annexation issue has functioned both to remind the residents of existing differences between the sub-systems, and to foster additional strains. The best way for the community resident to psychologically resolve this issue appears to be to regard one sub-system as a positive reference group and the other as a negative reference group. By so doing, he has achieved dual support for his actions.

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<sup>1</sup>Grounds for this hypothesis are based on field theory as articulated on pp. 53-58 and confirmed in Chapter VI.

It will be recalled (p.215 ) that images are regarded as consonant if a positive response to the urban sub-system is complemented by a negative response to the local sub-system--or vice versa.

At the specific level of political behavior, many voting studies indicate that the person exposed to cross pressures is more apt to abstain from voting as a "solution" to his dilemma.<sup>2</sup> A plausible reason for this tendency is that those with mixed alignments become ambivalent and confused regarding direction of vote, and consequently "solve" the problem by withdrawing from the field, that is, by not voting at all. From the general ground that the vote turnout rate will be highest where the sub-system orientations are most consonant because this situation produces the fewest pressures against voting, the following specific hypotheses will be tested:

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<sup>2</sup>The most detailed accounts of the political effects of ideological and social cross pressures have probably been the panel studies of Lazarsfeld and associates, beginning with their publication in 1944 of The Peoples' Choice. In this tradition, Berelson (1954, p. 284) offers the following summary:

"While theory regarding these cross-pressures is not yet particularly advanced, an impressive series of empirical results has accumulated over the last fifteen years of research. An individual who is characterized by any type of cross-pressure is likely to change his mind in the course of the campaign, to make up his mind late, and, occasionally, to leave the field and not to vote at all."

1. Turnout will be higher for those whose positive access image of one sub-system is supported by a negative access image of the other sub-system, than for those whose access image of both sub-systems tends to be either positive or negative.
2. Turnout will be higher for those whose positive state of affairs image of one sub-system is supported by a negative state of affairs image of the other sub-system, than for those whose state of affairs image of both sub-systems tends to be either positive or negative.<sup>3</sup>
3. The size of the correlations as given above will be higher in the second than in the first case.

The testing of the foregoing hypotheses will be followed by a study of the relationship between annexation related issues and vote turnout. Finally, as in the previous chapter, methods are used to "isolate" each of the three major social psychological components in order to determine the independent effect that the intensity of each has on vote turnout.

#### The Relationship of Intensity in Sub-System Orientations to Vote Turnout

As reported in Chapter V (p. 215), measures of participational and image intensity can be made by simply accumulating the number of extreme responses an individual gives to the total items in each index. The sample is then divided into two roughly equal parts for each index, one containing relatively extreme orientations, the other relatively mild ones.

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<sup>3</sup>Again grounds for this hypothesis are spelled out on pp. 53-58 and supported in Chapter VI.

When those individuals who without exception enact all of their daily rounds in one or the other of the two metropolitan sub-systems are distinguished from those who do not participate as actively in these sub-systems, and this measure of community membership intensity is related to vote turnout, no significant relationship results. In fact, as Table VII-1a indicates, the statistically nonsignificant relationship that does exist points in the direction opposite that stated in the hypothesis.

Table VII-1a. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and intensity of sub-system membership (in percentages)

	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Intense Membership	40	48
Mild Membership	60	52
Total	100	100
No. of Cases*	153	106

$$\chi^2 = 1.41; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .15$$

\* Due to the change of residence between interviewing and gathering information on turnout, and possibly other reasons, the initial N was reduced by 12 cases.

Nor is this unexpected result clarified by taking social status into account, as is done in Table VII-1b.<sup>4</sup>

Table VII-1b. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and intensity of sub-system membership, controlling for social status (in percentages)

	Upper Social Status		Lower Social Status	
	Did Vote	Did Not Vote	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Intense Membership	38	48	43	49
Mild Membership	62	52	57	51
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	92	63	61	43

$$\chi^2 = 1.04; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .25 \quad \chi^2 = 0.18; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .35$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup>Glaser (1958, p. 1033) finds that his highest status subjects have the highest turnout frequencies. His interpretation of this finding (pp. 1033-1035) is based on differential involvement which, in part,

"is determined by a series of motivations, social stimuli, and role prescriptions which . . . the upper class possess to a greater extent than do . . . the lower class. The former more strongly than the latter are expected to vote and to think about politics as part of the behavior prescribed for their social statuses."

However, this distinction does not prove to be helpful in the context of the intensiveness of sub-system membership. Furthermore, when the simple relationship between social status and vote turnout is tested, it is found to be insignificant (with 41 per cent of each status category not voting).

The general hypothesis is confirmed, however, when turnout is traced back to intensity of images. Thus, as revealed in Table VII-2a, when those who without exception specify a definite access image of either sub-system are distinguished from those who are more ambivalent, and this measure of access image intensiveness is related to vote turnout, the chi square value is not only in the expected direction, but also statistically significant. Only the directional consistency persists when social status is introduced as a control (see Table VII-2b).

Table VII-2a. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and intensity of sub-system political access image (in percentages)

	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Intense Access Image	58	46
Mild Access Image	42	54
Total	100	100
No. of Cases*	153	106

$$\chi^2 = 2.76; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .05$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

Table VII-2b. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and intensity of sub-system political access image, controlling for social status (in percentages)

	Upper Social Status		Lower Social Status	
	Did Vote	Did Not Vote	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Intense Access Image	55	46	61	47
Mild Access Image	45	54	39	53
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	92	63	61	43

$$\chi^2 = 0.85; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .25 \quad \chi^2 = 1.28; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .15$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

When attention is shifted from intensiveness of access image to intensiveness of the image held toward the existing state of governmental affairs, the relationship to turnout is of even higher statistical significance. Thus, in line with the hypothesis, those with the most intensive images are much more apt to vote (see Table VII-3a). Table VII-3b specifies the upper status respondents as those that account for this pattern, whereas the relationship for lower status people is directionally consistent but not statistically significant. This finding is compatible with those reported in earlier chapters, pointing to the increased salience of political orientations for upper status people.

Table VII-3a. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and intensity of sub-system political state of affairs image (in percentages)

	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Intense State of Affairs Image	37	19
Mild State of Affairs Image	63	81
Total	100	100
No. of Cases*	153	106

$$\chi^2 = 9.27; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .005$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

Table VII-3b. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and intensity of sub-system political state of affairs image, controlling for social status (in percentages)

	Upper Social Status		Lower Social Status	
	Did Vote	Did Not Vote	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Intense State of Affairs Image	41	14	31	26
Mild State of Affairs Image	59	86	69	74
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	92	63	61	43

$$\chi^2 = 11.66; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .0005 \quad \chi^2 = 0.16; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .35$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

In summary, the relationship between intensity of orientation and vote turnout is not uniform for all three indices. In keeping with the hypothesis predicting the rank order of significance of the indices, intensiveness of the political state of affairs image is found to be most significantly related to turnout. Statistically significant too, but at a lower level, is the relationship between intensiveness of access image and turnout. On the other hand, the association between intensiveness of sub-system membership and vote turnout is not statistically significant; in fact it is directionally inconsistent with the hypothesis. When social status is used as a control, it appears to have an important bearing on the relationship only when the intensiveness of one's image on political state of affairs is considered. This specification is in keeping with earlier findings indicating the increased salience of political affairs for upper status people.

The question arises as to whether predictive power is enhanced by considering the divisive character of the sub-system orientations. For, is it not conceivable that the extent of involvement in the overall community, as an influence on vote turnout, is dulled or eclipsed by the influence of sub-system conflict as embodied in voter image orientations? We turn to this matter next by considering the relationship between image consonance and vote turnout.

The Relationship of Consonance in Sub-System  
Images to Vote Turnout

The urban and suburban sub-systems are, to a greater or lesser degree, seen by the residents as existing in some state of tension or competition. One might expect that those residents of the suburbs who have the more explicit and consistent notions about this will be more apt to register their perceptions at the polls when a matter of joint concern to the sub-systems arises, such as the matter of annexation. Thus, for instance, one would expect that a positive access image of the suburbs complemented by a negative image of the core city, or vice versa, would constitute a greater motivation to vote than would the case where access images of the two sub-systems are dissonant, either both complimentary or both critical. The same expectation holds for the political state of affairs image. A glance at Tables VII-4a and VII-5a will reveal that this expectation is not confirmed. Not only are both associations statistically insignificant, one is in the wrong direction. Controlling for social status sheds no light on the unexpected findings, as Tables VII-4b and VII-5b indicate.

Table VII-4a. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and extent of consonance between urban and local access images (in percentages)

	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Consonant Access Image	39	34
Dissonant Access Image	61	66
Total	100	100
No. of Cases*	153	106

$$\chi^2 = 0.53; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .25$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

Table VII-4b. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and extent of consonance between urban and local access images, controlling for social status (in percentages)

	Upper Social Status		Lower Social Status	
	Did Vote	Did Not Vote	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Consonant Access Image	37	38	42	28
Dissonant Access Image	63	62	58	72
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	92	63	61	43

$$\chi^2 = 0.00; 1 \text{ d.f.}$$

$$\chi^2 = 1.76; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .10$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

Table VII-5a. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and extent of consonance between urban and local state of affairs images (in percentages)

	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Consonant State of Affairs Image	52	60
Dissonant State of Affairs Image	48	40
Total	100	100
No. of Cases*	153	106

$$\chi^2 = 1.02; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .25$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

Table VII-5b. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and extent of consonance between urban and local state of affairs images; controlling for social status (in percentages)

	Upper Social Status		Lower Social Status	
	Did Vote	Did Not Vote	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Consonant State of Affairs Image	53	60	51	58
Dissonant State of Affairs Image	47	40	49	42
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	92	63	61	43

$$\chi^2 = 0.48; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .25 \quad \chi^2 = 0.29; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .35$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

Methodologically speaking, the rather tenuous nature of the indices, each tapping only a single perspective for each sub-system,<sup>5</sup> might possibly have resulted in unreliable findings, although this seems unlikely. It is more probable that the conflict model used to describe the relationship between the sub-systems may itself be somewhat exaggerated at the expense of a cooperative model. In any case, these findings suggest it is premature to place exclusive confidence in the media and public officials who generally espouse the conflict model. It is premature, at least, until confirmation is found among the hoi polloi. This study has gone no further than to tap the respondent's assessment of each sub-system and then to juxtapose these assessments. Further research could get explicit information from the respondents on the matter of perceived relationships between political sub-systems.

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<sup>5</sup>For the access index, the question was asked concerning the amount of effort the government of each sub-system made to get at citizens' opinions. For the state of affairs image, the question was asked as to how good a job each sub-system government was doing in solving its major problems.

The Relationship of Annexation Related  
Issues to Vote Turnout

Issue Relevant Community Participation  
and Vote Turnout

It seems reasonable to expect that those most involved in the issue relevant affairs of the suburban subsystem will manifest this prior involvement by their presence at the voting booth. Five measures of involvement are used in this study. They are: whether or not the respondent (1) was a long time resident of the township, (2) resided in an area not up for annexation in 1961, (3) had recently attended public meetings involving governmental issues, (4) had recently been involved in formal group discussions of governmental issues, and (5) had recently discussed governmental issues with friends. The expectation that measures of this type relate to vote turnout is consistent with the assertion of Greer (1960, p. 526) that "because it indicates involvement in the local area as an organizational system, participation in local organizations is positively related to voting. . . ." Likewise, it is consistent with the findings of Greer and Orleans (1962, p. 639), who, by means of a Guttman scale, rank the following measures of political participation from minimum to maximum personal investment: (1) voting in any of six local government elections, (2) taking a position on local government issues, (3) trying to persuade others regarding local government issues,

and (4) attending public meetings dealing with local government issues. Under the expectation that salience of the issue would be relatively great for those of long residence in the township as well as for those residing in an area up for annexation, it was predicted that such situations would be associated with high vote turnout. As rows (1) and (2) of Table VII-6 indicate, one's residential stake in the annexation issue is significant to vote turnout, while the more general factor of residential tenure is not.

Table VII-6. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and participation in issue relevant community affairs, also controlling for social status (by percentage of total who either voted or did not vote)

	Did Vote		Did Not Vote
(1) Reside in Directly Affected Area	35	*	16
Upper Status	22	*	08
Lower Status	54	*	28
(2) Over 5 Years Local Residence	48		44
Upper Status	61		51
Lower Status	28		35
(3) Attended Issue Relevant Public Meeting	52		42
Upper Status	45		36
Lower Status	62		49
(4) Discussed Issues at Group Meetings	42	*	27
Upper Status	38		27
Lower Status	49	*	28
(5) Discussed Issues with Friends	93	*	78
Upper Status	92	*	73
Lower Status	95		86

\*Significant at least at the .05 level in the expected direction, using chi square. All other differences are insignificant.

Notice again the preeminence of the practical implications of annexation. On the other hand, length of residence, unlike area of residence, is as likely to foster apathy as involvement. (This does not contradict the fact that of those who do vote, the long term resident is significantly more prone to vote against annexation. See p. 251.)

The discussion of issues in groups and with friends (rows 3 and 4) is significantly related to vote turnout as expected. On the other hand, the apparently highly salient matter of attendance at a public meeting dealing with community issues (row 5), while directionally consistent, does not significantly discriminate between those who vote and those who do not. Little light is shed on this matter by controlling for social status. Note that when the five measures are considered simultaneously, no pattern emerges. Viewed singly, for one variable both statuses are significantly related to turnout; for another, only upper status is significant; for a third it is the lower status that is significant; and for the remaining two, neither status is significant.

Opinions of Practical Problems and  
Vote Turnout

Buchanan (1956, p. 291) notes that

dissatisfaction with the performance of the existing administration . . . has been cited as a possible stimulant to voting. Logically this would seem to be a more relevant correlate of voting than either status or non-political participation--or at any rate, more relevant from a purely political viewpoint.

However,

contrary to the theory, voters showed no evidence of greater dissatisfaction. . . . Non-voters were just as pleased with the school system, just as displeased with recreational facilities, and just as lukewarm as voters about the city government and the county government.

This lack of association is confirmed in Table VII-7.

Table VII-7. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and opinions on practical problems, also controlling for social status (by percentage of total who either voted or did not vote)

	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Believe Annexation Causes Tax Rise	75	78 *
Upper Status	77	79
Lower Status	70	77
Believe Water Not Major Local Problem	42	42
Upper Status	37	41
Lower Status	49	42

\*Using chi square, none of these differences are significant at the .05 level.

No plausible explanation is offered, other than the suggestion that strong opinions on either side of an issue (e.g., satisfaction or dissatisfaction) are equally likely to motivate one to carry out the voting act. This suggestion is not inconsistent with the fact that "partisan" orientation toward an issue is crucial in determining vote direction (see Chapter VI, especially pp. 252-255).

Opinions Toward Proposed Solution  
Possibilities and Vote Turnout

Like the lack of relationship found between vote turnout and contrary opinions on practical problems, so too the relationship between turnout and contrary opinions toward specific proposed solution possibilities is found, with one exception, to be insignificant (see Table VII-8). Apparently, the reason for this is similar to that offered in the previous section, namely, the overriding significance of issue salience, exerting relatively equal pressure on those with diverse opinions to cast their ballots.

Table VII-8. Relationship between annexation vote turnout and opinions toward proposed solution possibilities, also controlling for social status (by percentage of total who either voted or did not vote)

	Did Vote		Did Not Vote
Favorable (vs. Unfavorable) Effect of Recent Grand Rapids Annexation Attempts	52	*	74
Upper Status	51	*	73
Lower Status	54	*	74
Most (vs. Least) Favorable to Grand Rapids Annexation	68		71
Upper Status	58		65
Lower Status	83		78
Least (vs. Most) Favorable to Wyoming Annexation	77		75
Upper Status	63		72
Lower Status	97		82
Least (vs. Most) Favorable to Incorporation	56		52
Upper Status	48		44
Lower Status	66		64
Most Favorable to Grand Rapids (vs. Wyoming) Annexation	82		79
Upper Status	69		72
Lower Status	98		88
Most Favorable to Grand Rapids Annexation (vs. Incorporation)	45		51
Upper Status	57		48
Lower Status	26		33

\*Significant at least at the .05 level; based on chi square. All other differences are insignificant.

The Nature of the Interrelationship Between Sub-System  
Membership, Image, and Vote Turnout

Relative Significance of the Social  
Psychological Variables

As in the previous chapter, the general hypothesis to be considered here is that sub-system membership influences sub-system image which, in turn, influences the annexation vote. This chapter differs from the last one however in testing the intensity of social psychological orientations rather than simple direction (local or urban oriented); and that in terms of vote turnout rather than vote direction. To lend support to the general hypothesis, it is necessary that an association exists between sub-system image intensity and vote turnout when sub-system membership intensity is held constant.<sup>6</sup> That such a situation prevails for both the political access and the political state of affairs images is evident from Tables VII-9 and VII-10 respectively. Although all relationships are in the predicted direction however, only one of the four is statistically significant. In keeping with earlier findings, it is the political state of affairs image which is the more discriminating.

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<sup>6</sup>Intensity rather than consonance is used in that it is the only measure giving information on both participation-  
al and image orientations.

Table VII-9. Vote turnout as related to intensity of political access image, holding constant intensity of sub-system membership (in percentages)

	Intense Membership		Mild Membership	
	Did Vote	Did Not Vote	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Intense Access Image	59	47	55	45
Mild Access Image	41	53	45	55
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	61	51	92	55

$$\chi^2 = 1.15; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .15 \quad \chi^2 = 1.00; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .25$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

Table VII-10. Vote turnout as related to intensity of political state of affairs image, holding constant intensity of sub-system membership (in percentages)

	Intense Membership		Mild Membership	
	Did Vote	Did Not Vote	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Intense State of Affairs Image	36	18	38	20
Mild State of Affairs Image	64	82	62	80
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	61	51	92	55

$$\chi^2 = 1.87; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .10 \quad \chi^2 = 4.40; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .025$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

Although the foregoing data do not support the hypothesis with much statistical decisiveness, the consistency of direction prompts analysis of what happens to the relationship between membership intensity and vote turnout when image intensity is held constant. Reviewing the logic of Gold (1962, p. 85), it is necessary for the association between membership and vote turnout to diminish when image is held constant if support is to be given to the hypothesized sequence. That such is the case is apparent by glancing at the relatively small chi square values that are derived in Tables VII-11 and VII-12. Note that in every particular case, these values are smaller than those found in Tables VII-9 and VII-10.

Table VII-11. Vote turnout as related to intensity of subsystem membership, holding constant intensity of political access image (in percentages)

	Intense Access Image		Mild Access Image	
	Did Vote	Did Not Vote	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Intense Membership	41	49	38	47
Mild Membership	59	51	62	53
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	87	49	66	57

$$\chi^2 = 0.46; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .25 \quad \chi^2 = 0.88; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .25$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

Table VII-12. Vote turnout as related to intensity of sub-system membership, holding constant intensity of political state of affairs image (in percentages)

	Intense State of Affairs Image		Mild State of Affairs Image	
	Did Vote	Did Not Vote	Did Vote	Did Not Vote
Intense Membership	39	45	41	49
Mild Membership	61	55	59	51
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	57	20	96	86

$$\chi^2 = 0.05; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .45 \quad \chi^2 = 0.93; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .25$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

Thus, as in the case of vote direction analyzed previously, so too it appears justifiable to infer that the image variable is more important as a determinant of vote turnout than is the variable of membership. However, neither are very discriminating.

By holding vote turnout constant, one can determine whether the association of image intensiveness and vote turnout is dependent on the simultaneous effect of membership intensiveness. Reviewing the logic of Gold (1962, p. 86), independence can be said to exist if the association between membership extremes and image extremes dissipates when vote turnout is held constant. That this is consistently the



case here is embodied in the extremely small chi square values in Tables VII-13 and VII-14.

Table VII-13. Intensity of sub-system membership as related to intensity of political access image, holding constant vote turnout (in percentages)

	Did Vote		Did Not Vote	
	Membership Intense	Membership Mild	Membership Intense	Membership Mild
Intense Access Image	59	55	47	45
Mild Access Image	41	45	53	55
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	61	92	51	55

$$\chi^2 = 0.07; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .40 \quad \chi^2 = 0.00; 1 \text{ d.f.}$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

Table VII-14. Intensity of sub-system membership as related to intensity of political state of affairs image, holding constant vote turnout (in percentages)

	Did Vote		Did Not Vote	
	Membership Intense	Membership Mild	Membership Intense	Membership Mild
Intense State of Affairs Image	36	38	18	20
Mild State of Affairs Image	64	62	82	80
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases*	61	92	51	55

$$\chi^2 = 0.01; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .48 \quad \chi^2 = 0.00; 1 \text{ d.f.}$$

\*See footnote, Table VII-1a, p. 272.

Interest now shifts to the joint significance of image and membership intensity in accounting for vote turnout.

### Joint Significance of the Social Psychological Variables

In an attempt to see whether prediction of vote turnout is enhanced by simultaneously using two social psychological orientations as independent variables, the relationship between intensiveness of image and membership on vote turnout is tested by means of the chi square technique.

When political access image and membership are combined, their association to vote turnout is insignificant ( $\chi^2 = 4.87$ ; 3 d.f.;  $p < .10$ ). Reviewing earlier findings (pp. 273-275), the isolated impact of membership intensiveness on vote turnout was found to be statistically insignificant ( $p < .35$ ), but the isolated impact of intensiveness of access image on vote turnout was significant ( $p < .05$ )

When the political state of affairs image and membership are combined, their association to vote turnout is statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 12.37$ ; 3 d.f.;  $p < .005$ ). However, again reviewing an earlier analysis (p. 276), the state of affairs image intensity measure alone was as significantly related to turnout ( $p < .005$ ). In conclusion, there appears to be small merit in combining measures of the intensiveness of social psychological orientations in an attempt to increase the precision of predicting vote turnout.

### Summary

Main consideration has been given in this chapter to the two independent variables of intensity of orientation and image consonance as these relate to vote turnout. In addition, certain annexation related issues were analyzed in terms of vote turnout, as was the matter of social status.

Intensity of orientation is tested by collapsing extreme contrary orientations of community sub-systems into a single category as distinguished from orientations toward units outside the metropolitan community or absence of specific orientation. The general hypothesis, positing a direct relationship between intensity and vote turnout, is confirmed. That is, those most involved in the metropolitan community are significantly more apt to vote in the annexation referendum than are those not so involved. Intensity of sub-system membership provides the only exception to this generalization. Note that the relative weight of the chi square values is in the hypothesized order, with the state of affairs measure (based as it is on practical considerations) most highly related to vote turnout; sub-system membership least related; and the political access measure in an intermediate position. This order is due, no doubt, to the phenomenological proximity that each of the measures has to the annexation issue. When multiple variable analysis is applied to establish independently the relative significance

of the social psychological variables in accounting for vote turnout, directionally consistent but not statistically significant support prevails. The hypothesis tested was that intensiveness of sub-system images is more closely associated with vote turnout when intensiveness of sub-system membership is held constant than is the converse case. (However, prediction of vote turnout is not enhanced by simultaneously using intensiveness of both membership and image as joint independent variables.)

Consonance is tested by measuring the extent to which a positive image of one of the sub-systems is complemented by a negative image of the other sub-system. Dissonant images exist where both of the sub-system images are critical or complementary. An assumption of sub-system conflict, perceived by suburban residents, lies behind this measure. When this consonance-dissonance measure is related to vote turnout, the relationship is found to be insignificant. This tends to negate the hypothesis that dissonant images of local sub-systems reflect ambivalence on the part of the citizen which prompts him to "resolve" his cognitive dilemma by withdrawing from the field rather than voting. Apparently, a cooperative model of community sub-system orientations must be used as a corrective to exclusive use of the competitive model if vote turnout is to be explained adequately.

Concerning issue relevant community participation, five separate measures of it consistently support its hypothesized direct relationship to vote turnout. However, this directional consistency is supported by statistical significance in but three of five instances.

The direction of one's opinions on practical community affairs and on proposed solutions to the problems of urbanization are not significantly related to vote turnout. This implies that such measures are much more important in determining vote direction than vote turnout.

Finally, the impact of social status in shaping social psychological orientations is found to be not nearly as significant in influencing vote turnout as it is in determining vote direction (cf. Chapter VI). That is, controlling for social status does not provide a clearcut specification of increased salience for upper status respondents as found for vote direction. This difference becomes a matter for further research.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### Overview of Research Design

This study sets out to test the decision-making relevance of reference group theory as applied to suburban and urban community sub-systems. It does so in the context of an annexation election by seeking to understand the relationship between extent of participation in, as well as positive image toward both sub-systems on the one hand, and both vote turnout and vote direction on the other. By regarding community social structure as behaviorally relevant both as a framework for social interaction and as a social object toward which cognitive images are oriented, it points to the viability of the reference group concept. By focusing on the voters themselves, it functions indirectly to complement those community studies of social power and decision making which stress operations designed from the "top" of the community structure.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This emphasis in no way detracts from recent attempts to construct and apply predictive models for community issue outcomes based on a knowledge of community power alignments, such as those of Miller (1957) and Hanson (1959). Rather, it complements their attempt to relate ballot out-

As an interdisciplinary endeavor, it uses a field theoretical approach in an attempt to better understand the relationship between participation in the two community sub-systems, and images of these sub-systems as they relate to vote turnout and direction.

In order to obtain information necessary to test the utility of the reference group concept in this community-based analysis of decision making, data were obtained by means of a survey. This survey was conducted among a representative sample of registered voters residing in suburban Paris Township just prior to the April 1961 ballot on the issue of annexation to the core city of Grand Rapids. On the basis of public knowledge of the affairs of both the suburban sub-system (Paris Township) and the urban sub-system (Grand Rapids), sharpened by statistical trace line

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comes to community based organization sectors by focusing on the voter as decision maker. That is, whereas Miller and Hanson are primarily concerned with testing a theory of organizationally based power, this study is concerned with deriving a part-theory of community structures as relevant to the hoi polloi. This pursuit represents an attempt to analyze the social structural and the cognitive framework through which power relationships of any noncoercive sort must intersect if they are to affect behavior. The concept of power, in this context, becomes chiefly a designator of influence and control which the hoi polloi--in this case the electorate, exercise. That is, the study focuses on that component of power which is effected by, or at least "channeled through" the voter as decision maker.

analysis, meaningful indices of social psychological orientation were constructed from survey data. Separate indices were constructed for each respondent's (1) sub-system of primary membership (based on the criterion of participation in a series of daily rounds), (2) sub-system to which he attributes the more positive image of political access, and (3) sub-system to which he attributes the more positive image of practical political affairs. This survey also yielded data, based on the self-report, of the direction in which the respondent intended to vote in the upcoming annexation election. Data on actual vote turnout were obtained from official voting records.

Thus, the general range of inquiry is restricted to a test of the social psychological power of the reference group concept as applied to a local and an urban community sub-system. This is done by predicting the manner in which township residents will respond to an annexation issue. A solicited assessment of contemporary community problems is used to supplement annexation vote turnout and direction as behavioral responses to the issue. Although no supplementary measures of orientation to the sub-system of prime reference are necessary to the three listed above, social status is used throughout the study as a control variable.

Prior to the actual stock taking of the research findings, it is important to review the methodological and

theoretical range embraced by the research design. Only within the limits of this design are valid generalizations possible.

It is necessary to recognize at the outset that the use of politically defined sub-systems as reference groups was, in one sense, imposed on the data. This is true in the sense that no independent criterion, apart from selective participation, was used to determine the normative significance of urban and local sub-systems as frames of reference from which politically oriented decisions are assumed to emanate. Put differently, unlike the test of sub-system membership as based on selective participation, the cognitive test of a respondent's reference group was based on the existence of his choice between sub-systems as objects of reference. On the basis of these, frames of reference were inferred. The study assumes the decision-making significance of these politically distinct units on the basis of the history of their separate, public identities. Only further research can establish differences in the extent to which the respondents were conscious of normative differences between the political sub-systems, and the impact these differences have on political decision making.

Also left as a problem for further research is the matter of identifying specific reference groups existing within each sub-system in terms of their significance to

political decision making. The possibility remains that the power of sub-system orientations here found to be predictors of voting behavior may be based on distinguishable, but not necessarily distinctive study units which provide the context within which meaningful groups, both formally and informally organized, are influential. In any case, the demonstrable predictive value of sub-system orientations in the context of community decision making warrants specific research attention to be paid to the following problems: (1) the process by which sub-systems are selected as reference groups,<sup>2</sup> (2) the dynamics of reference group influence by means of which those oriented toward a given sub-system internalize the politically relevant norms it is assumed to embody,<sup>3</sup> and (3) the nature of the linkage between distinct groups within the community as these mediate (reinforce or undermine) the normative orientations held toward the sub-systems.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of the problem of the selection of reference groups as affected by the values and norms involved in the situation and based on institutional and social structural conditions, see Eisenstadt (1954).

<sup>3</sup>The study by Newcomb (1943) still provides a fruitful model here.

<sup>4</sup>Kaplan (1955) found primary group norms crucial in his analysis of voting behavior. However, his efforts to isolate a single determinant failed. He attributed this to the fact that there was relatively little conflict among the various possible reference groups.

### General Hypotheses

One of the main hypotheses that guides this research denies the validity of the assumption of the homogeneous suburb composed of similarly oriented people. It states: The suburban resident's active participation in the urban sub-system, together with his positive images of it, reveal a sub-system reference group orientation toward this sub-system which is converted into a compatible decision to vote --in this case in favor of annexation to the core city. Conversely, negative orientations toward the core city sub-system are converted into a negative annexation ballot decision.

On a more specific level, it is hypothesized that: The relationship between the variables analyzed will be found in the following causal sequence: (1) sub-system participation rate, (2) sub-system images, and (3) the voting decision. Theoretical support for the sub-system participation-image order is found in interaction-obligation theory. Hanson (1962), in fact, successfully tested this theory in the context of community decision making, though he points to its derivation from small group research. He states:

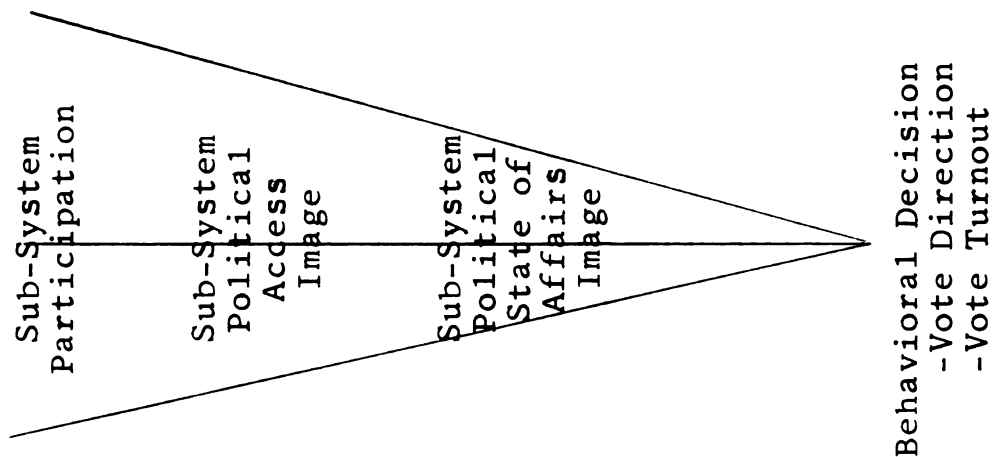
Other things being equal, the more frequently persons cooperatively interact with each other, the stronger their perceptions of obligation to each other are apt to be.

A corollary can be formulated immediately:  
Because of their more frequent cooperative interaction with each other, members of the same social system are apt to express more obligation to each other than to non-members (pp. 304-305).

But it does not necessarily follow that all orientations are on the same plane of predictive significance. And it is in meeting the problem of the assignment of temporal priorities in the causal chain that field theory is important. Campbell et al., in their study of The American Voter (1960), speak of the "funnel of causality" as a metaphor in which

the axis of the funnel represents a time dimension. Events are conceived to follow each other in a converging sequence of causal chains, moving from the mouth to the stem of the funnel. The funnel shape is a logical product of the explanatory task chosen. Most of the complex events in the funnel occur as a result of multiple effects as well, but our focus of interests narrows as we approach the dependent behavior. We progressively eliminate those effects that do not continue to have relevance for the political act. Since we are forced to take all partial causes as relevant at any juncture, relevant effects are therefore fewer in number than relevant causes. The result is a convergent effect (p. 24).

On the basis of our judgment as to the extent to which a given orientation is immediately relevant to the voting act, the following hypothesis is constructed schematically:



It must be emphasized that these community related variables are ranked in the order of their degree of imputed importance to the decision maker, based on the extent to which the substance of each orientation is salient to the annexation issue. Note, for instance, that the more practically grounded sub-system image dealing with the current state of political affairs is judged to be more intimately related to vote behavior than the more philosophically, ideologically grounded sub-system image of political access. Thus, the hypothesis of causal sequence can be stated as follows: The greater the direct bearing that the substance of a variable has on the annexation issue, the more dominant will be the use of the sub-system as a reference group affecting vote direction.

A final general hypothesis deals with the significance of social status--not as an orientation existing in a vacuum or in isolation, but rather as a sociological dimension which has predictive value when analyzed in conjunction

with sub-system orientations. On the theory that upper status people hold politically relevant role prescriptions not usually shared by lower status people, it is hypothesized that: Upper status voters will be disproportionately sensitized to the sub-system orientations previously referred to, and consequently will convert these orientations into consistent political decision-making behavior more frequently than will lower status voters.

The extent to which these hypotheses are supported, together with scrutiny of those which are not, as well as further research indicated by the findings are now considered. This represents an attempt to make the findings relate not only "backwards" to the initial hypotheses, but also "forwards" to indicate the nature and direction of observations needed to test the implications of this investigation.

### Research Findings and Implications

#### Vote Direction

Concerning the matter of vote direction, all three sub-system orientations were found to be discriminating in the direction hypothesized. Thus, a statistically significant, disproportionately large negative vote on annexation was registered by those who possessed a dominant (1) local membership, (2) positive access image toward the local sub-system, and (3) positive state of affairs image toward the

local sub-system. More specifically, and in line with expectations based on field theory, the image of the practical effects of the local governmental structure looms more significant in the eyes of the voter than does the more ideological consideration embodied in the political access image. Both, in turn, bear a closer relationship to vote direction than does sub-system participation--though even that is highly significant. Thus, these findings lend consistent support to the causal chain hypothesis which orders variables from the relatively remote to those which are more directly salient to the issue. The commonly heard defense of local government on the basis of easy access to officials in the townhall tradition appears to be more of a rationalization than a valid explanation behind negative annexation voting; a rationalization which functions to conceal more immediate economic and pragmatic concerns.

When a host of issue relevant opinions and behaviors are substituted for vote direction as the dependent variable, again there is consistent support for the hypothesis that the political state of affairs image is a more sensitive predictor than is the political access image. That is, the assessment of contemporary sub-system governmental problems with few exceptions assumes a very high range of statistical significance when related to a host of questions which cluster around the following three themes: (1) issue

relevant local sub-system participation (those with positive local image are most active), (2) opinions as to the existence of practical problems in the sub-system (those with positive local image are less inclined to identify local problems that are more likely to conclude that annexation would cause a rise in taxes), and (3) type of solution favored to meet the problem of urban expansion (those with positive local image are more inclined to incorporation than annexation). The relationship between political access image and these measures is more sporadic, and even when statistically significant, is generally related at a relatively low level. The sub-system membership orientation, on the other hand, though not as intimately related to the assessment of contemporary community problems as is the state of affairs index, proves a better predictor of issue relevant opinions and behaviors than does the political access image. This suggests the possibility that sub-system participation is as salient in political matters as the philosophically based political access image. Whether this possibility is actualized in the voting decision is determined by simultaneously analyzing the three main variables.

Although causal relationships cannot be ascertained finally with the type of data available in this study, statistical analysis involving the serial control of one variable while the other two are related does confirm the

initially hypothesized sequence: (1) sub-system membership, (2) political image of the sub-system, and (3) vote direction. Specifically, this causal inference is supported by two sets of evidence: (1) when sub-system membership is held constant, the association between vote direction and sub-system image (access, and to an even greater extent, state of affairs) remains statistically significant; (2) when (either) sub-system image is held constant, the association between sub-system membership and vote direction diminishes. An independent test of this sequence, however, awaits a panel study.

When vote direction is momentarily disregarded, and one concentrates on a simple relationship between sub-system participation and each of the images, the interaction, obligation hypothesis receives strong support. For, although both relationships are statistically significant, that between participation and the state of affairs image is much greater than that between participation and access image.

When attention shifts to the matter of social status, the hypothesis of increased sensitivity of upper status voters to community issues is consistently supported. This is manifest irrespective of which behavioral measure is used as the dependent variable. Thus, when all of the social psychological orientations are related, in turn, to vote direction, using social status as a control, upper status is, without exception, more significantly related than is

lower status. This same specification of increased sensitivity on the part of upper status respondents holds when issue relevant opinions and behaviors are substituted for vote turnout.

### Vote Turnout

The consistent support given to the hypotheses when vote direction is used as the dependent variable is not duplicated when vote turnout is substituted as the dependent variable. In part this may be attributable to the manner in which the social psychological indices were reconstructed in order to meet the problem of vote turnout. In order to predict turnout, two types of social psychological measures were used. One, labeled the intensity measure, distinguished between those actively involved in either sub-system and those not so actively involved. Essentially, this constitutes a measure of metropolitan community involvement and identification. In so doing, it conceals the polar differences between sub-systems as isolated above when vote direction was considered. The other measure taps the extent to which images of the core city and the local sub-systems are consonant with each other rather than dissonant. Under the assumption of perceived conflict between the two sub-systems, a positive image of the one sub-system combined with a negative image of the other sub-system was regarded as consonant.

On the other hand, if both sub-systems were viewed as positive or as negative these images were regarded as dissonant. No participational measure of consonance-dissonance was attempted.

Turning first to the intensity measure, empirical support is found for its direct relationship to vote turnout. The hypothesis that those with the most extreme orientations would regard the issue as most salient, thus motivating them to vote, is supported by the fact that those with the most extreme orientations had relatively high turnout rates. Furthermore, the relative weights of the chi square values are in the hypothesized order, with the state of affairs image most highly related to turnout, the access image next, and membership not only last but failing to achieve statistical significance.

When the causal chain hypothesis is subjected to the statistical scrutiny of serial control of one variable while the other two are related, it is supported to the extent that all relationships are in the predicted direction, albeit not with the statistical decisiveness evident for vote direction. Thus, there is justification for the causal sequence: (1) intensiveness of metropolitan community participation, (2) intensiveness of metropolitan community access image, (3) intensity of metropolitan community state of affairs image, and (4) vote turnout.

Concerning the effect of social status on the relationship between intensity of orientation and turnout, only in the case of the more practically oriented image (state of affairs) did the upper status category enhance the relationship. In the remaining two cases, statistical significance was not achieved for either upper or lower social status.

Turning now to the consonance-dissonance measure, the hypothesis that those with consonant sub-system images will be much more likely to turn up at the voting booth than those whose dissonant image motivates them to resolve their cognitive conflict by withdrawing from the field is not confirmed. Those with dissonant images of the local and urban sub-systems were found to be just as apt to come to the polls when an annexation matter of joint concern arose, as were those with consonant sub-system images.

Nor does the introduction of social status shed any light on this unexpected finding. All measures with one exception are consistently insignificant. The causal sequence hypothesis could not be checked in that no measurement was taken of participational consonance or dissonance.

A possible reason for the unexpected results obtained on turnout might be traced to the relatively tenuous nature of the consonance-dissonance measure. Only one substantive item was used for each image. This suggests the need for additional research based on a cohesive battery of

items for each image. This should be complemented by an attempt to construct and utilize an index of consonance-dissonance based on sub-system participation as well.

However, it is premature to dismiss the findings on social psychological orientation and turnout as due to methodological weakness. There are other possible reasons for the lack of relationship between image consonance and vote turnout. One alternative, amenable to further research, is that the assumption underlying the consonance-dissonance measure of perceived conflict between the sub-systems may have been overdrawn at the expense of a cooperative model. In fact, this interpretation is supported by the finding reported above on vote turnout and extent of involvement in the overall community. Further research must rely on specific questions dealing with the extent of conflict existing between the sub-systems as perceived by suburbanites (rather than juxtaposing isolated images of the sub-system as was done here).

This still leaves unexplained the general lack of significant relationship between social status and turnout in the context of intensity of orientation as well as image consonance. Such findings appear incompatible with other research (e.g., Hastings, 1956) which reports a significant relationship between middle and upper status orientation and relatively intense political activities--including exercise

of the franchise. In fact, this thesis, in another place, has itself provided empirical support for the relationship of social status to vote direction. One can only speculate as to the degree to which other studies of vote turnout are reliable, based as they are on self-reports. The reliability of information on turnout in this study, on the other hand, is beyond question in that it was collected from official sources and did not rely on the self report. In fact, self report on vote turnout was authenticated in only 65.4 per cent of the cases. In any case, this study suggests it is premature to assert that upper status people turn out disproportionately at the polls until this is checked by reliable information.<sup>5</sup> It is not to suggest that a socio-cultural role prescription makes no political demands on upper status people which charge them with greater political concern than that manifested by lower status people. Rather, it points to a possible discrepancy between verbalized ideal norms and socio-cultural forces which are converted into action (in this case, voting). It is possible that a socio-cultural role prescription does sensitize those who do vote to the social psychological orientations previously reviewed;

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<sup>5</sup>As reviewed in Appendix H, this study finds no significant differences between those of different status categories in the rate of converting intention to act.

yet is not sufficiently relevant or powerful to actually determine the prior decision as to whether or not one votes at all, irrespective of what his intentions or ideals might be. The process by which the verbalized voting norm is translated into intention, and ultimately into action, must be made the object of further study.

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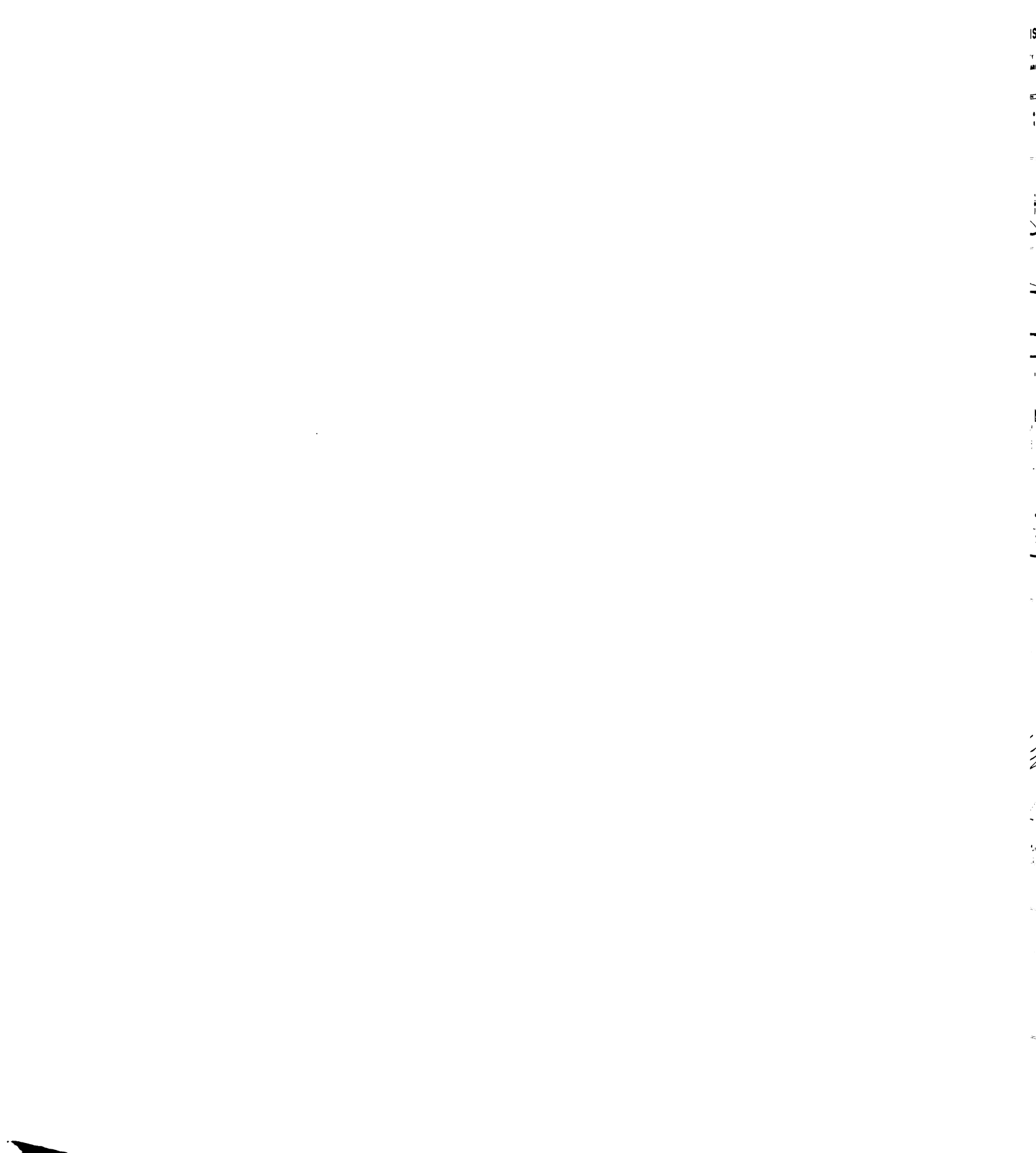
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## APPENDIX A

### HISTORY OF GROWTH OF THE CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS



## 328

[illegible]

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS  
HISTORY OF POPULATION GROWTH

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>% Increase</u>
1850	2,686	
1860	8,085	333%
1870	16,507	104%
1880	32,016	94%
1890	60,278	88%
1900	87,565	45%
1910	112,571	28%
1920	137,634	22%
1930	168,592	22%
1940	164,292	-2.6%
1950	176,515	7.5%
1960	197,193	10.4%
1961	201,487	.03%
1962	201,777	.001%
1963 (approx.)	203,600	.009%

HISTORY OF ANNEXATIONS

<u>Date</u>	<u>Square Miles</u>	<u>Total Square Miles</u>
Apr. 2, 1850	4	4
Feb. 18, 1857	6.5	10.5
Apr. 2, 1891	6.75	17.25
Aug. 29, 1916	1.25	18.50
Nov. 4, 1924	1.75	20.25
Nov. 23, 1925	1.75	22
June 7, 1926	.5	22.50
Apr. 4, 1927	1	23.50
Nov. 24, 1952	.03	23.53
Apr. 20, 1954	.125	23.65
Oct. 22, 1957	.022	23.67
Apr. 7, 1958	.75	24.42
Oct. 7, 1958	.03	24.45
Nov. 25, 1958	.01	24.46
June 23, 1959	.03	24.49
Aug. 2, 1960	12.67	37.16
Sept. 13, 1960	.01	37.17
Nov. 8, 1960	1.067	38.24
Apr. 3, 1961	3.66	41.9
Apr. 11, 1961	.033	41.93
July 25, 1961	.267	42.2
Feb. 19, 1962	1.001	43.2
Dec. 27, 1962	.04	43.24
Feb. 13, 1963	.06	43.30
Feb. 18, 1963	.75	44.05
Apr. 1, 1963	.02	44.07

APPENDIX B

THE SCHEDULE

### The Schedule

The basic schedule was constructed in 1959. All pertinent items are rearranged in terms of the major considerations of this study. Asterisks denote substitutions, revisions, or additions incorporated in the 1961 schedule. The numbering system parallels that found in the final draft of the 1961 schedule. Numbers within parentheses refer to weights for items. In all instances, (3) refers to a suburban orientation; (1) to an urban orientation. Weights of (2) do not appear in Section G "Related Matters" since these were not ingredients of indices but were used as independent measures.

#### A. Socio-Economic Status

46. What kind of work does (did) the chief wage earner do? (Based on the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, Dictionary of Occupational Titles, second edition, Vols. I and II, Washington, D.C., 1959.) Professional, Technical, and Kindred, together with Managers, Officials, and Proprietors were scored in the top of three categories. Clerical and Kindred, together with Sales Workers, Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred were put in the middle category. The bottom category consisted of Operatives and Kindred, Private Household Workers, Service Workers, and Laborers.
48. About how far did (the chief wage earner) go in school?          Completed College;          Some College, Not Grad;          Completed HS;          Some HS, Not Grad;          Eighth Grade;          Some Grade School;          No Formal Schooling. (Those with at least some college were scored in the top of three categories; those with an eighth grade attainment or less in the bottom; those with at least some high school experience in the middle.)

#### B. Sub-System Membership Index

4. Where did you spend most of your childhood?  
         (city and state)         ; (3) Farm, (3) Village;  
 Less than 5,000; (2) City: 5,000 to 50,000;  
(1) City: 51,000 to 99,000; (1) SMA: over 100,000.
30. Do you or your (husband/wife) know personally any of the officials of Paris Township? (3) Yes;  
(1) No; (2) Don't Know.

40. Would you tell me what daily or weekly newspapers you read regularly? (1) GR Press, (3) Wyoming Advocate, (3) South Kent News, (1) Detroit Free Press,        Other (specify)       . (If more than one paper is read, a score of 3 is attained if they are mixed equally, and 2 if there is a cosmopolitan emphasis.)
41. Would you tell me in which area most of your close friends live? (1) City of GR, (3) Paris Township, (2) Other suburb but within Kent Co., (2) Outside Kent Co., (2) DK or DNA.
42. In which area does the head of the household work? (1) City of GR, (3) Paris Township, (2) Other Suburb but within Kent Co., (2) Outside Kent Co., (2) DK or RTA.
50. Do you or your (wife/husband) belong to any of the following organizations? (3) PTA, (2) Youth Club Leader, (3) Service Club, (1) Charity or Welfare, (1) Womens, (3) Neighborhood Improvement, (1) Garden Club, (1) Political Club,        Other (specify)       . (1) Chamber of Commerce, (1) Professional. (If there are no memberships a score of 2 is given; in the case of more than one membership, an equal number of local and urban becomes 2; disproportionate urban becomes 1; and disproportionate local becomes 3.)

C. Political Access Image

19. Do you think a citizen is as close to his government officials in the central city as in the suburbs? (1) Yes, (3) No, (2) Don't Know.
- 28a. Do the people in Paris Township have much to say about how their government is run? (3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know.
- 28b. Do the people in Paris Township have more to say about how their government is run than do the citizens of Grand Rapids? (3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know.
- 29a. Do you think the city officials in Grand Rapids make enough effort to find out about citizen opinions? (1) Yes, (3) No, (2) Don't Know.

- 29b. Do you think the officials in Paris Township make enough effort to find out about citizen opinions?  
(3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know

D. Political State of Affairs Image

6. How good a job do you feel that Paris Township is doing in solving its major problems? (3) Very Good, (2) Fair, (2) Not So Good, (1) Failing Badly, (2) Don't Know.
7. How good a job do you feel the city of Grand Rapids is doing in solving its major problems? (1) Very Good, (2) Fair, (2) Not So Good, (3) Failing Badly, (2) Don't Know.
14. Does it seem to you that fewer matters end up as political issues in Paris election campaigns or in central city election campaigns? (3) Paris, (1) Central City, (2) Both the Same, (2) Don't Know.
15. \*Do you think the city of Grand Rapids would lose more than it would gain by large annexations of the suburbs? (3) Gain More, (1) Lose More, (2) Neither Gain nor Lose, (2) Both Gain and Lose, (2) Don't Know.
13. Do you think the suburbs can solve their problems realistically by themselves without any assistance from the core city? (3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know.
21. \*Do you favor annexation of some parts of some suburban units to the city of Grand Rapids? (1) Yes, (3) No, (2) Don't Know.
24. Do you think the services you get from your township government are worth the taxes you are paying? (3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know.
25. \*Do you think the schools are worth the taxes you pay? (3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know.

## E. Socio-Economic Cohesiveness Image

12. Do you feel that the city of Grand Rapids together with the suburbs is becoming more united into a single social and economic community? (1) Yes, More; (2) No, About the Same; (3) No, Less; (2) Don't Know.
16. Do you feel that the majority of people who live in the city of Grand Rapids have less emphasis on preserving home values than the majority of residents in Paris Township? (3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know.
17. Do you feel that the majority of people who live in the city of Grand Rapids are less friendly than the majority of residents in Paris Township? (3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know.
18. How would you rate the city of Grand Rapids as a place to raise a family? (1) Excellent, (1) Good, (2) Average, (3) Poor, (3) Almost Impossible, (2) Don't Know.
23. In general, how do you think the overall cost of living in the city of Grand Rapids compares with living in the suburban areas? (3) More in City, (1) More in Suburbs, (2) About the Same, (2) Don't Know.

## F. Report of Vote Behavior

52. \*Did you vote on the December 1959 ("New City") plan that would have incorporated all of Paris Township within Grand Rapids? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes, \_\_\_\_\_ No, \_\_\_\_\_ Don't Know, \_\_\_\_\_ DNA. If Yes, \_\_\_\_\_ For; \_\_\_\_\_ Against; \_\_\_\_\_ Don't Know, \_\_\_\_\_ RTA.
53. \*Do you plan on voting on the annexation issue in the upcoming (April 3) election? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes, \_\_\_\_\_ No, \_\_\_\_\_ Don't Know. If Yes, \_\_\_\_\_ For; \_\_\_\_\_ Against; \_\_\_\_\_ Don't Know, \_\_\_\_\_ RTA.

If CHANGE of vote intentions between the two elections, ask: Would you mind telling us why you plan to vote differently than you did in December of 1959?

## G. Related Matters

3. \*Could you tell me in what year you moved to Paris Township? \_\_\_\_\_. (1) Less Than a Year, (1) 1-5 Years, (2) 6-10 Years, (3) 11-20 Years, (3) Over 20 years.
8. Would you favor paying more taxes to provide better services of a specified type in this area? (1) Yes, (3) No, (2) Don't Know. If Yes, what type of services? \_\_\_\_\_.
9. \*Of the following possibilities, which would you favor (A) most, (B) least for Paris Township? \_\_\_\_\_ Annexation to Grand Rapids, \_\_\_\_\_ Annexation to Wyoming, \_\_\_\_\_ Incorporating.
15. Do you consider the water supply a major problem in Paris Township? (1) Yes, (3) No, (2) Don't Know.
22. \*Would you like to see annexation of the built-up parts of Paris Township to: The city of Grand Rapids? (1) Yes, (3) No, (2) Don't Know. A neighboring city? (3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know.
29. Do you think the city officials in Grand Rapids make enough effort to find out about citizen opinions? (1) Yes, (3) No, (2) Don't Know.
30. Do you think the officials in Paris Township make enough effort to find out about citizen opinions? (3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know.
31. Do you think it is important that you or other members of your immediate family know any officials of Paris Township? (3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know.
32. In the last two years have you or your (husband/wife) attended any public meetings dealing with school or other governmental problems? (3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know.
33. In the last year have local governmental issues been discussed at meetings or organizations to which you belong? (3) Yes, (1) No, (2) Don't Know.

34. Have you discussed local governmental issues with friends at some time in the last year? (3) Yes,  
(1) No, (2) Don't Know
39. \*Have annexation activities in other areas in the last year or so affected your attitudes toward annexation in your area? \_\_\_\_\_ Much, \_\_\_\_\_ Some,  
\_\_\_\_\_ Little, \_\_\_\_\_ None. Unless "None," in what way(s)? \_\_\_\_\_.
44. Do you think that annexation of this area to the city would cause a rise in taxes? (3) Yes, Rise Quite a Bit; (3) Yes, Rise a Little; (1) No Difference; (1) No, Go Down; (2) Don't Know.

## APPENDIX C

### INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWERS

### Instructions for Interviewers

1. Before you begin interviewing, read carefully the manual which explains and illustrates the more difficult questions in the schedule.
2. It is mandatory that the person on the address indicated on the schedule be interviewed. DO NOT SUBSTITUTE SOMEONE ELSE WHO LIVES ELSEWHERE. If the respondent is busy or not at home, return at a time which might be more convenient to the respondent.
3. Try to get the respondent to answer the questions by himself with no other person around to kabitz and suggest answers.
4. Read all the questions just as they are worded on the schedule. This is the only way we can be sure everyone is answering the same questions.
5. Use Pencil. The following symbols are standard: DK (Don't Know), RTA (Refused to Answer), X (to indicate responses which apply--as printed on the schedule), DNA (Does Not Apply), NH (Not at Home) AP (Appointment), and COM (Completed Interview).
6. For "open-end" questions, write answers verbatim, in respondent's own words, while respondent is talking. Do not change wording. We are interested in content--the heart of the response, not sentence structure.
7. If the space on the schedule is not large enough to write in the response, write on the back of the page.
8. THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT INTERVIEWING IS NOT TO PUT WORDS IN THE RESPONDENT'S MOUTH. WRITE DOWN JUST WHAT HE SAYS.
  - a. Try not to suggest answers to the respondent.
  - b. Try not to explain a question--just re-read it.
  - c. Try not to show by your expression that you agree or disagree violently. Your aim is to be pleasantly neutral. Never Argue.
  - d. Ask every question. Don't skip because you think you know what the respondent will say.

9. When you have finished the interview, check over the schedule as soon as possible, while the answers are still fresh in your mind.
10. For each question check the answer and put the code number in the corresponding space in the column at the right. You may enter the code numbers immediately after you leave the house if you wish, but do not wait until you leave the area. This is a double check. You will disregard the column code numbers for the blanks opposite space where remarks are recorded and no forced choices given.
11. Remember all information given you is confidential.

APPENDIX D

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION WHICH PRECEDED THE INTERVIEW

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
East Lansing, Michigan  
March, 1961

Dear Householder:

Within the next week or so an interviewer representing a Michigan State University study will call at your home. He will be a local college student who will want to ask you a series of questions about governmental services and community life in Paris township. This study is not sponsored by any local civic group. It has as its sole purpose a better understanding of the problems of suburbanites. What people like yourself think of these things is important for helping many other communities in Michigan who will be facing similar issues.

Your responses will be tabulated with others and analyzed statistically similar to the way Gallup Poll reports are made. The interviewer will not ask or in any way use your name. The questionnaires will not be analyzed until after the April election. It is expected that results will be available in about six months. After analysis, the Institute of Community Development and Services of Michigan State University will publish the findings.

Your house is one of a scientifically selected sample which will give a cross section of attitudes in the whole community. It is of critical importance to interview someone in every household in this sample in order that the results of the study reflect all types of community opinions. You will be making an important contribution to the understanding of community problems if you will help our interviewer fill out the questionnaire.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Charles R. Adrian  
Director, Institute for Community  
Development & Services  
Michigan State University

## APPENDIX E

FINAL STATUS OF THOSE SELECTED IN 1959 AND 1961 SAMPLES

## Final Status of Those Selected in 1959 and 1961 Samples (in percentages)

	<u>1959 Sample</u>			
	<u>Openly Resistive<sup>a</sup></u>	<u>REFUSALS</u>		<u>NO CONTACT<sup>c</sup></u>
		<u>Rationalized</u>	<u>Apparently Reasonable<sup>b</sup></u>	
Wyoming	02.0	04.7	00.0	06.5
Walker	00.0	07.6	00.0	03.0
East G.R.	00.0	03.0	00.0	04.5
Paris	00.0	06.4	01.6	12.7
G.R. Twp.	00.0	07.8	00.0	05.2
	<u>1961 Sample</u>			
Knollcrest	00.0	00.0	00.0	00.0
Woodlands	04.0	00.0	08.0	04.0
Millbrook	00.0	00.0	00.0	00.0
Other Involved	00.0	00.0	00.0	06.9
Pct. II	00.0	00.0	00.0	08.0
Pct. VI	04.7	00.0	00.0	00.0
Pct. VII	02.1	00.0	00.0	02.2
Pct. IV	04.7	00.0	00.0	04.7
Pct. IX	09.1	00.0	09.1	04.6
Pct. III	07.1	00.0	04.8	04.8
Knollcrest	00.0	00.0	00.0	100.0
Woodlands	04.0	00.0	08.0	88.0
Millbrook	00.0	00.0	00.0	100.0
Other Involved	00.0	00.0	00.0	94.1
Pct. II	00.0	00.0	00.0	92.0
Pct. VI	04.7	00.0	00.0	95.3
Pct. VII	02.1	00.0	00.0	95.9
Pct. IV	04.7	00.0	00.0	90.6
Pct. IX	09.1	00.0	09.1	77.3
Pct. III	07.1	00.0	04.8	83.3

<sup>a</sup>Typical response: "Never will have time to answer these questions."

<sup>b</sup>Typical responses include respondent sick; death in the family; etc.

<sup>c</sup>Includes maximum number of calls (four) and such conditions as respondent moved; on extended vacation; etc.

## APPENDIX F

### DERIVATION OF SUB-SYSTEM MEMBERSHIP INDEX BY TRACE LINE ANALYSIS

Derivation of Sub-System Membership Index  
by Trace Line Analysis

In deriving trace lines for each of the indices, responses to Likert type scale questions were dichotomized, using the median values of each item as the dividing point. The middle value was shifted in the direction of the pole with the fewest cases. It should be noted that although such collapsing of categories was done for the purpose of deciding which items to retain in the index, a more sensitive and discriminating trichotomy was retained in the body of the analysis. For a justification of such a reduction, see Green (1954, p. 357).

1. Criteria for distinguishing between Local and Urban Participants:

ITEM I	Community of Socialization	
	SMA: over 100,000 . . . . .	1
	Farm thru 99,000 . . . . .	2
ITEM II	Personal Contact with Local Officials	
	No . . . . .	1
	Yes . . . . .	2
ITEM III	Newspaper Readership	
	Exclusive Urban or Urban	
	Emphasis (e.g., G.R. Press,	
	Detroit Free Press, etc.).	1
	Mixed Equally or Local	
	Emphasis . . . . .	2
ITEM IV	Location of Occupation	
	G.R. Core City . . . . .	1
	Elsewhere in County . . . . .	2
ITEM V	Friendly Visiting	
	Grand Rapids . . . . .	1
	Elsewhere in County . . . . .	2
ITEM VI	Voluntary Associational Affiliation	
	More with Urban Orientation . . . . .	1
	More with Local Orientation	
	or Equal Number of Each. . . . .	2

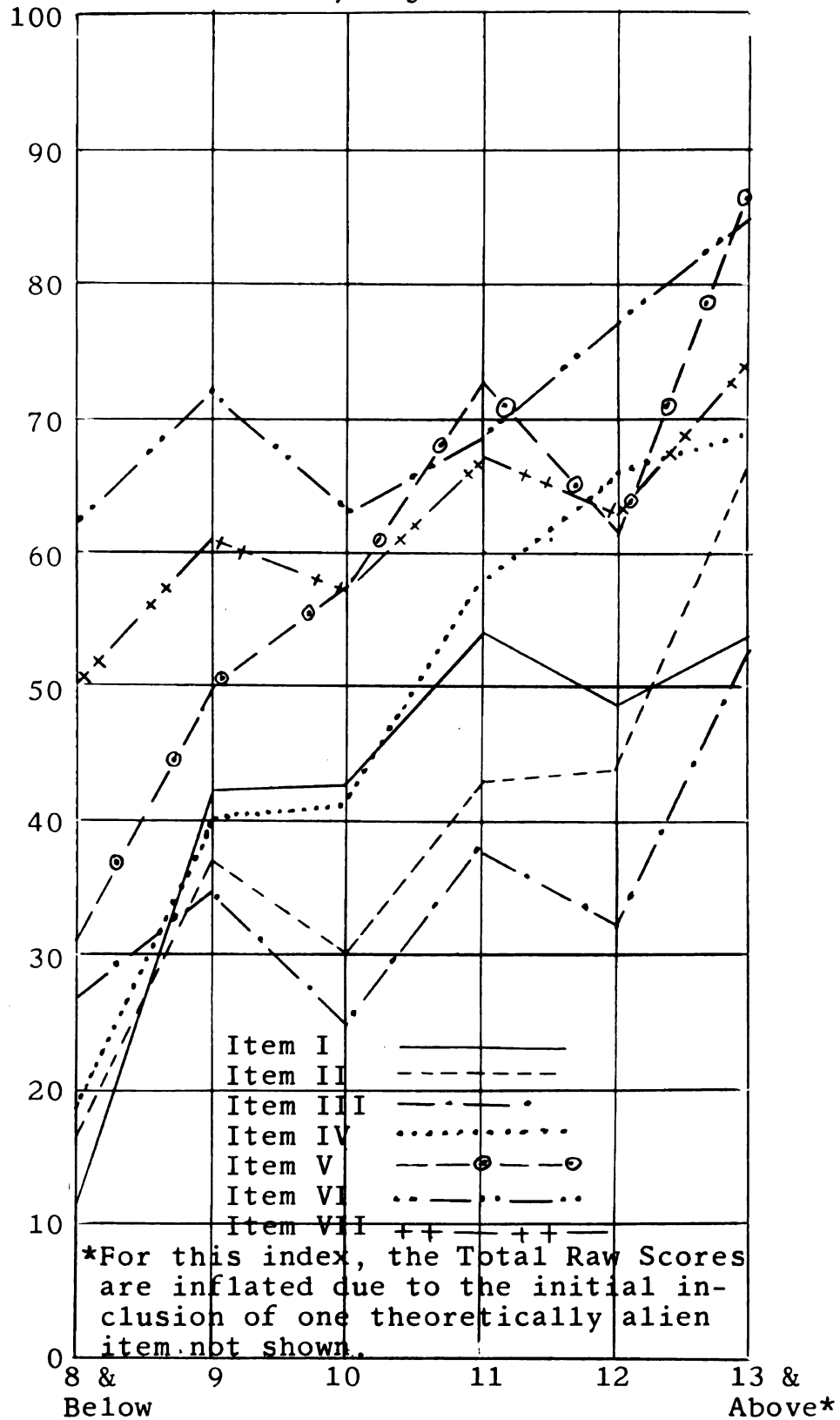
ITEM VII	Balot Activity in Last Six Elections	
	Greater in Local* Affairs	
	or No Voting . . . . .	1
	Greater in Cosmopolitan**	
	Affairs or as Great as in	
	Local Affairs . . . . .	2

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\*An airport relocation issue, a local primary, and an annexation issue.

\*\*Though minor local issue may have been "appended" the main issues were non-local: a national presidential election, a state election, etc.

2. Initial Sub-System Membership Tracelines (Percentages with Urban Orientation by Adjusted Total Raw Scores)



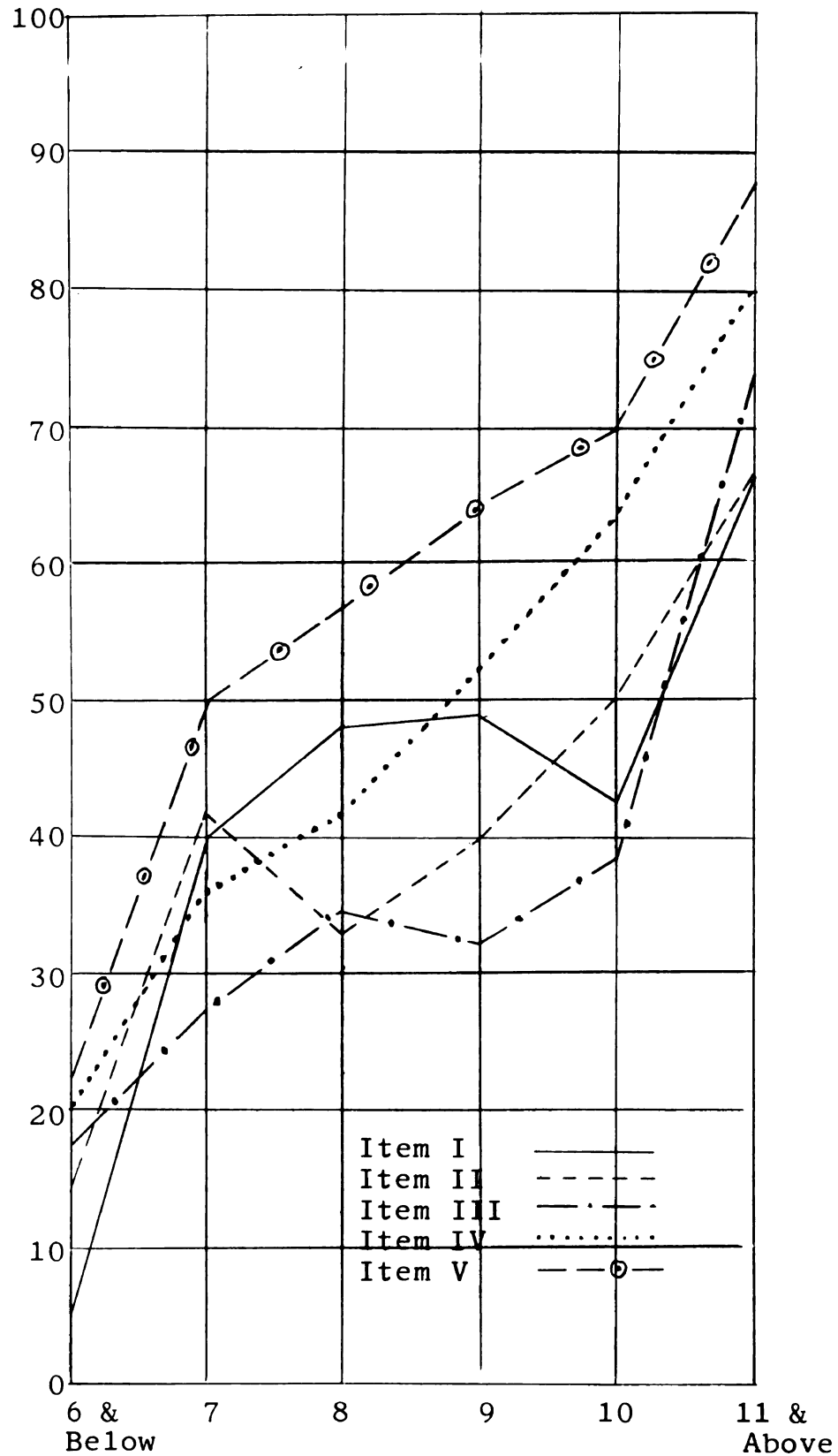
### 3. Final Disposition of Sub-System Membership Index Items.

Note: Copp (1960, pp. 15-16) gives the following reasons for unacceptable trace lines:

1. Mistaken identity in original selection--a conceptual error.
2. Intrusion of multi-dimensionality.
3. High correlation with only some items--intrusion of a specific variable.
4. Lack of discrimination--where less than 20 per cent or more than 80 per cent of the sample endorse an item.

- |          |  |
|----------|--|
| ITEM I   | Community of Socialization<br><u>retained.</u>   |
| ITEM II  | Personal Contact with Local Officials<br><u>retained.</u>  |
| ITEM III | Newspaper Readership<br><u>retained.</u>   |
| ITEM IV  | Location of Occupation<br><u>retained.</u>   |
| ITEM V   | Friendly Visiting<br><u>retained.</u>  |
| ITEM VI  | Voluntary Associational Affiliation<br><u>deleted.</u> Unacceptable trace line.<br>Reason unknown but probably<br>points to crude manner of conceptual differentiation.  |
| ITEM VII | Ballot Activity in Last Six Elections<br><u>deleted.</u> Unacceptable trace line.<br>This item is conceptually invalid<br>in that it at best reflects a membership in the sub-system but in no way constitutes one. Unlike the others, activity in this domain has no conceivable influence on the person. |

4. Final Sub-System Membership Trace Lines (Percentages with Urban Orientation by Adjusted Total Raw Scores)



## APPENDIX G

### DERIVATION OF SUB-SYSTEM IMAGE INDICES BY TRACE LINE ANALYSIS

1. Criteria for distinguishing between local and urban images:\*

ITEM I	How good Paris Government doing? Not so Good, Failing Badly, DK Very Good, Fair	1 2
ITEM II	How good G.R. Government doing? Very Good, Fair Not so Good, Failing Badly, DK	1 2
ITEM III	Can Suburbs solve own Problems ? No, DK Yes	1 2
ITEM IV	Where fewer politica conflicts? Central City, Both the Same, DK Paris	1 2
ITEM V	G.R. less emphasis on preserving home values? No Yes, DK	1 2
ITEM VI	G.R. less friendly? No Yes, DK	1 2
ITEM VII	Where is citizen closer to government? Central City, DK Suburbs	1 2
ITEM VIII	G.R. gain or lose by annexing? Lose, Neither, DK Gain	1 2
ITEM IX	Favor annexation of some units? Yes, DK No	1 2
ITEM X	Where cost of living higher? Suburbs Core City, Same, DK	1 2
ITEM XI	Township services worth taxes? No, DK Yes	1 2

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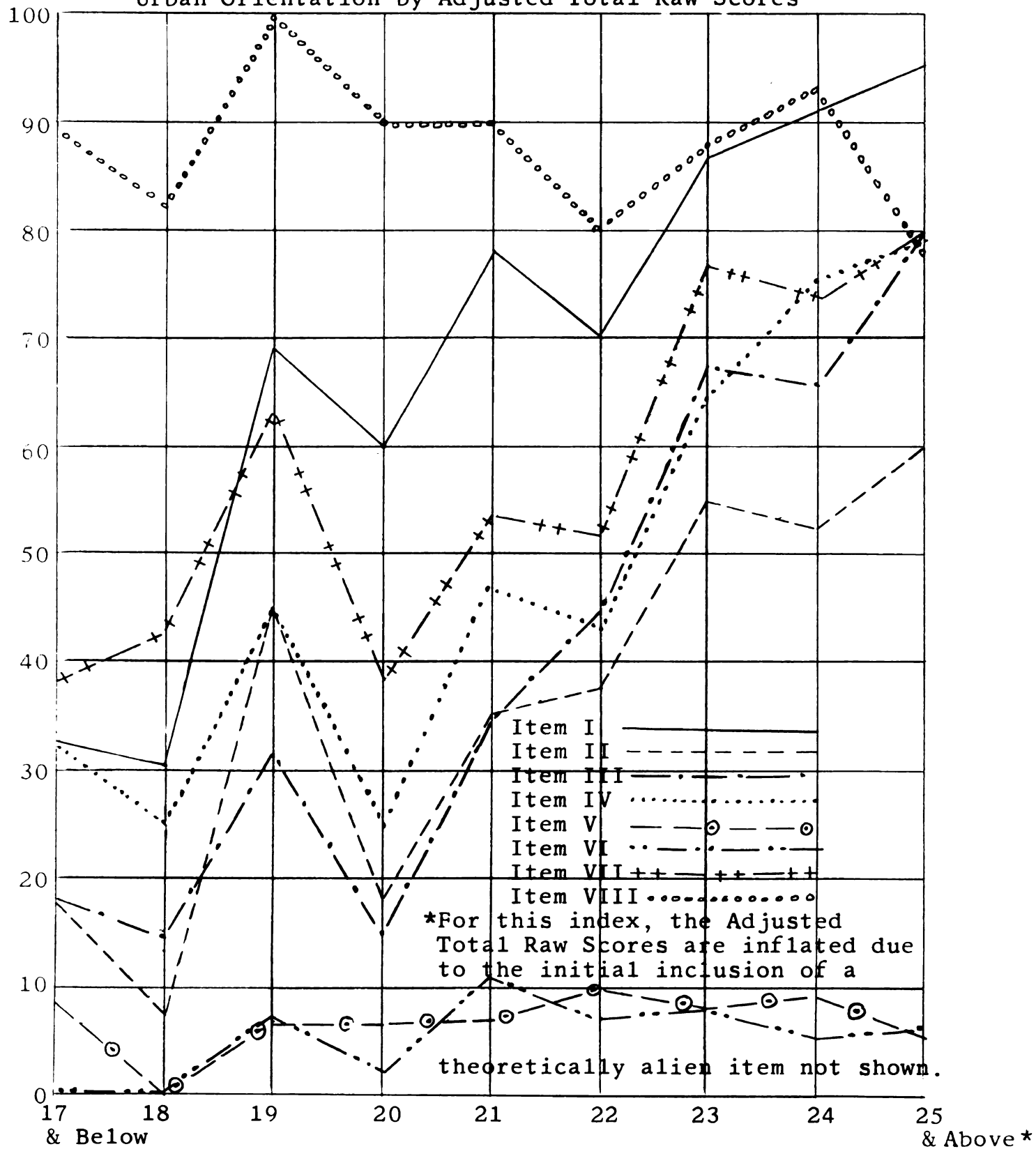
\*Rationale for the collapsing of categories is found in Appendix F.

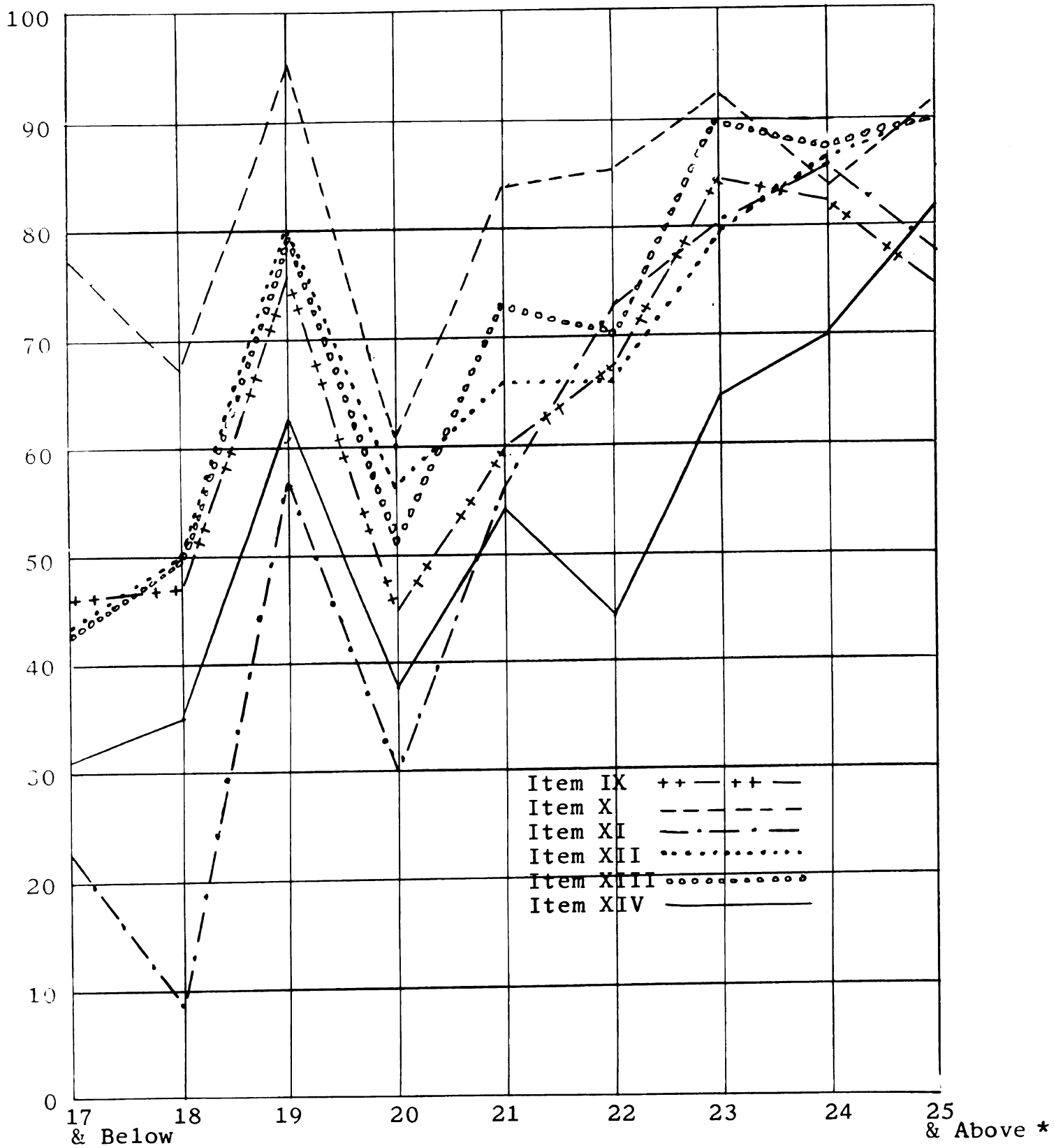
ITEM XII	Schools worth taxes you pay?	
	No, DK	1
	Yes	2
ITEM XIII	People here have voice in government?	
	No, DK	1
	Yes	2
ITEM XIV	People have more say here than in G.R?	
	No	1
	Yes, DK	2
ITEM XV*	Metro. area becoming more united?	
	Yes	1
	No, DK	2
ITEM XVI*	G.R. a good place to rear a family?	
	Excellent, Good	1
	Average, Poor, Almost Impossible, DK	2
ITEM XVII*	G.R. officials make an effort to tap opinions?	
	Yes, DK	1
	No	2
ITEM XVIII*	Paris officials make an effort to tap opinions?	
	No, DK	1
	Yes	2

---

\*Included only in revised (final) trace line analysis.

## 2. Initial Sub-System Image Tracelines (Percentages with Urban Orientation by Adjusted Total Raw Scores)





### 3. Final Disposition of Sub-System Image Index Items.

Note: Copp (1960, pp. 15-16) gives the following reasons for unacceptable trace lines:

1. Mistaken identity in original selection--a conceptual error.
2. Intrusion of multi-dimensionality.
3. High correlation with only some items--intrusion of a specific variable.
4. Lack of discrimination--where less than 20 per cent or more than 80 per cent of the sample endorse an item.

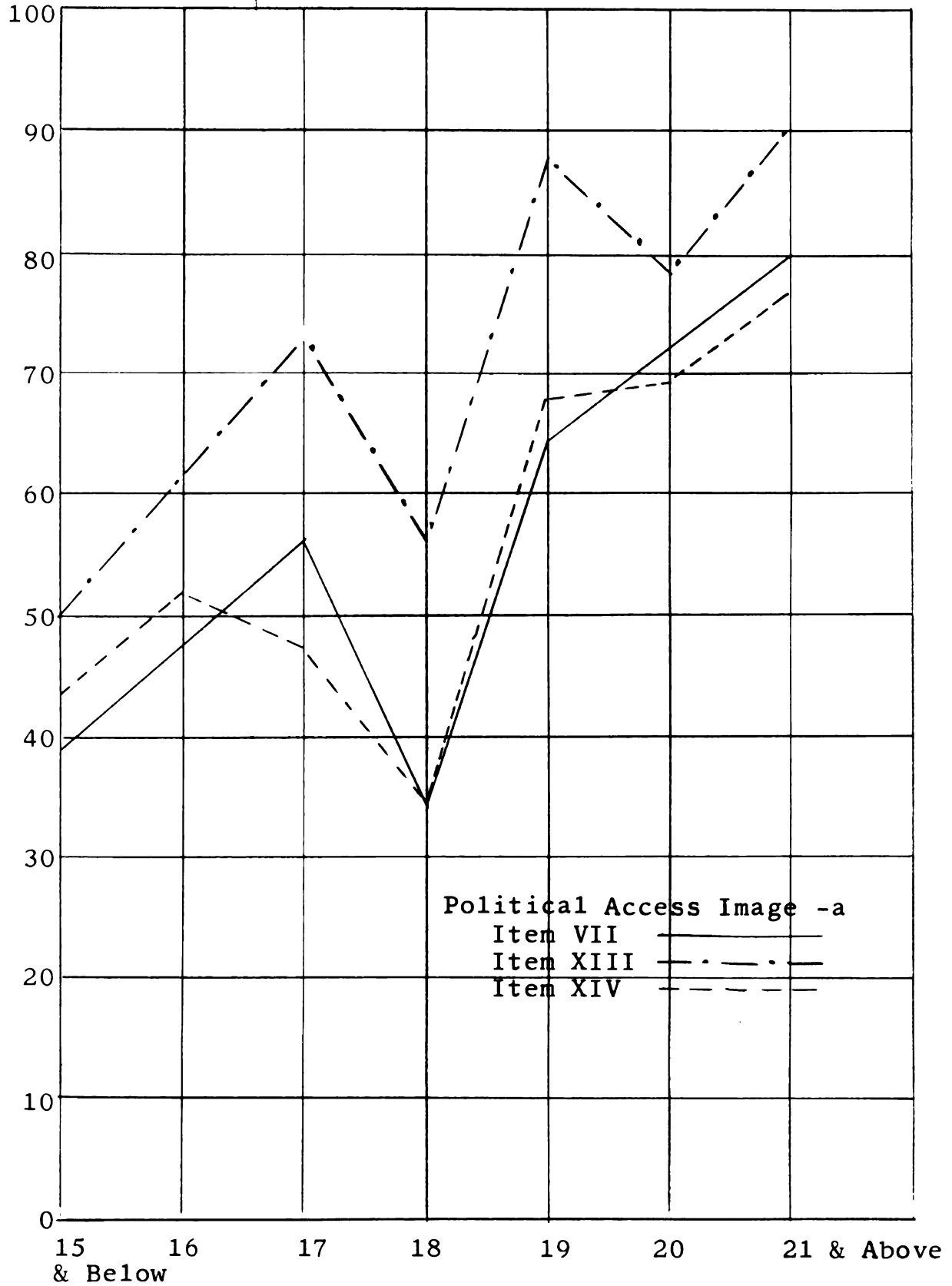
ITEM I	How good Paris government doing? <u>retained.</u>
ITEM II	How good G.R. government doing? <u>retained.</u>
ITEM III	Can suburbs solve own problems? <u>retained.</u>
ITEM IV	Where fewer political conflicts? <u>retained.</u>
ITEM V	G.R. less emphasis on preserving home values? <u>deleted.</u> See reason 4 above (06.6%).
ITEM VI	G.R. less friendly? <u>deleted.</u> See reason 4 above (06.3%).
ITEM VII	Where is citizen closer to government? <u>retained.</u>
ITEM VIII	G.R. gain or lose by annexing? <u>deleted.</u> See reason 4 above (12.2%). Also reason 2 above.
ITEM IX	Favor annexation of some units? <u>deleted.</u> Not conceptionally clean--relates to issue.
ITEM X	Where cost of living higher? <u>deleted.</u> See reason 3 above for possible explanation.

- ITEM XI Township services worth taxes?  
retained.
- ITEM XII Schools worth taxes you pay?  
retained.
- ITEM XIII People here have voice in government?  
retained.
- ITEM XIV People have more say here than in G.R.  
retained.
- ITEM XV Metro. area becoming more united?  
deleted. Unacceptable trace line probably  
due to reason 2 above.
- ITEM XVI G.R. a good place to rear a family?  
deleted. Reason for unacceptable trace  
line unknown.
- ITEM XVII\* G.R. officials make effort to tap opinions?  
Added later and retained.
- ITEM XVIII\* Paris officials make effort to tap opinions?  
Added later and retained.

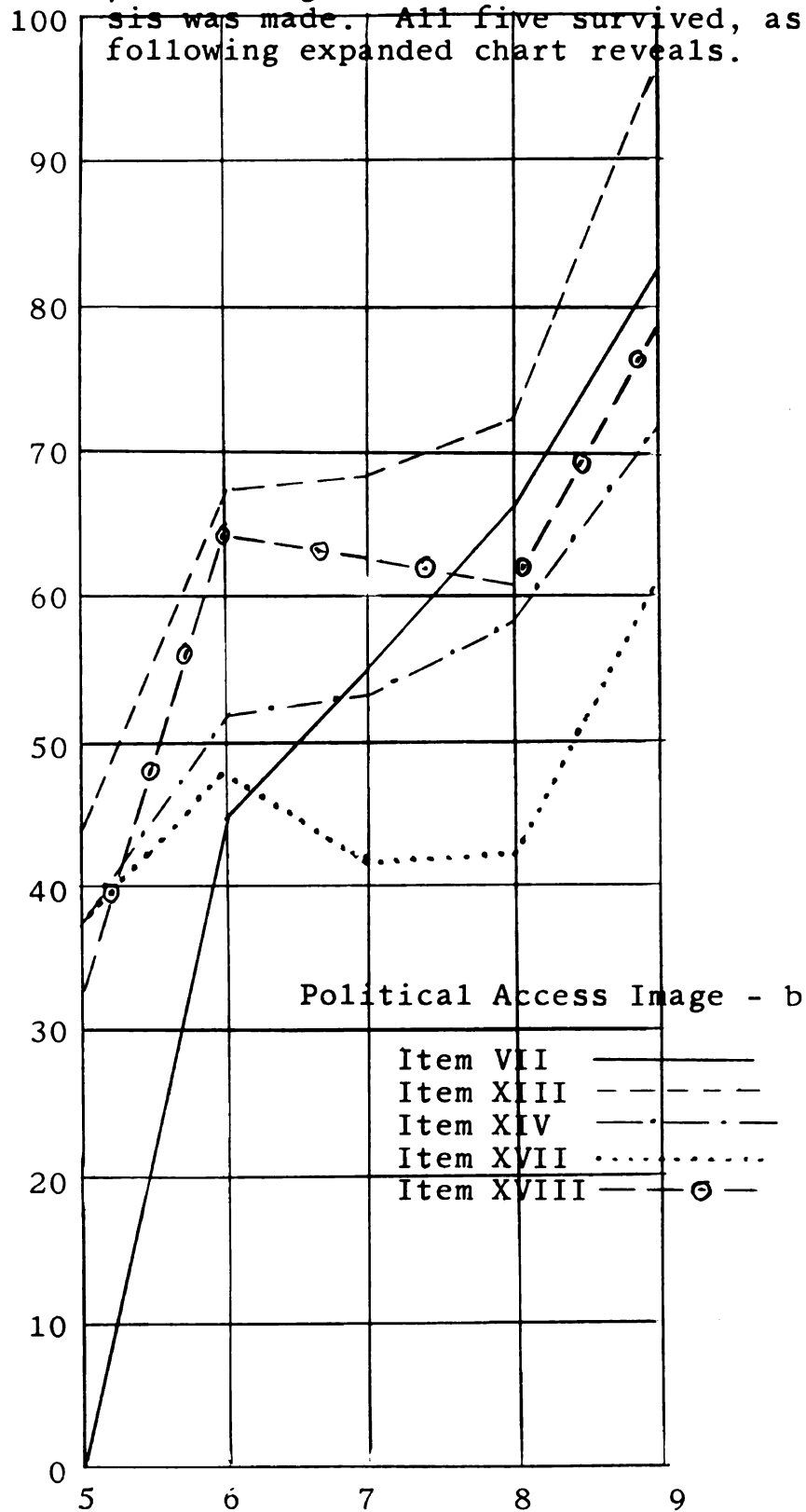
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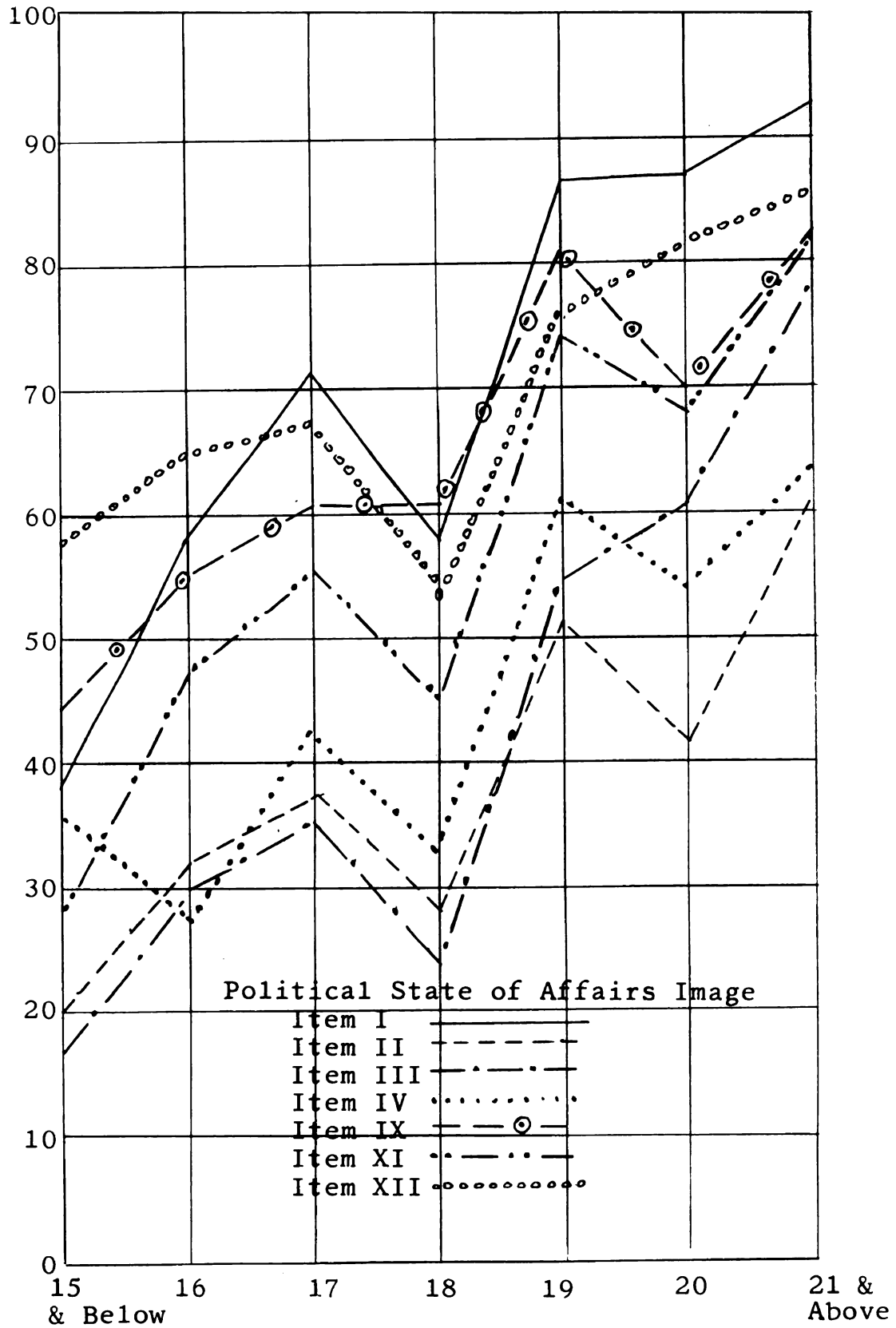
\*Eventually added to stabilize Access Image.

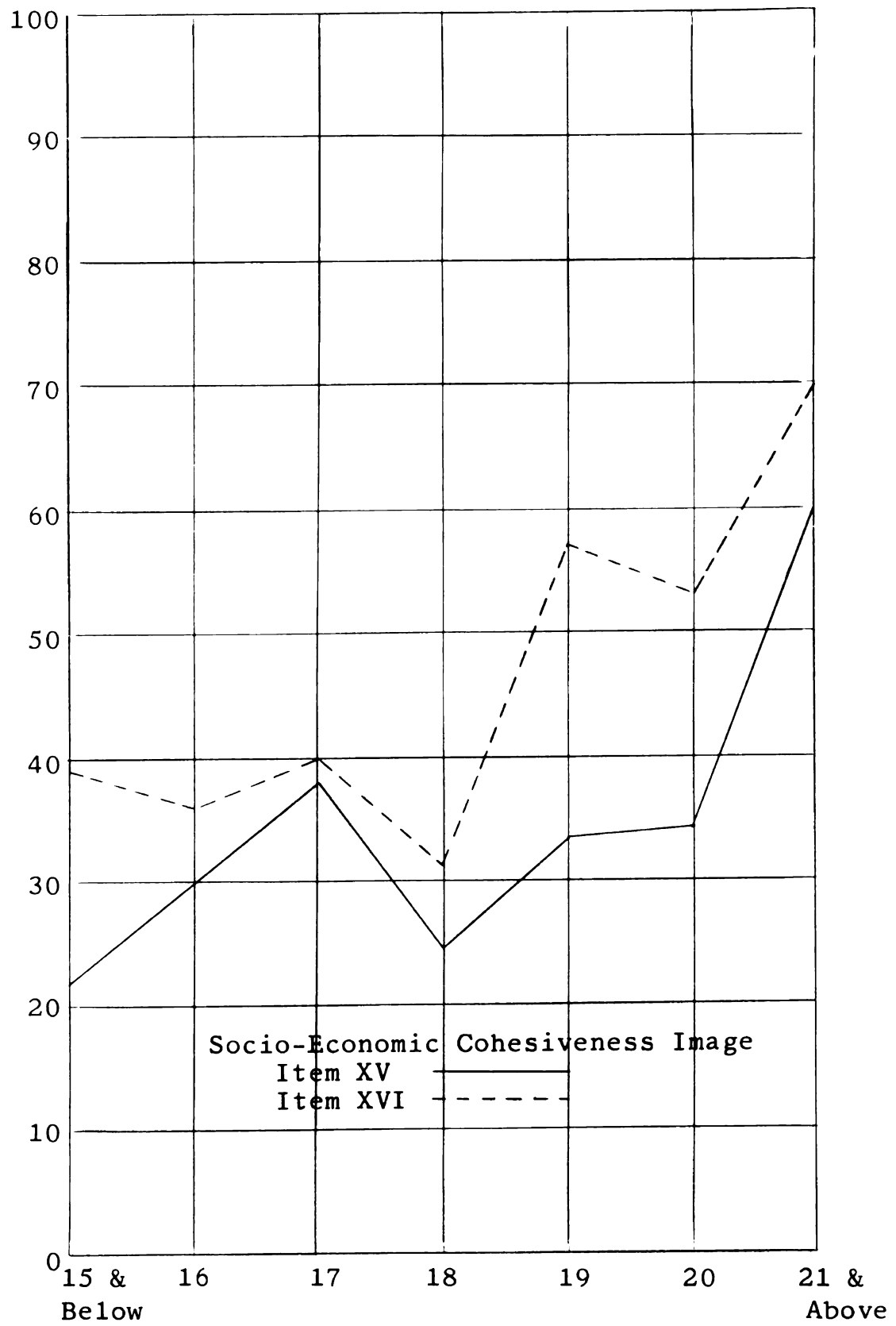
4. Final Sub-System Image Trace Lines--by Sub-Sets (percentage with Urban Orientation by Adjusted Total Raw Scores)



To lend stability to the Access Image, two items were added to the initially surviving three and a new trace line analysis was made. All five survived, as the following expanded chart reveals.







## APPENDIX H

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VALIDITY OF SELF-REPORT ON VOTE TURNOUT  
AND SELECTED SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL VARIABLES

To shed light on the problem of the invalidity of self reports in the matter of vote turnout, actual voting records were examined in order to separate those registered voters who gave valid information from those who did not. It must be recognized that the possible discrepancies embodied in the 1959 data existed between official data on turnout at a past annexation election and respondent recall of that event (i.e., "Did you vote on the December, 1959 plan that would have incorporated all of Paris Township within Grand Rapids?"); those of the 1961 data existed between vote turnout intention (i.e., "Do you plan on voting on the annexation issue in the upcoming April 3 election?") and a consequent check of the voting record to see whether or not the respondent's initial plan was carried out. It seems reasonable to suppose that the veracity of the respondents on this matter might be traced to social psychological sources such as (1) differentials in self-perceptions and (2) the intensiveness of the respondent's orientation toward the urban and local sub-systems.

To operationalize differentials in self-perceptions as citizens, the measurement of social status was used. The analysis is based on the hypothesis that upper status people, adhering to role definitions of "good citizen," disproportionately assert turning out on election day (even if they didn't or do not plan to) whereas lower status persons, having fewer cultural sanctions to play the voter role, are thereby freer to report not voting when such is the case. However, as Tables A-1 and A-2 indicate, the data do not confirm the hypothesis. As a suggestion for further research, it would be helpful to distinguish between those whose turnout validity stems from a self-report asserting turnout from those whose turnout validity stems from a self report stating no turnout. On the basis of this distinction, Glaser (1958, p. 1038) found that

a positive intention to vote is a more accurate predictor for . . . upper class persons . . . than it is for others. An intention not to vote will be followed more consistently by . . . the lower class . . . than it will by others.

Table A-1. Relationship between social status and validity of self-report on 1959 vote turnout (in percentages)

	Upper Social Status	Lower Social Status
Valid Self-Report	78	76
Invalid Self-Report	22	24
Total	100	100
No. of Cases	111	71

$$\chi^2 = 0.03; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .45$$

Table A-2. Relationship between social status and validity of self-report on 1961 vote turnout intention (in percentages)

	Upper Social Status	Lower Social Status
Valid Self-Report	67	64
Invalid Self-Report	33	36
Total	100	100
No. of Cases	152	107

$$\chi^2 = 0.09; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .40$$

Turning to the matter of intensiveness of sub-system orientation as related to turnout, it is hypothesized that those respondents with the more intense orientations (toward either the local or urban sub-system), due to the high salience of the issue for them, are more likely to validate their statements with the behavior they acknowledge--be it voting or not voting. When this general hypothesis is

tested on the relationship between memory of turnout (1959) and the official voting record, the expected is confirmed in only one of three instances--for sub-system membership (see Table A-3). When social status is used as a control, it is the lower status category which, in two of the three instances, contains the significant association.

Table A-3. Relationship between validity of self-report on 1959 vote turnout and intensity of sub-system orientation also controlling for social status (by percentages of those reporting in each category)

	Valid Self-Report		Invalid Self-Report
Intense Membership	49	*	29
Upper Status	44		42
Lower Status	60	*	21
Intense Access Image	57		47
Upper Status	51		67
Lower Status	67	*	30
Intense State of Affairs Image	34		29
Upper Status	34		29
Lower Status	33		29

\*Significant at least at the .05 level in the expected direction, using chi square. All other differences are insignificant.

Moving to the relationship between vote turnout intention and consequent voting record, (Table A-4) again significance is found in but one of three instances, that of political state of affairs image. When social status is used as a control, specification of a relationship is found in but one instance, namely the association between turnout and political state of affairs image is traced to upper status respondents.

Table A-4. Relationship between validity of self-report on 1961 vote turnout and intensity of sub-system orientation, also controlling for social status (by percentage of those reporting in each category)

	Valid Self-Report		Invalid Self-Report
Intense Membership	43		44
Upper Status	39		48
Lower Status	48		40
Intense Access Image	57		48
Upper Status	55		48
Lower Status	59		47
Intense State of Affairs Image	36	*	22
Upper Status	37	*	18
Lower Status	33		26

\*Significant at least at the .05 level in the expected direction, using chi square. All other differences are insignificant.

Another test of salience is provided by distinguishing between those respondents who did reside in areas up for annexation in 1961 from those who did not. On this basis, one would expect the former to produce a more accurate vote turnout record than the latter. Data in Table A-5 confirms this expectation.

Table A-5. Relationship between validity of self-report  
on 1961 vote turnout and residence (in percent-  
ages)

	Valid Self-Report	Invalid Self-Report
Reside in Directly Affected Area	35	15
Reside in Non-Directly Affected Area	65	85
Total	100	100
No. of Cases	171	88

$$\chi^2 = 10.30; 1 \text{ d.f.}; p < .005$$

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