

WATER FOR WESTSTATE, U. S. A. :
THE ASSOCIATION IN THE POLITICS OF WATER RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

by

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PREFACE

This dissertation is the result of a number of social forces which have impinged upon me during the course of my education and the fieldwork upon which the study is based. I began the present study as a stranger to Weststate and as such I had little knowledge of any of the issues of water resource development within the state. This has, I feel, been an asset to the study as it reduced the dangers of preconceived biases on these issues. The "water people" of Weststate gave most freely of their time in explaining the water problem, the various issues, and the political maneuvering of water resource development.

The study was supervised by Dr. Harland Padfield who served as dissertation director. Much of the research design, ordering of the data, and the theoretical orientations of the present study are a result of my close association with Dr. Padfield. Throughout the study he served as a source of inspiration and encouragement, supplying me with suggestions, guidance, and criticism.

My interest in associations stems from the teachings of Dr. Edward H. Spicer. This interest was further nurtured by Dr. Harry T. Getty. Both Dr. Spicer and Dr. Getty served on the dissertation committee and provided me with many helpful suggestions, both during the period of fieldwork and during the write-up. When Dr. Getty left

on sabbatical, he was replaced by Dr. James E. Officer who brought to the dissertation committee not only previous experience with associations, but also an intimate knowledge of the politics of conservation.

The Warnerian framework of the study is due to the influence of Mr. James J. Bartosch, M.B.A., a marketing specialist. Through the proddings of Mr. Bartosch I was led to reconsider the writings of W. Lloyd Warner, not through the viewpoint of an academic anthropologist but rather through the viewpoint of a businessman. During the course of the fieldwork, Mr. Bartosch challenged my academic interpretations of the associations' actions and interlocks with his businessman's viewpoint. In addition, his wife Adell, a journalist, read and criticized much of the earlier drafts of the study.

The study was a part of a larger multidisciplinary research project on water resources directed by Dr. M. M. Kelso and financed through the U. S. Office of Water Resources Research. Dr. Kelso provided numerous helpful suggestions and criticisms.

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ABSTRACT

Water resource development in the American West is partially dependent upon a political process of decision-making. Within West-state, U.S.A., this political process is viewed as a system composed of various social units and it is examined through the activities of one type of social unit--the formal voluntary association.

Eight associations were studied over a period of eighteen months. Each of the associations was examined with regard to its activities in seven issues of water resource development, the internal organization of the association, the relationship of the association with the water-oriented power structure of the state, the interrelationships with the other social units of the system, the problems of associational success and failure, and function of the association in the internal maintenance of the system and its output.

It was found that the associations were not totally independent of one another nor of the other social units in the system. Rather, they were observed to be connected in varying degrees of elasticity through the sharing of personnel, interlocking directorates, the role-positions of expert and observer, and indirect ties via intermediary social units.

Within the system one of the basic functions of the associations was conflict reduction. Associations were found to decrease

the potential for cooperation. The associations also served as conflict creators by acting as autonomous bases of countervailance.

The distribution of power throughout the system, and particularly between the "public" and "private" sectors, was another function of the association. This was usually done in three ways: (1) coordinate, usually related to a task-specific division of power, (2) subordinate, usually tied to the need for grassroots support for agency programs, and (3) superordinate, which usually involved a clientele's control of a service agency. Another power distributing function of the associations was to act as a "drain" to draw power away from the system by arousing the masses and having them rescind the proxies of power which they had given de facto to the system.

The association also functioned as change inducers by providing an informal and nonpublic setting for compromise and decision-making, by reducing conflict, and by distributing power. Conversely, the associations also functioned to prevent changes by acting as independent bases of countervailance and by draining power from the system.

CHAPTER 1

THE POLITICS OF WATER RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

The public development of water resources is not totally dependent upon either technological innovation or economic necessity, but rather it is partially contingent upon the competition and collusion among various groups in the social process of political decision-making. This fact is generally recognized by water scientists, be they engineers, social scientists, or physical and biological scientists. Yet this vital process is often misconceived and misunderstood.

Often water scientists view the decision-making process through the organizational chart of a monolithic governmental decision-making machine. Such a viewpoint generally is concerned with the official governmental agencies and their areas of the authority and responsibility. This is at best an ideal image of the structure of decision-making and it is naive in that it disregards the role of private organizations, and implies a rigidity which is not necessarily present.

Another viewpoint sees the social process of decision-making as a "block" to development. I suspect that this viewpoint is most often taken by those scientists who are working closely with the technological or economic aspects of water resource development.

These scientists usually see the technological or economic need for development without realizing that for the society to accept this need it must become a social and cultural need transmitted through a social process of decision-making. Social factors are not a block to water resources development, rather they are the means by which such development is translated into reality.

In examining the contribution which the social scientist can make to water resources research, Stephen C. Smith (1966: 508) states: "A major task for social science research is to identify the significant system of organized social action with reference to water resources development and management, and to understand the dynamics of these systems and their interaction." In the present study we shall probe into the system of water resource decision-making of Weststate, U. S. A. We shall view this system through one class of its components--the association--which is neither governmental nor economically oriented.

I have chosen the pseudonym Weststate to emphasize that this system and its components are an instance of general phenomena found throughout the western states. The specific issues of Weststate's water resource development may be undeniably unique, but my concern is not with these issues per se. Rather, I have focused upon the process of water resource decision-making and the role which associations play in this process. The specific issues are thus viewed as settings for understanding a more universal decision-making system.

In order to understand better the system we should examine briefly the historical conditions under which it evolved. Hence I would like to touch very briefly upon the highpoints of water resource development in the west.

The Historical Perspective

The land west of the one hundredth meridian has been called The Great American Desert. The scarcity of water, according to Webb (1931: 322), is the crux of the problem of the conquest of the region. A common statement in the folklore of the west is: "This would be a mighty fine place if we just had water, but then so would Hell." Still man has attempted to conquer this land.

Seemingly subject only to the gods of technology, guided by an ethos which held nature subordinate to man, and inspired by a vision of free land and easy wealth, the Anglo moved into this arid land from the humid forests of the East. This invasion did not come in a monolithic tidal wave, but as Frederick Jackson Turner (1961) has pointed out, it progressed in a series of frontiers.

The first of the frontiers, the trading frontier, required no development of water resources. Following this frontier came the frontier of ranching and mining. Here the concern for water resource development was within the context of a single ranch or a single mine with little concern for water resource development at any higher level of organization. The mines, with their need for diverting water from streams into sluice boxes, laid down the foundations for the doctrine

of the prior appropriation of water which in turn became the basis of western water law.

The farming frontier was largely spurred on by the Homestead Acts of 1862, 1866, and 1870 and the Desert Land Act of 1877. These acts successively increased the amount of land available to the homesteader from 160 acres to 640 acres. The conviction that Western lands should be irrigated took root along with the general feeling that making the desert bloom was basically good. Water was, however, the limiting factor. As Padfield and Smith (1968: 27) point out: "Water scarcity being an absolute barrier to farming in the arid West, systems of distribution were prerequisite to agriculture." Small scale water distribution systems could be capitalized locally, but for large-scale systems which involved the development of water resources as well as their management federal intervention was deemed necessary. The Federal Reclamation Act of 1902 made possible these large-scale irrigation projects and the farming frontier boomed.

The urban-industrial frontier, only implicit in the Turner thesis, introduced new complexities into the water oriented decision-making. Aridity had forced agriculture into oases and it was into these same oases that the new urban-industrial centers moved. Land once used for crops became subdivisions for raising children; water which had traditionally been used for agriculture was now used for swimming pools, lawns, air conditioners, golf courses, and shopping center fountains. Firmly entrenched in this frontier is the idea

that growth is a necessity and that growth is directly dependent upon the development of water resources. Water is viewed as the key of life.

Some scientists see the present way of life in the arid west as essentially humid based and maintained by an advanced technology in spite of the environment. Water is needed to isolate people from the fact of aridity. This is the position of White (1967), Smiley (1958), and Kraenzel (1964). According to Kraenzel (1964: 82): "The urban and industrial complex of the arid West appears not concerned with further adaptations to the fact of aridity" and Smiley (1958: 5): "We have not adapted ourselves to our environment, but rather, we have attempted to force our environment to 'adapt' itself to us." This is a reflection in part of the Anglo ethos of man's superiority over his environment.

Living in an age of the urban-industrial frontier we should not think that the old frontiers have faded into history texts and novels. As we look at the outskirts of the western urban-industrial complexes, we find the small farmer and the small rancher who hold down part-time or even full-time urban-industrial jobs in order to maintain their frontier way of life. The old frontiers have not been relocated entirely to the fringes of the urban-industrial frontier, however, and we can still find them in the very midst of the urban milieu. Look at the man who punches out from a modern factory, climbs into his pickup with the bale of hay in the back, tunes the radio on Western music sung to electric guitar, drives home to his

one acre (or less) "ranch" where he keeps his horse, puts on Stetson, bluejeans, boots, and perhaps a Colt, and relaxes to the saga of Gunsmoke on television. Here is the urban cowboy, the modern representative, socially and culturally, of the ranching frontier. Look at another man who goes home to a one acre (or less) "farm" where he sits on miniature tractor and shading the sun from his eyes with a straw hat "farms" for his family. Here is the urban farmer, heir to the farming frontier. Look at still another man who punches out from work, climbs into a jeep (the modern mule) and drives to the mountains where he prospects with pick, shovel, and pans for gold. Here is the urban prospector, representative of the mining frontier.

Above I have drawn obvious stereotypes, for I wish to point out that the ranching, farming, and mining frontiers have not vanished, they have only been modified to an urban-industrial setting. The persistent past of these frontiers endures and influences the future.

The Systematic Approach

For the purposes of the present study a system will be defined as follows: "A set of objects together with relationships between the objects and between their attributes" (Hall and Fagen 1968: 81). Since my analysis is concerned with social systems, then the set of objects will be social entities, the relationships, social relationships, and the attributes, social attributes.

In studying social systems there are certain assumptions and a certain amount of naivety which I feel should be made explicit. Ralph Linton (1936: 261-262) has stressed that social systems are only

parts of a larger whole which are isolated for the purpose of analysis. One of the ways a social system can be isolated from the whole is to assume that the system is closed (Hagen 1968: 102). According to Devons and Gluckman (1964: 185):

The anthropologist, like all other social scientists, is entangled in the web of reality; and if he is to carry out any disciplined analysis, he must at appropriate points decide that he has done enough, first in the way of collecting facts, and then in analysing their connexions. That is, he ceases to follow real connexions, and from them abstracts a set of such connexions as he thinks he can study profitably. He assumes they form a system: he circumscribes and "closes his system."

I shall therefore view the Weststate water resource system as closed and thus it must have boundaries in terms of space, time, and activity. Spatially its boundaries will be considered coterminus with the boundaries of the state and encompassing those people who claim to be Weststaters. Temporally the system will be studied for the period of time between 1 July 1967 and 31 January 1969. The activities which occur within the system are those activities which are aimed at influencing water resource development decision-making.

Devons and Gluckman (1964: 212) also point out that the scientist is naive regarding the researches and conclusions of other disciplines. Hence in the present study, conducted within the discipline of social anthropology, the conclusions of researchers in other disciplines regarding water resources development and management may be disregarded and/or over-simplified.

"In social science the raw material to be analyzed is almost always far too complex to present in toto, and it has to be simplified

to some extent" (Devons and Gluckman 1964: 167). This simplification will be done in part with the use of models (cf. Leach 1954: 8-9; Levy 1952: 29). The associations discussed herein are models and in some cases they have been synthesized from the data of several associations.

Following Evans-Pritchard (1940: 262) and Radcliffe-Brown (1958: 168-170) we shall view the components of the system as groups of people. These groups can be sorted into several classes for the purpose of simplification. These classes and the groups which are found in them are discussed below.

The first class of groups are the federal agencies. Within Weststate there are fourteen such agencies under the administration of three federal departments. Under the Department of Interior we find the Bureau of Reclamation which forms the bulwark of the reclamation efforts within the state, the Geological Survey which is involved in water research dealing with the collection, analysis, and publication of hydrologic data, the Bureau of Indian Affairs which is concerned with Indian lands, the Bureau of Land Management which administers public lands, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife which is concerned with fish, wildlife, and recreation interests, the Office of Water Resources Research which is involved in water research, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and the National Park Service which are concerned with recreational aspects of water resources, and the Federal Water Pollution Control Authority and the Office of Saline Water which deal with aspects of water quality. Under the jurisdiction

of the Department of Agriculture is the Forest Service which administers the most valuable public lands in the state, the Soil Conservation Service which is concerned with soil and water conservation practices, and the Agricultural Research Service which is a research agency. The Army Corps of Engineers, under the Department of Defense, has been primarily concerned with flood control and water salvage.

Within Weststate we find five state agencies which are concerned with water resource development. The most important of these is the Stream Department which forms the central resource agency. It is responsible for interstate dealings. The Land Department has three divisions concerned with water: the Watershed and Forestry Division, the Soil Conservation Division, and the Groundwater Division. The Fish and Game Department is involved in the fish, wildlife, and recreation aspects of water resource development. Concerned with the construction of hydroelectric dams is the Power Commission. The Water Quality Control Commission is responsible for the state water quality standards.

Several of the numerous political subdivisions of the state are quite active in water resource development. The largest of these are the counties. The three central counties--South County, Cactus County, Central County--form an urban-industrial corridor supplemented with agriculture and are the most water-short areas of the state. Other important counties are River County, an agricultural area in the west and North County, a cattle and timber area.

In addition to the counties there are many districts--soil and water conservation districts, flood control districts, and irrigation districts. These are too numerous to list here.

The cities of the state are also concerned with water resource development. In general, the most important cities are the centers of the counties mentioned above: Oldtown (South County), Smithville (Cactus County), Central City (Central County), Stripes (River County), and Openswitch (North County).

Involved in water research are three of the universities in the state. Most important of these is Weststate University in Oldtown. Of lesser importance are Central University in Central City and North University in Openswitch.

Many of the businesses are concerned with water resource development. These range from small farms and ranches to multimillion dollar agricultural corporations. In addition several banks, power companies, and retail firms have been involved in water resource developments.

Finally we have a class of groups which we can call associations. We can define associations in the jargon of social anthropology as: nonkinship, noncoresidential polyadic interaction spheres. In more common parlance an association is a group of individuals having no governmental authority who have banded together on the basis of common interests and/or common goals. These interests or goals do not involve direct economic recompense to the members of the associations. A more theoretical approach to the association is

explored in Appendix A. The association as a social phenomenon has been observed by writers such as de Tocqueville (1966) and Warner (1962b) to be quite characteristic of American life. In Weststate we shall encounter eight associations which shall form the focus of our study. These associations are described more fully in Chapter 2.

We can easily summarize the groups in the system of Weststate water resource development in the following outline:

Federal Agencies

Department of Interior

- Bureau of Reclamation

- Geological Survey

- Bureau of Indian Affairs

- Bureau of Land Management

- Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife

- Office of Water Resources Research

- Bureau of Outdoor Recreation

- National Park Service

- Federal Water Pollution Control Authority

- Office of Saline Water

Department of Agriculture

- Forest Service

- Soil Conservation Service

- Agricultural Research Service

Department of Defense: Army Corps of Engineers

State Agencies

Stream Department

Land Department

Watershed and Forestry Division

Soil Conservation Division

Groundwater Division

Power Commission

Fish and Game Department

Water Quality Control Commission

Political Subdivisions

Counties

Central

Cactus

South

River

North

Districts

Soil and Water Conservation Districts

Flood Control Districts

Irrigation Districts

Cities

Central City

Oldtown

Smithville

Stripes

Openswitch

Universities

Weststate University

Central University

North University

Businesses

Agricultural

Banks

Power Companies

News Media

Retail Stores

Manufacturers

Associations--see Chapter 2

Any complex system can be broken down analytically into simpler systems. The Weststate water resource system can be divided into a system of technological water resource development and a system of administrative water resource development. Each of these in turn can be further subdivided on the basis of various issues. This analytic simplification of the overall system is done in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

The Study of the System

There are two basic ways the study of any social system can be approached. The first of these is macroscopic in that it examines the working of the entire system as it relates to other systems within the larger sociocultural whole. If we were to view the Weststate water resource system in this manner we would ask what the relationship

is between this system and the system of agriculture, the system of recreation, the system of manufacturing, the system of education, the system of crime, and so on. The second approach to the study of a social system is microscopic as it examines the system per se, viewing it through one class of components in order to understand the dynamics of the system. The distinction between these two approaches is primarily one of scale.

The present study is microscopic as it focuses upon only the Weststate water resource system and views this system through the association in order to comprehend its dynamic processes. There are two goals to this approach: (1) to understand the system itself, and (2) to understand the role of the association within the system.

The initial approach to the study of the system involved the reading of newspaper accounts of various water issues, legislative hearings, and the formal interviewing of significant individuals within the system. Formal interviews were conducted with the president and/or executive secretary of each of the associations described in Chapter 2. In addition, as many other associational personnel--members, directors, other officers--as time and circumstance permitted were formally interviewed. In all, some 60 interviews were conducted with 35 informants. This approach elicited the ideal concepts of the associational structure, water-oriented activities and influences, and world view.

Most of the research, perhaps 75 percent of actual research time, centered around the classic anthropological approach to the study of man--participant observation. I attended at least one meeting of each association and overall I averaged four meetings per association. In all associations participant-observation was initially begun through the role of observer. I soon found, however, that observers were only present at the public ceremonies of the associations where the ideal pattern was again transmitted. In order to gain a real, rather than ideal picture I actually joined some of the associations and attempted to become a pseudo-member in those where my membership was barred because of occupational factors. Gradually I was adopted in the social system of Weststate water resources as an observer, a member, and, on three occasions, as an expert. Through the observed interactions and the many informal conversations held during meetings and in bars, restaurants, and hotel rooms, a more complete image of the system and of the associations emerged.

This library research, the formal interviews, the meeting observations, and the informal conversations form the basis of the study which is told in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 2

THE WATER ASSOCIATIONS OF WESTSTATE

Social anthropologists and sociologists who study modern literate populations are faced with the problem of presenting their data and analyses as accurately and factually as possible without violating the confidences of their informants and causing them possible embarrassments or social harm. Social scientists engaged in community studies have attempted to solve the problem via pseudonyms, synthetic actions, and composite characters. In the present study I have utilized all three. Several of the associations described in this chapter are composite associations, that is, they have been synthesized from the data gathered from several associations. These associations are not real, but rather they are reflections of reality. I do not feel that this will distort the image of the system and I hope that it will protect the confidences and reputations of my informants. Becker (1964: 276) has pointed out that "a good study, therefore, will make somebody angry", but I hope that any anger generated by this study will be used to better the associations and the relations between them rather than to attack any individual.

In giving names to these synthetic associations I have attempted to follow the naming patterns of the real associations.

As a result some of the associations have rather lengthy names which become cumbersome in the repeated references in the descriptions and analyses which follow. In the real associations initials are often used to avoid this problem, but this in turn introduced a new problem: the difficulty of remembering what the initials stand for. I have refrained from using initials for this reason and have used the full name or a slightly shortened version of the name in referring to the synthetic associations. I realize that this encumbers smooth reading, but it is also a reflection of the reality on which my models are based.

In the sections which follow I have presented a brief vignette of the history, goals, and basic structural features of Weststate's water associations.

Weststate Water Resources Committee

The history of the Weststate Water Resources Committee begins in 1950 with a surplus of elk in North County. The elk were causing difficulties with the ranchers of the area. In order to combat the elk, it was decided to form the Pine Tree chapter of the Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation and hence enlist the aid of this state association in asking the Fish and Game Department to increase the elk kill. In 1952 the large elk kill was authorized and by 1953-1954 the elk situation had quieted down.

In the spring of 1955 a new reason for the existence of the Pine Tree local was unfolded. One of the ranchers had noticed that in

the last 40-50 years there had been an increase in the growth of brush and a subsequent decrease in grassland. At the same time there had been a decrease in the runoff from the watershed. This was due to the White man's management of the land, and in particular to the Forest Service policy which excluded fires. The Pine Tree ranchers heard talks by this rancher and by a watershed expert who also supported the thesis.

The Pine Tree local decided that something should be done about this; that it should be called to the attention of state and federal leaders. As a result the Pine Tree Watershed Tour of the fall of 1955 was organized. The members of the Congressional Delegation and the state legislature, along with other civic leaders and representatives of the news media, were shown the watershed, told of the thesis, and hosted to a steak fry.

The tour was successful and it was decided to set up a study to substantiate the thesis more scientifically. With the cooperation of the University, an irrigation district, and the Land Department, experts were brought in during the spring and summer of 1956 and the final report, issued that fall, confirmed the thesis: watersheds could be managed for greater water yield and better forage.

Afraid that the idea might die on the vine unless it gained a broad public acceptance, two of the men concerned conceived the idea of organizing a lay group representing the varied interests involved in managing the watershed. It was decided that timber, cattle, farming, mining, game and recreation, industry, municipalities, and

banking should be represented. A list of prominent people in each of these areas was drawn up and from this the Weststate Water Resources Committee was organized in January of 1957. The association is usually referred to as the Committee by its members and by the news media.

The goals of the Committee, according to its charter, are as follows:

1. To conduct and carry out the study, advancement, development and conservation of the water resources of Weststate.
2. To seek out new sources of water and to promote the development and improvement of water sources within the state.
3. To inform the public of the importance of water development in Weststate.
4. To foster increased knowledge of water problems.
5. To inspire and promote research in the solution of Weststate's water and watershed problems.
6. To cooperate with and assist other organizations, associations, corporations, and individuals in carrying out these objectives.

With respect to the last goal, working relationships were developed with the Land Department, the Forest Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the University.

The executive committee, composed of ten directors representing the various aspects of the state's economy, meets monthly except June through September to hear reports and discuss possible projects. This group is the actual Weststate Water Resources Committee. The president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer are chosen from and by the executive committee. Ad hoc committees are chosen as needed from the directors.

The bylaws allow the executive committee to appoint as associate members persons interested in the aims and purposes of the Water Resources Committee. There have been as many as sixty associate members, but at present there are only four.

The ordinary "members" of the Water Resources Committee are those individuals who are invited to the two annual events: the all day symposium which features reports on action and research programs and the annual luncheon with a single speaker. According to the bylaws: "The membership shall act only in an advisory capacity to the executive committee."

The Water Resources Committee operates on an annual budget of \$1,450 which is raised through contributions from interested organizations, such as the Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation, and industries. Most of the money is spent for the monthly executive committee luncheons and the two annual meetings. The Committee publishes an annual symposium proceedings and has produced one motion picture.

Weststate Water Importation Association

Concern over Weststate's ability to meet her water needs for the future brought together in 1946 some one hundred businessmen and farmers at the public meeting which saw the creation of the Weststate Water Importation Association. The wheels of organization had been set in motion prior to the public meeting by the efforts of a businessmen's association and a group of farmers. Within days after its formal creation, the new association set about on a membership drive, hired an executive secretary, set up a speakers' bureau, and considered the possibility of publishing a pamphlet on Weststate's water needs.

The formal objectives of the Weststate Water Importation Association, as set forth in its constitution, are as follows:

1. To promote further reclamation projects in Weststate to augment the present water supply.
2. To cooperate with the Bureau of Reclamation or other governmental and/or state or other agency to the end that reclamation projects may be secured at the earliest time possible.
3. To gather information, statistics and data which will show the United States Congress, and the public generally within, and outside of Weststate, the need for the securing of reclamation projects and primarily the economic justification for the construction of the dams, canals and necessary works therefore, and in addition, the indirect benefits which the government, and the country

as a whole, will receive in greater tax revenues and commercial trade which will increase yearly as long as the reclamation projects exist.

4. To cooperate with communities and other organizations within the Weststate in matters pertaining to the irrigation of lands.

Informally, the association is to act as the private arm of the state in all matters pertaining to reclamation and in the lobbying of Congress for future reclamation projects.

There are two classes of membership in the association. Voting membership is open to any person, firm, corporation, or political subdivision which contributes \$100 or more to the association. Associate membership involves the contribution of \$5 to \$99. At present there are 85 voting members and 35 associate members.

The board of directors constitutes the actual policy making group of the association. Originally there were to be twenty-five directors, the maximum allowable under state law at the time of incorporation. With a change in the law dealing with non-profit corporations, this number has been increased to fifty, forty-nine of which are filled at the present time. The charter sets forth no formal criteria for the selection of directors; however, the following informal criteria are used: (1) leadership in occupational area, (2) influence in the state, (3) geographical area of the state, (4) knowledge and interest in water, (5) length of residence in the state. Informants estimate that the average age of the directors is 55-58. With regard to

occupation, agriculture has the greatest representation (see Table 1). Most of the directors come from Central County (see Table 2). The present forty-nine directors have served an average of 7.5 years on the board, and the average of all 102 men who have served as directors is 5.7 years.

The officers of the association, president, three vice-presidents, chairman of the board, and secretary-treasurer, are selected from and by the board of directors. The officers together with six directors form the executive committee which acts as the brains of the association and acts on board policy. Members of the executive committee have served an average of 10.25 years on the board of directors.

The charter mentions the existence of an advisory committee, but at present it is nonexistent. Other committees may be appointed by the president as the need arises, but during the period of observation no formally appointed committees were operative.

The association maintains a paid staff of five and operates on a budget of over \$100,000 obtained through contributions, most of which are quite large. The association has published several pamphlets on Weststate water problems and has produced one motion picture.

The annual meeting of the association is open to the public and consists of several brief reports on the legislative battles to obtain more reclamation projects. The directors meet from six to eight times a year at either closed or semi-closed meetings. The executive committee meets frequently, as often as once a week, in closed sessions.

Table 1. Occupations of Weststate Water
Importation Association Directors

Occupation	Number	Percent*
Agriculture	16	32.6
Banking	8	16.2
Governmental (elected)	6	12.2
Utilities	6	12.2
Law	5	10.2
Governmental (appointed)	4	8.2
Professional	3	6.1
Commercial Business	3	6.1
News Media	2	4.1
Manufacturing	2	4.1
Retired	2	4.1

*Categories are not mutually exclusive, hence total will be greater than 100 percent.

Table 2. Weststate Water Importation Association
Directors' Counties of Residence

County	Number	Percent
Central	32	65.3
South	7	14.3
Cactus	5	10.2
River	2	4.1
North	2	4.1
Indian	<u>1</u>	<u>2.0</u>
Total	49	100.0

Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee

Early in 1962 the board of directors of an association of businessmen decided that it would be a good idea to have a committee to keep up on the information about water in Weststate and to correlate and interpret this information for both the association and the general public and the citizens of Oldtown. This led to the formation of the Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee, generally called the Oldtown Committee.

The basic goal of the Oldtown Committee is to arouse a public interest in the importance of securing sufficient water for the continued growth of Weststate. In light of this goal two major areas of interest have evolved: Project Rescue and the formation of a central water agency.

One of the first projects of the committee was to secure further information about the proposed Project Rescue which would import water into the central counties of the state from outside of the state. Representatives from the Bureau of Reclamation, the Stream Department, the Power Commission, and other agencies spoke to the committee and a continuing interest in reclamation developed. The extent of this interest is expressed by one member who feels that the committee is "basically a Project Rescue oriented organization." The committee has aided the Weststate Water Importation Association by seeking funds for the latter association to help in the legislative fight for passage of reclamation bills.

In investigating the water problems of the state, the members of the Oldtown Committee observed what they felt to be "one glaring defect": the existence of numerous water oriented agencies and the lack of any single coordinating water agency. They felt there were conflicting interests between these agencies and that each agency could be expected to advance the cause which best serves its own interest. The possible establishment of a central water agency to solve this "defect" has taken much of the committee's time and energy.

While many of the members of the Oldtown Committee are drawn from the parent association, this is not a requisite. At present there are forty-four members on the committee, many of whom are either businessmen or engineers. A further breakdown on occupational categories is given in Table 3.

The Oldtown Committee has a chairman and a vice-chairman elected by the committee. In addition there is an executive secretary furnished by the parent association.

The Oldtown Committee meets about six times a year to discuss various aspects of the water problem and to hear speakers from other agencies and organizations. At times ad hoc committees are appointed to examine certain aspects of the water problem more carefully.

Weststate Association of Conservationists

The Weststate Association of Conservationists was formed in 1944 by a group of citizen conservationists who wished to promote the

Table 3. Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee: Occupations

Occupation	Number	Percent
Commercial Business	13	29.6
Engineering	9	20.4
Education	8	18.2
Government	7	15.9
Financial	4	9.1
Law	3	6.8
Total	44	100.0

basic philosophy of the multiple use and development of natural resources and the best use of the land.

The basic aim of the association, according to its constitution, is "to see an effective conservation program applied to the land of Weststate by a free people acting on their own initiative and responsibility. Its primary concern is the conservation and orderly development of Weststate's land, water and related renewable natural resources through local self-government." In line with this basic aim, the following objectives were formulated:

1. To establish basic policies and objectives which are of uniform character in soil and water conservation.
2. To cooperate with all local, state, and national agencies that can assist in conservation work.
3. To create a general awareness of the state and national urgency for conserving and developing our renewable natural resources to meet the demands of a rapidly expanding population.
4. To convince all who use or manage land that Weststate's future depends on the use of each acre within the limit of its capabilities and the treatment of each acre in accord with its need for conservation, development and improvement.
5. To persuade the general public, that the failure of a few to care for our land and water resources jeopardizes the rights of all to own, use, and manage land and water.

6. To work impartially with private and public groups and organizations of all political affiliations, to prevent the conservation of natural resources from becoming a partisan, political issue.
7. To gain full public understanding of the essential role of soil and water conservation in watershed development for such purposes as flood control, protection of industrial, municipal, and agricultural water supplies, recreation and wildlife improvement, recognizing at the same time all established water rights.
8. To bring about effective coordination of conservation work on public land with that on adjoining or nearby lands in private ownership.

In attempting to meet these objectives the association has been in contact with the various soil and water conservation districts, the Land Department, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Universities.

Membership in the association consists of 167 citizen conservationists, all of whom are agriculturalists or have agricultural interests. There is a twenty-three man board of directors which is selected on a zone basis to ensure representation from all parts of the state. The board of directors selects the president, vice-president, and treasurer. There is also a non-member, non-paid executive secretary who handles much of the association's work. The officers, executive secretary, and eight directors form the executive committee.

The association holds one annual meeting for its membership. In addition there are about six directors' meetings per year and numerous meetings of the executive committee. The annual budget is \$8,500. A monthly newsletter is sent to all members.

Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

The Weststate Sportsmen's Federation, according to its promotional literature, is "a statewide, non-profit, non-political association of men and women interested in the present and future well-being of our state--conservation, forestry, nature, wildlife, wholesome outdoor recreation." The federation was originally organized in 1923 by a number of sportsmen's organization for the purpose of removing politics from the office of the State Game Warden and obtaining professional management of wildlife resources. By 1928 it had succeeded in obtaining the adoption of a state game code making possible a commission form of game and fish administration. In 1929 the governor attempted to regain the patronage system and in 1932 there was an initiative seeking the return of the game and fish department to the patronage system. The Sportsmen's Federation emerged from these battles victorious, and since this time has served to advise the governor on Fish and Game Commission appointments. Few commissioners have served without the approval of the federation.

The objectives of the Weststate Sportsmen's Federation, according to its promotional literature, are as follows:

1. To maintain the Fish and Game Department as an honest, fearless, politically independent agency with the necessary regulatory powers, technical capability, and funds for the proper management of Weststate's wildlife resources.
2. To seek constructive legislation dealing with the conservation of our natural resources, the protection of the rights of Weststate outdoorsmen, and the improvement of outdoor recreation.
3. To support vigorous and impartial enforcement of all State and Federal conservation, game, and fish laws.
4. To encourage conservation education in schools and among adults.
5. To promote affiliate sportsmen-conservation organizations and aid, counsel, and support them in solving local problems.
6. To provide maximum recreation, hunting, and fishing opportunities for the anticipated increased populations through scientific practices, and improved multiple use of the natural resources of Weststate.
7. To provide better hunting and fishing, and a greater enjoyment of the outdoors, through the promotion of continued research, wise management, and careful studies by trained, experienced personnel.

In seeking these objectives the federation has worked closely with the Fish and Game Department. In addition it has worked with federal agencies such as the Forest Service, and the Soil Conservation Service. It has worked with associations such as the Water Resources Committee and the Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation. With the latter a joint Sportsmen-Stockmen Committee has been formed to work out joint problems.

The Sportsmen's Federation is composed of 35 affiliate clubs who pay the Federation three dollars per member per year. In addition the bylaws allow the affiliation of youth organizations for ten dollars per year. At present there is only one youth organization, a Boy Scout Explorer Post, so affiliated. Individuals may join without joining affiliate clubs by paying the three dollar dues. Total membership is about 3,500.

The working core of the federation at the state level is the twenty-five man executive committee. This is composed of twenty directors, one elected for two years by each county having a local club, and the remaining directors elected at large for one year terms by the delegates at the annual convention. The five officers, the president (elected annually at the convention), the vice-president (the immediate past president), the recording secretary, the treasurer, and the commission liaison, complete the executive committee. A steering committee, composed of three to five executive committee members, including the president, manages the affairs of the federation between executive committee meetings.

The Sportsmen's Federation employs one full-time staff member--an office girl. In addition the newsletter editor received a token remuneration so that he may belong to a professional sports-writers association.

The full membership of the association represented by club delegates meets once a year at an annual convention which determines the general policies for the coming year. The executive committee meets about six times a year.

A newsletter is issued to all members once a month and contains news of general interest to sportsmen and conservationists, columns by the president and the editor, and news of local clubs.

The federation operates on an annual budget of about \$17,000.

Conservation Club

The Conservation Club was organized in 1966 for the purpose of preserving Weststate's natural heritage from man's misuse. The six founders of the club were all members of the same recreation association and it was via their conversations in this association that they conceived the idea for the Conservation Club. At an informal meeting in a private home the idea crystallized, after much debate a name was chosen, officers selected, and other conservation and recreation clubs were notified of the new association. The club also associated with a national organization.

The initial goal of the club was to gain protection for the wilderness area of the state which was to be flooded by the proposed hydroelectric dams of Project Rescue. The club has also opposed one

of the Fish and Game Department's recreation lakes on the grounds that it would change the ecology of the area and destroy wildlife habitat. The club has strongly supported the creation of several wilderness areas within the state and has sought the creation of a Weststate National Park. The central water agency proposed by the Oldtown Committee is also sought by the Conservation Club.

The officers of the club are a chairman, vice-chairman, and treasurer all of whom have held office since the founding of the club. In addition there are standing committees on water, wildlife, wilderness, education, air pollution, and the newsletter. Each of these committees has a chairman and two or three members. Most of the core members work on two committees.

While the total membership of the Conservation Club is 1283, the actual core membership, that is those who attend meetings, is about 20 and ranges from 15 to 30. With one or two exceptions, all of the core members hold college degrees, about one third hold doctorates, about one third are graduate students at Weststate University, and about one half are affiliated with Weststate University as either student, professor, or staff. All of the core members are from Oldtown. Distribution of the total membership is seen in Table 4. An examination of the mailing list of the total membership reveals that eleven percent are addressed with the title Doctor or Professor and 3.2 percent use a college or university mailing address.

The Conservation Club operates on an annual budget of \$1,100 most of which is spent on the newsletter and on mailing letters to

Table 4. Conservation Club Membership by County

County	Number	Percent
South	912	71.1
Central	307	23.9
North	28	2.2
Cattle	15	1.2
Indian	13	1.0
River	5	0.4
Cactus	2	0.2
Oxbow	<u>1</u>	<u>0.1</u>
Total	1283	100.1

Congressmen and Legislators. The money is raised through contributions of the members. There are no dues.

Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

Following the First World War and a boom and bust in the market, numerous farmers and ranchers felt that the agricultural interests of the state could be greatly benefited by an organization which would give them a unified voice and collective action on agricultural programs. This organization, the Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation was formed in 1920 by some 600 farmers and ranchers. Three years later the association was incorporated. The federation is usually referred to as simply Farm-Ranch.

The basic purpose of Farm-Ranch is stated in its constitution:

The Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation is a free, independent, non-governmental, voluntary organization of farm and ranch families united for the purpose of analyzing their problems and formulating action to achieve educational improvement, economic opportunity, and social advancement, thereby promoting the welfare of Weststate.

Furthermore, "The character of the business to be carried out by this association shall be the promotion of agriculture in Weststate."

Farm-Ranch also "seeks legislation favorable to Weststate agriculture and the prevention of legislation unfavorable to Weststate agriculture."

Farm-Ranch has established relationships with the Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the University, and the Land Department. At times it has been accused of controlling the Land Department. In addition Farm-Ranch works with a number of associations

including the Weststate Water Resources Committee, the Weststate Water Importation Association, the Weststate Association of Conservationists and the Weststate Sportsmen's Federation.

There are two classes of membership in the association. Regular membership is open to "working" farmers and ranchers while the associate membership is open to anyone who wishes to make a contribution to the association. At present there are 4,500 regular members.

The association is not a monolithic structure, but is composed of numerous local chapters organized into ten county units which in turn form the state organization. Farm-Ranch prides itself in its grassroots awareness and feels that communication from the local chapters to the state organization is quite good.

The governing body of Farm-Ranch is the board of directors. Each county selects two directors and sixteen directors are chosen at large. The officers--a president, three vice-presidents, a treasurer, and a secretary--are chosen from the directors by the county delegates.

Several standing committees are maintained by the association, including one on water resources development. This committee is described in the promotional literature as follows:

Considers watershed improvement programs as they affect agricultural interests. Deals with the complex field of water rights. Originated Federation policy to seek legislation clarifying old water rights and appeals procedure. Has major role to play relating to water rights.

The association operates on an annual budget of more than \$100,000. A full-time professional staff of four is maintained. The association published a monthly magazine containing articles of interest to farmers and ranchers and historical vignettes of frontier farmers and ranchers. In addition there is a weekly newsletter which contains primarily market information.

There is one annual meeting of the association at which the delegates from the ten counties decide on specific association policies for the coming year. The board of directors meet more frequently to act on these policies. Local chapters generally meet once a month.

Camp Apache

Camp Apache is a Boy Scout camp located in the forested central highlands of the state. The present location of the camp was established in 1956. The orientation of the camp is conservation and it has won both state and national acclaim for its conservation program. This program has two basic parts: the teaching of conservation via the merit badge program, and the conservation action programs of the various troops, the forestry work crew, and the Order of the Arrow.

The conservation merit badge program centers around the following merit badges: Conservation of Natural Resources, Agriculture, Forestry, Botany, Surveying, and Geology. Of these only the Conservation of Natural Resources merit badge is required to obtain the rank of Eagle. The influence of the Weststate Association of Conservationists and the fact that the camp is a cooperator in the local soil conservation district has enabled the camp to secure the

services of a Soil Conservation Service representative to teach half of the Conservation of Natural Resources merit badge and the merit badges in Agriculture and Botan . An Irrigation District cooperates with the U. S. Geological Survey in providing a U.S.G.S. representative to teach the second half of the Conservation of Natural Resources merit badge and the merit badges in Surveying and Geology. The U.S.G.S. and S.C.S. representatives serve at the camp for two weeks and then are replaced by two new men. The assignment to serve at the camp is looked upon as a prestige assignment.

The efforts of the Weststate Water Resources Committee resulted in U. S. Forest Service interest in a watershed improvement program at the camp. The Forest Service provides the camp with two men, both of whom are college students, who supervise a watershed action program and teach the Forestry merit badge. These two men spend the entire summer at the camp.

Much of the conservation action program is concerned with an overabundance of water. Many of the projects of the troops, the forestry work crew supervised by the Forest Service representatives, and the Order of the Arrow (an honorary camping society) involve the construction of check dams to prevent destructive water flow. The forestry work crew is also involved in some thinning to improve the watershed and its water yield.

The conservation program at the camp is guided by a conservation committee. This committee is composed of sixteen men and contains representatives of all major state and federal agencies concerned with

conservation. At the camp itself, the 6,000 boys who come through the camp in the ten weeks of the summer are supervised by five professional scouters and thirty-five paid staff members.

Summary

A tabular summary of the year founded, the annual budget and the number of members, directors, and paid staff is found in Table 5. From this we can see that the age of the sample associations ranges from over four decades to just a few years, membership from 44 to 4,500, and annual budgets from \$1,450 to \$120,000. Over half of the associations have paid staff.

A summary of some of the other features of the sample associations is found in Table 6. We see that most of the associations are incorporated, utilize the services of an executive secretary, and have a formal board of directors. Half of the associations issue a regular newsletter of some type. In addition, it should be pointed out the Water Resources Committee, the Water Importation Association, and Farm-Ranch have published pamphlets and/or booklets on various subjects. The Sportsmen's Federation, Farm-Ranch, and Camp Apache also put out literature explaining their goals.

Table 5. Statistical Summary of the Associations

Association	Year Founded	No. of Members	No. of Directors	No. Paid Staff	Annual Budget
W.W.R.C.	1956	175	10	0	\$ 1,450
W.W.I.A.	1946	120	49	5	120,000
O.B.W.C.	1962	44	0	1 ^a	
W.A.C.	1944	167	12	0	8,500
W.S.F.	1923	3,500	25	1	17,000
C.C.	1966	1,283	0	0	1,100
W.F.R.F.	1920	4,500	36	4	110,000
C.A.	1956		16	40	

^aFurnished by the parent association.

Table 6. Structural Summary of the Associations

Association	Incorporated	News-letter	Exec. Sec.	Local Chapters	Formal B of D	Standing Committee
W.W.R.C.	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
W.W.I.A.	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
O.B.W.C.	no	no	yes	no	no	no
W.A.C.	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no
W.S.F.	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes
C.C.	no	yes	no	no	no	yes
W.F.R.F.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
C.A.	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes

CHAPTER 3

THE POLITICS OF TECHNOLOGY

Technological innovations in water resource development are translated into physical reality from theory and blueprints via a social process of decision-making. This process accepts some technological innovations and rejects others, it stresses some and ignores some. At times this process seems haphazard but this is because the groups responsible for decision-making are not only in collusion, they are also in opposition. The system is not in equilibrium--it is in a state of tension threatening at times to tear itself apart and seemingly unable to make coherent decisions.

In Weststate the politics of technology have crystallized around four issues--Project Rescue (a large reclamation project), the watershed program, phreatophyte removal, and channelization of rivers and streams. Each of these areas may be viewed as a system to itself, each interconnected with the others and each forming a part of the larger system of water resource development. In the following sections we shall view each of these issues as a system, noting the opposition and cooperation among the groups, and examining the role of the association in the process. The portrayal of the system will be somewhat biased towards the associations, and lines of cooperation and

opposition between other social units may not appear if they are not apparent from the associations' view of the issues.

Project Rescue

At the end of the nineteenth century water resource management in the West was in the hands of individuals or quasi-public canal companies. This management involved getting the water from the stream to the fields. For further agricultural growth, new sources of water had to be developed. The foundation for this was laid in the passage of the National Reclamation Act of 1902 which provided federal funds to assist the construction of reclamation projects in the arid west. This was the impetus for the reclamation principle which was a joining of water and power as it allowed the use of power revenues to defray the cost of water projects (Courtland Smith 1968: 31-36).

In the 1940's the water leaders of Weststate began to fear a water shortage. The central counties were growing rapidly in population and in water consumption; groundwater pumpage was exceeding recharge. To solve this problem an idea for a new reclamation project was born. Originally the project was envisioned as consisting of a canal from West River on the state's western boundary to Central County with two hydroelectric dams upstream to provide pumping power to lift the water from the river and revenue from the sale of surplus power to pay off construction costs. In order to receive the backing of the entire state, however, South County and Cactus County were soon included as recipients of the "new" water and a series of water exchanges were proposed with River and North Counties. Forseeing a

possible water shortage on the river due to increased use by Weststate and other states in the basin, future water transfers between river basins were also proposed.

The project was envisioned as a rescue operation which would permit Weststate to maintain its existing economy and to curtail the groundwater overdraft. While the new water would be used primarily for agriculture, no new agricultural lands would be brought under cultivation, but rather the new water would save existing agricultural lands from going out of production. For this reason the project became known as Project Rescue. According to one of its proponents:

Our civilization which has grown up in Weststate adds a welcome strength to our nation. Today this civilization, like that of the ancient Vaakeys before it, is having its existence threatened by a lack of water. If our civilization is to survive we must import water. The project to bring this water into the state will rescue our civilization from the fate which befell the Vaakeys.

Following the reclamation principle, hydroelectric dams would be built to provide pumping power and for revenue for the payback of the project. The lakes created by the dams would provide recreation. Since the dams would border an Indian reservation they would provide some prosperity for these Indians. For this reason the project was supported by at least one famous social anthropologist who felt:

The construction of the dam, the installation of power facilities there, the creation of a large recreational lake would constitute the major single foreseeable economic foundation for a fair social, cultural, and economic integration of much discriminated against Indians into the United States.

On the other hand the dams would flood some of the Weststate Wilderness Area and would destroy some archaeological sites. For this reason several archaeologists opposed the project.

For over twenty years Project Rescue loomed like a mirage before the eyes of Weststate politicians. The battle for Project Rescue took place in both Congress and in a court of law. The opponents here were neighboring states who were not too happy at giving what they regarded as their water to Weststate.

The Weststate Water Importation Association is the major lobby for the project. This association works closely with the state agencies, the Congressional delegation, and the Bureau of Reclamation. The association seeks to coordinate the efforts of all agencies, associations, political subdivisions, and businesses which have an interest in reclamation. This coordination of activities is an attempt to maximize the pro-project impact in Congress and to provide an illusion of unity and solidarity for the project within the state. Some of the efforts of the association can be seen in the following statement by one of its directors:

The Weststate Water Importation Association was very influential in the Congressional battle. When we were in the stage of taking witnesses back to Washington, the association bore the expense of the witnesses. In addition association people wrote part of the testimony which these witnesses gave at the hearings. The association also served to unify the interests of the state. Their public relations and educational interests were responsible for holding the state together. Frequently this was done through the influence of prominent individuals on the board of directors.

The Water Importation Association also seeks to educate the people of Weststate and other states as to the importance of reclamation to Weststate and the need for the proposed project. As a part of the educational program the association has produced a motion picture which has had more than 3,000 showings in 28 states. Association personnel spend much time talking about the project to various groups (primarily other associations). The association has also produced several booklets and information sheets which are utilized to answer queries about the project.

In the speeches, news releases, and pamphlets of its education campaign, the Water Importation Association continually hammers home the following points:

1. Throughout years of effort one undisputed fact has emerged: Weststate is, without any doubt whatsoever, in desperate need of water.
2. The entire nation has a stake in Project Rescue. One in every twenty-five Americans has a direct personal stake in Project Rescue.
3. Weststate agriculture is the stabilizing base in the economy and thus must be protected. Weststate agriculture is highly productive and does not contribute to the national surpluses.
4. It has been clearly demonstrated to the Congress of the United States and the people of this Nation that Weststate's water plight is real, crucial and in need of immediate solution. It has

also been clearly demonstrated that Project Rescue is feasible from an economic, engineering and financial standpoint.

The Congressional battle, waged primarily in committee and subcommittee, lasted for several years. One of the stumbling blocks was the proposal to construct dams. People from all parts of the country opposed the construction of these dams as they felt large portions of the Weststate Wilderness Area would be flooded, permanently modified, or destroyed.

Within Weststate, the Conservation Club was organized to fight the proposed dams. The club took the position that the dams were wasteful--they would waste money because they would not pay back their construction costs and the power which they would generate could be produced more cheaply by thermoelectric means; they would waste an invaluable natural heritage by destroying the ecology of the river, and they would waste a priceless historical heritage by destroying archaeological sites within the wilderness area.

In carrying out its fight, the Conservation Club cooperated quite closely with several nature clubs, hiking clubs, and bird watching societies within the state. Officers and members of the club went to Washington to testify at the hearings. They also wrote letters to each member of Congress and submitted written testimony to the hearings. In addition the club took its fight to prevent the construction of the dams directly to the people--they wrote letters to editors, paid for newspaper advertisements, published books and booklets, and put bumper stickers on their cars which proclaimed "Save the Weststate

Wilderness." Like the Water Importation Association they produced a motion picture and they spoke before various groups.

Representatives of the Conservation Club met representatives of the Water Importation Association, the Oldtown Committee, the Sportsmen's Federation, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the state water and power agencies in several public debates. One of the state agencies published a reply to the Conservation Club "fictions". The Conservation Club and the Water Importation Association waged "the battle of the films" in attempting to get their movies shown to various audiences.

The water leaders of the state are always careful to point out that there has been no opposition to the reclamation project itself within the state. Officially the Conservation Club has supported the project without the dams. However, Conservation Club personnel acting in the role of Conservation Club personnel have testified against the project citing "an enormous volume of material from hydrologists, engineers, and the universities showing that the project is not economically feasible." The majority of active members of the club are personally opposed to the project, but they felt that to oppose the project officially would place an insurmountable obstacle before their goal of getting the wilderness protected from the dams.

While there has been no other organized opposition in the state, the publication of a challenging article in a University journal by two University professors created the semblance of opposition. The two professors, both agricultural economists, merely pointed out that:

(1) the water crisis is not as widespread as generally believed as there is sufficient groundwater for over 100 years, (2) the proposed project would subsidize farmers at the expense of the municipalities and industry, and (3) suitable alternatives to the water problem do exist. The publication of this article prompted an emergency meeting of the Oldtown Committee. The purpose of this meeting was to prepare a rebuttal to the article and after some discussion a subcommittee was appointed to this task. Two weeks later the Oldtown Committee met again to present the formal rebuttal, copies of which were issued to the press, and to the Congressional Delegation.

For more than a year following its publication various members of the Oldtown Committee, the Water Importation Association, Farm-Ranch, and the state water agencies spoke out against the article. At times there were innuendoes that the authors were Northstate agents, traitors to Weststate, and that academic freedom should not allow the publication of such material. In general academicians became suspect and to deviate even in the slightest from established policy was to bring the wrath of editorial writers and phone calls to the Dean. As one scientist put it: "If anyone were to suggest that Project Rescue was not advantageous to Weststate, that the importation of water would not cause Weststate to grow, or that Weststate could survive without agriculture, then I would recommend that he run for the nearest bomb shelter."

One water scientist delivering a rather standard speech on the potentials of better water utilization was editorially condemned

for delivering "a stab in the back of Weststate Congressional delegation." The newspaper, recognizing the need for academic freedom, also stated that "researchers owe it to the University, the state, and themselves to be careful about what they say and when they say it." In another instance the water resource research project of a social anthropologist was denounced by a paper which had supported it a few months before. This came in the same issue in which the two university agricultural economists were taken to task. A third case involved a political scientist's questionnaire which was seen as opposing Project Rescue and emphasizing the Oldtown-Central City opposition. A few phone calls to the Dean elicited a letter of apology.

The academicians, however, continued to bring up statistics and conclusions that the state water leaders would rather ignore. At one point the academicians and the supporters of Project Rescue were invited to debate the issue before an association of scientists. The project supporters withdrew from the debate for fear of sparking a controversy which might damage their cause. Undebated, the academicians pointed out that (1) a different pricing policy might solve the water problem, (2) agriculture, the largest user of water in the state, generates only 9.5 percent of the personal income, (3) the economy of the area will not grind to a halt without water importation, and (4) part of the goal of Project Rescue is to put one over on Northstate. Lest I give the impression that the entire academic world was opposed to Project Rescue, I must point out that one university officially endorsed it and the presidents of two other universities gave testimony in favor

of it. Many scientists and researchers spoke and wrote on the benefits of the Project. One report concluded that "without this immense water and power project, the continued growth and prosperity of Weststate is seriously jeopardized."

The numerous delays in obtaining Congressional authorization for Project Rescue began to foster a feeling of desperation. Weststate needed water desperately; she needs the water now; delay can only bring disaster. This atmosphere helped create a feeling that Weststate could go-it-alone--that is, she could build a state reclamation project without federal aid. The idea seemed to appeal to the cultural image of the western frontiersman as a rugged individual dependent on no one. Some prominent Weststater pushed for the state project, one short-lived association took up the cause, Farm-Ranch endorsed it, the Oldtown newspaper ridiculed it, and, at least one state agency favored the state plan over the federal plan. The official position of the state was to take a "twin furrow" or "two fisted" approach--that is, to continue to push for the federal project while exploring the possibilities of the state project. At one point one newspaper editorialized that "the great majority of Weststater are ready to forget about the federal project and to support the state project."

The possible battle over the state versus the federal project was cut short when Congress finally authorized the project. The passage of the bill was seen as a victory for the Weststate Water Importation Association as Weststate would get the reclamation project. The bill was also a victory for the Conservation Club as

the dams were not authorized. For the Sportsmen's Federation, however, passage of the bill without the dams was a bitter defeat. The Sportsmen's Federation, as a conservation organization, had opposed the Conservation Club by supporting the dams. With passage of the bill without the dams, the Sportsmen's Federation attitude was summed up by one member: "We came out of that one with egg on our face." Exclusion of the dams from the bill also came as a bitter blow to the Indians whose reservation bordered one of the proposed dam sites. Their hopes for prosperity created by the dam construction and the ensuing recreational use of the lake were abruptly shattered.

With the authorization of the long-sought project the focus of the reclamation subsystem is changing from the problems of getting the project authorized to those concerned with obtaining funds from Congress with which to build it and allocating its water once built. The Water Importation Association is continuing as the principal lobby and will utilize its efforts to get money from Congress. The leaders of the association stress that the job is not done, the project is only authorized, and that continued work on the part of Weststaters is needed. Farm-Ranch and the Association of Conservationists have also pledged themselves to aiding in the Congressional battle for project financing.

Following the passage of the project act, the Conservation Club took the stand that the project was more pork barrel than water barrel, that it was a waste of money, a political payoff.

This stand gave the club the strongest support from its members since its creation and tripled the size of its meetings.

The inclusion of "water salvage" clause in the act may alienate the further support of the Sportsmen's Federation (see following subsections on Phreatophytes and Channelization). The federation feels that "if we can't come up with a better idea, then we'll keep our mouths shut."

It is too early to tell what new lines of opposition and cooperation will emerge with regard to the allocation of the project's water. It was suggested to me by several informants that the Water Importation Association may "act as the smoke-filled room where the decisions are really made." The Sportsmen's Federation will be involved in an attempt to obtain water for fish and wildlife use and the Association of Conservationists is attempting to obtain water for recreational use.

A schematic model of the Project Rescue subsystem showing the lines of cooperation and opposition is shown in Figure 1. The roles of the Water Importation Association and the Conservation Club in this subsystem should be apparent from the discussion of the issues. Farm-Ranch and the Association of Conservationists have contributed money to the Water Importation Association, passed resolutions favoring reclamation, and given written testimony at Congressional hearings. The Oldtown Committee has helped in raising money for the Water Importation Association (particularly from the city of Oldtown and South County), has provided written testimony in Congress, and

Figure 1. The Project Rescue Subsystem

Abbreviations:

WFRF--Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

WAC--Weststate Association of Conservationists

WSF--Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

WWIA--Weststate Water Importation Association

BR--Bureau of Reclamation

OBWC--Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee

CC--Conservation Club

CO--Counties

U--Universities

BUS--Businesses

SA--State Agencies

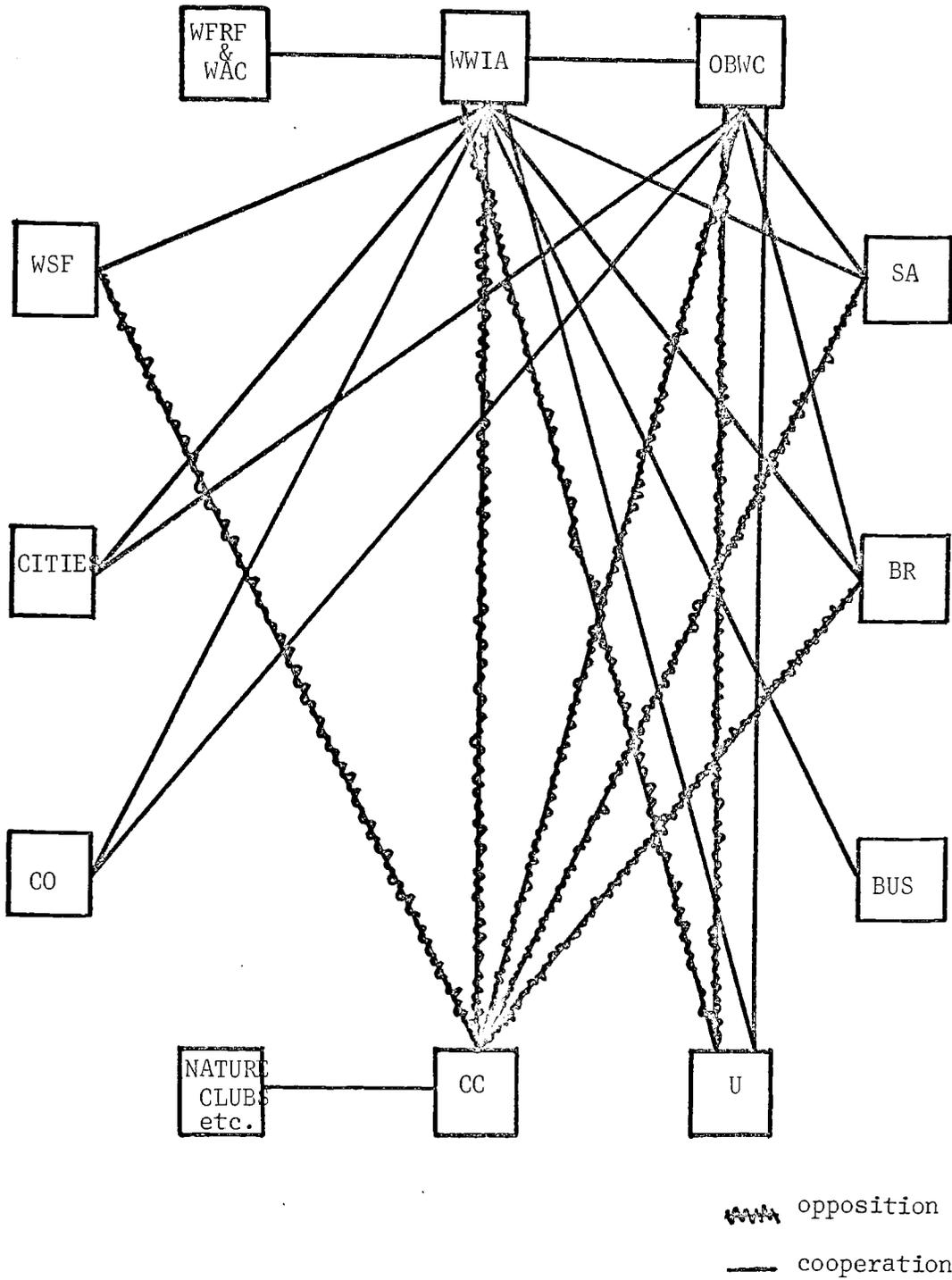


Figure 1. The Project Rescue Subsystem

has aided in the Water Importation Association education campaign. The Sportsmen's Federation served as the first line of defense in the attack on the dams as the federation, as a conservationist organization, favored the dams.

Most of the larger businesses of the state have been involved in the issue of reclamation. Many have contributed financially to the Water Importation Association. Through the several industry-oriented associations, testimony favoring reclamation projects was given in Congress. The reasons for the great concern of business in water resource development can be seen in the following statements by prominent businessmen:

Water is needed for the development of the state. Our company is bound to the state's development as our own.

XYZ Corporation feels that water is necessary for growth. Our business is based on growth.

Without supplemental water Weststate's growth is severely limited. If Weststate's growth is limited, then our growth is limited.

The future of Weststate depends on water. Our economy depends on water. The development of Weststate is based on the principle of the development of the supply of water. As Weststate grows, so do we.

The industry is interested because water resource development stimulates the economic growth of the area, hence enlarging the traditional market for our products.

XXX Power Company is interested in the economy of the state. All of the utilities of the state are growth industries. They have got to maintain growth. They are extremely interested in the state's economy which is tied to water.

These statements reflect what Kelso (1967a, 1967b) calls the "desert image" of water--that is, the belief that an abundance of water is necessary for the economic growth of an area and that in a desert area this water must be augmented by the development and importation of new water.

All of the major cities and counties of the state have supported the reclamation project. The support of Oldtown and South County is due largely to the influence of the Oldtown Committee. Many of them have made substantial contributions to the Weststate Water Importation Association and have provided testimony before Congress.

The role of the universities in Project Rescue appears to the public to be rather contradictory. Some of the administrative personnel have written pro-project testimony on the universities' letterheads, fostering the illusion, intentionally or unintentionally, that this testimony represents the position of the University. On the other hand, some of the university research personnel acting in their roles as scientists have published research findings opposing the project in university sponsored journals and acting in their roles of university professors have spoken in public about these findings. This has created an image that the universities are opposed to the project. I found that some of the personnel of the system were baffled as to the "real" position of the universities with regard to the project--the universities support the project but yet they oppose it. This bafflement is further enhanced by practice of university

personnel to utilize the prestige of their university role-position when acting in the role of individual.

The Watershed Program

Vegetative manipulation is an issue in water resource development which involves the thesis that certain woody species can be removed from the watershed and stream banks and replaced with grasses resulting in: (1) increased water yield, (2) increased forage for cattle and wildlife, (3) increased timber yield, (4) reduction in the potential for destructive wildfire, and (5) reduction in the potential for soil erosion. The thesis proposes that watersheds can, and should be, managed for the wise use of all natural resources.

The primary impetus behind this thesis is the Water Resources Committee which contains representatives from all watershed interests and which strives for improved wildland management techniques. The committee is involved with both research and action programs with the state and federal land management agencies, private concerns, associations, and the universities. The Committee prides itself in working with all interests and yet not tying itself to any particular interest group. The role of the Committee in the vegetative manipulation program in the state is summed up by one of its members:

The Weststate Water Resources Committee has been quite successful. Until we were organized, the main interest of the land management people was trees. They assumed that good lumber equalled good watershed. However, in Arizona much of the watershed is not timber. They gave no emphasis to the water value of the lands. They were opposed to the use of fire. Through our influence they

are now actually using fire. The work has been of tremendous value. We were accused in the beginning of wanting to pave the watershed to get water. The program has proved that wildland management is needed.

Part of the function of the Committee is to help obtain financing for both action and research programs. This is usually done in the following way: (1) the Committee and the agency involved review together the previous year's operation in connection with the watershed, (2) they then go over the agency proposed budget, discussing the adequacies and inadequacies in light of what the various interests on the Committee would like to see, (3) a letter is sent to a Senator in Washington stating what the Committee recommends and why. This technique has been quite successful and the members feel that it will continue to work even with the removal of the Senator from the key position in Washington.

The funding of watershed projects has been tied in with federal agency budgets and has provided an erratic year by year flow of funds. In an effort to assure the management agencies a steady flow of funds thus enabling them to lay out long-range programs, the Water Resources Committee drew up the proposed Western States Water Yield Improvement Act. The proposed act would authorize federal funds to improve water yield in all of the Western states. According to the proposal, funding would be via a matching fund arrangement among the federal agencies, on site users, down stream users, and state and local agencies.

The act was originally drafted by the officers of the Committee, then rewritten by a lawyer and commented on by some watershed managers.

The proposed act was publicly presented at the Committee's annual symposium by the Committee's chairman and representatives of two irrigation districts. The proposal was given to the Central County representative to introduce into Congress. Before introducing it, however, he conferred with one of the irrigation districts and modified the wording slightly.

The Committee prepared to fight the Congressional battle for passage of the act by first getting the support of other associations. The first association approached was Farm-Ranch. Two committee members (both also members of the Farm-Ranch committee on water resource development) explained the proposed act to the Farm-Ranch committee on water resource development and then asked for a resolution supporting it. One watershed manager also spoke in favor of the proposed act: "This bill is one thing we have all backed. Our agency suffered a cutback last year and this has shown us that we need a financial floor for long-range plans." With only one dissenter the Farm-Ranch committee on water resource development then passed the resolution supporting the act, and this resolution was in turn adopted by the entire Farm-Ranch Federation.

The Association of Conservationists also passed a resolution supporting the act. Here again committee members explained the act and asked for a resolution which was passed with no dissent.

In addition to getting the support of these two associations, the Water Resources Committee has also sought the financial support of businesses and political subdivisions in order to produce a motion

picture to be used in the Congressional battle. This idea was borrowed in part from the Water Importation Association's film (which was shown to the Committee at the first discussion of the idea).

Another function of the Water Resources Committee is to coordinate, or attempt to coordinate, the various projects for the best interests of all of the state. Part of this, concerns the improvement of communication among the personnel of the various agencies and private concerns. This is done by having an annual watershed symposium and by having some agency people attend the Committee's meetings. This provides a setting for increased communication on both the formal and informal levels. There are formal channels of communication through the rituals of the speeches by various experts, and the informal channels through the face-to-face contact among the various personnel. According to one watershed manager: "The program often doesn't give us anything. One of the main reasons for going is to maintain contact with other people. This type of communication is extremely important in this business."

According to one member of the Water Resources Committee: "We haven't publicized the program to the general public. We haven't kept it secret either." This is probably due, in part, to an over-cautiousness generated by some of the adverse feeling when the thesis was first advanced. Another part of the cautiousness in advertising the program to the general public is the fear of the "Smokey-the-Bear Syndrome" which pounds into Americans through television, bumper stickers, song, comic books, and so on, the idea that fire in the

forests is bad, that it must be stopped. Some watershed managers feel that because of this syndrome, their use of controlled burning would not be understood. According to one watershed supervisor:

"We have to burn, but Smokey the Bear is an emotional tool which is being used against us."

At least one watershed manager feels that the Smokey-the-Bear Syndrome is over-rated:

Public reaction over burning is a problem which doesn't exist. We explain the program to people and show them we are not going off half-cocked. I can point to myself as an example. When I graduated from the University I was opposed to burning. No one tried to push burning down my throat. In the course of my job I saw the facts and now I am a supporter of burning. All you have to do is show people what the program is, let them see the facts and make up their own minds. Most will support us.

I found that many members of the Sportsmen's Federation, the Conservation Club, hiking clubs, and nature clubs were very much aware of the benefits of fire and the harm of the "Stamp Out All Fires" philosophy of Smokey. It is these very groups of people that some watershed managers feel will fight burning.

The Water Resources Committee, in spite of its apparent caution in publicizing the program, does engage in education-promotion activities. Part of these activities are aimed at the individuals in the segments of the state who are directly responsible for state policies. This group of people are shown the advantages of the watershed program.

The Water Resources Committee also feels that it is important to reach the future leaders of the state, the future stewards of the state's wildlands. In doing this the committee has been influential

in supporting the conservation program at Camp Apache. This program, which has won national acclaim, involves state and federal agencies as well as private concerns. The program at Camp Apache is usually viewed as teaching the boys about watershed management including the thesis of vegetative manipulation and management for greater water yield. In doing this, action programs in thinning are carried out.

During my five days at Camp Apache, I found that the usual view of the program is highly idealized. While the conservation program is the best I have seen in over ten years of scouting, it does not meet the ideal picture which was painted for me. The boys learn about the watershed and its importance in producing water. In the Forestry Merit Badge class the boys were asked to list the five uses of the watershed and over half listed water (see Table 7). In asking the boys to name the source of Central City's water supply, 8 out of 14 named the local watershed. The boys are taught that watershed management involves measurement and prediction--nothing is said about management for increased water yield. The action programs in thinning are carried out, but the fire control benefits of this program are emphasized, not the potential water yield increases. With regard to controlled burning, the Smokey-the-Bear philosophy is reinforced.

A schematic model of the watershed subsystem is presented in Figure 2. During the time period under consideration there was no actual opposition within the subsystem.

Table 7: Uses of Watershed Cited at Camp Apache

Use	Number	Percent*
Timber	108	83.1
Recreation	90	69.2
Water	80	61.5
Wildlife	77	59.2
Range	72	55.4

N = 130

*Multiple responses were elicited hence total will equal more than 100 percent.

Figure 2. The Watershed Subsystem

Abbreviations:

WFRF--Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

WWRC--Weststate Water Resources Committee

BIA--Bureau of Indian Affairs

BUS--Business

CA--Camp Apache

FS--Forest Service

FGD--Fish and Game Department

GS--Geological Survey

LD--Land Department

U--Universities

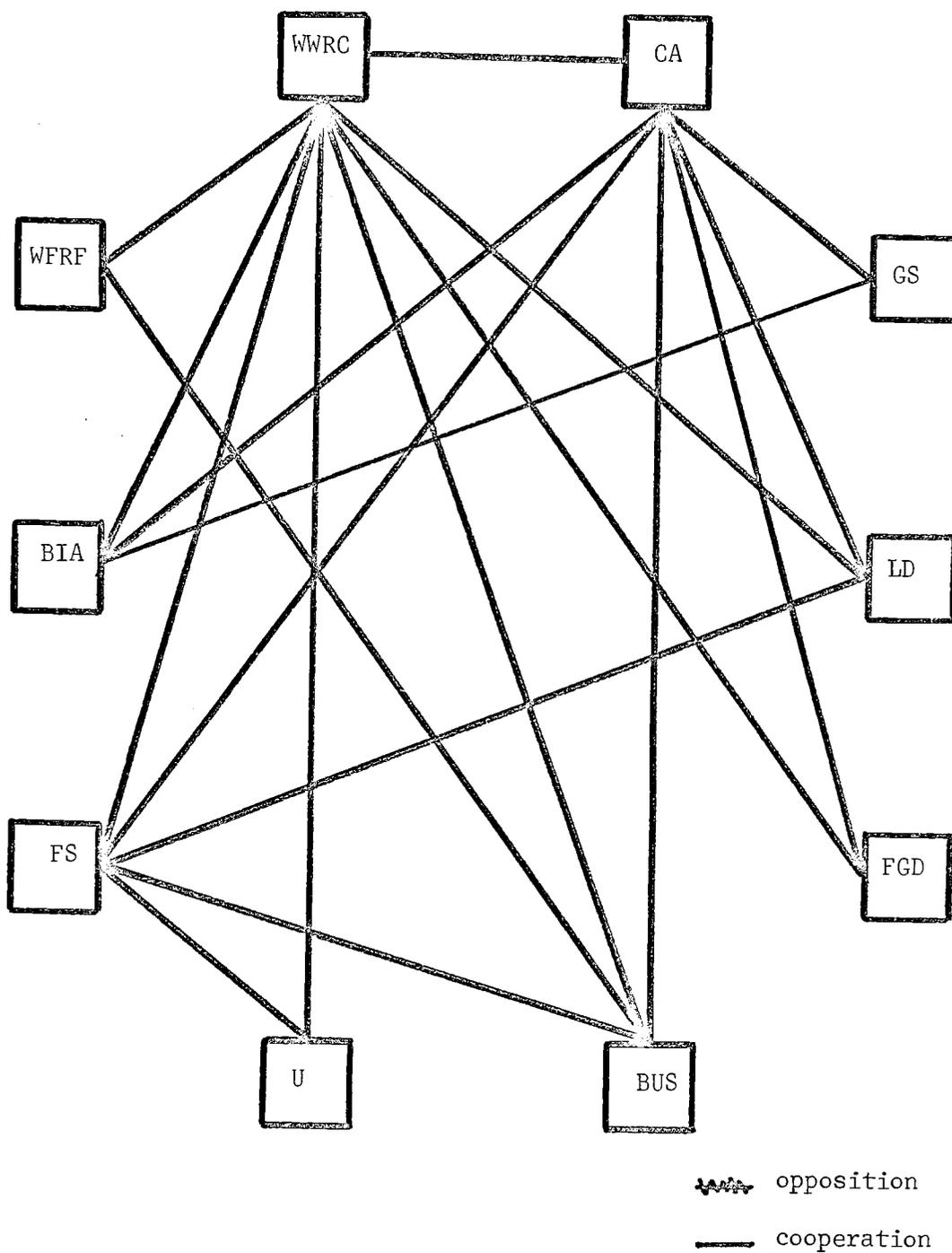


Figure 2. The Watershed Subsystem

Phreatophytes

The most controversial issue in vegetative manipulation involves a group of plants known as phreatophytes. Phreatophytes are a woody species of plant which depend on groundwater and which have a relatively high consumptive use of water. These plants are usually termed non-beneficial and hence their use of water is viewed as consumptive waste. In Weststate the most common phreatophytes are salt cedar, cottonwood, and mesquite.

The land management people view the removal of phreatophytes from river banks and flood plains as a way to salvage water. They feel that phreatophyte removal transfers water from consumptive waste to beneficial use in irrigation, municipalities, and industry. In addition some flood control benefits are claimed by phreatophyte removal.

Presently there are action programs in phreatophyte removal being conducted by private interests, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the United States Geological Survey. In connection with these agencies, the universities are conducting some research in this area. In all, phreatophyte removal projects are either planned or underway on some 200,000 acres in the state.

Objections to the phreatophyte removal projects have been raised by the sportsmen of the state through the Sportsmen's Federation and the Fish and Game Department. The sportsmen argue that phreatophytes are not worthless, but rather they provide food, nesting,

and protection for game and non-game animals. Phreatophyte removal, they claim, does not lead to water salvage, but only to the transfer of water from one beneficial use--wildlife and recreation--to another. Many of the sportsmen also point out that the usual definition of a phreatophyte--a non-beneficial water-using plant--can also be applied to cotton since it provides no direct benefits to fish and wildlife.

Anti-phreatophyte removal action first began with the Fish and Game Department submitting a proposed resolution to the Sportsmen's Federation requesting that mitigation measures be incorporated into phreatophyte project plans. The federation passed this motion with little discussion and no debate. With the passage of time the federation's resolution seemed to have little effect.

The phreatophyte problem--hailed as the death dirge of the dove--received much publicity in the Sportsmen's Federation newsletter and in Fish and Game Department publications. The federation's newsletter urged its members to become involved: "So long dove hunting--unless you take action now." However, it is generally acknowledged that these reach only the sportsmen-conservationists of the state and not the members of the various hiking clubs, nature clubs, bird watching societies, and the Conservation Club.

The Water Resources Committee, when the phreatophyte clearance projects were first proposed, hailed them as having great potential for water resource development. The Committee soon became aware of the sportsmen's complaints. The Committee's awareness of these complaints was further enhanced by its having sportsmen-conservationists

as members. While the Committee officially approved of the phreato-phyte projects, it did so with reservations on the part of some of its members.

In an attempt to bring some understanding to both sides, the Water Resources Committee sponsored a phreatophyte panel at its annual symposium. Here, representatives of the Sportsmen's Federation and the Fish and Game Department debated the phreatophyte problem with representatives of the Bureau of Reclamation and the Geological Survey. No compromise or conclusion was reached by the panel and both sides felt they had won a victory.

The skirmishes over phreatophytes are continuing to heat up and threaten to break into major battles which will possibly affect the image of unity within the state with regard to reclamation projects, since a phreatophyte project was tied to Project Rescue. The Sportsmen's Federation and the Fish and Game Department supported this reclamation project, but now they are disillusioned and angered over the phreatophyte aspect of it.

It appears that there is confusion and a lack of communication between the two sides on this issue. Some sportsmen are willing to compromise: "Undoubtedly we will have phreatophyte clearing, but our object is to salvage as much wildlife habitat as possible. Some compromise such as strip clearing is a possibility." There is a feeling that instead of a tunnel-vision condemnation of phreatophyte projects there should be an open door to alternate solutions. This approach to the issue is contrasted by some pro-removal advocates who feel: "We've

got to take a hard line with the conservationists and recreationists on this matter. We can't afford to compromise and be sent down the drain again." According to another advocate of phreatophyte removal: "There is good water being tied up in phreatophytes. We don't want to fight with the preservationists over this. I don't disagree with the conservationists, but when you have a choice between water for people and water for animals, then we must take the water for people."

Not all of the sportsmen are for compromise and not all of the land managers are against it; some of the wildland managers are in favor of compromise and they recognize the possibilities of strip clearing such as the "green belt" policy of the Bureau of Land Management. On the other hand, some of the sportsmen are entirely opposed to phreatophyte removal and want an end put to all phreatophyte projects.

The land managers' claim that their research has definitely shown that phreatophyte removal increases water yield. They charge that there has been no research on the effects of phreatophyte removal on birds. There is the feeling that the Sportsmen's Federation and the Fish and Game Department are "closed groups". According to some land managers, the game researchers do not have adequate techniques for determining the results of phreatophyte removal on birds. One land manager stated: "They tell us one thing about what their research indicates and then our own research indicates something else."

The game managers, on the other hand, claim that exhaustive research has shown phreatophyte removal detrimental to birds. They

claim that much of the dove population will be lost and that some rare species such as the grey hawk and the black hawk will cease to exist in Weststate. In addition, some of the game managers and conservationists claim that phreatophyte removal does not result in an increase in water yield, but that it may, in fact, cause a decrease due to increased evaporation. They find some of the projects "difficult to swallow in view of the fact that the water measuring devices are not sensitive enough to measure the difference in flow if the claimed goal of 100,000 acre-feet is salvaged." Several of the conservationists have claimed that the water researchers do not have adequate techniques for determining the results of phreatophyte removal on water yield.

The increasing concern about phreatophyte removal caused the Weststate Sportsmen's Federation to discuss a very strongly worded anti-phreatophyte resolution. This proposed resolution caught the attention of some of the wildland managers who felt that it contained false statements. The proposed resolution stated that 90-95 percent of the dove will be affected by phreatophyte removal, but according to one watershed manager: "There is no research to show this. Do the dove nest in phreatophytes per se or because they are near fields?" The proposed resolution also used the term "vegetative eradication" which implies the watershed program as well as the phreatophyte removal projects. The proposed resolution at present seems to have had some effect--not in stopping the phreatophyte removal projects,

but in fostering communication between the two sides. At least one watershed manager called a Fish and Game Department manager to set up a meeting between them as a direct result of the proposed resolution.

At the annual convention of the Sportsmen's Federation, the delegates modified this proposed anti-phreatophyte resolution. The resulting resolution called for the curtailment of future phreatophyte projects until such projects could be evaluated by conservation interests and sponsoring agencies to determine the benefits and the resource losses. In addition, the sportsmen asked that mitigation for resource losses be incorporated into phreatophyte projects.

The members of the Conservation Club are aware of the phreatophyte program and some of its members are quite opposed to it. The club has taken no official action on this issue, but may become involved in the future.

The Water Resources Committee has to date taken a middle road on this issue and has sought to improve the communication between the two sides in order to effect some workable compromise. The Water Importation Association has not officially been involved, but the majority of its directors appear to favor phreatophyte removal and it is possible they may take a stand on this matter.

The model of the phreatophyte subsystem is shown in Figure 3. The Conservation Club is presented here without lines to show that it is aware of the issue and will probably take a stand on it in the near future.

Figure 3. The Phreatophyte Subsystem

Abbreviations:

WSF--Sportsmen's Federation

WWRS--Weststate Water Resources Committee

BIA--Bureau of Indian Affairs

BR--Bureau of Reclamation

BUS--Business

CC--Conservation Club

CE--Corps of Engineers

FGD--Fish and Game Department

GS--Geological Survey

LD--State Land Department

U--Universities

BIM--Bureau of Land Management

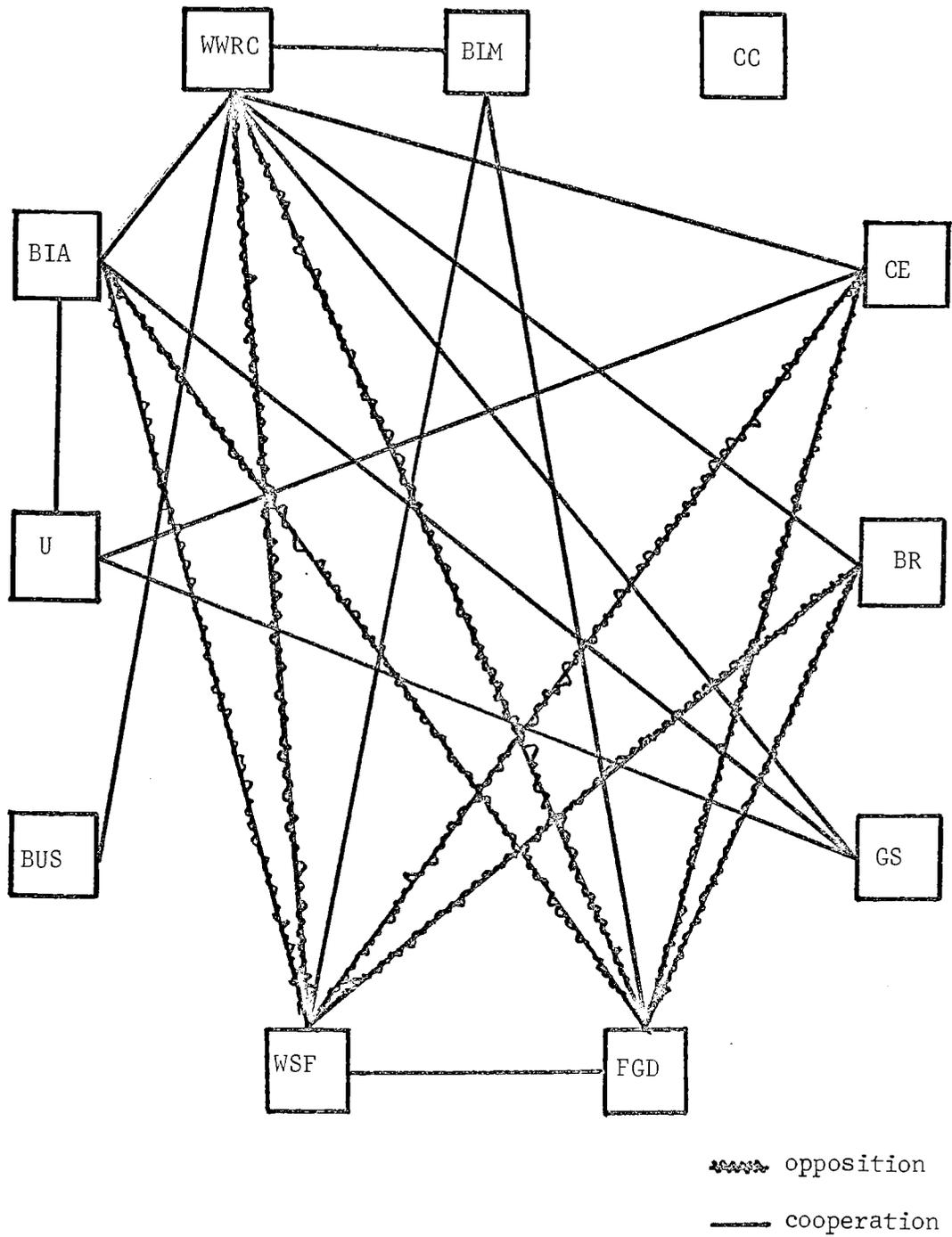


Figure 3. The Phreatophyte Subsystem

Channelization

Channelization is a part of the Bureau of Reclamation's water conservation effort. It involves the dredging of silt from the river channels, stabilizing stream banks, and straightening the rivers. The objective of the program is primarily water salvage--an estimated 254,000 acre-feet annually. In addition the program has some benefits in terms of erosion reduction and quality improvement.

Objections to the Bureau's channelization efforts come from the sportsmen-conservationists of the state who feel that this program is destroying irreplaceable wildlife habitat. The dredging deepens the river channel, hence draining the marshes which serve as water-fowl refuges. Bank stabilization and river straightening reduce oxbows and backwaters and with them fish spawning areas. The general feeling among the sportsmen-conservationists is that "the Bureau wants to turn the rivers into big irrigation ditches resembling superhighways." To this, one Bureau of Reclamation spokesman replies: "We think this program will enhance the rivers rather than be detrimental, if done right. The program will enhance fish and wildlife and give you a damn sight better rivers."

Both the sportsmen-conservationists and the professional game management people have numerous complaints about the Bureau's program. They claim that the Bureau does not let them know about Bureau plans for channelization--these seem to be cloaked in secrecy. In one instance, the Fish and Game Department was notified of a new dredging operation, not by the Bureau of Reclamation, rather by a concerned

sportsman. This has led to the suggestion--made partially in jest-- that groups be organized to patrol the river on a regular basis in order to find out what the Bureau is up to. A second complaint about the Bureau charges that it ignores wildlife recommendations concerning its program. Among the sportsmen-conservationists of the state, the Bureau seems to project an image of "bullheadedness" and "We'll-show-you" attitude.

The Fish and Game Department and the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife have issued recommendations and complaints to the Bureau of Reclamation. In addition the Sportsmen's Federation has passed a general resolution disapproving channelization and asking that the Bureau of Reclamation work with professional game managers in their program. The Conservation Club has also condemned the program. Possibly due to these pressures, the Secretary of the Interior placed a moratorium on dredging in one section of the river. This was hailed as a victory by the sportsmen. One game manager addressing the Sportsmen's Federation stated: "Our appeals to the Bureau of Reclamation were unheard, so we went to the Secretary. There is where your resolution took effect and was possibly the determining factor."

On the other side of the issue, both the Water Importation Association and the Association of Conservationists have approved the Bureau's channelization program and have passed resolutions supporting it. Neither association has directly confronted the opposition.

A model of the channelization subsystem is shown in Figure 4. As is evident from this model, the Bureau of Reclamation has to date

Figure 4. The Channelization Subsystem

Abbreviations:

WAC--Weststate Association of Conservationists

WSF--Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

WWIA--Weststate Water Importation Association

BR--Bureau of Reclamation

FG--Fish and Game Department

CC--Conservation Club

BSFW--Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife

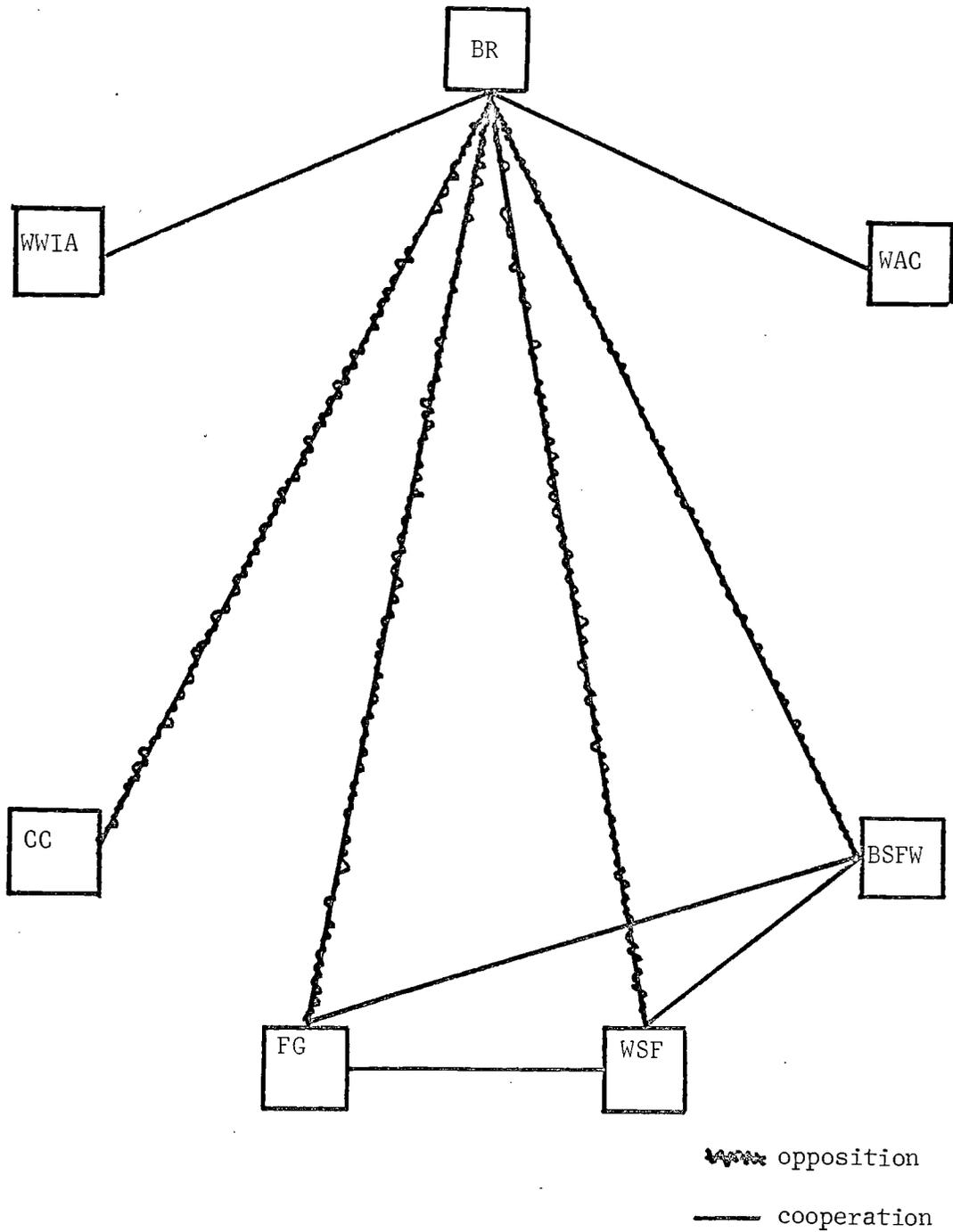


Figure 4. The Channelization Subsystem

taken the brunt of the opposition and has merely received moral encouragement for its program from the Water Importation Association, and the Association of Conservationists.

CHAPTER 4

THE POLITICS OF ADMINISTRATION

Innovation in the administrative organization of water resource development, like innovation in technology, must proceed through the social process of political decision-making. Unlike technological innovation, however, administrative innovation invariably changed to some extent the process of decision-making and the social system of water resource development. In Weststate the politics of administration has centered around three issues: the creation of a central water agency, water rights, and water quality.

A Central Water Agency?

Within Weststate there are five separate state agencies concerned with some aspect of water resource development. These agencies overlap in responsibility and interest and often conflict in goals. It is generally acknowledged that these five agencies have less efficiency than is to be desired with regard to the total water resource picture of the state. This lack of efficiency is compounded when one realizes that there are also fourteen federal agencies concerned with water resources in the state and there are times when each state agency must deal with each federal agency, often independently and often for conflicting goals.

Soon after its formation the Oldtown Committee began to investigate the water problem and through this investigation it became concerned about the efficiency of these competing agencies. This concern grew into a "white paper report" which was issued to the news media and interested persons. The report observed that "there are many conflicting interests between these agencies and each one can be expected to advance the cause that best serves its own interest." The Oldtown Committee also noted that this multiplicity of agencies created certain vacuums in the political structure which were filled by citizens groups such as the Water Importation Association and the Water Resources Committee. The multiplicity of agencies, the Oldtown Committee reported, did not allow for an adequate continuing inventory and appraisal of the water resources of Weststate.

With the impetus of this glaring need the Oldtown Committee undertook the task of attempting to implement administrative reform. Drawing upon the creative resources of its own members--lawyers, engineers, hydrologists, and businessmen--the committee set upon drafting a proposal to create a central water agency. Examples of the utility of such a central water agency are cited by two of the committee's members:

The battle for reclamation projects is a technical battle as much as a political battle. The politicians need technical data. Without technical data, half of the battle is lost. We have been at a disadvantage since we have no single data gathering agency. We would have had Project Rescue years ago if we had had a central water agency. We could have torn certain misinformed college professors apart much easier had we had the facts in front of us. If we had a central water agency there would be less confusion about the facts and certain college professors would not be so confused because they could get the data.

Once the committee had drafted its proposal it gained the support of several professional societies, a women's club, the city of Oldtown, and the Conservation Club. The proposal was introduced into the state legislature as written by the committee.

Opposition to proposal as drafted came from the agricultural interests of the state. To alleviate some of this opposition the leaders of the committee met with the Association of Conservationists. Also in attendance at this meeting were representatives of the Water Importation Association, the Water Resources Committee, Farm-Ranch, and several irrigation districts. As a result of the meeting no one disagreed with the basic concept, but nearly all disagreed to the actual proposal.

The basic opposition to the Oldtown Committee's proposal came from the feeling that it went too far, and that it would interfere with water rights. Some of the agricultural and agribusiness interests stated their opposition as follows:

We are not for this specific piece of legislation. We do like the idea. For an initial effort the Oldtown Committee went too far and their proposal interferes with existing water rights. This caused alarm among many water users who are opposing this piece of legislation.

I don't think any organization--particularly a group of businessmen--can write a law. This should take the cooperation of every agency involved. The philosophy is meritorious, but you can't change water rights.

We don't think these people know what they are fooling with. Economics in the arid west is based on water and if someone wipes out the legal base then the economic base is wiped out also. We would do everything in our power to fight these people. If the water rights are

wiped out, then the economy of the state is turned over. We took this proposal apart. We can see that it is dangerous.

As a result of this strong opposition, no one seriously expects the bill to pass.

At this point I think we should pause to consider why the Oldtown Committee's proposal, a suggested solution to an obvious defect, was met by rather negative feelings. First, the proposal was too formal. When presented to the public and the press the proposal was a bound seventy page document which created the feeling that it was a finished proposal, not a working draft for which suggestions were elicited. This caused a rejection in toto of the proposal over disagreements with sections of it. The committee sought comments on its proposal, but to my knowledge none were received.

A second factor involves the traditional rivalry between Oldtown and Central City. The proposal was well identified with Oldtown interests--it had been drafted by the Oldtown Committee, was supported by the City of Oldtown and Oldtown associations such as the Conservation Club, and it was introduced into the state legislature by the South County delegation. This caused negative feelings among Central City interests and a tendency to ignore the proposal as it was regional and had not taken their feelings into account. Since the bulk of the political power of Weststate lies in Central City this contributed greatly to the death of the bill.

I should like to point out that this Oldtown-Central City split involves more than just water resources. It can also be seen in factions within the state legislature, and within the Sportsmen's

Federation, the Association of Conservationists, and Farm-Ranch, in the sports rivalry between Weststate University and Central University, and in the editorial comments of the newspapers of the two cities.

A third reason involves the identification of the proposal with business and hence urban interests which created negative feelings among some rural interests. The rural interests did not feel that they had been consulted on this issue and that rural-agricultural uses of water are not protected under the proposal. This last feeling is not entirely true since some rural-agricultural interests are represented on the committee, but this is not portrayed in the committee's image.

The attitude of the agencies toward the proposal constitutes the fourth factor. No agency people were consulted in drafting the bill and no agency suggestions or recommendations were sought. This created some resentment as did the proposal to remove power from some of the agencies. Agency personnel generally ignored the proposal as the Oldtown Committee had ignored them.

Failure to enlist the aid of the power structure of the state is the fifth reason for lack of success. This will be considered in greater detail in a coming chapter.

I would like to suggest that had the Oldtown Committee approached the Central City people, the power structure, the agency people, and the agricultural interests with an obvious rough draft of the proposal to solicit advice on it, and then had presented it to the

public and the legislature identifying it with all groups rather than just the committee, then the proposal would have attracted much more positive feeling and a more immediate solution to the problem.

The Oldtown Committee has not been the only association in the state to consider the possibility of a central water agency. Farm-Ranch has passed resolutions recognizing "the need for the co-ordination of the efforts of all of the numerous state agencies which administer the various phases of water resource development" and calling for the Farm-Ranch Federation to "exercise the leadership in bringing together the interested groups and developing legislation necessary to establish a single office charged with all of the water and flood control functions of the state." This policy is to be pursued in the coming years.

Both the Water Resource Committee and the Association of Conservationists have considered the possibility of a single water resource agency, but they have done so from a different viewpoint than that of the Oldtown Committee. These two associations have approached the problem through the concept of a natural resources board rather than a central water agency. The existing agencies would retain their powers and the natural resources board would keep an eye on all natural resources over the present agencies. So far neither association has done any more than discuss the issue.

The model of the central water agency subsystem is shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5. The Central Water Agency Subsystem

Abbreviations:

WFRF--Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

WAC--Weststate Association of Conservationists

AG BUS--Agricultural Business

WWRC--Weststate Water Resources Committee

BUS--Business

OBWC--Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee

CC--Conservation Club

PRO SOC--Professional Societies

WO CLUB--Women's Club

SA--State Agencies

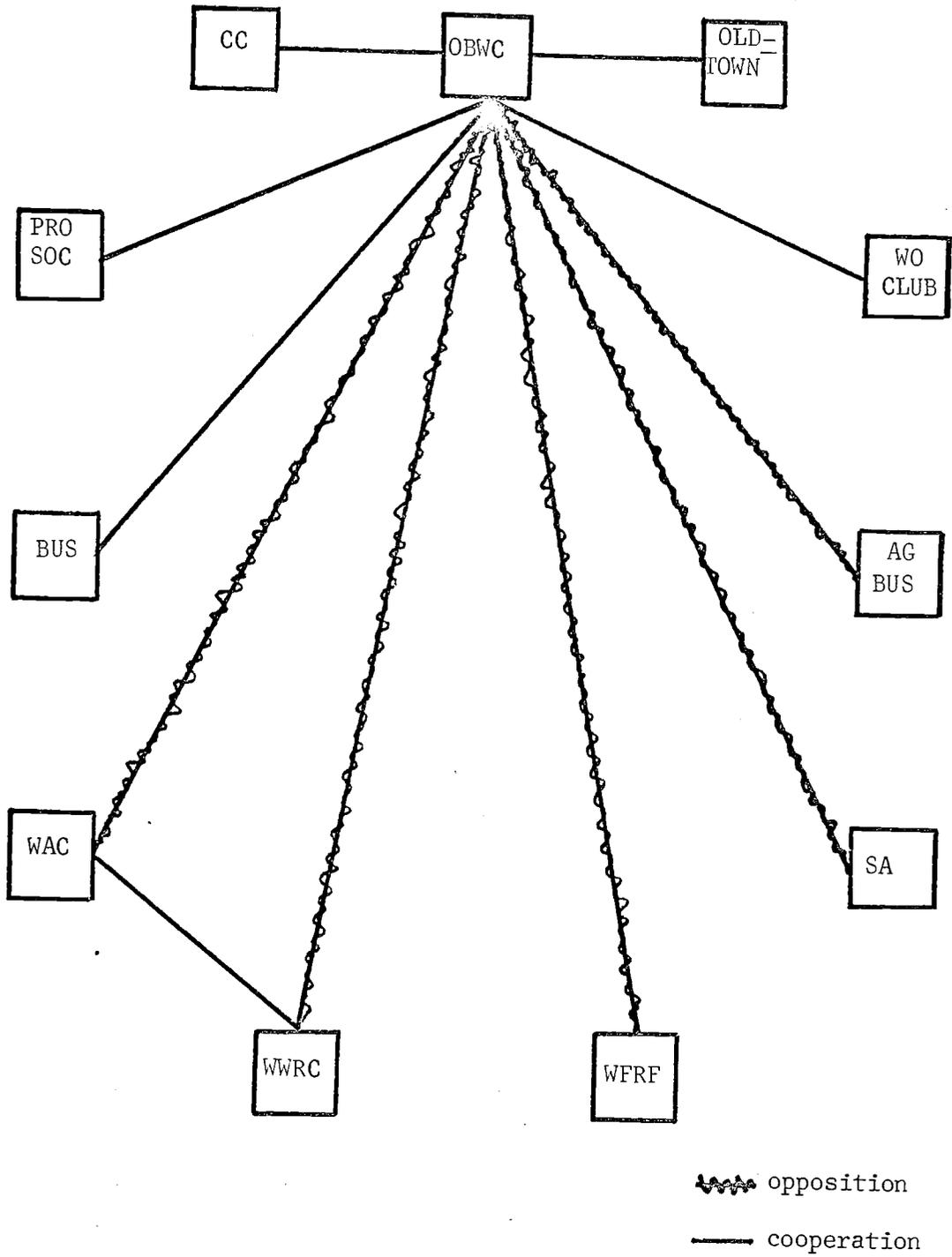


Figure 5. The Central Water Agency Subsystem

Water Rights

As was mentioned in Chapter One, Western water law is based on the doctrine of prior appropriation which stresses the beneficial use of water. This contrasts somewhat to the humid-based riparian doctrine which allowed land owners adjacent to a stream to share equally in its waters. The appropriation doctrine is the basis of state water law in arid west. The state control over water rights evolved through an attitude of acquiescence on the part of the federal government which controlled much of the state land. In recent years, however, the expansion of federal activities has resulted in the federal derogation of state water law and in the taking of state created water rights. According to law professor, J. H. Beuscher (1967: 234):

The resultant conflicts between federal supremacy on the one hand, and private rights and the states' interests in determining through regulation of water use the course of their own development on the other hand, have produced a legal and political controversy of substantial proportions, posing important problems of federal-state relations, which have not been resolved despite extensive scholarly discussion and legislative proposals.

The basis for this lies in the reservation theory which asserts that water which falls on public domain is not subject to appropriation under state law.

The implications of the reservation doctrine for Weststate are rather awesome. Most of the watershed of the state is reserved land and according to one government lawyer:

The Federal water rights under the reservation doctrine are absolute and not subject to any limitation because of failure to put the water to beneficial use within a reasonable time. The doctrine of prior appropriation

does not hold here. Anyone who puts this reserved water to use does so at his own peril and has no assurance of continued legal right.

Potentially this could affect most of the water users of the state, not only on the watersheds themselves, but also downstream water users.

The full impact of the reservation theory has not as yet reached Weststate and there are some who think that it will not be of great concern in the state. Farm-Ranch has, however, been much aware of this potential problem and has passed resolutions and written letters seeking legislation which will declare unmistakably that water rights are a species of real property rights under the laws of the respective states.

Part of the problem over water rights involves Indian lands. Legal suits in the West have established the priority for Indian use of water originating on Indian lands as these are considered reserved lands. In Weststate part of the watershed lies on Indian reservations and historically the water originating from this watershed has been used downstream by Anglo farmers and ranchers. In recent years however the Indians have been diverting some of the water in developing recreational lakes on the reservation and consequently many farmers and ranchers have become worried about their water right. This is a topic which is usually brought up in the Farm-Ranch meetings and here the farmers and ranchers find out about the quiet title actions which are necessary to insure their water right. The Indian details of this are generally not brought up because of the many Indian members

of Farm-Ranch and the association has not directly opposed the upstream development by Indians.

Farm-Ranch also fears that the Forest Service will take actions to pre-empt the state control of waters originating on federal lands. Present Forest Service personnel within the state see little chance of this occurring. Still Farm-Ranch takes the following stand: "We favor legislation to require federal agencies to comply with state laws relating to the use of water and to respect private water rights established under state law."

The model of the water rights subsystem is shown in Figure 6. The Land Department and the agribusiness interests of the state essentially support the position of Farm-Ranch. The system will become more complex if the Forest Service attempts to pre-empt state control of water as has happened in other states.

Several agricultural businesses are concerned about the potential pre-emption of state water law as this would prove detrimental to their economic interests. These businesses have supported the Farm-Ranch stand and have directly opposed the recreational water development on the Indian reservation.

Water Quality

In the states of the East and of the Midwest, settled and industrialized long before Weststate, there is much concern over the quality of water, primarily due to man's pollution of it. In Weststate primary concern has been with the lack of water rather than its quality. Over the years farmers did become more concerned about the lower

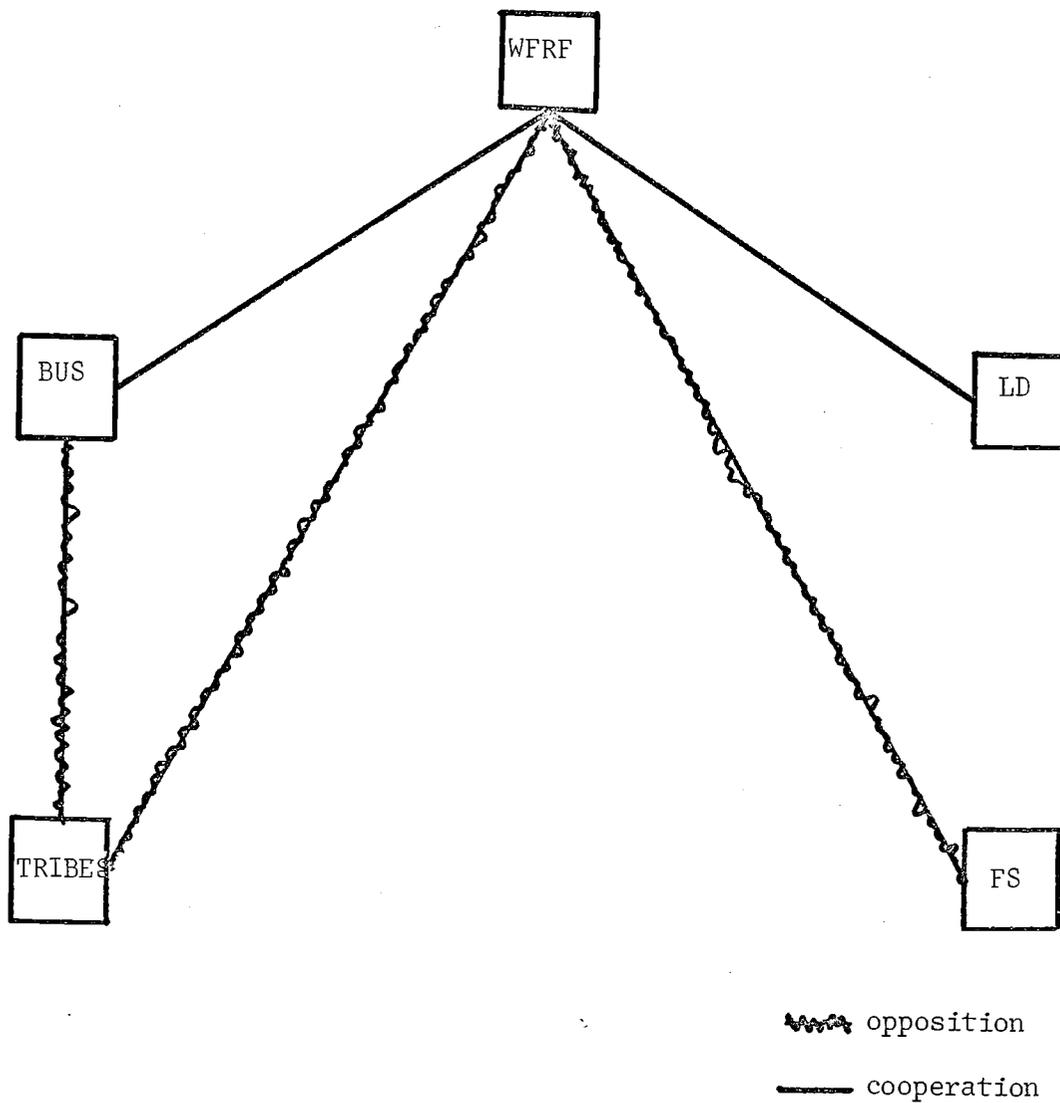


Figure 6. The Water Rights Subsystem

Abbreviations:

WFRF--Weststate Farm Ranch Federation

FS--Forest Service

LD--Land Department

BUS--Businesses

quality of water which they had to use for irrigation, but still this was not a problem of major proportion.

The problem of water quality has, however, become an active issue in Weststate due largely to federal intervention in the form of a water quality control act inspired by Eastern problems and requiring Weststate to adopt suitable water quality control criteria. Traditionally water quality has been the responsibility of the Weststate Department of Health and so it was this department which proposed the water quality standards in compliance with the federal act and the Federal Water Pollution Control Authority. The Department of Health was supported by the cities of Oldtown and Central City, by the Sportsmen's Federation, by the Conservation Club, and by various garden clubs and women's clubs.

The reaction of the agricultural interests to the Department of Health proposal was unfavorable to say the least. The farmers felt that the proposed water quality control standards were Eastern inspired and unsuitable for Weststate conditions. Of particular concern were the salinity requirements which were considered to be totally unrealistic. According to one farmer: "This proposal could have been damaging to agriculture. It was a damn narrow-minded approach to the problem. It would not allow us to use tail water which is a critical part of the irrigation system. This was a dangerous situation."

The agricultural interests did not merely voice complaints-- they organized a counterattack spearheaded by the Association of Conservationists and Farm-Ranch and supported by the irrigation

districts and agribusiness interests. The committee composed of representatives of each of these groups met and solicited the water quality legislation of neighboring states through the agricultural associations of those states. This information was refined to meet Weststate conditions and a proposal was readied for introduction in the state legislature.

The counter proposal was introduced into the legislature by representatives who were also members of Farm-Ranch. The officers of the Association of Conservationists and Farm-Ranch contacted personal friends in the legislature and convinced them of the utility of their proposal in contrast to the proposal of the Department of Health. A pre-vote count showed passage for the agricultural proposal. After some delicate last minute in-fighting and attempts at dirty politics such as switching the numbers on the bills, a water quality control act suitable to the agricultural interests was passed.

The new water quality control act placed water quality under the jurisdiction of a Water Quality Control Commission composed of the representatives of the Department of Health, the Land Department, the Fish and Game Department, the Stream Department, the irrigation districts, the livestock industry, the cities, the timber industry, the mining industry, and the public utilities. This commission then wrote the water quality standards in compliance with the federal act.

The report on the water quality standards largely reflects the interests of Farm-Ranch, the Association of Conservationists, and the Water Resources Committee. The report stresses the great importance

of phreatophyte control and channelization, claiming that the latter has enhanced fish and wildlife areas. The report also states that "the need of a major water augmentation program for the waters of the state is immediate." The strength of the above named associations is easily seen in the bias of the report toward their interests and by its citation of their good works.

The major controversy over water quality has died down, but there is a continuing concern within the state over this issue. The Water Importation Association has passed a resolution on water quality which essentially mirrors the stand of the Association of Conservationists and Farm-Ranch. The Sportsmen's Federation is becoming increasingly concerned about water quality and wildlife and has recently set up a committee on this. The sportsmen have also passed a resolution on water quality calling for the development of a pollution control program in Weststate.

There is one final association concerned with water quality in Weststate--Camp Apache. In the Conservation of Natural Resources Merit Badge class at the camp, water pollution, its causes and results, is emphasized. In asking the boys to list three ways in which a community could have a water supply problem 80.8 percent listed pollution (see Table 8). In addition, 88.5 percent were able to define water pollution, 84.7 percent could list three causes of water pollution, and 79.0 percent were able to list three results of water pollution. This concern for water quality in the merit badge program at the camp

Table 8. Community Water Supply Problems Cited by Boys at Camp Apache

Problem	No. of Responses	Percent
Pollution	42	80.8
Lack of water and drought	24	46.2
Declining water table	23	44.2
Poor water management	8	15.4
Lack of surface water	6	11.5
Salinity	5	9.6
Watershed	4	7.7
Population explosion	4	7.7
Broken water pipes	4	7.7
Flooding	3	5.8
Other	3	5.8

N = 52. Multiple responses elicited hence total percent will be more than 100 percent.

is also reflected in some of the essays which the boys wrote:

People these days just don't use there ... heads about the conservation of water. They seem to think that we won't run out of good clean water, but they are obviously wrong, because we will. Something has to be done about this fact and the kind of people who think that way. Water has got to be conserved, or else we will soon run out. We are also running out of our ground water. People are using it up to ... fast to replentish ... itself, and we are slowly running out of our ground water to Another reason we are running out of water is because water pollution there are many different kinds. Some are thermal, silt, soil, sewage, and chemical discards. Water pollution is everybodies problem.

The conservation problems of this resource [water] is pollution, the lakes, streams and rivers are getting filled with trash from all sorts of things. Factorys are polluting are water from the waste that they just throw out. Our lakes are getting full of waste from the people who go camping and boating and just throw stuff in our lakes.

Pollution is a problem because we cannot clean it as fast as it is polluted, and also it is not replaced. When water pollution covers a wide areas state agencies and even the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration are involved. Some of the preventive measures include laws controlling industrial waste disposal, and disposal of shipping waste (such as oil spillage from tankers), etc. Some of the causes are: silt and soil washing into streams and reivers from poorly managed watershed areas, sewage wastes from industrial plants. Some of the results are fish being destroyed, polluted water is unfit fore swimming, boating, recreation cause of health hazard.

Water pollution is when any foreign matter invades a stream or water supply such as industrial waste, human waste, and litter. Prevention and correction of water pollution problems are largely local concerns involving local laws since the source of the pollution and the drainage that it does usually fall within an area governed by a city or county. Preventive measures include laws controlling industrial waste disposal, sewage disposal, shipping wastes disposal, etc.

The model of the water quality subsystem is shown in
Figure 7.

Figure 7. The Water Quality Subsystem

Abbreviations:

WFRF--Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

WAC--Weststate Association of Conservationists

WSF--Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

WWIA--Weststate Water Importation Association

BUS--Business

CC--Conservation Club

FC--Fish and Game Department

DH--Department of Health

SD--Stream Department

LD--Land Department

WQCC--Water Quality Control Commission

CA--Camp Apache

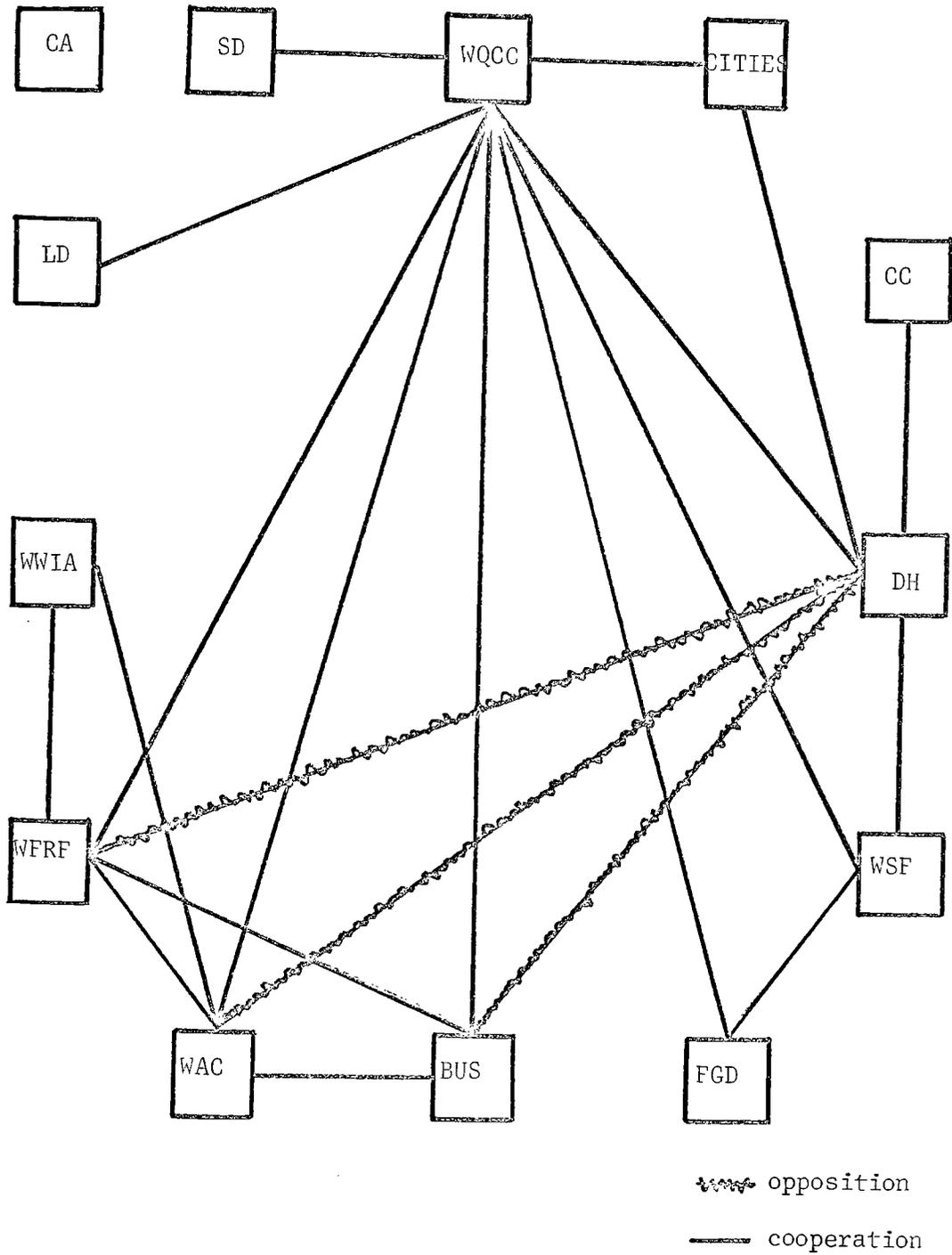


Figure 7: The Water Quality Subsystem

CHAPTER 5

CONSERVATION: A SUBSTRATUM OF CONFLICT

In the politics of technology and in the politics of administration there has been the crosscutting undercurrent involving the concept of conservation. There is in Weststate a conservation system which intersects most of the subsystems of the water resource development system. Understanding the conflicts and collusions of water resource development is not possible without some understanding of the basic conflicts present in the conservation system. In the present chapter I intend to briefly sketch the major features of the conservation system.

What is conservation? Who are conservationists? Let me begin with the last question. All of the associations described in Chapter 2, with the exception of the Weststate Water Importation Association and the Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee, consider themselves to be conservation organizations. In answering the first question the late President John F. Kennedy, in his conservation message to Congress of 1962, stated:

Conservation . . . can be defined as the wise use of our natural environment: it is, in the final analysis, the highest form of thrift--the prevention of waste and despoilment while preserving, improving and renewing the quality and usefulness of all our resources. (Quoted in Udall 1963: 173).

The crux of the definition is the concept of "wise use". What is wise use of the natural resources to one man is not necessarily wise use to all men. Herein lies the basic conflict of conservation.

Before delineating the conservation philosophies and conflicts of the Weststate water associations, I feel that we should be aware of the historical perspective of the national conservation movement. I shall touch only upon the highpoints of this movement and suggest that the reader interested in more depth examine Stewart Udall's The Quiet Crisis (1963).

We could trace the history of conservation to the very beginnings of the nation and before, but I shall begin with the twentieth century. President Teddy Roosevelt gave the conservation movement its first foothold in public policy. Roosevelt was an ardent outdoorsman who as President initiated a program of land withdrawal for conservation. His most outstanding resource achievement was, however, the passage of the National Reclamation Act of 1902. This act laid the foundation for water resource development in the western states, including Weststate's Project Rescue.

In the early years of the twentieth century the conflict in conservation philosophies of two men--Gifford Pinchot and John Muir--have left their mark even unto today. Pinchot advocated conservation for use and the management of land for multiple uses. Muir, on the other hand, espoused a philosophy of scenic preservation, of preserving wilderness as the inviolate sanctuaries of the human spirit.

The other Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt, was also a conservation President. F.D.R. put conservation to work as a part of the fight against the depression. Several conservation agencies were established under his administration: the Soil Conservation Service, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Tennessee Valley Authority. Of these, most important in Weststate today is the Soil Conservation Service which has attempted to make the entire nation conscious of the need for soil conservation.

Let us begin our examination with the most extreme of Weststate's water associations--the Conservation Club. The conservation philosophy of this group seems inspired by John Muir and is stated by one officer as follows:

Man does not live by bread alone. Must all our natural resources be developed purely for mass recreation and private profit? Conservation is concerned with the quality of life and the social values inherent in the gifts of nature untrammelled by man. Here a single individual may escape from the hubbub, the humdrum, and pressures of modern society to recharge his soul. Here the natural habitat of wildlife is preserved, the ecology maintained. The great merit of this alone is so innate, so axiomatic as to defy definition.

The Conservation Club program favors the creation of wilderness areas for non-economic use as sanctuaries for wildlife and refuges for man from civilization. The club is opposed to grazing, mining, logging and hunting in these areas. The members of the club feel quite strongly that sport hunting is an inhumane form of animal killing which leads to the depletion of wildlife. As a correlary to this, many of the members feel that the ownership of firearms is immoral and should be prohibited.

This preservationist philosophy creates a logical paradox which is realized by many of the members. According to one:

The conservationist faces a problem every time he buys a tank of gas, a redwood picnic table, or a piece of electrical apparatus: He places an economic pressure on the supplier to expand the very activities to which he is opposed. The conservationist with an eight cylinder car and a house full of appliances is a man against himself. He cannot demand the preservation of wilderness and at the same time demand a greater amount of consumer goods and tolerate an expanding population.

Part of this problem is due to growth. Many members do not feel that growth is an economic necessity; they feel it should be limited. Hence at the suggestion the Project Rescue water be brought to Oldtown to attract new industry, they reply: "We don't want new industry; we don't want more people in Oldtown."

Within Weststate it is generally acknowledged that the Conservation Club is the most extreme conservation group. Usually the club is considered an association of preservationists or primitivists rather than an association of conservationists. In a derogatory manner the Conservation Club is at times referred to as the "Big Brown Eyes Society", the "Bambi People", and the "Bugs and Bunny People."

Somewhat less extreme, tempering the philosophies of Muir and Pinchot, is the Weststate Sportsmen's Federation. The federation believes in the multiple use management of public domain and recognizes the need for wilderness in a modern world: "The wilderness yields certain unique values to mankind. These values, we believe, are destined to grow in importance with, and in direct proportion to,

the very pressures of human population and expanding industrial development that threaten to destroy them."

Members of the Sportsmen's Federation are primarily hunters and feel that the conservation of wildlife depends upon the management of skilled professionals and the use of hunting to prevent overpopulation. The federation is opposed to the unchecked expansion of inviolate game refuges as these can become wildlife death traps due to over-population and eventual starvation.

While the Conservation Club and the Sportsmen's Federation may agree on some aspects of the conservation philosophy such as the need for wilderness, members of both groups and other organizations make a clear distinction between the two. One member of the Sportsmen's Federation sums up this distinction as follows: "To them conservation means the protection of natural resources; to us it means the wise use of natural resources."

In my opinion, the most middle of the road conservation associations are the Weststate Water Resources Committee and Camp Apache. Both have a very similar conservation philosophy based on a multiple use management concept. This philosophy has been stated by one Committee officer:

There are many definitions of conservation. We on the Weststate Water Resources Committee believe in the multiple use concept, but we do recognize the necessity of making choices on some lands. There must be degrees of wildland management--from extensive vegetative manipulation to inviolate wilderness.

The conservation program at Camp Apache teaches a multiple use concept defining conservation as the wise use of natural resources. In the final examination for the conservation merit badge the boys are asked to define conservation. During the week I was at the camp 63.5 percent answered this correctly giving some indication that the message is getting across. In a forestry merit badge class one of the boys was asked to comment on the forests as a natural resource. In his answer the multiple use concept can be seen:

Under the government's multiple use program maximum use of the forest is made. Harvesting of timber is done in such a way that the forest can replenish itself and therefor give us a continuous supply of products. Grazing is controlled through the numbers of cattle and areas in order to prevent overgrazing. It is also seen that the wildlife balance is not disturbed by man as much as possible.

If we view conservation on a continuum with the Conservation Club representing one extreme, the Weststate Water Resources Committee and Camp Apache the middle, then at the other extreme are the users of the land represented by Farm-Ranch and the Weststate Association of Conservationists. The conservation philosophies of these two associations can be seen in the following statement: "The primary responsibility for wise land management rests with those who own or operate the land. Who should be more concerned with conservation than those whose very livelihoods depend upon the land and its resources."

On a more specific basis Farm-Ranch has opposed the expansion of wilderness on the basis that the best public interest is served through the multiple use concept. They have also sought to influence

the scheduling of hunting seasons so as to reduce the conflict with the agricultural work cycle.

The Weststate Association of Conservationists tied closely with the programs of the Soil Conservation Service, has been primarily concerned with the problems of soil and water conservation. While primarily oriented toward rural agricultural interests, the association in recent years has taken a more environmental approach to conservation and has become involved in some urban problems. Stewart Udall (1963: 159-160) has noted that: "Our cities have grown too fast to grow well, and today they are a focal point of the quiet crises in conservation." The association is well aware of the need for urban conservation, and has recently expanded its focus from an agrarian concern to a total environmental concern. Urban conservation problems are often discussed in the association's meetings.

As a part of its environmental approach to conservation, the Association of Conservationists has implemented a council composed of many conservation groups to act as an advisor to the state's conservation education program. Within this arena some of the basic conflicts among the associations (all but Camp Apache belong) can be seen. The Conservation Club doesn't feel that Farm-Ranch should be on the council since it doesn't have anything to do with conservation. In a similar light one member of the Sportsmen's Federation remarked: "What the hell does the Conservation Club have to do with conservation?"

The council has proved to be an educational experience for all concerned. Members of both the Sportsmen's Federation and the

Association of Conservationists remarked that they have learned the value of sex appeal from the Conservation Club delegate--a pretty young woman fond of miniskirts. On the other hand the Conservation Club delegation had their stereotype of the Weststate cowboy smashed when they met the Farm-Ranch representative--a rather handsome well-dressed urban looking man. While the council has made no actual progress toward conservation education in Weststate, it appears to be creating an atmosphere of better understanding among the conservation groups of the state.

The major area of conflict between the Conservation Club and the Sportsmen's Federation involves hunting. Members of the Conservation Club are appalled at the idea of sport hunting and the members of the Sportsmen's Federation accuse them of being ignorant of the biological facts of life in attempting to stop the process of nature at a point pleasing to the eye of the beholder. The Conservation Club has lobbied for the expansion of the Weststate Wilderness Area and a ban on hunting within this area. The Sportsmen's Federation has countered by suggesting a reduction in the non-hunting area of the wilderness and have charged that the Conservation Club wants to turn the entire north half of the state into wilderness.

According to one Conservation Club officer: "We opposed the Sportsmen's Federation over the Weststate Wilderness, so when we came out against the Project Rescue dams they came out for them." This is not entirely true, but it may have been a contributing factor.

The opposition between the two groups was also seen at a symposium on wildlife sponsored by the Conservation Club. The club was quite proud the panel of experts it had chosen. The reaction of sportsmen to the panel was different: "There's not a one of them that knows a damn thing about wildlife." At the symposium the Conservation Club supporters sat in the front, the unattached in the middle, and the sportsmen in the rear. Applause would begin in the front, taper out in the middle, and dampen into silence at the rear.

Further opposition between these two associations was seen in the aftermath of the phreatophyte symposium sponsored by the Water Resources Committee. The Conservation Club was irred at the representation of the Sportsmen's Federation on the panel and complained that the federation did not represent the true conservation opinion.

A final area of opposition between the conservation Club and the Sportsmen's Federation is the highly emotional controversy over firearms. The Sportsmen's Federation is opposed to firearms registration while many of the Conservation Club members favor the confiscation of firearms. Following the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy, the Oldtown City Council considered some restrictive gun laws. The Conservation Club argued in favor of these laws while the local affiliate of the Sportsmen's Federation vigorously opposed them. No gun laws were passed, much to the relief of the local sportsmen.

There are times, however, when the Conservation Club and the Sportsmen's Federation are in agreement though not in cooperation.

An example of this is seen in their opposition to Farm-Ranch, the Association of Conservationists, and the Land Department. This opposition centers around two issues: wilderness proposals and range fees. Farm-Ranch and the Association of Conservationists are opposed to range fee increases as being seriously detrimental to the cattle industry. The Conservation Club and the Sportsmen's Federation have favored range fee increases on the grounds that they would lead to better land use as the rancher would have to make certain that his cattle had enough good feed to pay off in adequate weight gains in contrast to the present practice of maintaining permitted numbers regardless of range condition. While Farm-Ranch argues that some ranchers will be put out of business by the increases, the Sportsmen's Federation points out that this may be shortsighted as part of the increased revenues would be used in range improvement thus increasing the carrying capacity of the land.

Farm-Ranch and the Association of Conservationists have generally opposed wilderness extensions which would preclude grazing on public domain while both the Conservation Club and the Sportsmen's Federation have favored the creation and extension of certain wilderness areas. Farm-Ranch and the Association of Conservationists point out that the wilderness areas are generally too expensive for the average camper and hence provide only an elite few with a sanctuary from civilization.

The Sportsmen's Federation and Farm-Ranch formally cooperate through a joint Sportsmen-Stockmen Committee and have cooperated in

conducting firearms safety courses throughout the state. While the two federations agree in principle on hunting, they disagree on the issues of predator control, lion bounties, dove seasons, and camping near water holes.

The Association of Conservationists and the Sportsmen's Federation have cooperated in attempting to maintain a youth conservation camp and to initiate conservation education in the schools.

A partial model of the conservation system is presented in Figure 8. It is interesting to compare this model with those of the subsystems of water resource development: many of the same lines of opposition and cooperation appear.

With some simplification we can sum up the conservation system by saying that the philosophy of Farm-Ranch and the Association of Conservationists is "the development of natural resources for sustained economic yield", while the Weststate Water Resources Committee and Camp Apache feel that "all uses, including non-use, must be recognized", and the Weststate Sportsmen's Federation and the Conservation Club feel that "wilderness is a necessity for human sanity in an urban age."

Figure 8. The Conservation System

Abbreviations:

CA--Camp Apache

CC--Conservation Club

FGD--Fish and Game Department

WSF--Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

WWRC--Weststate Water Resources Committee

WAC--Weststate Association of Conservationists

LD--Land Department

WFRF--Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

SCS--Soil Conservation Service

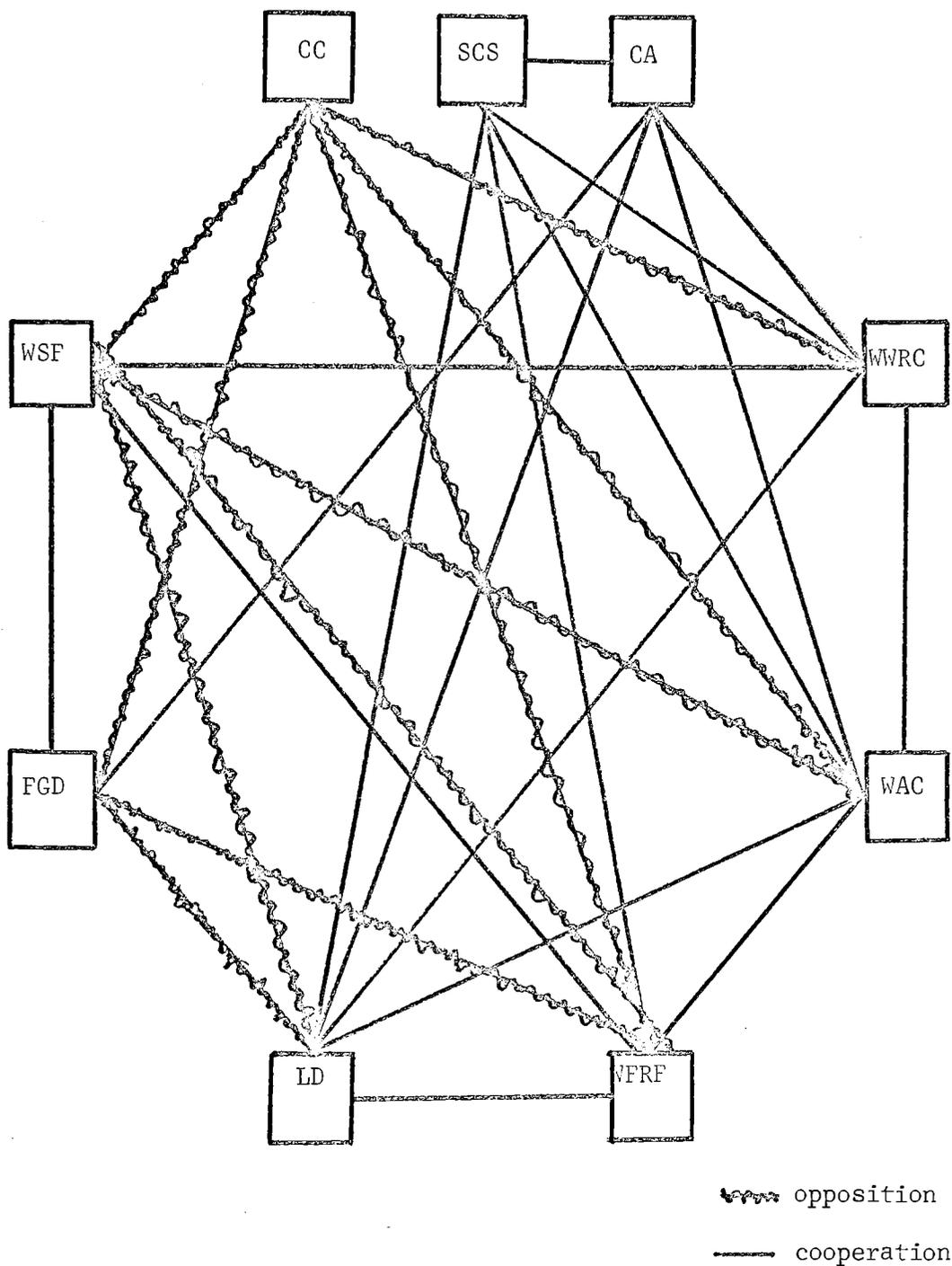


Figure 8. The Conservation System

CHAPTER 6

THE POWER STRUCTURES

When Dr. Rogers, newly earned Ph.D. in hand, joins a university department as an assistant professor he soon finds out that in departmental politics Professor Smith (who may or may not be the department head) is the most influential person, that Professor Jones is the least influential, and that Professors Jacobs, Sewnsen, and Brown occupy a middle ground. Dr. Rogers thus learns about the power structure of the department. Similar examples may be seen in businesses, state and federal agencies, and associations, or moving to a larger area, power structures may be found in cities, counties, states, and the nation.

In the present chapter I shall discuss two different levels or types of power structure. The first of these are associational power structures, that is, the internal organization of power and influence found in each association. The second of these is the Weststate water-oriented power structure, that is, the state-wide organization of power and influence in water resource development. Here our concern shall not only be with the individuals who constitute the power structure, but more importantly the relationships of the associations to it.

A note on terminology is needed before going on. The power of a power structure is what Etzioni (1961) calls normative, that is, it depends upon acceptance and positive response. In this light I shall make no distinction between power and influence as I feel the distinction between normative power and influence is exceedingly subtle and perhaps nonexistent. Following Godfrey and Monica Wilson (1945: 50) I shall consider power as practical leadership in a social system. I recognize that power involves the participation in decision-making, but I also recognize that this participation need not occur on a face-to-face basis. The persons who occupy the upper positions in the hierarchy of the power structure I shall call leaders, irrespective of whether or not they occupy formal or official leadership role-positions.

Associational Power Structures

The power structure of an association might be viewed as a pyramid of power and influence ranging from the peak of most influential and powerful individuals to the base of non-influential individuals. This pyramid of power is usually formalized in a series of ranked role-positions which are described in the charter or constitution. These formal role-positions give the basic shape to the pyramid and hence our consideration of the associational power structures will begin with it.

At the base of the pyramid of power is the role-position of member. The influence which a member can exert on the association varies greatly. In the Oldtown Committee and Conservation Club the

member may have as much influence as his time, ability, and desire permit, provided that he attend meetings and makes his views known. In the Sportsmen's Federation and Farm-Ranch members have limited influence at the local level and at the state level they are merely warm bodies to be counted for public relations purposes. Members of the Water Importation Association serve only as revenue producers.

Within the two federations we find the role-position of delegates which is the next step up in the power structure of these two associations. The concept of the delegate stems from the American ideal of representative democracy in which a delegate is chosen to act on behalf of certain people, to speak for them, and to protect their interests. Delegates assume their roles at the annual meeting of the association. Delegates are chosen by volunteering to be appointed--that is, if an individual has the time and financial resources to attend the annual meeting, he volunteers to be selected as a delegate. At the annual meeting the delegates, wearing the colored ribbons which denote their status and sitting in special sections, have a limited amount of influence and power through the rituals of voting on associational policy and leadership.

The role-position of director is found in the Sportsmen's Federation, Farm-Ranch, the Water Importation Association, the Association of Conservationists, and Camp Apache. The directors form the actual working core of each association. This may be easily seen by comparing the meeting frequency of the members with that of the directors (Table 9). The directors meet two to eight times more

Table 9. Meeting Frequency of Members and Directors

Association	Member Meetings Per Year	Directors' Meetings Per Year
Water Resources Committee	2	9
Water Importation Association	1	2-3
Sportsmen's Federation	1	6-8
Association of Conservationists	1	6
Farm-Ranch	2	4-5
Camp Apache	0	2

frequently than do the members. In only two instances do the members meet more than once a year. The directors thus have more opportunity to make decisions.

The selection process and the requisites for the directorship are somewhat varied. In the Sportsmen's Federation, Farm-Ranch, and the Association of Conservationists the requisites for the directorship are largely dependent upon the individual's ability to donate time to the position and upon his leadership ability. In the Water Resources Committee each director represents a different industry or different type of water user. Hence the role-position of direction is largely dependent upon occupational role-positions. In the Water Importation Association the idea of representation is again stressed and the directors are selected from the occupational role-positions of each of the major counties, cities, banks, power companies, and agricultural interests.

At the peak of the pyramid role-positions are the officers. Within the water associations of Weststate, six different officer role-positions were observed: (1) president, (2) chairman of the board, (3) vice-president, (4) treasurer, (5) secretary, and (6) secretary-treasurer. Theoretically the president should occupy the most influential position in the association, but in actuality this is not always true. For example in the Association of Conservationists the president, vice-president and executive secretary appear to be of equal power. In the directors' meetings the three officers

co-chair the proceedings. This is seen in the following fieldnotes on the meeting:

1. Report and discussion on conservation education. Led by [the executive secretary] who answered questions and recognized people from the floor.
2. Legislation. Led by [the president] who reported on progress to date and then recognized people from the floor in the brief discussion which followed.
3. Bylaw Change. Led by [the vice-president] who explained the proposed changes and recognized people from the floor in the debate which followed.
4. Convention. Report on arrangements by [the executive secretary] who then led discussion on ideas for the program.

This arrangement is not unique to the Association of Conservationists. In the Water Resources Committee meetings are co-chaired in similar fashion by the president and the secretary, and in the Water Importation Association by the president and the chairman of the board. I feel that it is more accurate to view the officers as equals in influencing the decisions of the association and in guiding its activities rather than viewing the president at the apex of a pyramid of power.

Who the officers are selected by and the role-positions they are selected from is summarized in Table 10. The influence of the directors and the use of directorship as a stepping stone to officer-ship is easily seen here.

Once a set of officers has shown its ability to lead and its willingness to undertake the temporal and financial expense of the position, they are often re-selected year after year. This tendency

Table 10. Selection of Officers

Officer Role-Position	WWRC	WWIA	WSF	Association			CC	CA
				WAC	WFRF	OBWC		
President								
Selected by	dr	dr	de	dr	de	m	m	dr
Selected from	dr	dr	(dr)	dr	(dr)	m	m	dr
Chairman of the Board								
Selected by		dr			dr			
Selected from		dr			dr			
Vice-President								
Selected by	dr	dr	c	dr	dr	m	m	dr
Selected from	dr	dr	p	dr	dr	m	m	dr
Treasurer								
Selected by		dr	p				m	
Selected from		dr	m				m	
Secretary								
Selected by			p					
Selected from			m					
Secretary-Treasurer								
Selected by	dr			dr	dr			
Selected from	dr			dr	dr			

Abbreviations:

dr--director

de--delegate

m---member

c---constitution

p---president

()--by custom

WWRC--Weststate Water Resource Committee

WWIA--Weststate Water Importation Association

WSF---Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

WAC---Weststate Association of Conservationists

WFRF--Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

OBWC--Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee

CA----Camp Apache

CC----Conservation Club

toward multiple terms is easily seen with regard to associational presidency in Table 11. The actual average number of years an individual serves as an officer is higher than that shown for the presidency as usually an officer will hold two or three of the officer positions over the course of years.

While the role-positions of member, delegate, director and officer form the basic pyramid of power, there is one further role-position to be considered--that of executive director. The executive director is a professional who devotes most of his time to the affairs of the association--channeling information to the officers, making arrangements for meetings, speaking in public on behalf of the association, ghost-writing speeches for the officers, answering questions by students, writing news releases, and keeping the press informed as to the association's activities. In most of the associations he is a behind-the-scenes man, exerting subtle influences in the decision-making. According to one executive secretary:

If I bring up an idea in the executive meeting, even if it's a damn good idea, they probably won't pay too much attention to it because I'm staff. The opinions of the officers and the directors are worth more here, even if they're half-cocked. If I hint around with my idea to Miller or Olsen, and then let them carry the ball as if it were their own idea, then it will get somewhere. If I bring up the idea in the meeting it's usually dead.

On the other hand, the executive secretary of the Association of Conservationists forms a definite part of the power elite. He visibly exerts much influence over the association and is recognized as one of the most influential people in the association.

Table 11. Multiple Terms of Association Presidents

Association	Number of Presidents	Number of Terms	Average Number of Terms Per President
Water Importation Assoc.	7	22	3.1
Water Resources Committee	3	12	4.0
Sportsmen's Federation	29	46	1.6
Association of Conservationists	8	25	3.1
Farm-Ranch	31	49	1.6
Oldtown Committee	2	7	3.5
Conservation Club	1	3	3.0

The basic shape of the power structure in each of the associations can be seen by tabulating the number of individuals who occupy each of the role-positions discussed above. This has been done in Table 12. From this we can easily see that the Sportsmen's Federation and Farm-Ranch are the most complex and the Oldtown Committee and the Conservation Club are the least complex.

It is also germane to examine just the upper portion of the pyramid, that is, to omit for the time the members and to compare the total number of role-positions with the age of the association (see Table 13). There is a strong positive correlation between these two variables ($r = + .853$). This seems to indicate that C. Northcote Parkinson's (1957) law of the rising pyramid, better known as Parkinson's Law, is at work in the associations (cf. Chapin 1951: 835).

In none of the associations did I observe a single individual who was obviously at the apex of the power structure, that is, no individual was entirely dominant in influencing and directing the decisions and actions of the association. In all cases the apex seemed to be a group and for this reason we must be aware of the influence of groups in the power structure.

The group which occupies the apex of the power structure of an association I shall call the executive committee as it invariably contains the more influential officers. In four instances--the Water Importation Association, the Association of Conservationists, the Sportsmen's Federation, and Farm-Ranch--the executive committee was formally recognized and officially given the power to act on

Table 12. Summary of Role-Positions

Association	Number of Individuals in Role Pos.				
	Mem.	Del	Dir	Off	ES
Water Resources Committee	175	0	10	3	0
Water Importation Association	120	0	49	6	1
Oldtown Committee	44	0	0	2	1
Association of Conservationists	167	0	12	3	1
Sportsmen's Federation	3500	50	25	4	0
Farm-Ranch	4500	150	36	7	1
Conservation Club	1895	0	0	3	0

Abbreviations:

Mem.--Member

Del.--Delegate

Dir.--Director

Off.--Officer

ES----Executive Secretary

Table 13. Age and Number of Non-Member Role-Positions

Association	Age	Number of Non-Member Role-Positions
Water Resources Committee	13	13
Water Importation Association	23	56
Oldtown Committee	7	3
Association of Conservationists	25	16
Sportsmen's Federation	46	79
Farm-Ranch	49	194
Conservation Club	3	3

behalf of the association. The members of the executive committee are in fairly close contact with one another via telephone and mutual memberships in organizations such as a country club or knife and fork club. This close communication enables them to make decisions on emergency matters without the delay of calling a board meeting or a membership meeting. For example, the Fish and Game Department spent some money sending telegrams to Congress on one particular bill. The State Auditor held that these were non-allowable expenses and so the executive committee of the Sportsmen's Federation decided to pay for them. Two months later this action was officially validated by the board of directors. In another instance the informal executive committee of the Conservation Club decided that the club should help sponsor a wildlife symposium. The delay in calling a meeting of the members would have resulted in losing the opportunity to sponsor the symposium.

Committees other than the executive committee are also important with regard to the power structure as they can crosscut its levels and provide a means of upward mobility. These committees exert much influence by acting on specific issues and by acting as lay experts in certain areas. These committees may be very narrow in scope and short-lived or they may be rather broad and long-lived. Let me give some examples.

In drafting a response to the infamous agricultural economists analysis of Project Rescue, the Oldtown Committee set up an ad hoc

committee of three to draft the proposal. One week later the full committee met and accepted the ad hoc committee's rebuttal with three minor amendments.

Farm-Ranch has a standing committee on water resources. All resolutions which the full federation adopts with regard to water resources originate in this committee. The Conservation Club and the Sportsmen's Federation also have water resources committees but these have had little influence in the decision-making of the associations.

Perhaps the most influential committees are the resolutions committees and the nominations committees of the Water Importation Association, the Sportsmen's Federation, and Farm-Ranch. In the Water Importation Association the resolutions committee drafts the proposed resolutions, while in the other two associations the committee acts as a screening group with the de facto veto power of recommending that a particular resolution not pass. Selection of leadership is in the hands of the nominations committee in all three associations, and in no case did I observe the defeat of a nominations committee nominee.

In all of the associations there are informal groups based on friendship which can be called cliques. As in any social setting, the majority of these cliques are self-appreciative, that is they do not try to influence others. However, some cliques attempt to control or influence the association and thus become instrumental. The control of all of the associations is in the hands of instrumental cliques--

i.e., the group at the apex of the power structure is a clique which is often formalized as an executive committee or part of it. One good illustration of a clique's attempt to influence the association was seen in the Water Importation Association. Here the clique meeting informally over coffee one morning decided to implement a minor change in the bylaws. They drafted the proposal and placed it on the agenda for the next board meeting. Here the bylaw change was discussed and with a minor modification it was passed.

The power of a ruling clique does not always go unchallenged and cabals may arise in opposition thus creating factions. A clear case of this was seen in Farm-Ranch. The ruling clique, known as the Central County group, had traditionally ruled the association and held its presidency for some years. A cabal was formed in South County to institute its own president and take over as the ruling group. At a board meeting in Stripes the South County group formed an alliance with River, North, and Indian Counties and formally announced its intentions of running Jim James for president. Joe Miller, the candidate from Central County, was the choice of the ruling clique. Miller, a semi-retired rancher, was well known in the federation for his bull-headedness, for his attempts to shout down those who disagreed with him instead of listening to them and arguing with them, and for his lack of tact and diplomacy in dealing with non-agriculturalists. The South County cabal emphasized these traits in talking with directors from other counties; they stressed that they were forced to run Jim James to save the federation from the blunderings of

Miller, and that they were backing James only because the Central County group had not come up with an acceptable candidate. By the end of the Stripes board meeting it appeared that the South County bid for power would be successful, that Jim James would be the next president.

The Central County clique, wanting to remain in power, began a counterattack in the six weeks between the Stripes board meeting and the Central City board meeting. The two leaders of the Central County group, both former presidents, talked with Miller over lunch. They explained to him that as president he would be representing the federation in dealing with non-agricultural interests and hence he would be expected to utilize tact and diplomacy. In running the federation itself he could not shout down people who disagreed with him, but as president he would have to allow them to speak. He would also be expected to display a relative amount of impartiality in directing the discussions at the board meetings. By the end of the lunch the Central County clique had made it clear to Miller that if he wanted to be president he would have to change his ways and project a new image.

Miller's new image became apparent at the Central City board meeting. Here Miller made no attempts to shout down his opponents and during the coffee breaks and over lunch he sought their opinions and actually listened to them. The Central County clique spread the word to the River, North, and Indian county directors that Miller had changed his ways. This successfully eroded the South County

group's alliances and hopes for success. Finally the South County cabal talked with Miller and at the end of this talk they announced the withdrawal of Jim James from the race as the "new" Miller was acceptable. In making this announcement the South County group realized that they no longer had the support of any other counties---the Central County counterattack had been successful. At the annual meeting of the federation Joe Miller was elected president without opposition.

The water associations of Weststate have exhibited four basic power structures. These are illustrated graphically in Figures 9 through 12. These structures form the basis for process, but in order to actually understand the dynamics of the associations we should examine the processes by which they make decisions.

Let us begin with the least complex of the associations--the Conservation Club. The meetings of the club are held in private homes and are characterized by informality. The president has an agenda of topics which he wants to cover but these are not strictly adhered to. There is no formal opening of the meeting or reading of the minutes (the proceedings are taped but the tapes are never played). The topics on the agenda are intertwined throughout the meeting--the group will discuss a recent article on Project Rescue, then the discussion will evolve to the Weststate Wilderness Area, then to club organization, then back to Project Rescue, and so on. While the president acts as the central point in guiding the discussions, many times they evolve into three or four simultaneous discussions on different topics among

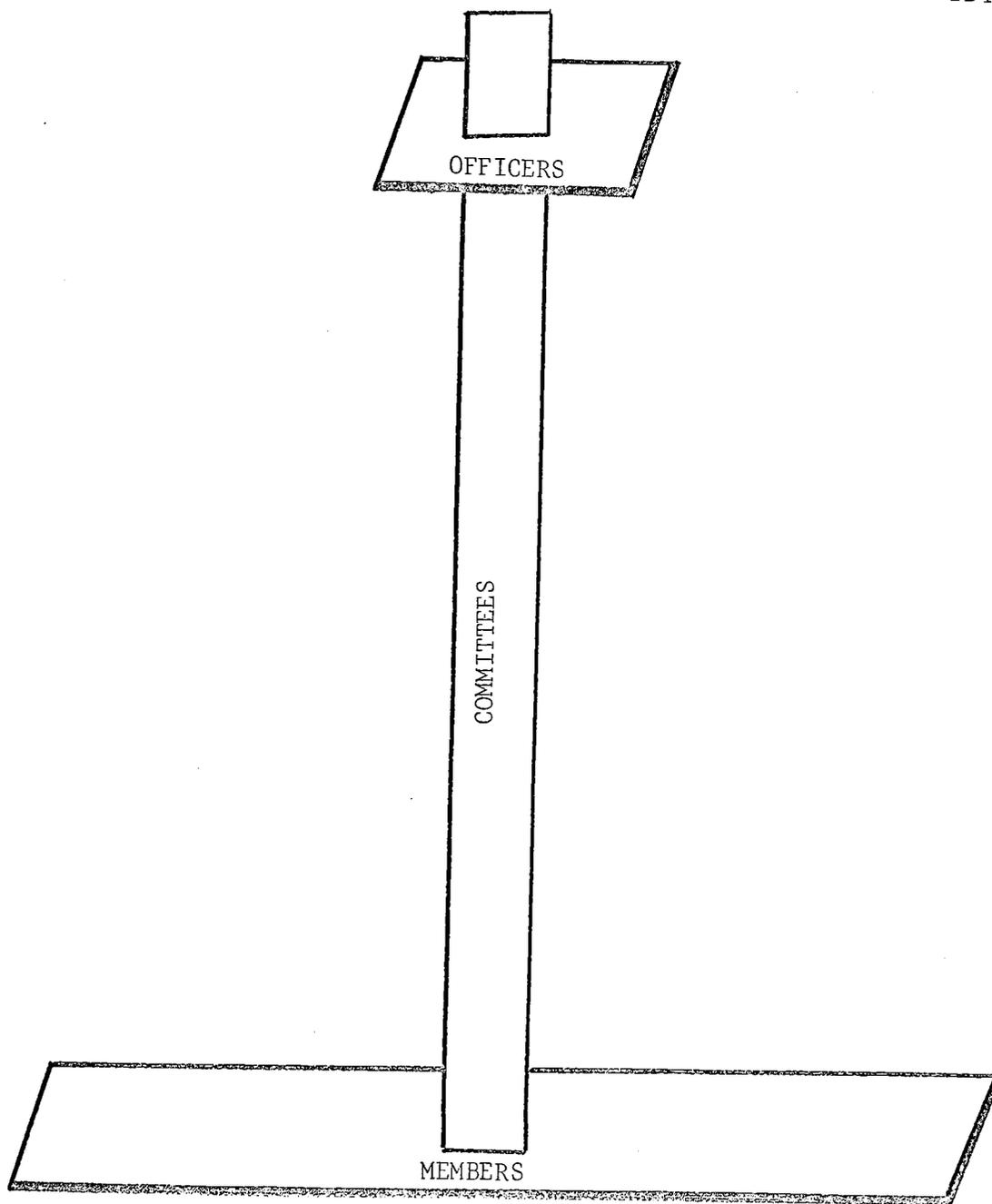


Figure 9. Power Structures of the Conservation Club and the Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee

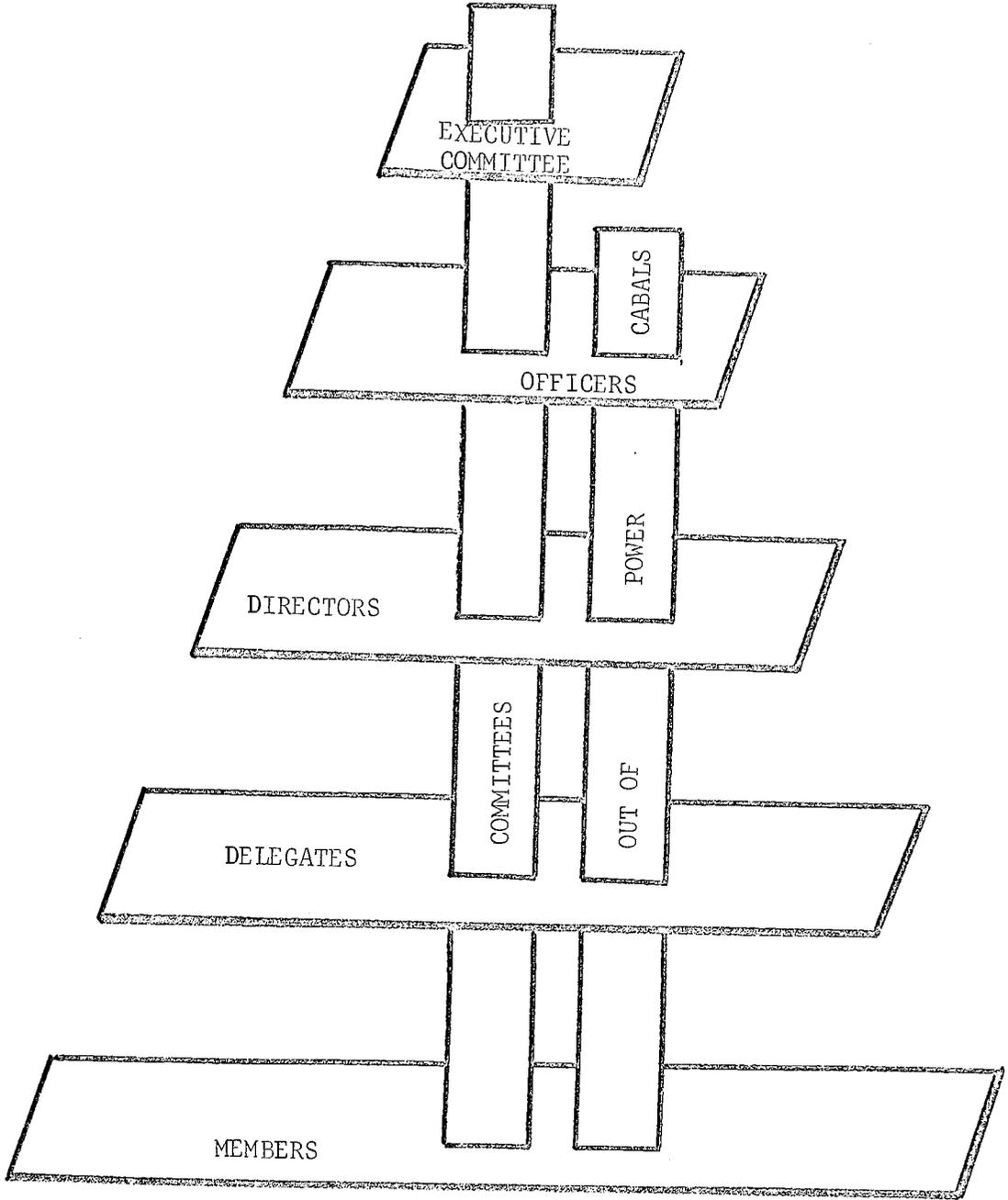


Figure 10. Power Structures of the Weststate Sportsmen's Federation and the Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

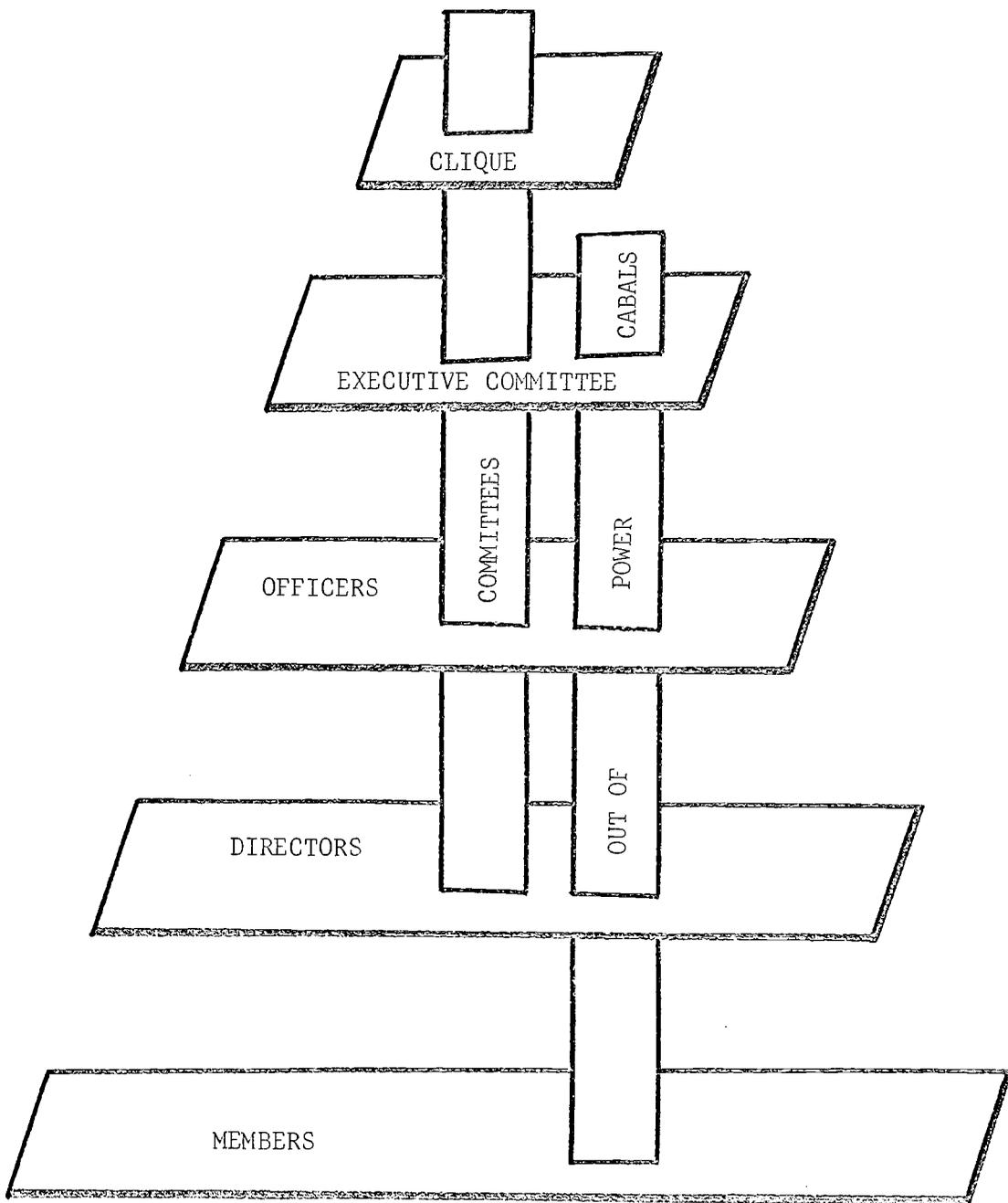


Figure 11. Power Structures of the Weststate Water Importation Association and the Weststate Association of Conservationists

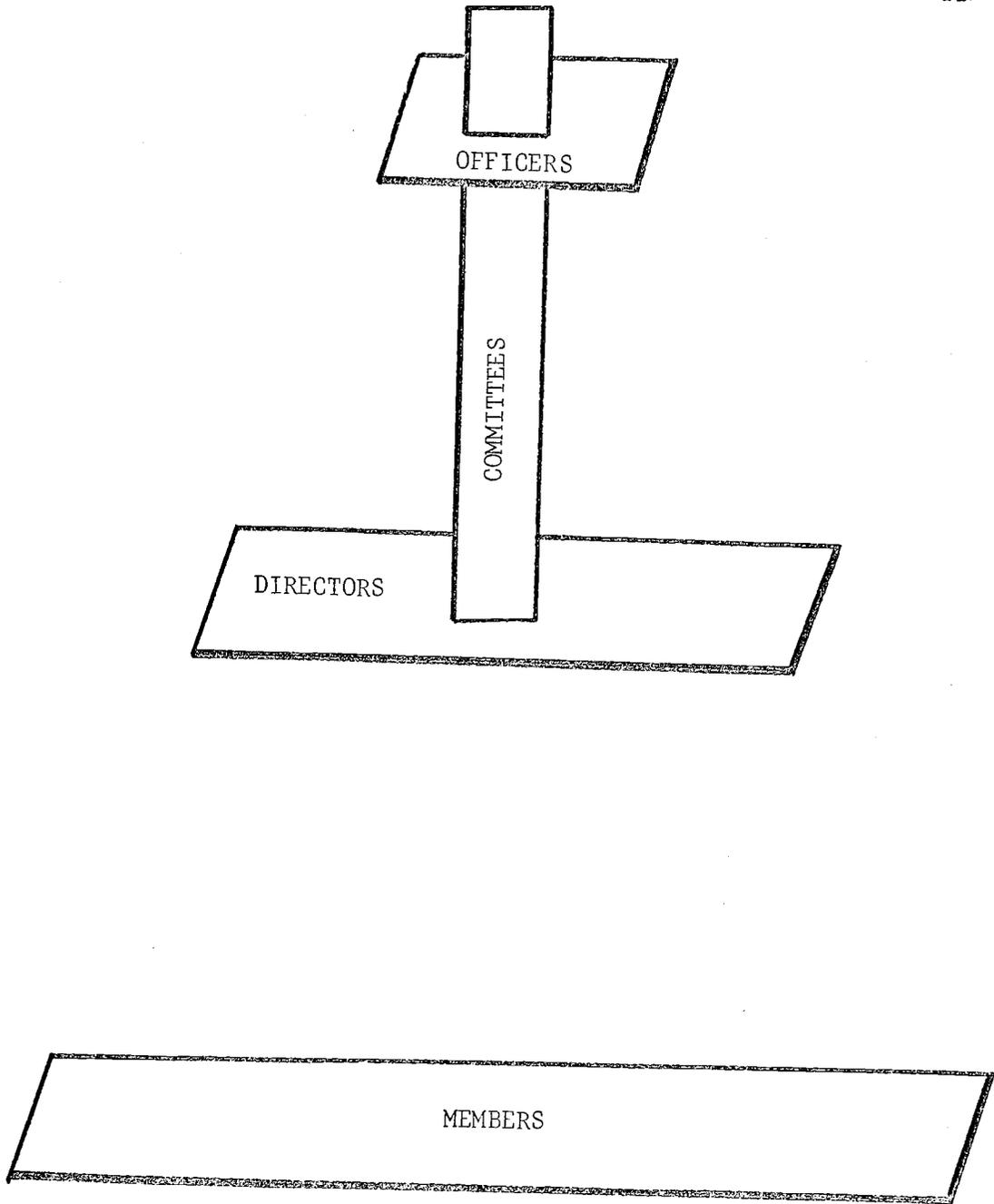


Figure 12. Power Structure of the Weststate Water Resources Committee

different groups of people. There is no formal voting on the matters discussed, rather the president merely indicates to the group what he feels is the consensus of feeling.

While the Oldtown Committee has a power structure similar to that of the Conservation Club, the process of decision-making is far more formal. The meetings of the committee are held in a formal meeting room with a U-shaped table arrangement. The president, vice-president, and executive secretary sit at the head of the table. The president runs the meeting by rather standard, though not strictly enforced, rules of order and the executive secretary records the proceedings, has them duplicated, and mails them out to all members. The process of decision-making goes roughly as follows:

1. General discussion of the merits of the central water agency bill among four of the members.
2. Mr. X: "I think we should all contact our representatives to support this bill."
3. President: "Is that a motion?"
4. Mr. X: "I guess so."
5. Mr. Y: "I second the motion."
6. President: "Is there any discussion?"
7. Silence for a few moments. Mr. Z: "Question."
8. President: "All those in favor signify by saying aye."
9. All: "Aye."
10. President: "Opposed nay."
11. Silence.
12. President: "So be it."

Not all motions are passed this easily. At times there is some discussion and/or amendments, but invariably the motions pass unanimously.

The decision-making process of the Weststate Water Resources Committee takes place in the meetings of the board of directors. These meetings take place over lunch and are characterized by a feeling of companionship as seen in the following suggestion by the president: "Gentlemen, if the committee ever goes out of business, I would like to suggest that we continue to meet here once a month as a chowder and marching society to maintain our good fellowship." Business is conducted around a rectangular table with the president and secretary-treasurer at the head. Minutes are recorded and mailed to the directors. Motions are made, seconded, discussed, sometimes amended, and always passed unanimously. At other times following a discussion the president will merely sum up what he feels is the consensus of the group without the formality of voting.

Like the Water Resources Committee, the Association of Conservationists' board of directors meets over lunch. The meeting is somewhat more formal, however, and opens with a prayer asking for a blessing upon the business to be transacted. Directors and guests sit around on O-shaped tables with the president, vice-president, and executive-secretary at the head. An agenda is made out beforehand and distributed to all present and at times the minutes of the meeting are written up and published in the newsletter before the meeting convenes. The meeting is called to order and each person present

introduces himself. Following this there are the formalities of the approval of the previous minutes and the financial report. Then various topics are discussed, motions made, seconded, discussed, amended, and voted upon with only a rare "nay".

Much of the decision-making process of the Association of Conservationists takes place in the intimacy of the cabal and the informal meetings of the executive committee. While the board of directors has the official power to direct the activities of the association, much of what transpires within the board meetings is mere formality, ritual acts of affirmation and approval.

The board of directors of the Water Importation Association meet over a rather impersonal luncheon. The members of the executive committee sit at the head table and the president and the chairman of the board are in charge of the meeting. The adoption of resolutions proceeds something like this:

1. Chairman of the Resolutions Committee: "Resolution 68-1: Channelization." Reads text of resolution. "Mr. Chairman, I move we adopt this resolution."
2. Chairman of the Board: "Is there a second?"
3. From the floor: "Second."
4. Chairman of the Board: "Discussion?"
5. Silence.
6. Chairman of the Board: "All in favor of resolution 68-1 signify by saying aye."
7. All: "Aye".

The selection of officers proceeds as follows:

1. Chairman of the Nominations Committee: "The nominations committee feels that it would be unwise to change leadership at this critical time so we have renominated the present officers."
2. Chairman of the Board: "Any further nominations?"
3. From the floor: "I move that a unanimous ballot be cast for the nominees."
4. From the floor: "Second."
5. Chairman of the Board: "All in favor signify by saying aye."
6. All: "Aye."

It should be obvious from the above descriptions that the board of directors meet primarily for the integrative ritual of eating and for the enactment of the ceremonies of affirmation and approval. At times some discussion does take place in the board meetings, but generally decisions are laid out in advance by the cabal, the executive committee, the resolutions committee, and the nominations committee and often in the intimacy of friends over coffee or cocktails.

The decision-making process of the Sportsmen's Federation is somewhat complex as there are three basic levels at which it occurs. At the local level the decision-making is in the hands of the executive committee of the local club. The meeting of this committee is similar to the Oldtown Committee. The rituals of moving, seconding, and voting are adhered to. Occasional dissenting votes are encountered. At times there are not enough present for a quorum, but the meeting proceeds anyway with the president saying, "I'll

call so-and-so when I get home and get his okay on what we pass." I have no information as to whether this phone call is actually made.

The second level of decision-making takes place at the meetings of the board of directors and is the most important as it controls the actions of the federation. The directors are arranged around a large U-shaped table with the president, vice-president, and secretary at the head. The meeting opens with the integrative rite of reciting the conservation pledge and the formalities of approving the minutes and the treasurer's report. Old business or unfinished business is usually brought up next and this is followed by new business, but the presence of certain experts may call for a departure from this procedure. Matters are discussed by all present, not just the directors. If there is any disagreement among the directors, discussion is continued until consensus is reached on the matter or a suitable compromise is found. Voting is a ritual restricted to the directors themselves and this normally takes place only when relative agreement among all has been reached. If there is no agreement after much discussion, the matter is tabled until the following meeting. Motions for action on the matters under discussion may come before or after the discussion.

It is in the board meeting that the influence of committees can be seen. The committee, through its report to the directors, supplies the board with the information on which many decisions are based. It is generally felt that the committees should act as experts

in certain areas and keep the board informed as to action needed in those areas.

The final level is the annual meeting of the delegates at which the policies and officers are chosen. The resolutions committee reads each of the proposed resolutions submitted by the local clubs, the directors, and the Fish and Game Department, commenting "do pass" or "do not pass" on each one. Delegates then request that certain resolutions be held for further debate. The unheld resolutions are ceremonially voted on and passed en masse. About half of the proposed resolutions are held for further discussion. The delegates then discuss these, offering amendments and making pleas pro and con. Each of the held resolutions is then voted on at the end of its debate. In the final analysis only about four out of twenty-four resolutions are completely turned down by the delegates.

The delegates also vote on a new president. The nominations committee presents one nomination for the position--power plays among the cabals have already decided who that nominee is to be. The delegates then unanimously elect him to office.

The process of decision-making in Farm-Ranch closely resembles that of the Sportsmen's Federation. It is the same at the local level, except that Farm-Ranch locals go through the integrative rituals of communal eating and praying.

Like the Sportsmen's Federation, the most important decisions of Farm-Ranch are reached in the board meetings. Here again the issues

are debated by the directors until most are in consensus, then a vote is taken.

At the annual meeting of the delegates, the resolutions committee reads the proposed resolutions, about half are passed without debate or discussion, and only a few are turned down completely. With regard to water-oriented resolutions, however, a new complexity is added. These resolutions always arise from the Farm-Ranch committee on water resource development. This committee meets twice a year and its internal process of decision-making is identical with that of the Oldtown Committee.

The process of selecting the new president of the Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation is identical with that of the Sportsmen's Federation--the nominations committee nominates a single man who is unanimously elected.

It should be clear at this point that the actions of each of Weststate's water associations is virtually controlled by a small group of individuals at the top of the associational power structure. When an association takes a stand on an issue--when it passes a resolution, when it writes a letter, when it gives testimony at legislative hearings--it says in effect that we feel thusly about this issue. This "we" supposedly encompasses all of the members of the association, yet these actions are decided upon by only a few. Do the actions of an association actually reflect the will of most of its membership, or does it merely mirror the sentiments of a handful of leaders? To answer this question I feel that we must probe into

the interrelationships and the interactions between the apex of the pyramid of power--the leaders--and its base--the members.

The frequency and type of interaction between the leaders and the members varies greatly from association to association. In the Conservation Club and the Oldtown Committee there is frequent interaction as the members participate directly in the decision-making process. The leaders' power here is based primarily in their constitutional control over the agenda and their personal ability to sway group opinion. Ideas stemming from the leaders can be easily placed on the agenda, brought up in the meeting where there is direct feedback from the members, and modified with compromise proposals if necessary. For example, in the Conservation Club the officers felt it was necessary to write a letter to some Congressmen concerning the expansion of the Weststate Wilderness Area. The matter was placed on the agenda and the president brought it up at the next meeting. Within the club the matter went as follows:

President: Congressman Jones has introduced a bill in the House proposing the expansion of the Wilderness Area. Jack and I were talking about this last week and thought it would be a good idea for the club to send him a letter supporting his bill. I wrote up a letter which I think the club should send to him. /Reads the letter./

Member One: Don't you think we should mention some of the previous testimony we have given on this? Maybe refer to our testimony before the Senate subcommittee last spring?

President: No, if we put in too much he won't read it.

Member Two: If the letter rambles too much it won't have any impact at all. I think we can shorten up the first part where it explains what we are. /Suggests rewording which condenses two sentences into one./

President: Okay, that sounds good. ✓ Pencils in the changes. ✓ Any more suggestions? ✓ None. ✓ Okay, I'll try to get this off sometime tomorrow.

In this we can see that two of the officers made the essential decision, then presented it to the members, got feedback from them, modified the letter, and the decision was complete. A similar type of interaction between the officers and the members is found in the Oldtown Committee.

In the two federations--the Sportsmen's Federation and Farm-Ranch--there are several intervening layers between the members and the leaders (cf. Figure 10). Here direct interaction between the two is structured into the association only in committee meetings. These resemble the situation described above, except their decisions are not final, they must be further ratified by the federations' directors or the delegates. The frequencies of interaction and the potentialities for interaction between members and leaders are considerably less in the federations than in the Oldtown Committee and the Conservation Club.

In the Water Importation Association, the Association of Conservationists, and the Water Resources Committee there are no structurally inherent situations for the interaction of leaders and members (cf. Figures 11-12). Communication here is generally indirect--from member to director to officer--or informal, such as in the setting of a bar or coffee shop.

In looking at all of the associations we can place them on a continuum of interaction between members and leaders with the Oldtown

Committee and the Conservation Club at the most frequent pole and the Water Importation Association, the Association of Conservationists, and the Water Resources Committee at the least frequent pole. We would expect the greatest potentiality for actions not reflecting the will of the members to be at the least frequent pole. With this in mind I should like to ask two questions: (1) How frequently do association actions not reflect the will of the members, and (2) What is the result of this occurrence?

During eighteen months of observation I encountered no instances where associational actions did not represent the will of the majority of the members. In fact, I have only two reported cases of this having happened and in both the passage of time has obscured most of the details. Still these cases serves as illustrations as to what can happen when association actions reflect only the will of the leaders. The first case involved the Sportsmen's Federation and the result was that clubs dropped out of the federation (interestingly enough this appeared to occur along the lines of the traditional Oldtown Central City split). The second case involved the Water Importation Association and a cabal was formed which replaced the old leaders. In this case there was a feeling that the old leaders had been using the association for personal gain.

It would appear that interaction between members and leaders is more frequent than is apparent from the structured situations mentioned above. The interaction between members and leaders takes place through a continual cycle of feedback from member to leader

and opinion management from leader to member. This cycle occurs primarily at the informal level.

Let us first look at the feedback portion of the cycle. Feedback involves the leaders receiving information on how the members feel about certain issues. On several occasions I found leaders attempting to use me as a feedback source. For example, in interviewing an associational leader in Central City I found myself greeted with: "How are things in Oldtown? Have you heard anything about . . .?" The anthropologist is not, however, a normal source of feedback, but a similar situation occurs in other business and social contacts. Much of the feedback process resembles idle gossip and occurs in the situation of the office, the bar, the coffee shop, and the party. The wider the range of feedback sources and the greater the reliability of the sources lend greater illusion to the leaders' "gut feel" for the consensus of the association.

The other side of the cycle is opinion management. Feedback represents an input into the leaders and opinion management is thus an output. Leaders will suggest ideas to members, wait a while, and then get the feedback on the ideas. If acceptable, the idea is put into action, if not it is modified or the arguments for it strengthened and it is set out again. As in feedback, the process of opinion management often resembles gossip and takes place in an informal context.

Feedback and opinion management are really two aspects of a single process. A simplified example of how it works can be seen in the following:

X: I've been doing some thinking about the executive committee. I think we should change the bylaws to reduce the number on the committee. Opinion management

Y: I don't think that's a good idea. Things are working okay as they are. Feedback

X: Yes, but with the reduced size the members of the committee can stay in closer contact and things can get done a lot faster. I think the smaller committee would be more efficient. Opinion management

Later, in a different setting with different people:

Y: I was talking with X the other day and he thinks we should change the bylaws to reduce the size of the executive committee. I think this is a pretty good idea, what do you think? Opinion management

Z: That might be a pretty good idea. Feedback

A: We don't want to make the committee too small though. That would make it too easy for just one person to run the whole show. Feedback

Still later, in a third setting:

Y speaking to X: I was talking with Z and A at the club the other day and they think the bylaw change is a good idea if the committee isn't made too small. Feedback

The overall process is far more complex and subtle than I have made it appear above: there may be several Y's and consequently numerous Z's and A's.

An association is governed by a handful of individuals who are willing to donate their financial and temporal resources to the task. A ruling clique remains in power by maintaining membership satisfaction in the decisions which the clique makes. A clique cannot govern with the dictatorial iron hand of power, but rather it is constrained by group values which are consulted and reinforced by the

ongoing process of feedback-opinion-management. This restraint limits the number of alternative decisions which the ruling clique can make and still maintain membership satisfaction. In this way the decisions of the ruling clique can bind the entire association and still reflect the will of the members.

The Water-Oriented Power Structure of Weststate

There is no single monolithic power structure in Weststate. Instead we find that each of the major social systems has its own power structure and hence we find that there are power structures for agriculture, conservation, education, manufacturing, water resources, and so on. Some individuals may rank high in two or three power structures, particularly if they are closely related, such as agriculture and water resources, and other individuals may rank high in only one power structure. The several power structures of Weststate appear to check each other's power in what Galbraith (1952) has called an equilibrium of countervailing power.

I approached the water-oriented power structure of Weststate first through my informants by asking them to name for me the top ten or twelve water leaders in the state. Considering each of my informants as a "voter", I then arranged the names of the water leaders according to the number of "votes" received. This revealed the basic power structure which was supplemented by my own observations on who ran the public water meetings, who went to Washington on water business, who were called in on the Governor's water conferences, who attended the interstate water conferences, and finally, who the

newspapers mentioned as water leaders. This method yielded the names of thirty-one influential water leaders who were ranked into four levels of influence. These levels merge with one another, but still there is a definite gradation between them. On the first level there are five individuals, on the second four, on the third nine, and on the fourth thirteen. A fifth level of twenty-two individuals exists, but I have omitted it from consideration here as the individuals have only limited influence on water resources decision-making.

Often in discussions of power structure one encounters the Marxist inspired image of a power elite which can be termed the theory of economic dominance. According to this theory the individuals who occupy the top positions in a power structure will be those individuals who also control the economic resources of the system. In the water-oriented power structure of Weststate, however, the individuals who control the economic resources of the system do not occupy the top leadership positions, but rather these are held by men who can be classified as belonging to a socio-economic upper middle class. W. Lloyd Warner (1960) in his examination of the American system of social stratification has indicated that as a system grows more complex, the need for the coordination of the activities of its members increases and those individuals who occupy the coordinating positions in the system acquire power and prestige. This appears to be the situation in Weststate, for those men at the top of the power structure are characterized by their practical politics in the coordination of other individuals' efforts in water resource development rather than

their ability to control the economics of water resource development.

I do not intend to dwell on the activities and characteristics of the power structure per se, but rather I should like to examine the interrelationship between the power structure and the associations. This has been done graphically in Figures 13-16 by showing which of the water leaders is active in which of the associations. In these figures the following abbreviations are used:

WWIA--Weststate Water Importation Association

CC----Conservation Club

CA----Camp Apache

WAC---Weststate Association of Conservationists

WWRC--Weststate Water Resources Committee

WSF---Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

OBWC--Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee

WFRF--Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

The association which stands out as number one is the Water Importation Association as seventeen of the thirty-one water leaders are active in this association, and this includes three of the top five. Virtually all of these water leaders of the state attend the annual meeting of this association.

Second in terms of number of interrelationships with the power structure is the Water Resources Committee which has five of the thirty-one water leaders, including two of the top five, as active

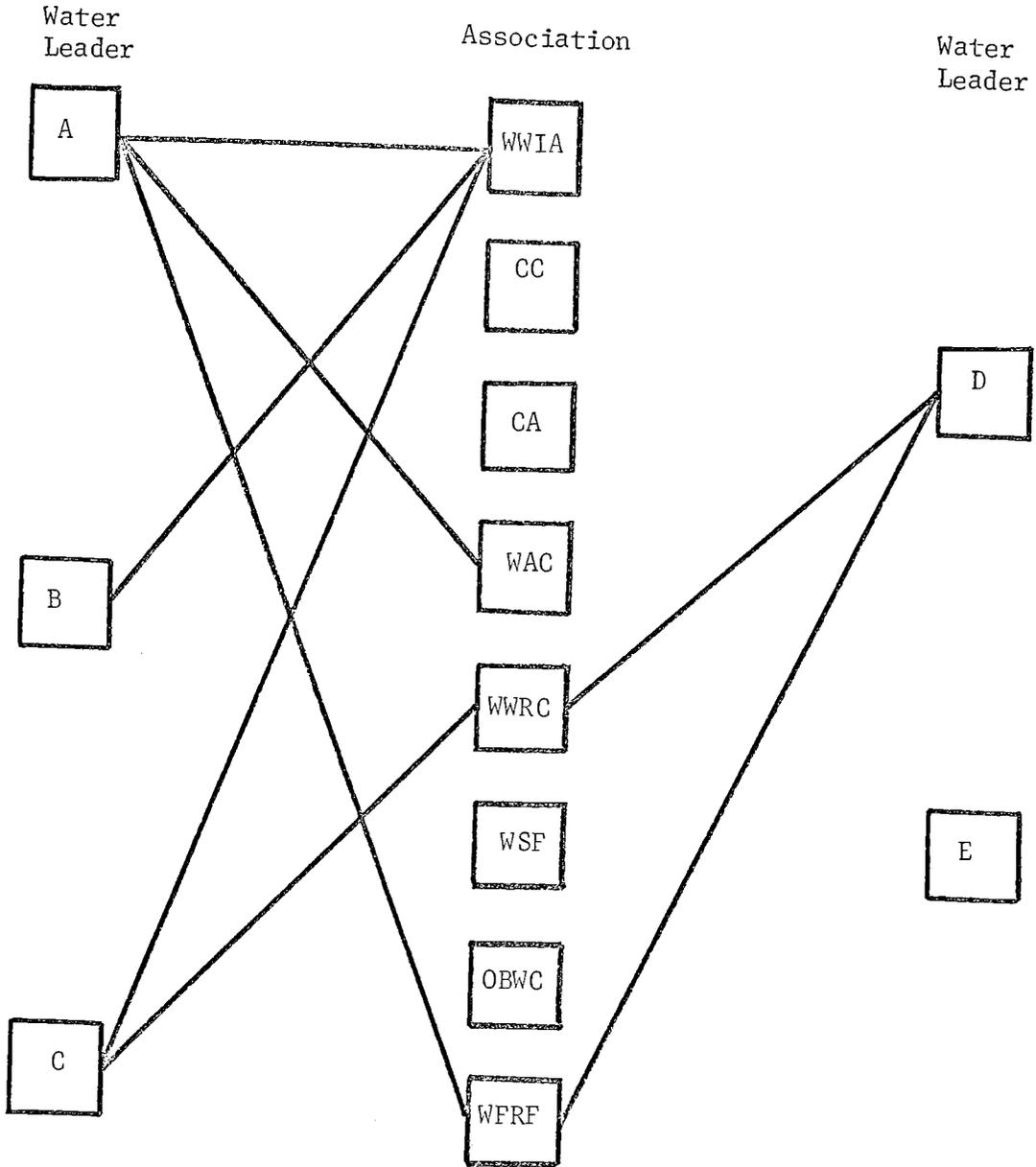


Figure 13. First Level Water Leaders and the Associations

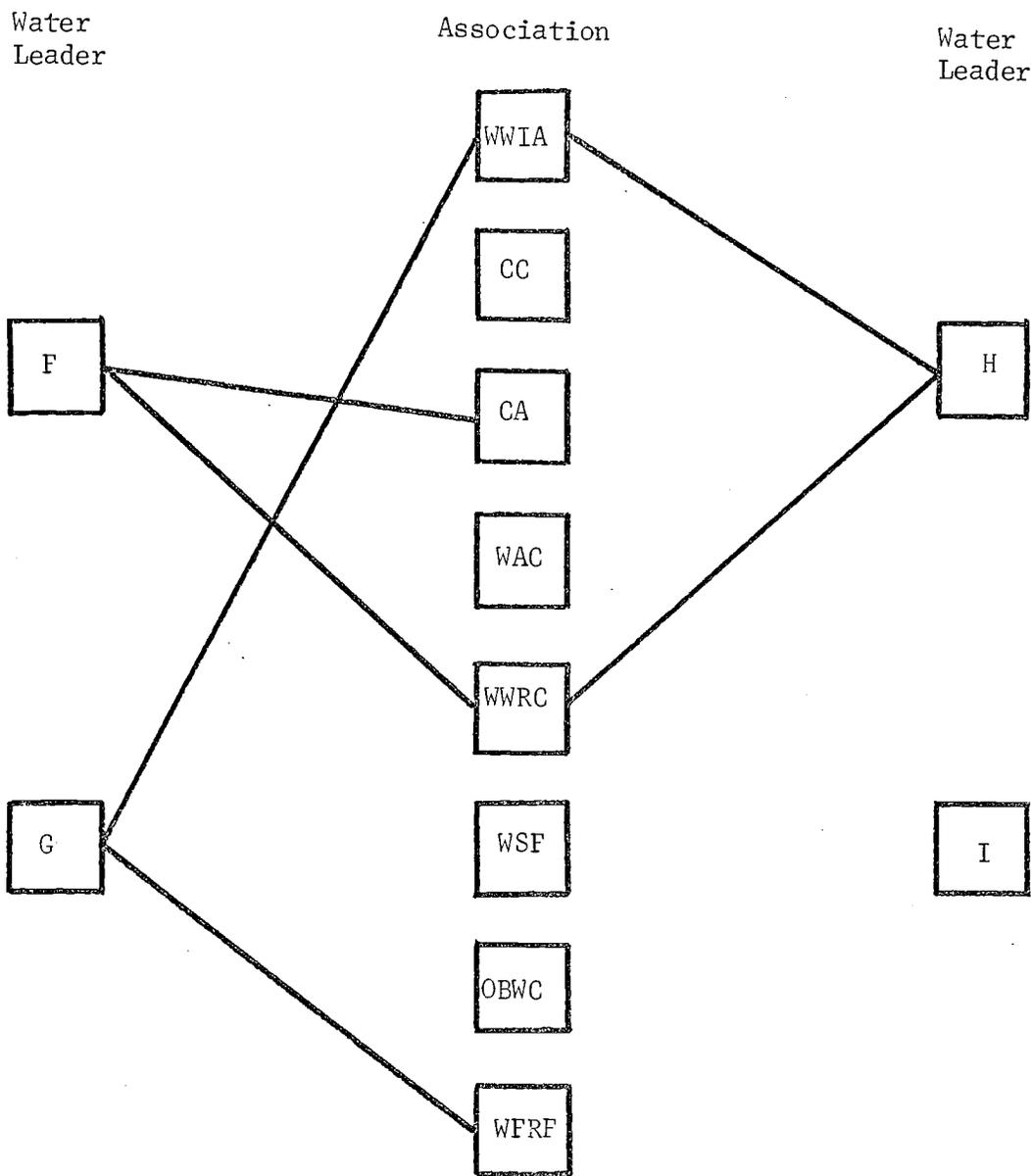


Figure 14. Second Level Water Leaders and Associations

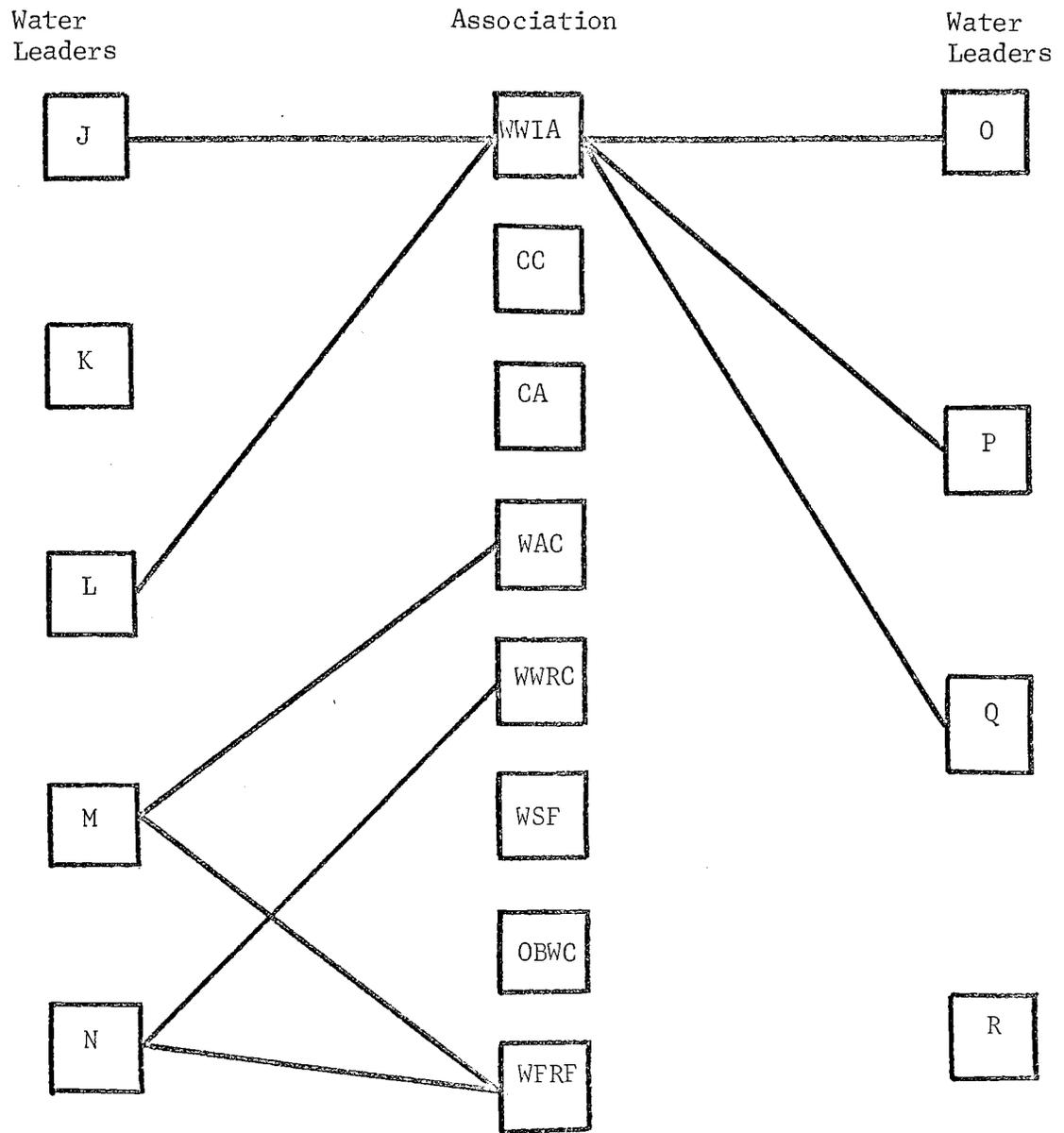


Figure 15. Third Level Water Leaders and Associations

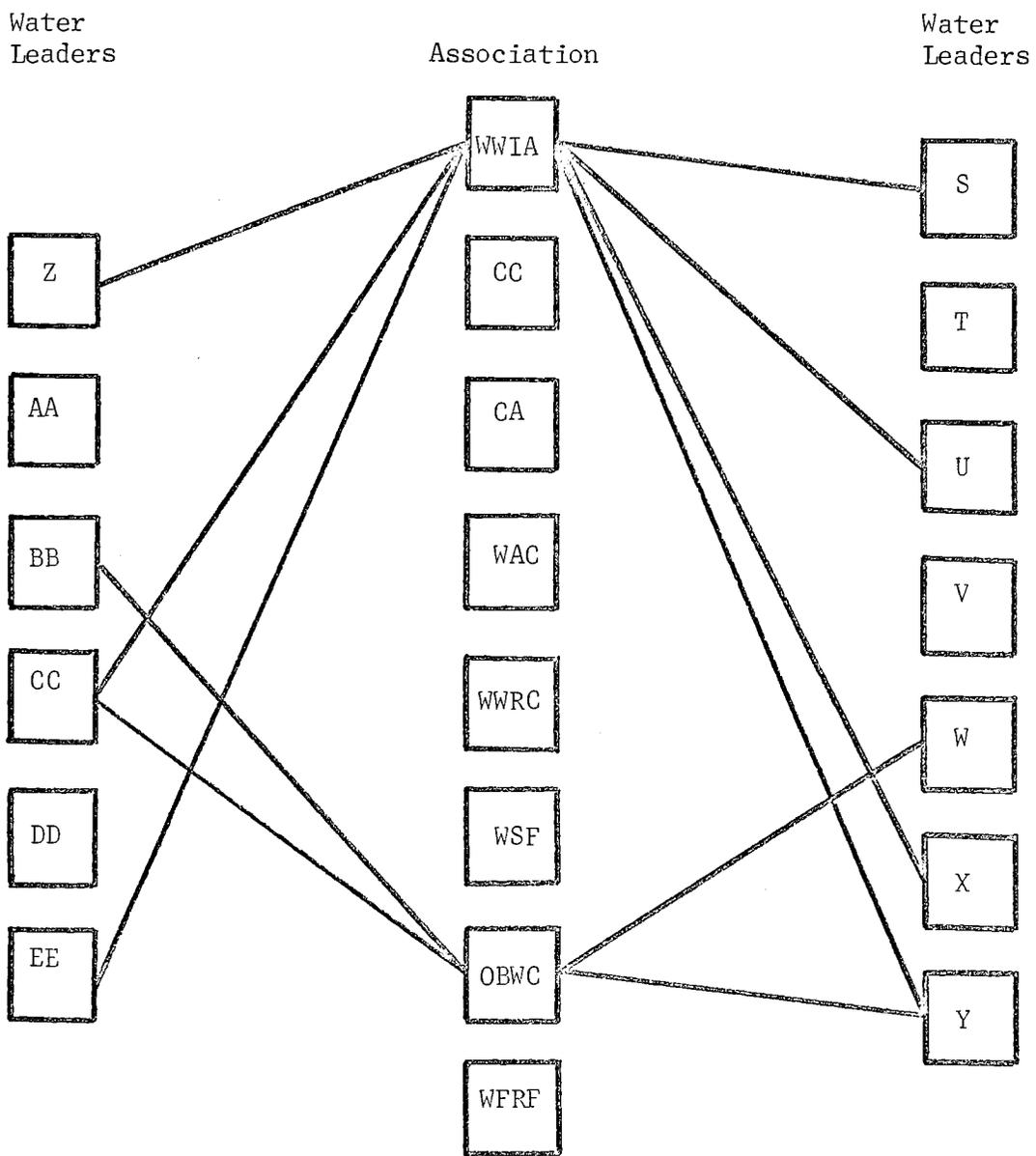


Figure 16. Fourth Level Water Leaders and Associations

members. In addition seventeen of the thirty-one water leaders attend the two annual meetings of the association.

Farm-Ranch ranks third in integration into the power structure with the Weststate Association of Conservationists and the Oldtown Committee fourth. The Conservation Club and the Sportsmen's Federation has no direct ties with the power structure.

In considering the relationships between the associations and the power structure, the most frequent question to arise is: Do the associations use the water leaders, or do the water leaders use the associations? The answer is yes--and no to both questions. In reality this is not a valid question as the two are so intertwined it is impossible to say if one is being used by the other. The associations provide public and non-public meeting grounds for the water leaders and public and non-public environments for decision-making. Let me illustrate this with regard to Project Rescue.

The executive committee meetings of the Weststate Water Impor-tation Association provide a private meeting ground for the top level water leaders. Here the idea of the twin furrow approach to the project was kicked around informally. At the annual meeting of the association, attended by all of the water leaders and the news media, the official decision to follow this path was announced by the Governor. Here we see both the public and the non-public aspects of the environment of the association with regard to decision-making.

The easiest way to understand the relationships between the power structure and the associations is to examine some innovations

and attempted innovations in the areas of technology and administration. In doing this let us look at Project Rescue, the Western Water Yield Improvement Act, the Weststate Wilderness Area, and the central water Agency proposal.

The Water Importation Association in its lobbying for Project Rescue encompassed the entire power structure either as directors or as observers at its public ceremonials. One could accurately say there was no opposition to the project in the state, meaning that none of the water leaders opposed it. Minor differences among the leaders, such as the state plan versus the federal plan, were ironed out in the private environments of the association through compromises such as the twin furrow approach. My informants agreed that the success of the association in obtaining the project was due largely to its embracing all of the water leaders of the state.

The Water Resources Committee in proposing the Western Water Yield Improvement Act is following the example of the Water Importation Association. The draft of the act was written by one of the top five water leaders and then was presented to most of the thirty-one water leaders and to the news media at the annual symposium of the Committee. A panel of top level water leaders discussed the proposed act and explained its purpose. At the annual meeting of the committee, again attended by most of the water leaders, the proposal was again publicly explained and its need cited in relation to Project Rescue and the demise of the ancient Vaakey Indians. The privacy of the

board meetings of the associations provides a setting for discussing this act and for compromising on certain aspects of it.

We might think from the two examples above that the support of the water oriented power structure is necessary in introducing change or preventing change. Such is not really the case. Let us remember that the basic power in the American democracy lies with the people who delegate this power through lack of concern and interest to the power structure. If the citizenry becomes aroused and feels that the power structure is not acting on behalf of their interests, then they can revoke this power. This is what happened in the controversy over the dams in the Weststate Wilderness Area.

The Conservation Club is an outcast, a pariah, with regard to the power structure. The club contains none of the water leaders, nor is it in sympathy with most of them. In their campaign to save the Weststate Wilderness Area from what they felt was the rape of solitude by the banditry of civilization, they took their cause not to the power structure, as did the Weststate Water Importation Association and the Weststate Water Resources Committee, but to the people. Here they waged an emotion-laden campaign to arouse the people, to anger them into revoking the power of the leaders. "Save Weststate Wilderness" was proclaimed on bumper stickers, in newspaper advertisements, in magazine articles, by panels of carefully chosen experts, in movies, in books, and finally by word of mouth. During the campaign the Conservation Club continually pointed out that the dams would destroy archaeological sites (an indisputable fact), that the power they

generated could be produced more cheaply by thermoelectric means (a disputable point), and that they would flood large portions of the Weststate Wilderness Area (a false statement since the dams would be outside of the actual Wilderness Area and their reservoirs would only touch the boundaries of the area). There was also the implication that the dams were part of a secret conspiracy of power and agricultural interests. By using these facts, half-truths, and untruths the intelligentsia of the Conservation Club goaded the people into a democratic revolution--the people wrote letters of protest to the politicians, and the politicians, aware of the power of the ballot, withdrew support of the dams.

A contrast to all of the above examples is seen in the attempt of the Oldtown Committee to institute a central water agency. The Oldtown Committee is in tune with most of the power structure through its whole-hearted support of Project Rescue. In addition four of the fourth level water leaders serve on the Oldtown Committee. The Oldtown Committee, however, in drafting and introducing its central water agency proposal sought neither the advice nor the support of the thirty-one water leaders. They met with the top water leaders on the proposal only after it had been made public and introduced into the state legislature. On the other hand, the Oldtown Committee did not take its cause to the people; they did not try to sell the masses on the idea of administrative reform. Needless to say, the proposal met a rather cool reception and given little chance of passage. The influence which the power structure might have had on

the proposal can be seen in the advice one executive secretary gave to me thinking I was a member of the Oldtown Committee: "You've got to get the water leaders of the state behind this thing. They are the best lobbying group. Don't get the support of oddball radical groups such as the Conservation Club or this will kill it."

The importance of associations to the power structure is to be expected in an industrial society. According to the economist Galbraith (1967: 72):

It is not to individuals but to organizations that power in the business enterprise and power in the society has passed. And modern economic society can only be understood as an effort, wholly successful, to synthesize by organization a group personality far superior for its purposes to a natural person and with the added advantage of immortality.

Common participation in an association such as the Water Importation Association or the Water Resources Committee allows the water leaders to combine their intellectual resources and to pool their information. Water leaders plug into the system by their participation in associations. The ideas which evolve from this participation are often the result of the interplay of intellects rather than the mental resources of a single individual. The environment of the association provides a testing ground for ideas, an opportunity to consider all ramifications. In summary, decisions are made in associational settings because the associations have available to them more information than does any single individual.

The relationship between the water-oriented power structure and the associations is symbiotic. For the water leaders of Weststate

the associations provide them with a linking mechanism to the vested interests of the state--agriculture, business, government, banking, recreation, academia--and to the grassroots base of popular support. The associations, on the other hand, can manipulate the power structure directly to gain powerful support for their programs, as is seen in the Water Resources Committee and the Water Importation Association. However, an association can also take its cause directly to the people without manipulating the power structure, such as in the case of the Conservation Club, and in this manner bring pressure upon the decision-makers.

CHAPTER 7

THE INTERLOCK OF ORGANIZATIONS

The social units involved in the politics of water resource development in Weststate do not operate entirely independent of one another, rather they are enmeshed in a complex web of interlocking relationships. The structure of this interlock and its dynamics forms the focus of the present chapter.

Interlocking Personnel

One of the basic structures of interlock between associations and other organizations is interlocking personnel, that is, the sharing of members among the organizations. For this structure to be utilized, the shared member must be active in both organizations.

The interlocking of personnel among Weststate's water associations and the state water agencies has been diagrammed in Figure 17. Here the Conservation Club stands out in its isolation from the state agencies since it alone shares no members with the state agencies.

Figure 17 also indicates a very strong interlock between the Water Importation Association and the Stream Department. Generally the Water Importation Association is viewed as the private arm of the

Figure 17. Interlocking Personnel Among Associations and State Agencies

One line represents one shared member. Abbreviations:

WWIA--Weststate Water Importation Association

CA----Camp Apache

CC----Conservation Club

WFRF--Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

SD----Stream Department

LD----Land Department

WQCC--Water Quality Control Commission

FGD---Fish and Game Department

PC----Power Commission

OBWC--Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee

WWRC--Weststate Water Resources Committee

WSF---Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

WAC---Weststate Association of Conservationists

Stream Department, though in a coordinate rather than subordinate sense. According to one Stream Department official:

Whenever anything comes up, we contact the officers of the Association and ask them what they can do. The Association maintains a Washington office which acts as a listening post for our department. If they didn't maintain a Washington office, then we would have to. In general we have a very close working relationship with them.

The association was organized before the Stream Department, and the Stream Department was, in fact, created through the efforts of the association. The workings of the interlock between these two organizations is seen primarily in the efforts to obtain Project Rescue. The Stream Department acts as the official state representative in the negotiations, while the association serves as a private lobby. The interlock of the two groups can also be seen in other areas. For example, the Stream Department is attempting to design a state water resource plan, and in this plan the association is seen as dealing with the public relationships which evolve. The association will also provide a means of feedback on the design of the plan.

Farm-Ranch and the Power Commission exhibit an interlock of two persons. This potential mechanism for cooperation is not used, however.

The Water Resources Committee shares members with four state agencies which follows its goal not to identify with any single agency and to coordinate watershed programs among all of the agencies. The interlock with the Stream Department has also drawn the Committee into the state water resource plan. The interlock between the Stream

Department and the Water Resources Committee through the interlocking of personnel is also seen in a Stream Department report which comments on watershed management in Weststate, noting that "The Weststate Water Resources Committee has inspired much of the work that has been done." The major tie, however, has been with the Land Department since one of the Committee's officers is affiliated with this agency. The office of the watershed division of the Land Department acts as the office for the Water Resources Committee and the office girl of this division acts as the office girl for the Committee.

The impact of interlocking personnel on the Water Quality Control Commission can easily be seen in reading its reports on water quality. The influence of the Water Importation Association is seen in the repeated references to Weststate's desperate need for imported water; that of the Water Resource Committee in the summary of the watershed program; and that of Farm-Ranch in the emphasis on the importance of agriculture in Weststate and the efficiency of Weststate irrigators.

The interlocking of personnel among the water associations and the federal water agencies has been diagrammed in Figure 18. There is a notable lack of interlock in comparison with that of the state agencies. In the state agencies seven of the eight associations had interlocking personnel with twenty-one lines of interlock. In the federal agencies only three of the associations have interlocking personnel with only ten lines of interlock.

Figure 18. Interlocking Personnel Among Associations and Federal Agencies

One line represents one shared member. Abbreviations:

OBWC---Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee

WWRC---Weststate Water Resources Committee

WSF---Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

WAC---Weststate Association of Conservationists

BR----Bureau of Reclamation

GS----Geological Survey

BIA---Bureau of Indian Affairs

BLM---Bureau of Land Management

BSFW---Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife

FS---Forest Service

SCS---Soil Conservation Service

WWIA---Weststate Water Importation Association

CA----Camp Apache

CC----Conservation Club

WFRF---Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

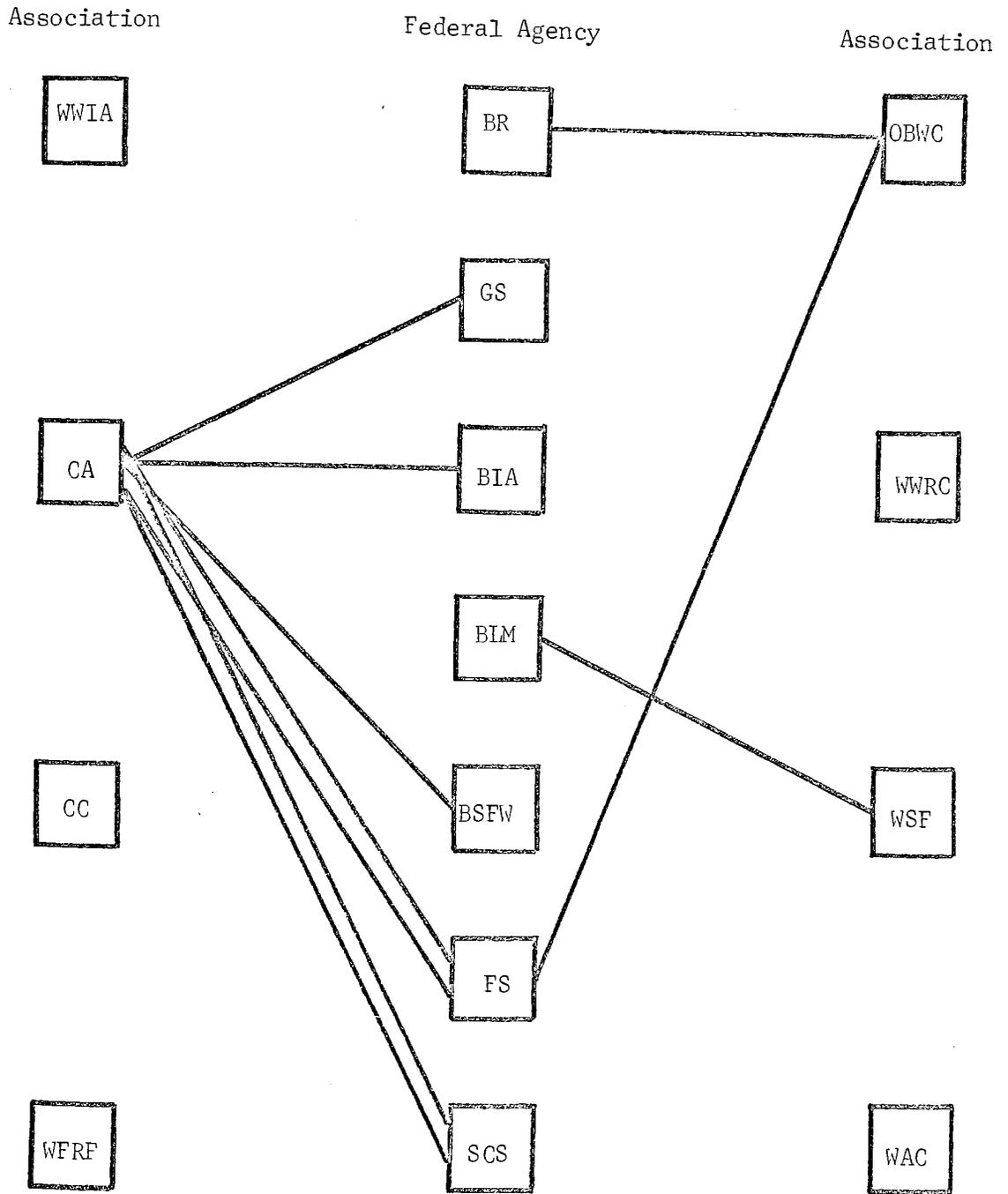


Figure 18. Interlocking Personnel Among Associations and Federal Agencies.

Camp Apache taps the resources of five federal agencies in carrying out its conservation education program. As we would expect from Figure 18, the Soil Conservation Service and the Forest Service are important in Camp Apache's conservation program. Both of these agencies supply men to teach the boys over the summer and as a result the boys gain some insight into the workings of these agencies. The Geological Survey also supplies a field man and should be ranked as next in importance. The effectiveness of these agencies in creating an image of themselves in the boys at Camp Apache can be seen in the results of one of the questions from the Conservation Merit Badge Exam. Here the boys were asked to name two federal conservation agencies and most of the boys responded with the Soil Conservation Service and the Forest Service. The results of this question are shown in Table 14.

The interlocking personnel of the associations and the political subdivisions is shown in Figure 19. Once again the Conservation Club stands out in its lack of interlock with these social units.

The Water Importation Association has interlocking personnel with every major political subdivision in the state. This has come about through the association's attempts to unify all regions of the state behind Project Rescue. The strongest ties (three persons) have been with the Farmer's Irrigation District. This irrigation district has worked quite closely with the association and has provided much financial assistance. The irrigation district also supplied a Washington representative to work with the Washington office of the

Table 14. Camp Apache Replies to the Question "List Two Federal Conservation Agencies"

Federal Agency	Number of Replies	Percent of Boys Replying
Soil Conservation Service	30	57.7
Forest Service	25	48.1
National Wildlife Federation*	9	17.3
Geological Survey	5	9.6
Ducks Unlimited*	4	7.7
Bureau of Land Management	3	5.8
Public Health Service*	2	3.8
Bureau of Mines	1	1.9
Farmer's Irrigation District*	1	1.9

N = 52

*Incorrect answer

Figure 19. Interlocking Personnel Among Associations and Political Subdivisions

One line represents one shared member. Abbreviations:

WWIA--Weststate Water Importation Association

CA----Camp Apache

CC----Conservation Club

WFRF--Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

C Co--Central County

S Co--South County

C City--Central City

O-----Oldtown

IT-----Indian Tribe

FID---Farmer's Irrigation District

CID---Central Irrigation District

KID---Karleton Irrigation District

RID---River Irrigation District

OBWC--Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee

WWRC--Weststate Water Resources Committee

WSF---Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

WAC---Weststate Association of Conservationists

Association

Political Subdivision

Association

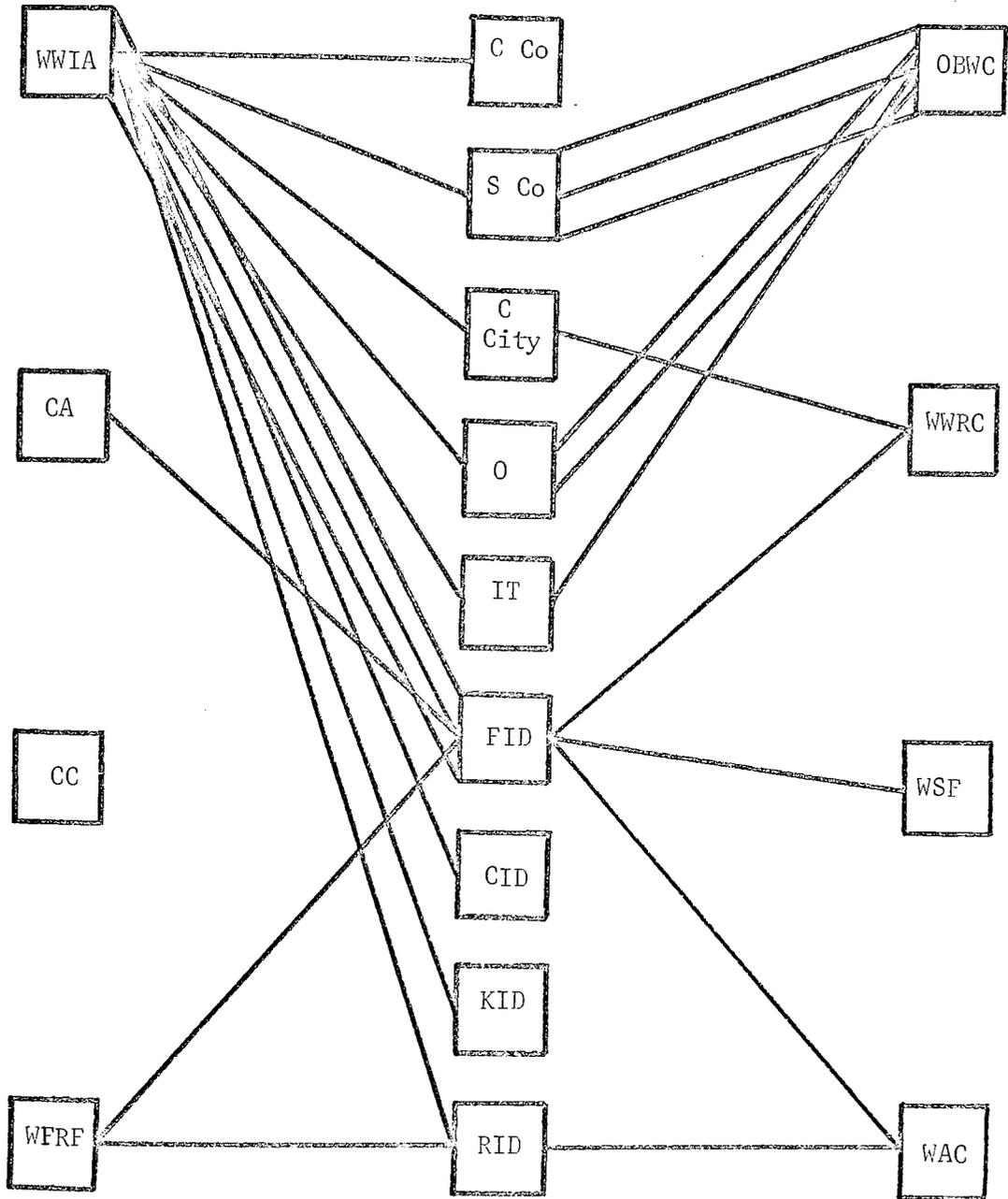


Figure 19. Interlocking Personnel Among Associations and Political Subdivisions

association during the Congressional battle for authorization of the project.

The regional interests of the Oldtown Committee are seen in its interlock with South County and Oldtown.

The agricultural interests of Farm-Ranch and the Association of Conservationists can be seen in their interlock with the irrigation districts.

The interlocking personnel of associations and businesses is quite complex and for the most part takes place along rather specialized lines. For example the interlock of sporting goods stores and the Sportsmen's Federation and that of agricultural equipment dealers and Farm-Ranch. The most pervasive types of businesses found in the Weststate water resources system are, however, banks and power companies and for this reason only these are shown in Figure 20.

The Conservation Club again stands alone with its lack of interlocking personnel. At the other extreme is the Weststate Water Importation Association. The strong interlock with the banks and the association is reflected in the association's image--it is often seen as a group of bankers. The interlock with the power companies is quite understandable in light of the reclamation principle which ties water and power together.

Some interlocking of personnel can be seen between the universities and the associations. Only three associations--the Conservation Club, the Oldtown Committee, and the Water Importation

Figure 20. Interlocking Personnel Among Associations and Businesses

One line represents one shared member. Abbreviations:

OBWC--Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee

WWRC--Weststate Water Resources Committee

WSF---Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

WAC---Weststate Association of Conservationists

FNB---Farmer's National Bank

WNB---Weststate National Bank

FNBW--Fifth National Bank of Weststate

WPL---Weststate Power and Light Company

NWPL--Northern Weststate Power and Light Company

WWIA--Weststate Water Importation Association

CA----Camp Apache

CC----Conservation Club

WFRF--Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

Association

Business

Association

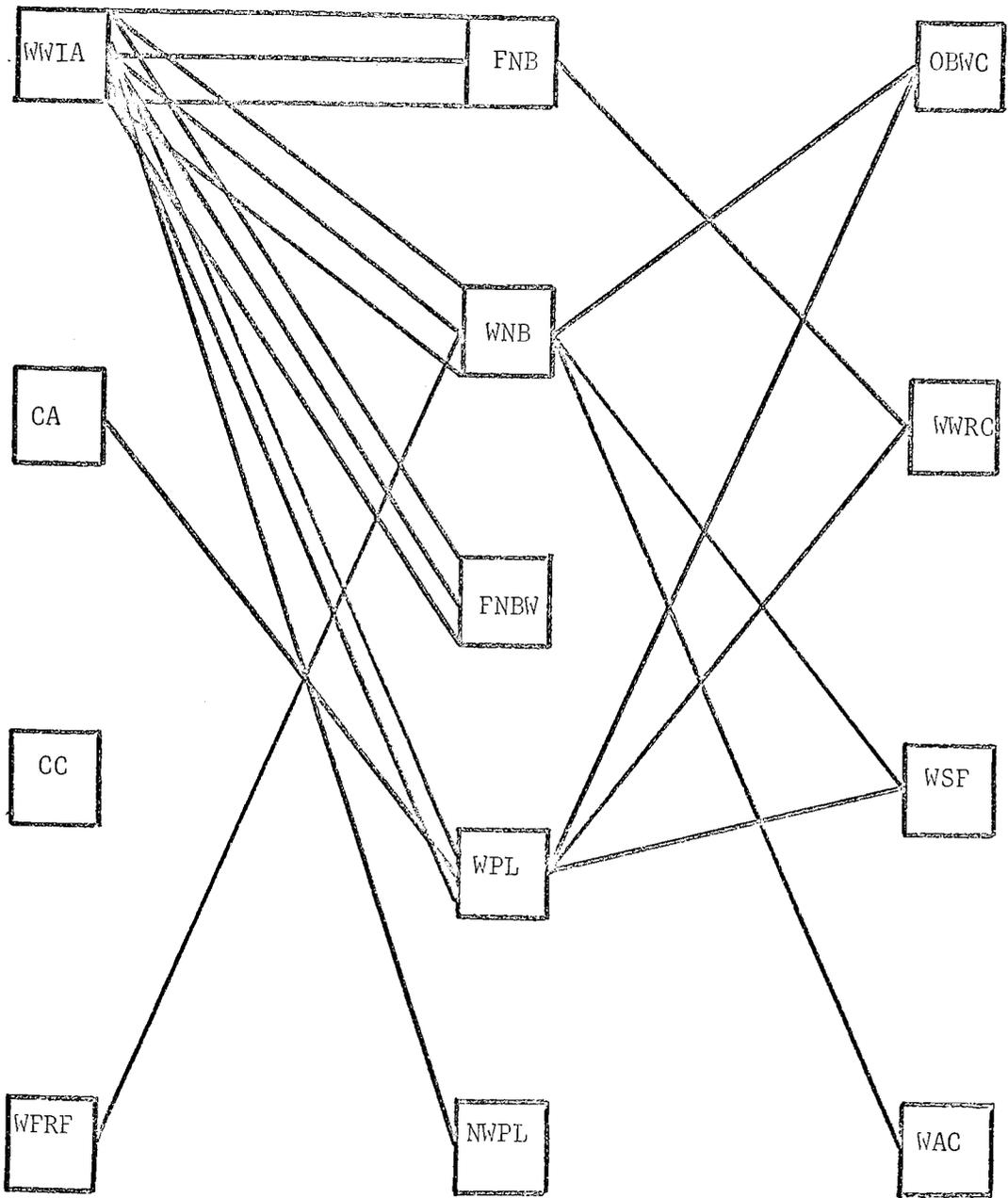


Figure 20. Interlocking Personnel Among Associations and Businesses

Association--share active members with the universities. In general this interlock enables the association to tap the brainpower of the universities and to gain access to research findings. It also enables them to use, sub rosa, university equipment and clerical staff in some instances. As for the university, this interlock provides an avenue for associational viewpoints to become part of the curricula.

In looking over all of the interlocking of personnel the Conservation Club stands out with its lack of interlock. This correlates with the club's image as a pariah and its isolation from the system. The club is responsive only to itself rather than to any outside interests.

We find the greatest interlock of personnel with the political subdivisions, businesses, and state agencies and the least with the federal agencies. There is much cooperation and intercommunication among the non-federal social units and the associations under the philosophy of seeking local solutions to locally determined problems with only a minimum of federal intervention. There is some distrust of the power of the federal agencies and a desire to keep power in the hands of local (i.e., non-federal) leaders.

Interlocking Directorates

The system of interlocking directorates among American corporations is a fairly well-known phenomenon (see Warner and Unwalla 1967). A similar phenomenon occurs among the water associations of Weststate where we find that the various associations share directors or leaders.

The system of interlocking directorates among these associations is shown in Figure 21. This interlocking system provides a potential for cooperation among the associations.

Not unsurprisingly the Conservation Club has no interlock with the other associations. This is consistent with its pariah image.

The interlocking directorates of the Oldtown Committee and the Water Importation Association have resulted in much coordination between the two associations. When the Weststate Water Importation Association needed financial assistance, for example, the Oldtown Committee recruited contributions from the businessmen of South County. In another instance the Oldtown Committee sought to make a motion picture on Project Rescue and received financial assistance from the Water Importation Association.

The interlock of the Weststate Water Importation Association and Farm-Ranch has also resulted in much cooperation. Farm-Ranch has given the association financial support and has consistently passed resolutions supporting Project Rescue. On the other hand, the association is well aware of agricultural interests and stresses the importance of agriculture to Weststate.

There is a great deal of cooperation between Farm-Ranch and the Association of Conservationists. The influence of their interlocking directorates can be seen in their similar resolutions on grazing fees, the water yield improvement act, and Project Rescue.

Figure 21. Interlocking Directorates of the Water Associations
of Weststate

One line represents one shared member. Abbreviations:

WWIA--Weststate Water Importation Association

OBWC--Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee

WFRF--Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

CC----Conservation Club

WSF---Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

WWRC--Weststate Water Resources Committee

WAC---Weststate Association of Conservationists

CA----Camp Apache

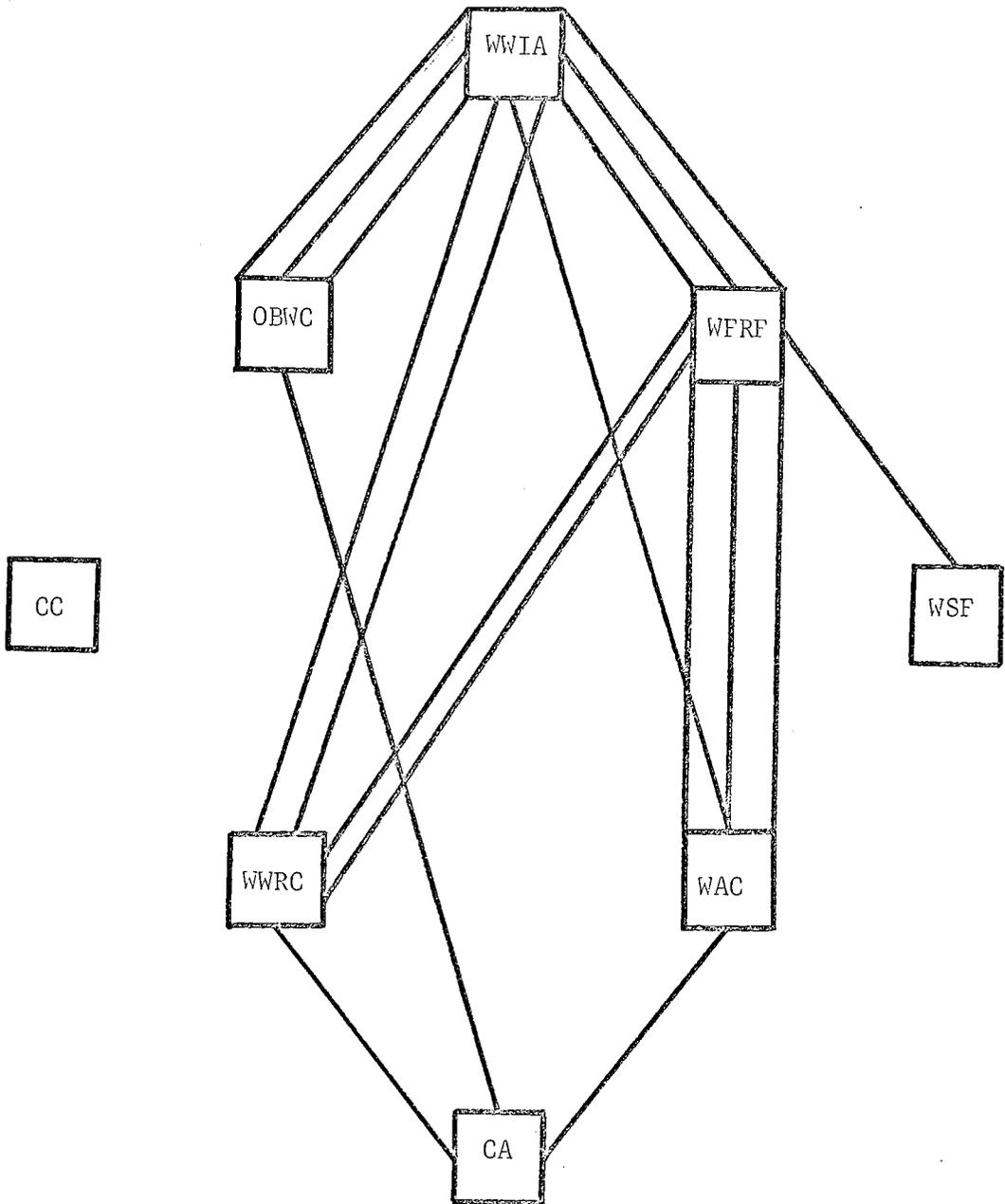


Figure 21. Interlocking Directorates of the Water Associations of Weststate.

The interlocking directorates of the Water Resources Committee and Farm-Ranch has resulted in much cooperation between these two associations. An example of how this works was seen in one of the meetings of Farm-Ranch. Here an individual wearing the "hat" of the Water Resources Committee reported on the water yield improvement act and then switching to the "hat" of Farm-Ranch he introduced a resolution supporting this legislation. This was seconded by an individual who also wore both "hats".

The cooperation between the Water Importation Association and the Water Resources Committee has not been as close as our chart (Figure 21) would appear to indicate, but it has been present nonetheless. The shared directors have seen to it that the Water Resources Committee's meetings and symposia include reports on Project Rescue and conversely the Water Importation Association's publications praise the watershed program.

The interlock of Camp Apache with the Water Resources Committee has made the camp fairly active in the watershed program. The interlock with the Association of Conservationists with the camp has made it a cooperator in a local soil conservation district and a participant in the soil and water conservation program of both the state and federal conservation agencies.

The interlocking directorates of the Oldtown Committee and Camp Apache and Farm-Ranch and the Sportsmen's Federation represent potentials which have not been utilized.

The Indirect Interlock

The interlock of organizations is not always so simple and direct as the preceding figures would make it appear. Often the interlock between associations and between an association and other social units is more subtle and indirect, taking place through intermediary social units and informal contacts.

The Water Importation Association and the Sportmen's Federation cooperated in the fight for Project Rescue. There is, however, no direct interlock between the two associations. Members of both associations have ties with the Farmer's Irrigation District, the Weststate Power and Light Company, and the Weststate National Bank. In the cooperation over Project Rescue it is generally acknowledged that the Sportsmen's Federation member in the Farmer's Irrigation District was responsible for the federation's support of Project Rescue. This individual's formal and informal contacts within the irrigation district with persons who occupied role-positions both within the irrigation district and the Water Importation Association fostered better communication between the association and the federation and hence the cooperation.

The Oldtown Committee and the Conservation Club are indirectly interlocked through the university affiliations of their members. This informal contact was partially responsible for the club's support of the central water agency proposal despite their opposition on dams.

There is an indirect interlock between the Water Resources Committee and the Association of Conservationists through Farm-Ranch,

the Water Importation Association, and the Farmer's Irrigation District. The tie between the Water Resources Committee and the Water Importation Association brought one of the association's directors into supporting the water yield improvement act of the Committee. This individual, then acting in the role of officer in the Association of Conservationists, then introduced a resolution supporting the act in that association.

An indirect tie between the Sportsmen's Federation and the Water Resources Committee can be seen in the federation's anti-phreatophyte resolution. Initially the proposed resolution was strongly worded and felt to contain some false statements by individuals who occupied role-positions in both the Committee and the Farmer's Irrigation District. They, in turn, talked to the individual who occupied role-positions in both the irrigation district and the federation and pointed out to him the objectionable portions of the resolution. Some of the objectionable portions were changed in the passage of the resolutions.

Another indirect interlock between the Water Resources Committee and the Sportsmen's Federation exists in the Weststate Power and Light Company. Here an individual who occupies role-positions in both the company and the federation works under the individual who occupies role-positions in both the company and the Committee, and at times he represents his boss at the Committee board meetings.

The Expert

So far in our consideration of the interlock of organizations we have focused upon membership role-positions. There are, however, some nonmember role-positions which are important in providing a mechanism for interlock. Among these is the expert. The expert arises out of the social conditions of ignorance for he has access to information and skills not available to the ordinary layman (cf. Moore and Tumin 1949). Experts can be visualized in what Seeley, Sim, and Loosely (1956) call a belief market or what Moore (1962) calls an advice market--the expert is concerned with the production of beliefs and advice and the layman with their consumption. The marketing of "beliefs" depends primarily upon three factors: (1) the skill of the expert as measured by his diplomas, publications, and experience, (2) the organizational affiliation of the expert (prestige organizations are felt to lend prestige to the expert), and (3) "salesmanship." This third point deserves some further comment.

When one is in the market for a blue automobile one does not buy from a salesman who insists on selling only green automobiles. The same is true in the belief market. The Sportsmen's Federation will not buy the "beliefs" of the expert who is selling the belief that hunting is bad; the Water Importation Association will not buy the "beliefs" of the expert who does not sell the idea the Project Rescue will save Weststate from disaster; Farm-Ranch will not buy the "beliefs" of an expert who is not selling the idea of free enterprise. In other words, the expert sells the association only what

it wants to buy; the product must be packaged in a container suitable to the buyer and must be close to his tastes.

In looking at the interlock of organizations provided by experts, let us first examine the producers and consumers of experts, that is, the organizational affiliations of the experts and the associations which "buy" their expertise. For simplicity I have once again utilized a graphic format and have summarized this in Figures 22 through 24. In these figures the following abbreviations are used:

WWIA--Weststate Water Importation Association

WWRC--Weststate Water Resources Committee

WAC---Weststate Association of Conservationists

WFRF--Weststate Farm-Ranch Federation

WSF---Weststate Sportsmen's Federation

OBWC--Oldtown Businessmen's Water Committee

CA-----Camp Apache

CC-----Conservation Club

BR-----Bureau of Reclamation

GS-----Geological Survey

BIA---Bureau of Indian Affairs

SCS---Soil Conservation Service

FS----Forest Service

BLM----Bureau of Land Management

BOR----Bureau of Outdoor Recreation

BSFW--Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife

SD-----Stream Department

Produced By
Association

Consumed By
Association

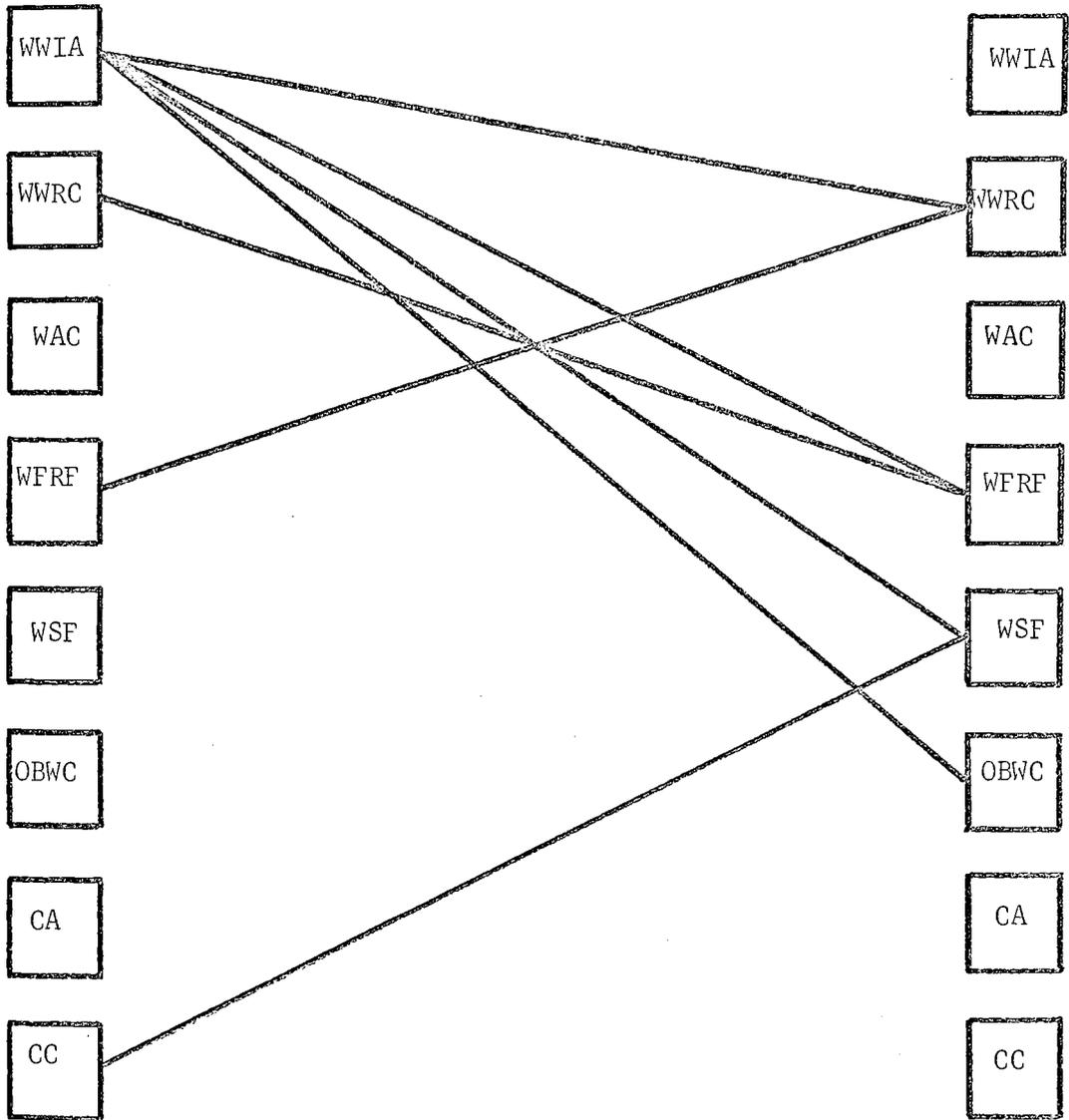


Figure 22. Production of Experts by Associations

Consumed By
Association

Produced By
Federal Agency

Consumed By
Association

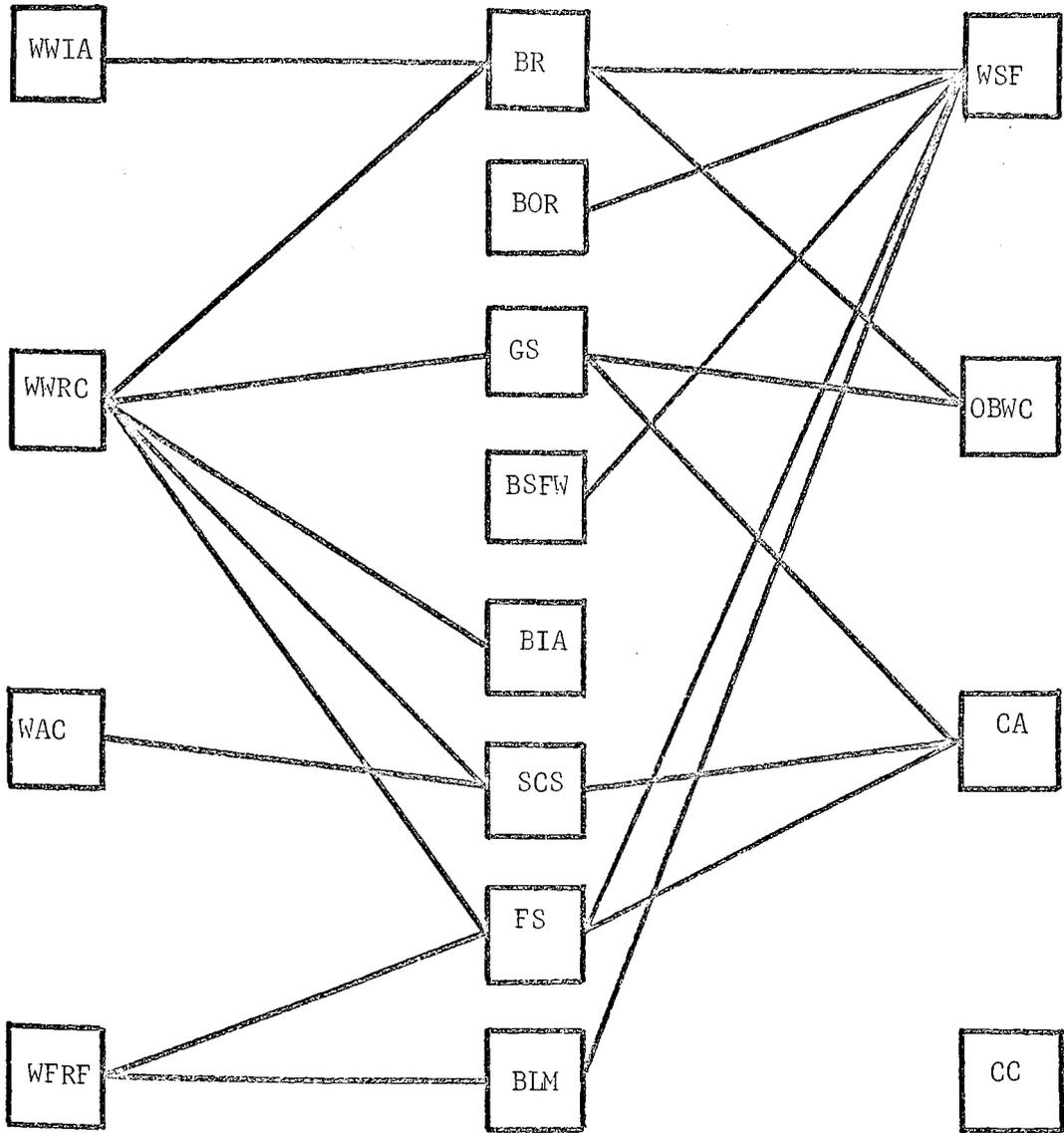


Figure 23. Production of Experts by Federal Agencies

Consumed By
Association

Produced By
State Agency or University

Consumed By
Association

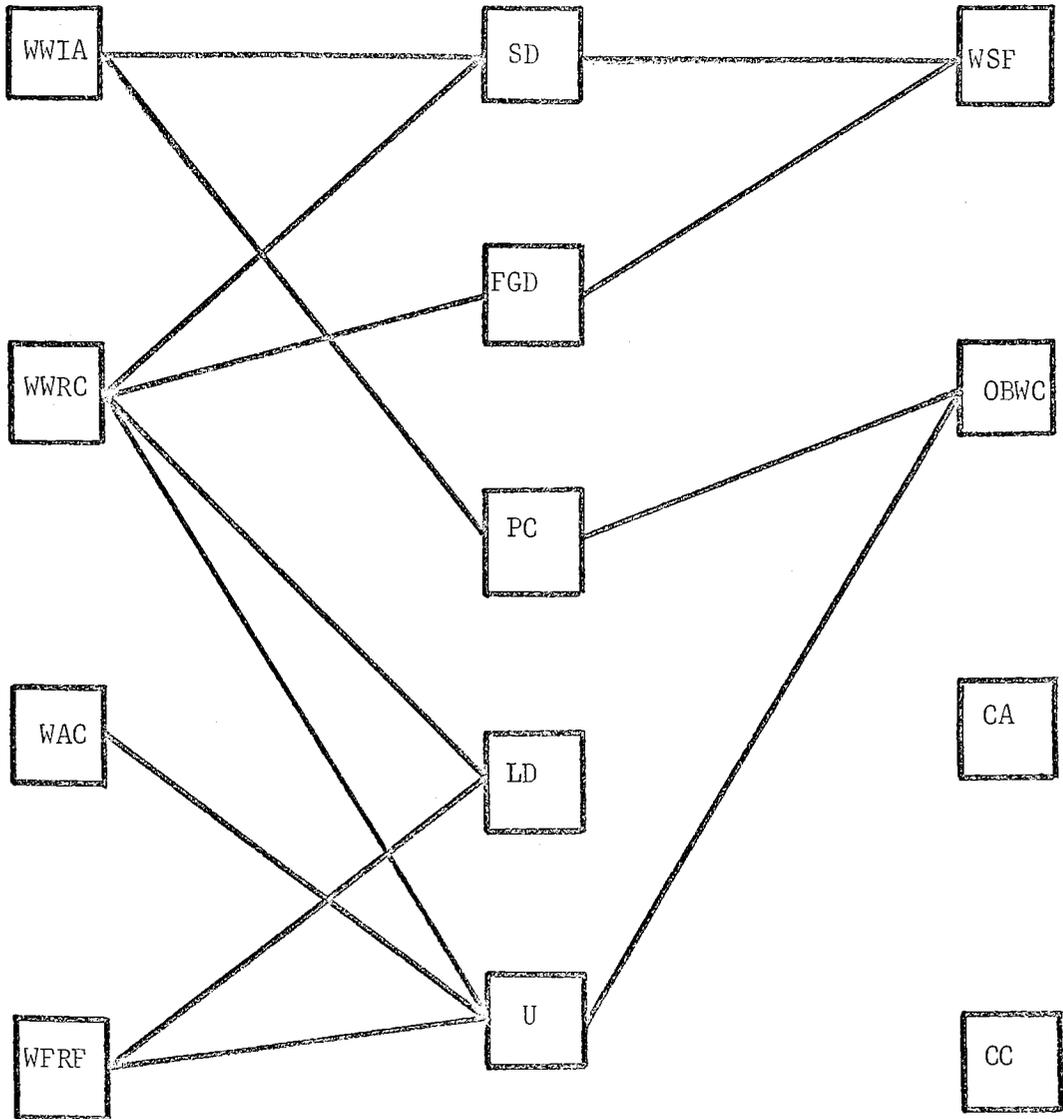


Figure 24. Production of Experts by State Agencies and Universities

FGD---Fish and Game Department

PC----Power Commission

LD----Land Department

U-----University

From these figures we can see that associations don't usually produce experts for other associations. Only the Water Importation Association has operated as an expert producer to any great extent as this has been a part of its efforts to educate the public as to the great need for Project Rescue.

In looking at the state and federal agencies in the production of experts we see a rather interesting pattern. In the interlock of personnel we observed that the state agencies were quite important and the federal agencies less so. In expert production the pattern is reversed--federal agencies tend to supply more experts to the associations than do the state agencies. The associations tend to seek the advice of the federal agencies, but turn to the state agencies for providing leadership and decision-making personnel.

As we would expect from the previous patterns of interlock, the Water Resources Committee utilizes the widest range of expert producers. The Committee's self-image is that of an integrating organization and its interlock with other organizations supports this image. The Conservation Club stands out as usual in its isolation from expertise. From the vantage point of expert production, the Water Importation Association, the Bureau of Reclamation, the

Forest Service, and the University produce experts for the widest range of associations.

Associations use three distinguishable types of experts. The first and most common of these is that which I shall call the ceremonial expert. The association calls in the ceremonial expert to provide a kind of intellectual entertainment through the rites of speech-giving. Most frequently this rite is what Warner (1959, 1962b, 1963) would call secular-external, that is, it involves the secular world outside of the association. The general pattern of this rite is for an officer of the association to introduce the expert, listing his credentials in so doing. The expert then utilizes some salesmanship either in the form of humor or by identifying himself with the audience. An interesting case of the latter was seen when an expert from the Sportsmen's Federation addressed the Water Resources Committee. The expert spent about one quarter of his speech characterizing the Sportsmen's Federation as "good-guy" conservationists who had supported Project Rescue thus attempting to create appealing packaging for the advice he wanted to sell. The final phase of the rite is, of course, the expert's presentation of his expertise.

Many of the University supplied experts can be classified as ceremonial experts. For the most part these are either researchers or administrators who give reports on research findings or on the administration of certain segments of the University bureaucracy. For example in the Water Resources Committee's symposia, researchers from the various fields of economics, watershed management, and

hydrology will report on their findings and at the Committee's annual meeting, administrators of the various departments will sketch out their department's activities in the field of water resource development for the previous year. Similarly at the meetings of the Association of Conservationists and Farm-Ranch there are administrative reports on departmental activities in agriculture, watershed management, range management, and conservation. The associations seek administration reports from departmental and college heads because they feel that these branches of the University are producing technicians and experts which will benefit the specialized segments of the population which they represent.

Occasionally some of the associations utilize a ceremonial expert in sacred rites. This involves a religious expert who relays the gratitude of the association to the Christian God and in return asks for his sanctions and inspiration upon the works of the association. Normally this rite occurs at the beginning of a meeting and is frequently associated with eating. An example of this, given at the convention of the Association of Conservationists is as follows:

Our Father, we thank Thee for the opportunity to meet here. We are grateful for the abundant natural resources which Thou hast given us and we ask for Thy inspiration in our job as stewards of conservation in Weststate. We ask for thy blessing to be bestowed upon the workings of this association. In the name of Jesus Christ.
Amen.

The ceremonial expert is a prestigious adornment for the association. His influence upon the association's actions is at best minimal and in most cases non-existent. The ceremonial expert serves

as a form of ostentatious consumption for the association and provides the association with more publicity than advice.

More influential and considerably less conspicuous than the ceremonial expert is the specialized expert. The association seeks the advice of the specialized expert on certain problems, at times paying him with cash rather than honor and public acclaim. The most pervasive of these is the lawyer who acts as a pilot through the treacherous shoals of legality and as an interpreter and translator of legal jargon. For example, when the Sportsmen's Federation changed their bylaws a lawyer had to be consulted in order to have the proper papers filed in the proper offices and the proposed changes published at the right time in the right form. In another case, the lawyers of the Water Importation Association advised the association as to what they may publish and still maintain their current legal status. In one instance the lawyers advised the Water Importation Association to remove the association name from one pamphlet on Project Rescue. While association personnel sometimes chafe under the legal restrictions, at times feeling that when the lawyers are in doubt they say no, the association follows their advise.

Examples of lawyers as linguistic experts is usually seen when an association draws up a legislative proposal. When the Water Resources Committee drew up the Western States Water Yield Improvement Act, the first draft was written by a committee officer and this draft was then translated into proper language by a lawyer. The same thing was seen in the central water agency proposal of the Oldtown Committee.

Businesses other than law firms also provide the associations with specialized experts. In contemplating the value of a movie on the Weststate watershed program to promote the Western States Water Yield Improvement Act, the Water Resources Committee called on the advice of motion picture producer. Similar specialized experts were utilized by the Water Importation Association and the Conservation Club in the production of their motion pictures.

Agencies and universities can serve as sources of specialized experts. The Sportsmen's Federation often calls on the game managers for advice, and Farm-Ranch and the Association of Conservationists consult the state and federal land managers. The advice of these experts is frequently influential in shaping the associations' policies.

The interlock between state agency and association via the mechanism of the specialized expert is perhaps best seen in the Fish and Game Department and the Sportsmen's Federation. This mechanism allows the Fish and Game Department to voice opinions via the federation, often supplementing its "public" voice with the "private" voice of the sportsmen. For example, the resolutions adopted by the federation on phreatophytes and channelization were written and submitted to the Sportsmen's Federation resolutions committee by experts from the Fish and Game Department. A similar instance was observed in the resolution on the allocation of Project Rescue water. Here see a Fish and Game Department publication which begins:

Whereas, the incentive to spend increasing leisure time in out-of-doors recreational pursuits must continue as a palliative against the growing tensions of a mechanized civilization, and whereas, Weststate's recreational opportunities are a major factor in the state's growth, and whereas, recreation is one of the four largest income producing categories in the state's economy, . . .

and a WSF resolution which reads:

Whereas, the incentive to spend increasing leisure time in out-of-doors recreational pursuits must continue as a palliative against the growing tensions of a mechanized civilization, and whereas, Weststate's recreational opportunities are a major factor in the state's growth, and whereas, recreation is one of the four largest income producing categories in the state's economy, . . .

This illustrates the close interlock between the two organizations which is largely facilitated by the role-position of the expert.

The University-supplied specialized experts are from the more service oriented branches. For example, the extension economists and the agricultural engineers are approached by Farm-Ranch and by the Association of Conservationists with specific problems and asked to suggest solutions.

The boundary line between the specialized expert and the generalized expert is exceedingly fine, at times imperceptible. The generalized expert is a specialized expert whose advice has been found to be sound and who takes an active interest in the affairs of the association. Gradually the generalized expert begins to give advice outside of his specialty, still maintaining the aura of the expert. The generalized expert is the most influential expert in the association as he is well-known within the group and his advice is respected and often beyond question.

Let me cite just one example of the influence of the generalized expert. At one annual convention of the Sportsmen's Federation a proposed resolution was brought up, discussed by two of the delegates, and then passed by the assembled delegates. A generalized expert, affiliated with a federal agency and well-known for his sympathy for the philosophies of the association, then asked if the proposal had passed (he had been conversing with others at the back of the hall rather than watching the proceedings). When he found out that it had, he explained in eloquent but simple language why it shouldn't have been passed and that it would bring unnecessary opposition from other associations. One of the delegates then made the official motion to rescind the previous action and reconsider the proposed resolution. In the reconsideration the proposal was killed. It is interesting to note that the expert was a big game specialist and the resolution dealt with the planting of fish.

The roles of the three kinds of experts in an association can be seen in the course of events which occurred within the Oldtown Committee in the controversy over the research report which noted that the additional water of Project Rescue would not be needed if the existing water supply was reallocated to higher value crops and to industry (see section on Project Rescue in Chapter 3). Some months prior to the publication of the report, one of the researchers involved acted as a ceremonial expert for the Oldtown Committee and reported on his research findings. Generalized experts in the

committee rebutted his findings and the final minutes of the meeting came to read: "It was pointed out to Dr. X that because of the magnitude of Project Rescue, and the length of time needed to complete the project and rising costs of construction of a canal system to bring the water to Oldtown, that the time is now to import new water into the state." Upon publication of the research findings, the Oldtown Committee called upon the services of a specialized expert from the University to prepare a formal, public rebuttal to the report.

I have summarized the distribution of the ceremonial expert, the specialized expert, and the generalized expert among the associations in Table 15. All of the associations use experts to some extent in determining their activities.

One more aspect of the expert must be considered. So far we have considered the expert as an input into the associational system, but the association also produces experts which are inputs into the legislative decision-making system. Experts from associations are generally felt to speak for specialized segments of the population such as "the sportsmen", "conservationists", "agriculture", and "business". At legislative hearings, such as those held for the state version of Project Rescue, laymen-experts representing associations testify on behalf of their associations. At the state hearings about one-third of the experts represented associations, while at the Congressional hearings on Project Rescue about one fourth of the experts represented associations.

Table 15. Distribution of Experts

Association	Ceremonial Experts		Specialized Experts	Generalized Experts
	Sec.-Ex.	Sacred		
Water Importation Assoc.	X	X	X	
Water Resources Com.	X		X	
Assoc. of Conserva- tionists	X	X	X	X
Sportsmen's Fed.	X	X	X	X
Farm-Ranch	X	X	X	X
Camp Apache			X	
Conservation Club			X	
Oldtown Committee	X		X	

The Observer

Just as the nonmember role-position of expert represents a potential input into an association, so does the nonmember role-position of observer represent a potential output from the association. In many respects the observer is the counterpart of the ceremonial expert, since like the ceremonial expert, the observer is present only for the public rituals of the association. Like the expert the observer is also affiliated with some other organization such as another association, a state or federal agency, or a university.

I have summarized the interlock of the observers in Figures 25 through 27 showing the affiliation of the observer and the associations observed (see page 169 for key to abbreviations). The overall pattern is quite similar to the interlock of the expert. The Water Resources Committee and the Water Importation Association have the widest range of observers. All of the associations except the Conservation Club use observers. Camp Apache, the Oldtown Committee, and the Conservation Club are not observed since they lack the public ceremonials.

The official source of output available to the observers are the ritual speeches of the ceremonial experts. These are not, however, the true sources of output. As a social anthropologist I frequently occupied the role-position of observer. I found that as I became enculturated into the system of water resources, I ignored the speeches (which told me things which I already knew) and focused on informal contacts. Other observers did the same thing. Information about

Association of
the Observer

Association
Observed

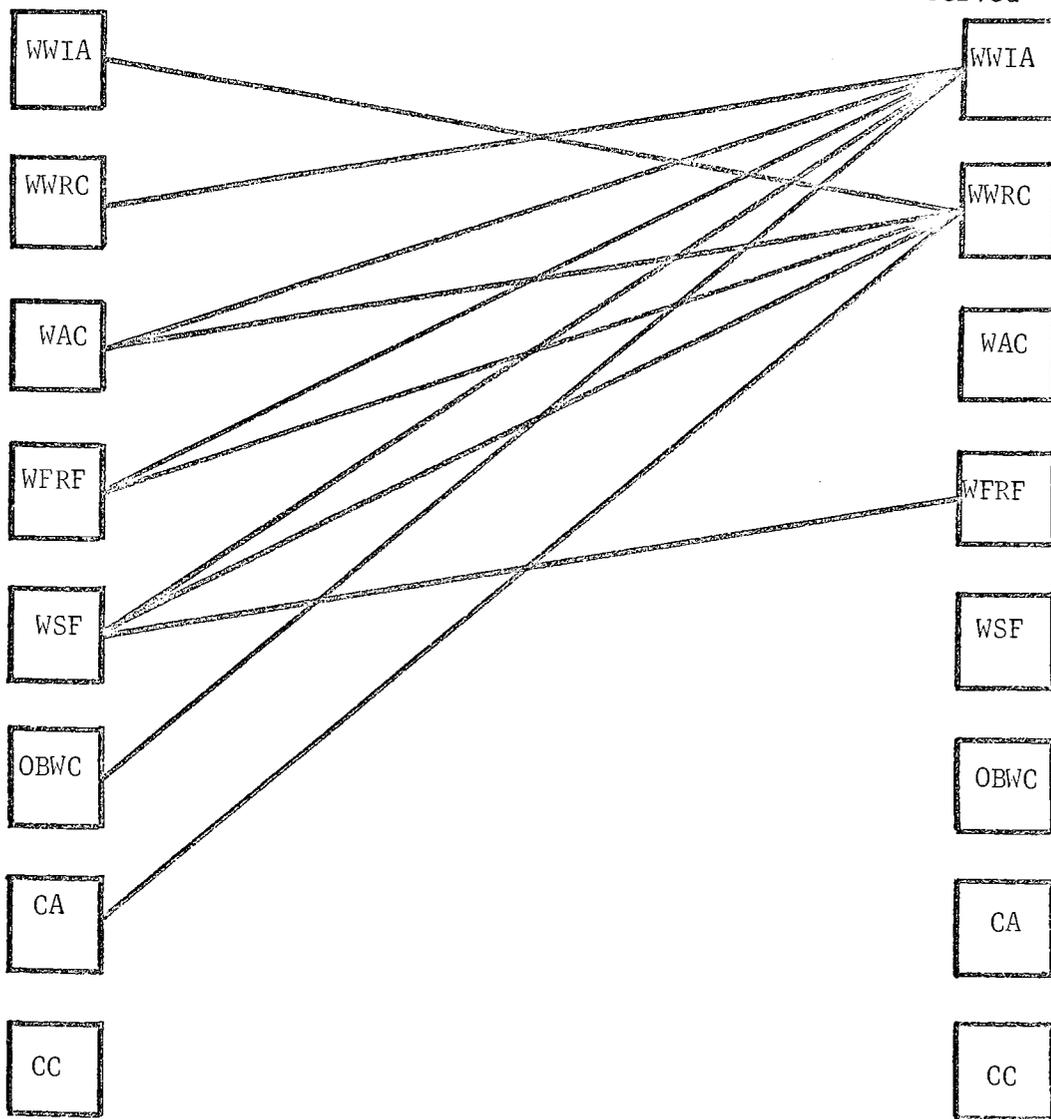


Figure 25. Observers from Associations.

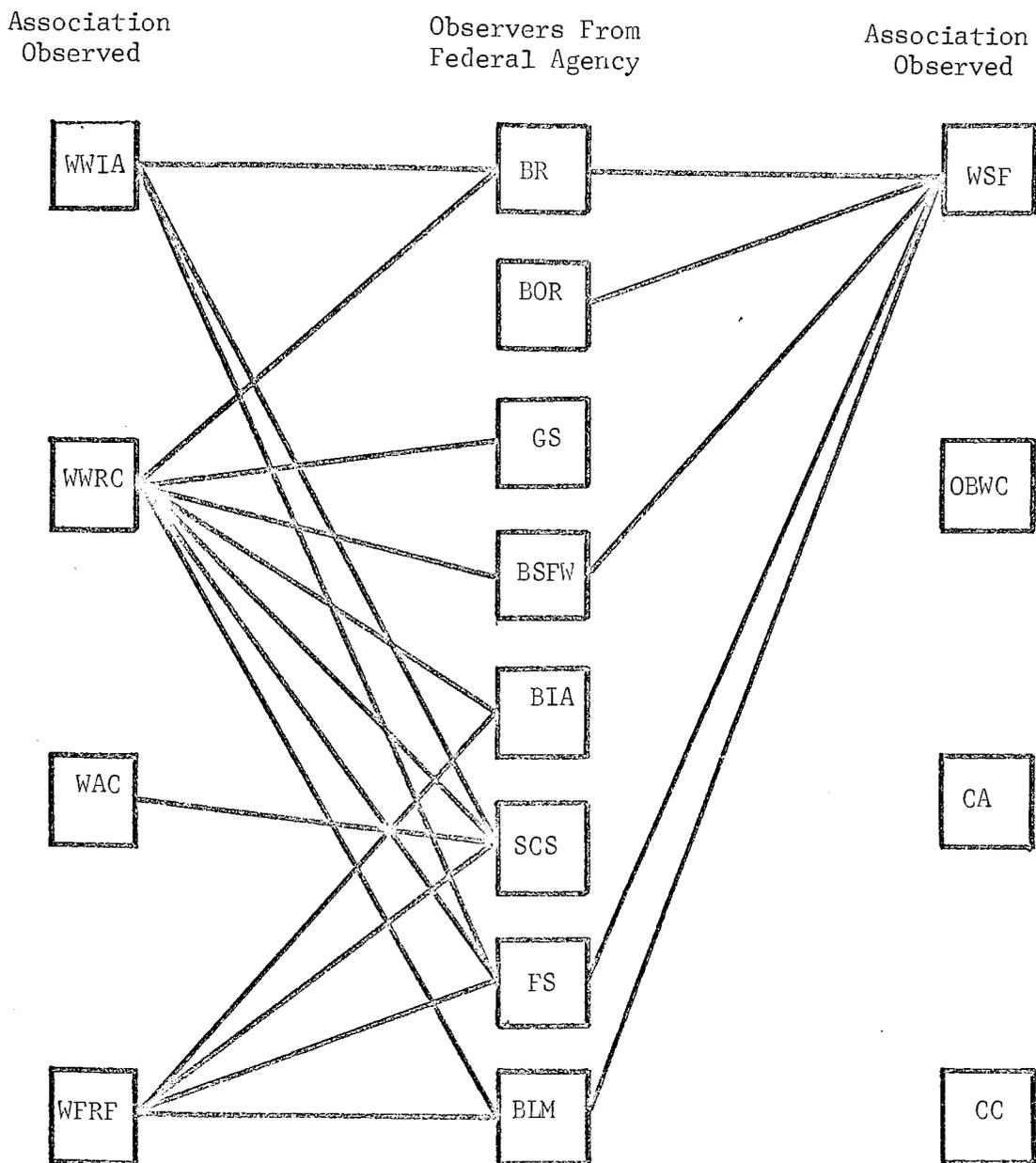


Figure 26. Observers from Federal Agencies.

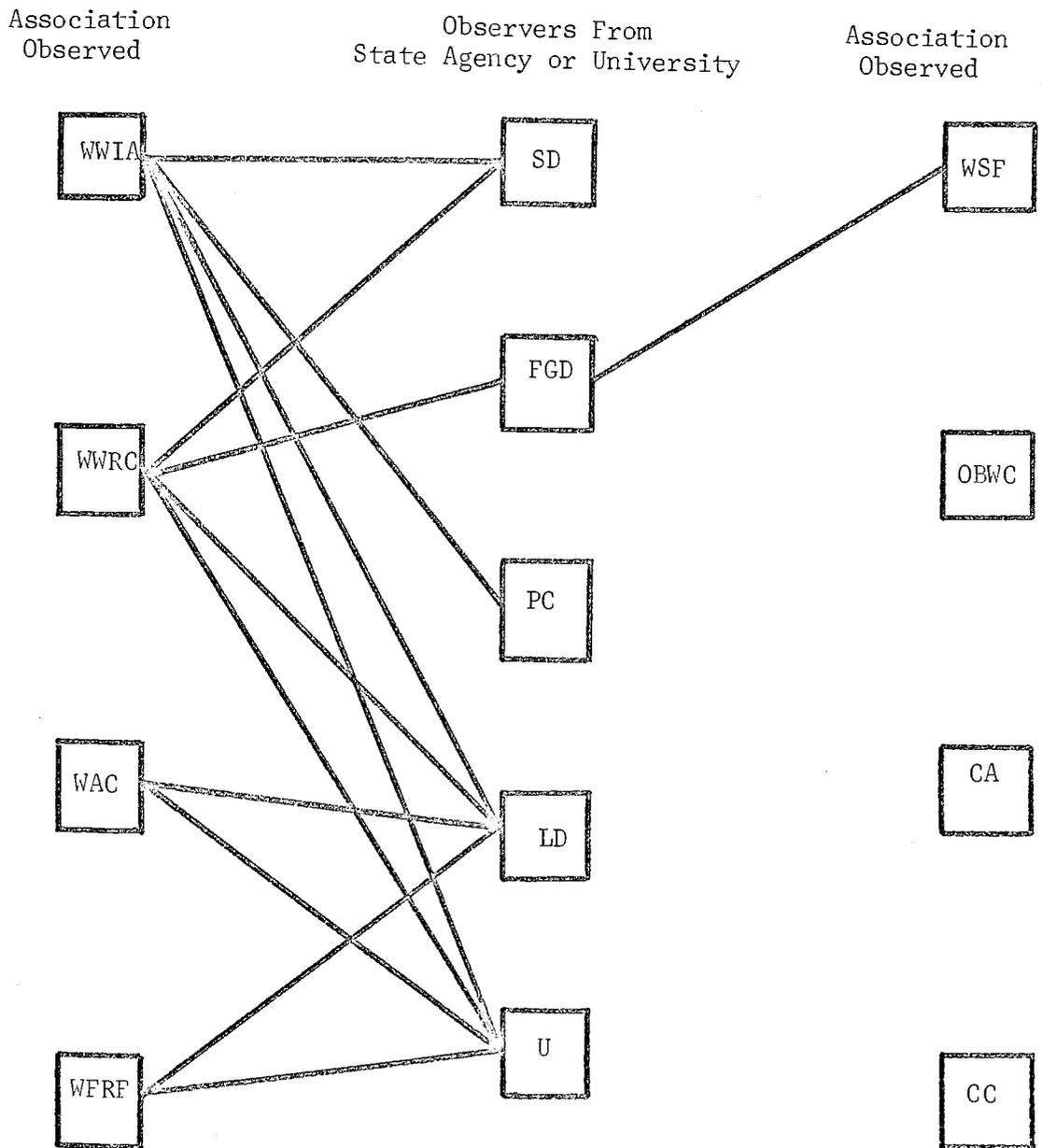


Figure 27. Observers from State Agencies and Universities

the activities of state and federal agencies and other associations is obtained through a web of informal contacts during the official ceremonies.

There are times, however, when observers are interested in the actual ceremonies of the association's meeting. The annual meeting of Farm-Ranch, for example, entails in part the selection of resolutions to guide associational policy for the coming year. The observers from the Sportsmen's Federation are quite concerned with these policies and how they relate to the policies of their own association.

Summary

We could view the system of water resource development in Weststate in the classic action-response model. To borrow an illustration from Turney-High (1968: 186), we could view the components as balls on a pool table. One ball representing, say, the Stream Department, strikes another representing the Water Importation Association setting it into motion, and it in turn strikes a third ball while the first ball having caromed off the second strikes a fourth, and so on. Such a model is exceedingly naive for the components of the system are interlocked in a complex web of relationships. The Stream Department does not merely "strike" the Water Importation Association, rather it is a part of it through the interlock of personnel, experts, and observers. The components are neither totally independent of one another, nor totally dependent on other units; they are connected to each other in varying degrees of elasticity.

The interlock of personnel, directorates, indirect connections, experts, and observers lends a greater coherency and integration to the system than is apparent under superficial examination.

CHAPTER 8

THE SUCCESS OF FAILURE

The essence of a social unit is found in the goals which justify its very existence. According to Robert Weiss (1964: 5):

The goal of an organization is embedded in the organization's very definition. The organization is defined for the achievement of something. From then on as individuals become members of the organization, they "understand" the organization, identify with it, as a collectivity with definite aim.

While Weiss' comments are aimed at corporations they are also applicable to associations. There are, however, some fundamental differences between the goals of corporations and those of associations. The goals of a corporation are continually renewable--to produce X number of widgetts today and X number tomorrow, to sell X number of insurance policies today and X number tomorrow. The goals of an instrumental association are not renewable; they are achieved only once. The corporation has no problem if it achieves its goals; it can merely repeat the performance. With the association this is not possible and a dilemma results.

In examining the consequences of associational success, Wilbert Moore (1963: 113) states: "Nothing succeeds like failure, or perhaps, near success, a close enough approximation to victory to keep the issue or party alive and to keep a sufficient number of supporters to justify

associational activity." For the association total success and total failure are the same. Partial success or partial failure result in a continuation of associational efforts. Total success or total failure brings the association face-to-face with two alternatives: to change goals or to go out of existence.

The problem of goal attainment or of utter failure to obtain goals is not great in Farm-Ranch and the Sportsmen's Federation for these are multi-goal associations whose goals are modified annually hence making it improbable that all of their goals could be attained at any given period of time. Total success and total failure does, however, pose certain dilemmas for those associations which have coalesced around a single dominant goal. In Weststate during the period of time under consideration five cases of success or failure for uni-goal associations was observed. The reactions of these associations to this problem is discussed below.

For over twenty years the Water Importation Association sought the authorization of Project Rescue. For over twenty years the project was just a hair's breadth from authorization. Cartoonists depicted it as just around the bend. The water of Project Rescue was only slightly more tangible than a mirage, and certainly far less real than the water in a backyard swimming pool. At the annual meeting of the association each December one heard that next year would be the year of the project, and the following December the same sentiments would again be aired. During this time the Water Importation Association prospered and continued its efforts to grasp the illusive project.

When it became obvious even to the most pessimistic that the project would finally receive authorization, I asked a number of the directors what was going to happen to the association. A sampling of their replies is as follows:

The future of the Weststate Water Importation Association is uncertain. One of two things will happen: (1) we will disband, or (2) we will assume another project. Mr. X has suggested that we continue with other projects.

We have given this some thought. The principal job would be completed, but there is much work yet to be done.

If Project Rescue becomes a reality the Weststate Water Importation Association will continue for the appropriation of additional funds. The association can also smooth the way for other things. It will be in the hassle in allocating the water.

I would imagine that the association will ultimately phase out. If the bill passes there is still much work to secure the appropriations over the next few years. There is work to be done on allocation. The major work would be concluded, but I doubt if the association will phase out completely.

We think we will still have an important function after the project is authorized. One problem is the allocation. There is going to be a real need for an organization to coordinate the needs and plans for the use of this water. The Water Importation Association is a state organization which can be helpful.

We will continue to help the Bureau of Reclamation obtain funds for the construction of the project. These things come from the grassroots. The Bureau needs help and we have a real function to perform in helping to get the proper share of reclamation funds. We feel that the association will continue to exist and to perform important functions.

The association will be just as important in the future as it is now. There is just as much to do until the project is complete. Someone must coordinate activity. After authorization there is still a long ways to go. We will assist in such things as appropriations.

There will be two big things to do: (1) appropriations and (2) allocation. The Water Importation Association role will be that of a catalyst, a Bureau of Reclamation agent which soothes ruffled feathers.

There are three main areas which the association will enter into. First is the annual support for the appropriations. Then the association can assist in unifying the state behind the Stream Department's water plan. Finally we can help pave the way for further importation.

When Project Rescue was finally authorized, the water leaders of the state, the leaders of the Water Importation Association, and the news media stressed that this did not represent total victory. There was a job yet to be done before water would flow through the big ditch. One newspaper editorialized for the continuation of the Water Importation Association: "Weststate's Congressional delegation will continue to need the help of organized groups in water resource development. Logically this will come from the Weststate Water Importation Association, long in existence, long on experience, and headed by dedicated citizens."

The actual goal changing of the association, by now obvious to all, came at the public ceremonials of the annual meeting. Each of the officers stressed the continuing need for the association:

Your being here today shows the necessity for this association. The principal task has been accomplished. The total job is not finished. The primary role of the association will be that of a catalyst. We are best qualified to perform this task. All must preach unity within the state.

All agree that we must continue to have an association. Water problems will have to be solved by all Weststate pulling together. The association is in a vital position to play the role of coordinating the state.

We must continue to go forward to finish the task. It will be necessary to get appropriations from Congress and to work with the Bureau of Reclamation to contract for water.

Next the members of the Congressional delegation addressed the association each painted glowing pictures of the prosperity which would surely follow the new water into the state. Tribute was paid to the efforts of the association and it was stressed that this was the key factor in gaining the authorization for the project. Each member of the delegation also emphasized that this represented only one battle in a continuing war for water and that the association was needed for future battles. In a final ceremonial the Governor of Weststate placed a mandate upon the association:

Yours is the responsibility for building and sustaining unity throughout all Weststate for whatever water resource planning and development programs may be devised. "The best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft a-gley" unless the plans are understood and supported by the public. And so the Association's public relations function is a key to the success of all water resource efforts.

From these public ceremonials the new goal of the association emerged: to unify all segments of the state behind water resource planning and development programs. As a part of this general goal, three other sub-goals also appeared: (1) to seek appropriations to build Project Rescue, (2) to act as a catalyst and coordinator in contracting for the new water, and (3) to aid with the Stream Department's water plan. In facing the dilemma of success, the Water Importation Association neatly turned success into partial success and changed its goals accordingly.

The Water Importation Association was not the only association faced with the problem of success upon the authorization of Project Rescue. Since its creation the Conservation Club had existed primarily to fight the alleged conspiracy to construct dams in the Weststate Wilderness Area. The authorized project did not include these dams--a clear victory for the Conservation Club. Following authorization the club lay dormant for several months as if either dying or metamorphosing. No meetings were called, no newsletters issued.

During this period of dormancy its officers entered into some small side activities in the name of the Conservation Club. They helped sponsor a symposium on man's misuse of wildlife, they attended the meeting of the Fish and Game Department to protest the construction of a small dam, and they voiced concern over the appointment of a new Secretary of the Interior. The officers of the club also talked with members and officers of other preservation clubs about the utility of the continuation of the Conservation Club.

Finally the long delayed newsletter appeared and in it the following questions were posed: Should we disband? Have we completed the work for which we organized? Can we continue to operate when the emotional appeal of an endangered wilderness area has been muted. What remains to be done? Should we embark upon additional projects? The president's thoughts were that the club should continue under expanded goals. The newsletter also contained an opinion poll in which the members were to indicate whether they felt the club had

completed its work or whether it should continue and expand its efforts. A meeting was called to discuss the future of the Conservation Club.

At the club's meeting, the largest in the history of the association, the president set the theme:

The Conservation Club is now at a crossroad--the major reason for its existence has been settled. Most of the members believe it should continue and channel its efforts into other conservation issues. Some would like to see it disband. What should we do? Should we take on just one project, and if so, what should it be? Should we expand to many projects and lack a rally point?

The members discussed the possibilities and all present agreed that the association should continue. The officers indicated that the other preservation clubs in the state had all urged an expansion of the Conservation Club's efforts. Each member seemed to have his own pet problem which he felt the club should work on, and no one problem appeared to grasp the imaginations and emotions of all. The problems discussed included smog, water pollution, sound pollution, the lion bounty, 1080 (a predator control poison), DDT, phreatophytes, and conservation education. In the end the club emerged with an expanded program aimed at general preservation, but with no specific goals. The club was to keep itself informed as to all problems and to rally behind the most immediate and the most pressing. The reaction of the club to the dilemma of success was to attempt to convert itself to a multi-goal association, such as the Weststate Sportsmen's Federation, and hence remove itself from the future dangers of total success or total failure.

In the cases of the Conservation Club and the Water Importation Association we have seen associations faced with clear-cut, undeniable success. In the case of the Water Resources Committee, however, we see something rather different--a creeping success which has evolved gradually and almost imperceptibly over the years.

When the Water Resources Committee first organized and began to promote the idea that wildlands could be managed through a multiple use principle to increase water yield they were met with some opposition, both within the land management agencies and the general public. This opposition seems to create an atmosphere of unification for them. Over the years the research programs proved their theories, the agencies were won over, and opposition diminished. People stopped picking on them and concomitantly the committee exhibited less energy and drive.

Gradually it dawned on the directors of the Water Resources Committee that their goals had been accomplished. Managing watersheds for water was no longer a mirage. It was a fact. The watershed program in Weststate was accepted and running smoothly. The Committee then faced the alternatives: Was it still needed? Should it disband? Like the associations mentioned above the Weststate Water Resources Committee took the alternative of seeking new goals.

The first new goal was the logical extension of the Committee's previous goals. This was the proposed Western States Water Yield Improvement Act, which according to one officer was "a direct and logical outgrowth of the research we have stimulated and been a part

of over the last decade." This proposal sought to make the production of water one of the major functions of public lands. The new goal brought the Committee face-to-face with several new problems, the major one getting the act through Congress. In speaking of this problem one member of the Committee commented: "I hope this act doesn't take as long as Project Rescue. If it does, we may well have vanished along with the ancient Vaakeys." To get the act through Congress will take some lobbying activities on the part of the Committee and the support of the various segments of the state. The Committee faced these problems by soliciting resolutions supporting the act from other associations and by making plans to produce a motion picture to show the need of the act.

A secondary goal of the Water Resources Committee came about through its interlock with the Stream Department. The Committee is to cooperate with the department in working on a state water plan and to coordinate watershed projects with this plan.

In each of the associations which we have discussed so far, the reaction to the dilemma of success has been to seek new goals and to expand the activities of the association. In the case of the Water Importation Association and the Water Resources Committee this expansion has come about in part through the association's interlock with the Stream Department. The new goals of the association are always based in part on the old goals and the past accomplishment, but in all cases with the new goals comes the potential for changing the very definition of the association. I would suspect that through time

each of the associations will evolve toward something different than it is now, each will tend to become a multi-goal association.

Thus far we have considered only the dilemma of success. The Oldtown Committee provides us with an interesting contrast for it involves both success and failure. The Committee had sought essentially two goals. The first of these was Project Rescue and with its authorization came the problem of success. The second goal involved the creation of a central water agency and when no action was taken on this and opposition appeared overwhelming, the problem of failure appeared. The reaction of the Oldtown Committee was different from any of the cases we have considered thus far. The Oldtown Committee did not meet to consider possible alternatives, they did not discuss new goals, or new approaches to the old goals. They simply stopped meeting. Officially the Oldtown Committee still exists, but de facto it has taken the second alternative to the dilemma of success and failure and gone out of business.

The problem of total failure coupled with obviously unobtainable goals is illustrated in what I like to call "the case of the association that almost was." First some background material.

During the course of my field work I lived on a cattle ranch in Cactus County. The valley in which the ranch was situated was settled with numerous other cattle ranches and an occasional dude ranch. The river which cut through the valley was a rather mild-mannered stream and to the dudes it seemed strange to call it a river. Much of the river was dry during most of the year. In only a few

places was it live year around. One of these places was behind my house and here it was normally only a few inches deep and wide enough that I could jump across it. One gray December day, however, triggered by the winter rains, the stream turned into a raging maniac some hundred yards wide and a dozen feet deep which chewed up pasture land, inundated fields, attacked a golf course, severed a highway, and left in the filth of its wake contaminated wells, both private and municipal. Damage estimates ran over a million dollars.

Within a few weeks the residents of the valley met to consider the possibilities of putting a strait-jacket of flood control on the errant river which had now run amuck twice in three years. I attended these meetings not as a snoopy anthropologist, but as a resident who could swap tales of the great flood with the best. A chairman was selected for the group as well as a recording secretary. The goal of the still unnamed group was simple--control the river. The next problem was to select a flood control plan.

At the second meeting the experts appeared. A lawyer, an engineer, a Soil Conservation Service representative, a soil conservation district representative, and representatives from a construction firm made their expertise available. University personnel, other than myself, were present as observers. During the meeting the rituals of motions, seconds, and voting were observed. The secretary dutifully recorded all proceedings on a small tape recorder. From this meeting it became obvious that control of the river was technologically feasible and economically desirable. The first steps in

initiating this project had to be political--the county supervisors would have to authorize the establishment of a flood control district. To take this first step a committee was appointed to contact the county supervisors on the matter. The meeting was then adjourned.

The third meeting of the group was arranged to take place with the county supervisors. Here trouble was encountered. A group of businessmen from the nearby city protested that flood control would cost too much and that the urban interests were opposed to it. The group from the valley countered that federal aid would be obtained and hence it would cost the urban dwellers nothing, but for federal aid to be obtained the county had to lay the groundwork by establishing the flood control district. The supervisors, leaning heavily toward the urban sentiments, merely took the matter under advisement without bringing it to a vote.

Later actions of the board of supervisors indicated that the flood control plan was not politically feasible. The supervisors authorized the construction of a check dam to protect a school as a token appeasement to the valley and then considered the matter closed. With this failure and the possibility of future success improbable, and with the memory of the great flood slowly fading, "the association that almost was" came to an unheralded death.

Making generalizations from only five cases is shaky at best. Still, I would like to suggest that an association faced with the dilemma of success will take the alternative of new and expanded goals, while the association faced with the dilemma of failure will disband.

The multi-goal associations, the Weststate Sportsmen's Federation and Farm-Ranch, are also faced with the problems of success, but in a somewhat different perspective. These two associations do not seek any one particular goal, but rather are organized around the rather vague goal of protecting the interests of one particular segment of society--sportsmen or agriculturalists--and in this light twenty-five or thirty specific goals are formulated each year. Overall each of the associations obtains some of its specific goals and fails to obtain others, hence the dilemma of total failure or total success is remote.

Both of the federations do have some problems with relative success, however. If they are fairly successful in mediating with the government on behalf of their members, there are no great problems and potential members see little reason to join. Relative success results in a drop in attendance and a drop in membership. Faced with specific potential failures--firearms legislation or re-evaluation of agricultural lands--membership and attendance again climb. To keep the associations working at maximum membership and attendance there must be crises or potential crises year after year.

Needless to say, potential crises are rather hard to engineer at specific times, say during a membership drive. There is also the problem that if one cries "wolf" too many times, people stop listening. Hence there is somewhat of a paradox engineered into goal-orientation of these associations. This is partly offset by maintaining an ideal image of an instrumental association, while

being a partly expressive association. This is done by offering entertainment and activities to the membership--the locals of the Sportsmen's Federation show movies and have contests and the locals of Farm-Ranch have slide shows, movies, barbecues, and occasional tours. Even with these, however, active membership remains in normal times about one fourth of the actual membership.

To operate at maximum efficiency the association must have some external threat, some problem to be solved. A successful association, from an internal standpoint, must constantly endure near failure or near success. Complete failure or complete success necessitates change in the association.

CHAPTER 9

OVERVIEW: THE ASSOCIATION IN THE SYSTEM

In the previous chapters the emphasis has been on the patterns of action and operation which have emerged in looking at eight associations in the social system of water resource decision-making in Weststate, U.S.A. To paraphrase Nadel (1951: 367), I have viewed this system as if it were a vast machine with cogwheels driving cogwheels and levers pushing levers. With this viewpoint I have looked at the associations as cogwheels or levers and examined their connection to other cogwheels and levers and their operation with regard to these other parts. In so doing I have identified the components of the system (the parts of the machine), looked at the position of the associations in seven subsystems, noted the conflict imposed by the crosscutting system of conservation, outlined the organization of power within the associations and within the system, examined the interlock of the components, and reviewed the problems of associational success and failure. The basic question underlying the previous chapters is: How does the association work in the system?

In the present chapter I shall depart from the structural approach of the previous chapters and consider the concept of function. Function is the result of the operation of structure through time

(Levy 1952: 56) and is approached by asking the basic question: What does the association do in the system?

In the present study I have considered two kinds or levels of function. The first of these is internal function which is concerned with the association and the operation, maintenance, and change of the system itself without regard for the output of the system. The second is external function which deals with the association and the output of the system. Internal and external function will be examined in the following sections.

A third kind of function also exists. This is what might be called individual function as it is concerned with what the association does with regard to the individual. This falls into the realm of social psychology and is therefore outside of the present study. This kind of function may be seen in the theories of Malinowski (1944), Olmsted (1959), Homans (1950), and Shepherd (1964) and the associational investigations of Axelrod (1954), Harris (1967), Gellman (1964), Rogers (1968), Little (1957, 1962, 1965, 1967), and Meillassoux (1968).

Internal Function

The state and federal agencies, the political sub-divisions, the universities, and the businesses within Weststate's system of water resource development often overlap in purpose, goals and clientele. This is a situation which social scientists have come to call tangency (see Appendix A for theoretical aspects of tangency). Tangency provides a setting for potential conflict, for potential

disequilibrium within the system. Conversely, tangency also provides a potential for cooperation and greater equilibrium within the system. An association can function to reduce the conflict potential and increase the cooperation potential of tangential social units. Let me give just two illustrations of this.

The first illustration of tangency involves the Weststate watershed program. Here we find several federal agencies--the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Forest Service--one state agency--the Land Department--numerous districts and businesses, and the research personnel of the universities all interested in various aspects of the watershed. In many instances the various agencies shared the same clientele. For example, the Farmer's Irrigation District is interested in watershed management, but controls no watershed area and hence enters into agreements with the Forest Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Land Department. It was at this point of tangency among these various social units that the Weststate Water Resources Committee crystallized.

The structural potential for the Committee's resolution of this potential conflict can be seen in its interlock with the other units. Through interlocking personnel, experts, observers, and indirect ties the Committee is structurally connected to all of the tangential social units.

Now, how does the Water Resources Committee resolve, or attempt to resolve, this potential conflict? First it increases communication

among the social units concerned. This is done on several levels. At the annual symposium there is ritual communication from expert to observer through the formal research and action reports. These are also published and distributed to the personnel of the tangential social units. The symposium also provides a setting for inter-organizational communication on an informal basis. The board meetings of the Committee provide a third and perhaps most important level of communication. At these meetings the directors will call in representatives of the agencies and other social units to explain their programs or for the Committee to "educate" them on new programs. For example, the Farmer's Irrigation District may want a thinning program carried out on a certain watershed. The Committee is approached with the idea (generally through the interlock of personnel) and the Committee in turn approaches the agency concerned and attempts to sell them on the merits of the project. In this manner communication is improved between the district and the agency.

The Water Resources Committee has also functioned to integrate the social units of the subsystem by coordinating among them an overall goal--the management of watersheds for increased water yield. On a more specific basis this integration has been increased by coordinating the actions of the social units on specific programs, such as the one cited above.

Our second illustration comes from the Project Rescue subsystem. Here the tangent social units are the Bureau of Reclamation, the Stream Department, the Power Commission, and numerous businesses

and political subdivisions. To this the U.S. Congress could also be added. The Weststate Water Importation Association operates at this point of tangency.

Once again the structural potential for the resolution of conflict can be seen in the interlock of the Water Importation Association with the other social units of the subsystem. Here it is interesting to note that much of this interlock with the businesses, state agencies, and political subdivisions takes place through the mechanism of shared personnel. The interlock with the federal agencies occurs via the expert and the observer.

In functioning as a conflict resolver the Water Importation Association first increases communication among the various units. With its structure of interlocking personnel this is done largely through the meetings of the board of directors. Here representatives of the various interests can meet and discuss mutual problems, working out compromises when necessary. Experts and observers from the Bureau of Reclamation may also attend these meetings.

In addition to functioning to increase communication, the Water Importation Association also serves as an integrating mechanism. It coordinates the subsystem toward a common goal--Project Rescue. On a more specific basis the association attempts to synchronize the units toward greater cooperation by seeking compromises to resolve discord.

Overall, then, I would like to suggest that some associations function as reducers of the potential conflicts, inherent in tangency. They function to seek greater equilibrium within the system, and to

lubricate and oil the social machinery of the system. While functioning as conflict resolvers, associations also function as mechanisms for communication and integration.

Associations can function as power distributing mechanisms (see Appendix A). One of the ways this can be done is in a task-specific or coordinate sense. This is well illustrated in Weststate by the interrelationship between the Water Importation Association and the Stream Department. Structurally we see that the two organizations are quite closely interlocked through the overlap of personnel. In terms of power distribution, the Stream Department serves as the "public" lobby for Project Rescue while the association is the "private" lobby. The task-specific distribution of power between the two can be seen in the fact that the department is restricted to sending only its own personnel to testify before Congress, while the association may send anyone it desires. Similarly, the department can engage in research and publish these findings, but it cannot use them in a campaign to educate the people, while the association can publish booklets summarizing this information in an attempt to inform or educate the people.

Associations may also serve as power distributing mechanisms in a subordinate sense, linked to the necessity for grassroots support for agency programs. In this sense the association is powerless as it does not control the decision-making. An example of this is seen in the interrelationship between the Land Department and the Association of Conservationists. Here the structural linkage between the

two organizations is more apparent in quality rather than in quantity. The association functions here to carry the department's conservation program to the farmers of the state. The distribution of power is downward from the agency to the association to the farmers.

A third way in which the association can function in power distribution is as a buffer. This tends to be a superordinate type of power distribution in contrast to the subordinate type mentioned above. Like the subordinate type of power distribution, this involves an agency which offers a service to a segment of the population, but instead of the agency dictating the service to the masses using the association as a mechanism for gaining grassroots support, the association acts as a buffer against the domination of the agency over the special interest segments of the population (see Appendix A for the theoretical consideration of this). There are two cases in the system which illustrate this.

The Weststate Sportsmen's Federation acts as a buffer between the sportsmen of the state and the Fish and Game Department. Structurally we see a great deal of interlock between these two organizations and this is emphasized qualitatively when we realize that the game commissioners are virtually chosen by the federation. The Fish and Game Department listens to the Sportsmen's Federation and attempts to provide the sportsmen of the state with a maximum amount of hunting and fishing.

Farm-Ranch acts as a buffer between the ranchers and farmers of the state and the Land Department. The two organizations are

interlocked primarily via the expert and the observer. The Land Department attempts to serve the agricultural interests of the state by providing them with information and the use of state lands.

Both of the federations are often accused of controlling the state agencies and conversely the state agencies are often accused of being too responsive to the federations. However, it must be realized that the federations represent the organized interests of the clientele which the agencies are supposed to be serving. The distribution of power in both of these cases appears to flow from the people, or rather from special segments of the population, to the association and finally to the agency.

In both cases where the association is subordinate and where the agency is subordinate, the association also functions as a kind of Maginot Line or protective epidermis around the agency to shield it against potential harm by the legislature. For example, if a bill should come up which is deemed harmful to an agency's program, the association will lobby against it, or if it is deemed helpful the association will lobby for it. In seeking increases in the salaries of Fish and Game Department personnel, the Sportsmen's Federation was the primary lobby rather than the department. Similarly, in expanding the soil and water conservation program of the Land Department, the Association of Conservationists provided testimony and indirect pressures on the legislators. In both cases the agencies merely sat back and let the associations do most of the legwork.

The association can also function as a power distributor by being an independent base of countervailance. This is illustrated by the Conservation Club whose stand against the Project Rescue dams ran counter to that of the existing water oriented power structure and those associations who distributed power to and from this structure. The Conservation Club thus acted as a base for the organized opposition to the established power structure thus restraining the system by introducing countervailing power.

In summarizing the power allocation function of the association, two types can be categorized: (1) specific and nonhierarchical and (2) diffuse and hierarchical (cf. Levy 1952: 468-503, 1966: 296-310). In the specific and nonhierarchical type we find the task-specific allocation illustrated by the relationships between the Water Importation Association and the Stream Department and the establishment of the independent base of countervailance as seen in the Conservation Club. The diffuse and hierarchical type of power distribution is seen in the instances where the association is powerless (the Association of Conservationists and the Land Department), powerful (the Sportsmen's Federation and the Fish and Game Department), or acting as a buffer (Farm-Ranch and the Land Department). In functioning as a power allocation mechanism, the association can maintain the dominance of a governmental elite, compliment the workings of an agency, establish an independent base of countervailance against the governmental elite, preserve the subservience of an agency to the desires of the special segment of

the population which forms its clientele, and buffer an agency from legislative harm and from the masses while protecting the special interests of the association.

Most associations like to think of themselves as educators, but in actuality they are propaganda machines which attempt to convert people to their viewpoint. One of the main concerns is the youth of Weststate, often called the future leaders of the state. Much of the propagandizing efforts aimed at Weststate youth occur in the context of the conservation system and as a part of this it attempts to instill in the youths some basic concepts of water resources and their development.

The most obvious example of an association which functions as a youth educator is, of course, Camp Apache. Structurally the interlock with the Geological Survey and the Farmer's Irrigation District provides the camp with Geological Survey personnel (the district pays half of the cost) and stream measuring devices; the interlock with the Soil Conservation Service, the Apache Soil Conservation District, the Land Department, and the Weststate Association of Conservationists provides Soil Conservation Service personnel; and the interlock with the Forest Service provides Forest Service personnel. We might think of two other associations, the Association of Conservationists and the Water Resources Committee, as educators once removed with regard to the Camp Apache program as they help maintain structural ties with the agencies rather than participating directly in the program.

At Camp Apache the boys learn about the vital natural resources of Weststate and most come to regard water as the most important (Table 16). Many of the boys emerge from the Camp Apache program with the belief that water is necessary for economic growth, that Weststate has a water problem, and that this problem may be alleviated by water importation. These attitudes are seen in some of the essays written by the boys:

Water is an essential element in the growth and development in Weststate. Water is needed in every big business in Weststate and Central City is becoming a big city along with other cities. So an adequate water supply is needed.

The water supply for central Weststate will always be a problem because of the limited rainfall in the area. Central City and the surrounding area use almost all of the water supplied by the entire Central Mountain watershed not to mention great amounts of ground water, which is fast going deeper underground. The immediate answer is the proposed Project Rescue. This would supply central Weststate with water for now and the immediate future. Eventually however even this won't assure us enough water, and further means must be found for supplying central Weststate with water.

Down in the valley the water supply (household use) is fairly secure. The reason for this is that the community realized the water problem near the turn of the century and formed a cooperative organization. Through the years an elaborate series of dams and reservoirs were constructed with federal assistance to assure a clean and ample water supply for the fast growing Central City metropolitan area. However, problems do and will continue to exist. For one thing, the canal system loses much water through seepage ...Today, as it has been for many years, the farms pump ground water to satisfy their needs...This has lowered the water table so much that the added cost of pumping it out has turned many farms into desolate and badlands. Just recently, though, the future has rung a brighter note. Project Rescue will help alleviate the nagging drought pestilence that has continued to scare away many potential farmers.

Table 16. Vital Natural Resources Cited by Boys at Camp Apache

Resource	No. of Responses	Percent
Water	39	75.0
Soil	23	44.2
Air	10	19.2
Oil	10	19.2
Minerals	9	17.3
Forests	2	3.8

N = 52. Multiple responses elicited, hence, total percent will be more than 100 percent.

In addition to youth, the associations also seek to serve as propagandizers to the decision-making elite of the state. The most apparent example of this is the Water Resources Committee which, through the interlock of the observer, seeks to educate agency personnel at its symposia, and at its board meetings. As was noted in Chapter 8, the Committee has been successful in this.

The Association of Conservationists, Farm-Ranch, and the Sportsmen's Federation also function as propagandizers of the elite. Each of these associations acts as experts in providing testimony before the legislature and in their contacts with the various agencies. The importance of this was mentioned some of the state senators speaking informally to one of the board of director's meetings:

We need information from you. You are the experts. We need groups like you to inform us.

You should supply us with information on the various bills which come up.

It is very critical to have information. This is a continuing educational process for us. It is the responsibility of a body like this to keep us informed.

The associations do attempt to keep the legislators informed of their viewpoint on matters via letters, testimony, phone calls, and informal conversations.

At the Congressional level associations attempt to sway Congressmen to their viewpoint. This is seen in the letters which the Water Resources Committee sends to the Senator outlining budget needs for watershed programs, in the pamphlets which the Water

Importation Association sends out to all Congressmen stressing the need for Project Rescue, and in the letters and testimony of the Conservation Club and the Sportsmen's Federation which sketch out their viewpoints on various conservation issues.

Associations also function as propagandizers to the masses. One very clear example of this was seen in the Conservation Club's campaign to prevent the construction of the dams in the Weststate Wilderness Area. The club sought to persuade the masses by sponsoring panel discussions, advertisements in newspapers, showing movies, and using bumper stickers. In this way the public was indoctrinated to the club's viewpoint and came to take this viewpoint as their own.

The Water Importation Association through pamphlets, films, and speakers attempts to indoctrinate the masses as to the great need for Project Rescue. Much of this effort is also directed through the intermediary of the news media.

The Sportsmen's Federation feels that it should serve as an educator to the general public and has passed a resolution calling for "a massive education program to inform the public as to the role of sportsmen in conservation." To date, however, the federation's function of educator of the masses has been quite minimal and, in fact, almost non-existent.

The internal functions of the association in the Weststate system of water resource development decision-making can be summarized as follows:

1. An association can function as an equilibrizor by:
 - a) Reducing the potential conflict of tangency. In so doing an association will also function as:
 - (1) an integrating mechanism
 - (2) a communicating mechanism
 - b) Distributing power throughout the system in one of the following ways:
 - (1) coordinate distribution (task-specific)
 - (2) subordinate distribution
 - (3) superordinate distribution
2. An association can function as a disequilibrizor by serving as an independent base of countervailance
3. The association can function as a propagandizor to the following groups:
 - a) youth
 - b) decision-makers
 - (1) state and federal agencies
 - (2) state legislature
 - (3) congress
 - c) masses

External Function

Weststate's system of water resource decision-making is firmly enmeshed in the process of emergence as it is involved with development and progress. The output of the system is thus the continual

change anticipated in American society and therefore the external function of the association must be either change induction or change prevention (see Appendix A). Examples of both occurred during the period of observation.

The most obvious example of the function of an association and the output of the system involves the Water Importation Association and its impact on the authorization of Project Rescue. The association's external function of introducing the changes inherent in the authorization of the project are directly dependent upon the association's internal functions. The association gained the support of the power structure of the system; it reduced the potential conflict of tangential organizations thus lending greater coherency to the actions of the system with regard to the project; it complimented the workings of the Stream Department and the Bureau of Reclamation; and finally it functioned as a propagandizer to the water leaders of the state, to the masses, and to the Congressional decision-makers. In sum, the association acted as a catalyst to bring the entire system to work for the authorization of Project Rescue and as a result the project was authorized by Congress.

A second example of the external function of an association concerns the Water Resources Committee and the changes which it induced through the evolution of the Weststate watershed program. Once again the association's external function is directly dependent upon its internal functions. Like the Water Importation Association, the Water Resources Committee sought the support of the power structure,

resolved conflicts in seeking to integrate the system toward the goal of efficient watershed management, and propagandized water leaders and decision-makers. As a result of these internal functions one of the outputs of the water resource development system of Weststate has been a research and action program for managing watershed for water yield.

In sharp contrast to the Water Importation Association and the Water Resources Committee is the Oldtown Committee. The Oldtown Committee wanted to function externally to introduce a central water agency. The committee, however, did not seek nor gain the support of the power structure, it did not attempt to increase the cooperative potential of tangential organizations within the system toward this goal, it did not efficiently propagandize either the water leaders or the masses, and consequently it did not function externally to gain the changes it sought.

An association can also function externally to alter the output of the system, to change or stop portions of it. This is illustrated by the Conservation Club and the proposed Project Rescue dams. The club did not attempt to gain the support of the system's power structure, it did not attempt to resolve any conflicts within the system, and in general it seemed to ignore the other units in the system. It did, however, function internally to propagandize the masses and it did succeed in excluding the dams from the authorized project.

How could the Conservation Club, a powerless, isolated association in terms of the internal organization of the water resource development system of Weststate, prevent developmental changes sought by the powerful segments of the system? In the American democracy the reins of power lie in the hands of the people, but the people are apathetic and the power thus is allocated, de facto, to the hands of an involved elite. Within Weststate the vast majority of people are unconcerned about water resource development, and thus decisions concerning these matters are left to the involved few who constitute the personnel of the system of water resource development. The primary mechanism for the legitimization of the allocation of power in any governmental system, including the water resource development system of Weststate, is the use of what Levy (1966: 323-324) calls "mass appeals". This provides a mechanism for opinion management but not for feedback, and under the American ideals, this mechanism is open to all who want to use it. Hence mass appeals are used by the water resource development system to maintain its power, but at the same time an association, such as the Conservation Club, can set itself up as an independent base of countervailing power and use this same mechanism to take power away from the system.

The water resource development system of Weststate justified their power via the mass appeals in an empirically oriented approach. This might be summed up as follows: "We are the farmers, the lawyers, the scientists, and the businessmen whose livelihoods are

directly concerned with water resource development, therefore we are best able to make decisions concerning this matter." In the controversy over the Project Rescue dams this empirical approach was dull, overly technical, and boring to the involved and generally ignored and incomprehensible to the apathetic.

The Conservation Club, on the other hand, was not chained by the fetters of empiricism and utilized the mass appeals with charisma. The club charged conspiracy in a political system which does not sanction secrecy; the club created for itself an underdog image in a culture which immortalizes the underdog in myth, song, TV westerns and soap operas, cheap novels, classic literature, and motion pictures; the club cried rape of natural heritage amidst a value system which holds natural heritage as sanctified as a woman's virginity. The club's approach horrified the water leaders of the state, but it grabbed the emotions of the apathetic masses, got them involved, and hence allocated power to itself.

Viewed in the social system of water resource development of Weststate, the Conservation Club was powerless. Viewed in the perspective of the larger social system the club tapped the latent power of the masses, converting apathy to involvement, and in this manner gained enough power to influence the authorization of Project Rescue.

An association can also function externally to both prevent change and to introduce change as was seen in the case of the Association of Conservationists and Farm-Ranch in the controversy over water quality control. These two associations, working quite closely

together, first prevented the introduction of the Health Department proposal for water quality control. The associations then functioned to introduce their own water quality control bill. In so doing they first functioned internally to resolve potential conflicts among the various agricultural interests of the state, the irrigation districts, and the conservation districts. With these conflicts eased, support was sufficient to obtain passage of their proposal.

In looking over these few cases of external function which were observed I feel that some generalizations can be made. First, in functioning as a change inducer the associations inevitably functioned internally as a conflict resolver. I think it is apparent that for an association to function with regard to the output of the system, it must first integrate to some degree the system or subsystem toward its goals. This is done by maintaining interlocking ties with other social units and with the power structure with which the association can ease and resolve the potential conflicts which occur among these elements, hence lubricating the social machinery of water resource development decision-making.

To prevent change, to block the output of the system an association may go outside of the system. This is what happened in the case of the Conservation Club and the Project Rescue Dams. The system of water resource development decision-making in Weststate is tightly integrated toward procurement of Project Rescue. This is due primarily to the efforts of the Water Importation Association and is reflected in statements to the effect that "There is no opposition to

Project Rescue within Weststate." The Conservation Club thus had little choice but to go outside of the system to the masses in order to stop the authorization of the dams. With regard to the system, the Conservation Club has little power, little ability to influence decisions, but still it won its battle.

In other cases change prevention may occur from within the system as was seen in the water quality control act. Here it was primarily a question of which of the opposing forces could integrate the system towards its viewpoint and thus influence the legislative action on water quality.

Conclusions

In the first chapter I indicated that the goals of the present study were to gain some understanding of Weststate's system of water resource decision-making and to determine the functions of associations in this system. In concluding the study I wish to return to these goals and indicate what has been shown about the system in general and the associations in particular.

The system of water resource development decision-making in Weststate is composed of numerous social entities which may be broadly classified as either "public" or "private". Ideally the "public" entities should serve the interests of the entire population, but in reality they tend to serve certain clienteles of special segments of the population. From the viewpoint of the associations, the various entities within the system are not totally independent of one another, rather they are linked to each other through overlapping memberships,

through the roles of expert and observer, and through various indirect means.

Each unit within the system has its own concept of the water problem and its own goals of water resource development. While the concepts and goals may be quite similar in many of the organizations, none is totally comprehensive. Each social unit in the system appears to pursue goals which will maximize its own benefits and assumes that these in turn will maximize the benefits to the state as a whole. For example, among the associations the Association of Conservationists and Farm-Ranch seek to develop water resources in such a manner that is maximally beneficial to agriculture, the Water Importation Association and the Water Resources Committee desire to maximize general economic growth, the Sportsmen's Federation seeks water resource development which will benefit recreation, and the Conservation Club desires that water resource development not interfere with aesthetics.

One of the basic functions of associations in the system is conflict reduction. Associations can arise at points of tangency and reduce the potential for conflict and increase the potential for cooperation among the tangential units. In so doing we might think of associations as oilers, lubricators, and equilibrizers. Associations function in this manner by increasing communication among the tangential entities and integrating them toward common goals.

Associations are also conflict creators. They can serve as autonomous bases of countervailance thus acting as disequilibrizers.

Hence we might think of the associations not only as oilers or lubricators, but also as exacerbators or sand throwers in the well-oiled machinery of the system.

The distribution of power throughout the system, and particularly between the "public" and "private" sectors, is another function of associations. There are three basic ways this can be done: (1) in coordinate fashion, usually related to a task specific division of power, (2) in a subordinate fashion, usually tied to the need for grassroots support for agency programs, and (3) in a superordinate fashion, which usually involves a clientele's control of a service agency. In both the subordinate and the superordinate types of power distribution, the associations can serve to shield "public" agencies from legislative harm by providing them with a "private" voice of support.

The coordinate, the subordinate, and the superordinate types of power distribution performed by the associations are all related to the associations' equilibrizing function. In addition there is a fourth type of power distribution which is associated with the associations' disequilibrizing function. I like to think of this type of power distribution as a "drain" for it draws power away from the system itself and the power structure inherent in the system by arousing the masses and having them rescind the proxies of power which they have given de facto to the system.

Associations can also function as change inducers. By providing informal and nonpublic settings for compromise and

decision-making, by working as oilers, propagandizers, and power distributors, associations can influence the output of the water resource development system and implement developmental schemes such as Project Rescue and the watershed program.

As well as inducing changes, the associations can also prevent changes. Utilizing the functions of exacerbation, drain type power distribution, and propagandization, an association can block portions of the output of the system, preventing certain developmental changes such as the proposed Project Rescue dams.

Overall, the associations in the water resource decision-making system of Weststate are exceedingly versatile social units. They are oilers and they are exacerbators; they are equilibrizing power distributors and they are disequilibrizing power distributors; they are change inducers and they are change preventers.

APPENDIX A

THEORY OF THE ASSOCIATION IN THE EMERGENT SOCIETY

This appendix is intended to be a brief statement of the theoretical framework which I utilized in studying Weststate's water associations. This statement should help the behavioral scientist understand some of the inherent biases in the study and some of the similarities between Weststate's associations and those of other social systems.

The Emergent American Society

Weststate's water-oriented associations are found in the context of a larger sociocultural system, that of the United States, and any analysis of the association in Weststate must be cognizant of the larger system. In seeking to understand the major characteristics of this larger sociocultural system it is only natural to turn to the writings of one of the pioneers in the anthropological study of the American society--W. Lloyd Warner. The works of Warner, of his students, and of his students' students have made the names of Yankee City, Jonesville (Elmtown), Old City, and Homestead commonplace in the study of sociology and social anthropology.

The analysis of the social system of the factory at Yankee City found that the factory was evolving from an operation locally operated

for local consumption to one which was non-locally operated for non-local markets (Warner and Low 1947: Warner 1962b: 153-178; 1963: 269-356). Later Warner (1962a) expanded upon this phenomenon as it was occurring throughout the United States. As a result Warner (1962a, 1967) came to conceive of the American society as an emergent society.

First Warner (1962a: 17) outlines his concept of the American society:

As conceived here, the American society is a vast interconnected set of primary relations composed of constituent parts, the whole being a social system. The constituent parts of the structural form of our life are the inter-related social positions which order all the activities of those in the system; the technology which instrumentalizes the system and adapts the whole society to nature; and the symbols, beliefs, and values of the social system, including the conscious and unconscious dealings, the rational and non-rational principles, which motivate and determine the behavior of those involved in the American social system.

From here Warner goes on to the concept of emergence, a process which characterizes the American social system.

The process of emergence is seen as a moving equilibrium characterized by continual change and in which the past influences the present and the present influences the future (cf. Moore's 1968 concept of industrial societies and tension-management systems and; Wallace's 1961 discussion of the moving equilibrium process). According to Warner (1962a: 3), "I believe that the nature of our collectivity is such that change is built into it and is an essential part of it; that to be what it is in any one moment in time, this society must continually change and become something else", and

"Change is built into the very nature of this social system and in fact most innovations originate within it. To maintain order and still change, this society incorporates the persistent past into its moving future" (1967: 2). Other anthropologists, such as Saunders (1963: 3) have made similar observations:

Americans as a group are firmly committed to the notions that there is such a thing as progress, that it is inevitable, and that it is good. These beliefs have been validated and strengthened by the enormous technological change of the past century, to the point where we are coming to accept the idea that the instruments of technological change and improvement--science and knowledge--are universally applicable to problems of any order. (cf. Gallaher 1963: 200).

One of the most significant aspects of the continual change in the process of emergence is the integration of American society into a single primary community (cf. Spicer's 1968 suggestion that developmental change can be viewed as cultural integration). Within this primary community social entities characterized by complex hierarchical structures play significant and necessary roles. According to Warner (1967: 10) "The principal function of large-scale structures is to organize the numerous individuals with their technological, mental, and moral diversities to make better use of their powerful energies in performing the large collective tasks to achieve the goals of a vast society." The association is one institutional type, according to Warner (1967), which may appear as a large-scale structure vital to the emergent society.

The emergent society is a technologically oriented society which views education as the great transformer. However, the

persistent past, incorporating itself into the moving future can create certain contradictions to this. In spite of a technological, rational belief and value system, "opposing powerful, nonrational moral values also grow, become public opinion, and find expression more and more firmly at the national level" (Warner 1967: 2). These nonrational moral values thus become incorporated into the large-scale institutional types.

The emergent American society is a continually changing collectivity oriented toward the future and the better life which it will surely bring; it is a technologically oriented society in which growth and development have positive value; it is a mass society which is being integrated into a single primary community through large-scale organizations, and vast communication networks. This then is the context in which the associations of Weststate are found.

The Association

In order to analyze associations within the emergent society, three questions must be taken into consideration: (1) How is the association to be defined? (2) What concepts are to be used in examining the internal structure of the association? (3) What concepts are to be utilized in examining the articulation of the association with other social units in the system under consideration? These questions will be discussed in the following subsections.

The Problem of Definition

Each investigator who has examined the association within the context of an emergent society has utilized his own implicit or ad hoc definition of this social unit. A brief survey of these definitions can be found in Officer (1964: 2-8) and Eiselein (1967: 4-8). The present study has been formulated in the light of the following general definition: An association is a nonkinship, noncoresidential polyadic interaction sphere (i.e., social unit).

The general definition encompasses a great variety of social units. We can make a distinction between formal and nonformal associations. Nonformal associations, such as the cliques studied by Ericksen (1964), Eiselein (1968), Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939), Davis, Gardner, and Gardner (1965), Hollingshead (1949), Becker (1963), Liebow (1967), and Whyte (1955) and the clienteles studied by Cavan (1966) and Richardson (1964) which lack the name, the formal charter, and the depersonalized, institutionalized leadership roles which are found in the formal associations. The informal associations, as documented by Ericksen (1964), can evolve into formal associations. This study will be confined to formal associations. Informal associations will be examined only as they occur within formal associations.

There is still a fairly wide range of social units which can be classified as formal associations. As Nall (1967: 276-277) has pointed out, both corporations and churches are formal associations. Like Nall, the Andersons (Anderson and Anderson 1959, 1962, 1965;

Robert Anderson 1963, 1964), Rose (1954, 1958, 1965, 1967), and many others, I exclude corporations and churches from consideration as associations.

Applying the above restrictions to the general definition of association, a working ad hoc definition has been determined which will be utilized in the present study: An association is a formal, nonprofit, non-religious, nonkinship, noncoresidential polyadic interaction sphere (i.e., social unit) (cf. the ad hoc definitions of Bohannan 1963: 156; Robert Anderson 1963: 25; Eiselein 1967: 8; Officer 1964: 7).

Several writers, including Gordon and Babchuk (1966), Harris (1967), Parsons (1951), Parsons and Bales (1955), Gellman (1964), Rose (1954) and Sagarin (1968), have classified associations on a continuum ranging from instrumental to expressive. Expressive associations are those which have certain gains for the members while instrumental associations seek to influence the external system by seeking goals outside of itself. The nature of the present problem implies that all of the associations in the Weststate system of water resource development decision-making will tend toward the instrumental pole of the continuum.

The social environment in which the association appears must exhibit certain structural features for associations to flourish. According to Nall (1967: 277-278):

The most important social structural conditions seem to be: (a) a relatively high degree of differentiation and segregation of social relations; (b) a large plurality of "competing" social units; (c) the absence of broadly

encompassing and highly diffuse collectivities; (d) the existence of a broad middle class; (e) the absence of a socially powerful, culturally exclusive, and inaccessible elite.

All of these conditions are found in the emergent society with its heterogeneity, its large industrial complex, and its urban focus (cf. Moore 1963: 104).

Internal Structure

The basic studies of the social anthropologist are the interrelationships between individuals. As a scientist the social anthropologist is interested in the regularities of these interrelationships, in finding the set rules which determine individuals' actions toward each other. Nadel (1957: 11) has stated:

It is part of these rules that they also specify the type of individuals--any individual satisfying certain conditions or placed in certain circumstances--who can or must act in particular relationships. Expressed more simply, individuals become actors in relationships in virtue of some brief; which brief is obviously as invariant as the relationships that hinge on it. And instead of speaking of individuals 'being actors in virtue of some brief', we usually speak of individuals enacting roles.

According to Banton (1965: 2):

Every member of a social unit, be it a ship, a football team, or a nation, has one or more parts to play. He has tasks to perform and is entitled to receive services from other people in recognition of his contributions. These clusters of rights and obligations constitute roles.

Frankenberg (1965: 240) indicates that when a person performs a role he is acting out the part assigned to him by society. Furthermore, a role always has a relevant audience though the individuals who constitute the audience may not be physically present.

The concept of role is to the social anthropologist as the concept of atom is to the physicist; it forms the basic unit of his observation. The role like the atom can be broken down into smaller components (cf. Nadel 1957; Levy 1952, 1966), but it still remains the basic building block of the social universe (cf. Parsons and Shils 1952). Examination of the internal organization of the association must begin with an examination of the roles present.

At this point I feel an aside is necessary to clarify some terminological usage. In a classic anthropological text, Ralph Linton (1936) utilized the term "status" to refer to the nonhierarchical positional aspect of role. Like Nadel (1957: 29) and Banton (1965: 36) I do not like this broad use of the term "status". Banton (1965: 36) charges that "Linton's usage has been in currency for over twenty-five years but no writer has come forward with any sociological problem that depends upon the distinction for its solution." In addition, Banton (1965: 36-38) points out that Linton's use of "status" conflicts with writers in jurisprudence and in the popular media where it is used to refer to classes and rankings. It is in this last sense that the Warnerian social scientists have used the term in their investigations of emergent societies. Since much of the work in the present study stand upon a Warnerian foundation, I feel that it will be better to utilize the term "status" to refer to the hierarchical ranking of roles and/or classes of individuals. The positional aspect of role, nonhierarchical in nature and irrespective

of whether the role is actually being enacted, I will call the role-position.

Let me clarify this distinction between role and role-position by an illustration. Since these concepts are derived in part from drama I shall take the example from the staging of a play. In writing a play the dramatist describes a series of role-positions and when these are acted out by individuals, roles occur. Hence Antonio Buero Vallejo in his Las Meninas describes the role-positions of Pedro and Martin defining the setting for interaction, the costumes of the actors, the relative age of the actors, and the actual dialogue of interaction. When these two role-positions were occupied by José Sepulveda and José Bruguera in the Teatro Español of Madrid, the role of Pedro-Martin occurred.

Drama is, of course, only a highly structured reflection of society. In society we find role-positions such as those of professor and student in which the setting, costume, relative age, and type of dialogue are defined by social custom. When these role-positions are occupied by individuals in a relationship structure of mutually anticipated social interaction we may encounter the roles of professor-student, student-student, and professor-professor. The social interaction of a role may be tightly defined as in the example of Pedro-Martín where every word was anticipated or it may be loosely defined as in the example of professor-student where behavior is anticipated merely within certain broad boundaries (cf. Goffman's

1963: 198-215 discussion of "tightness" and "looseness" and his 1959 dramaturgical approach to human interaction.)

In the classic anthropological approach to roles, such as Warner's (1958) consideration of Murngin kinship, Radcliffe-Brown's (1952) analysis of the mother's brother in Africa, Eggan's (1950) discussion of kinship among the Western Pueblos, Bott's (1957) consideration of London families, and Eggan's (1955) discussion of Cheyenne and Arapaho Kinship, the observed and ideal behavior patterns are described as are the rights and duties of the role-positions on which they are based. With regard to associations, the findings of Chrisman (1966), Gellman (1964), Sagarin (1968), Gordon and Babchuck (1966), Seeley, Sim, and Loosley (1956), Officer (1964), Etzioni (1966), Gans (1967), Sills (1957, 1966), Nall (1967), and Green (1969) suggest that roles based on the following role-positions may be encountered in any association:

1. Member. This is the basic role-position in any association for it defines the social universe of the group. Access to this role-position varies from association to association. Some associations may have more than one type of member role-position.
2. Officer. This is a leadership role-position and its presence is one of the criteria for the distinction between formal and informal associations.

3. Staff. This role-position encompasses the individuals who actually carry out the work of the association. There may be a distinction between professional staff who are paid for doing this work and the volunteer staff who are not.
4. Director. In some associations certain members are vested with the authority to act on all of the basic activities of the association in the name of all of the members of the association. These individuals occupy the role-position of director.
5. Expert. Individuals occupying this role-position create and institutionalize knowledge in a limited area felt to be outside of the competence of the majority of the members. The expert may be paid or a volunteer; he need not be a member.
6. Observer. Individuals who occupy the role-position of observer are representatives of other social units who are permitted to watch the public and semi-public ceremonials of the association.

Nadel (1957: 13) has pointed out that the social anthropologist should also take into consideration groups (subgroups) which occur within associations. In a study of ten associations Chapin and Tsouderos (1955) delineated four groups based upon role-positions. They termed these groups role-groups and their characteristics are as follows:

1. Membership-role-group (MRG). This role-group is composed of all individuals occupying the role-position of member.
2. Executive-role-group (ERG). This is the leadership role-group. It is composed of all individuals occupying the role-position of officer and, where found, all individuals occupying the role-position of director.
3. Staff-role-group (SRG). This is composed of all of the people who do the work of the association.
4. Representative-role-group (RRG). This is the decision-making group. It is convenient to distinguish two RRG's: RRG (1) which selects the leadership, and RRG (2) which selects the activities and goals.

There are four phenomena which might be encountered among the role-groups of an association (see Eiselein 1967: 10-15). If two role-groups contain the same individuals the phenomenon is called merging. If the members of one role-group are drawn from another role-group and merging does not occur, this is called inclusion. If two or more role-groups merely share one or more members the phenomenon is called overlap. If two or more role-groups share no members the phenomenon is called detachment.

Nall (1967) has observed a rather interesting effect on the ERG due to the financing of the association. Nall's (1967: 296-297) analysis of the financing of associations yielded three basic types:

(1) Membership associations which derived their income exclusively from their members, (2) public associations which depend on the general public for some support, and (3) semi-public associations which receive some income from the process of economic exchange with the public. The membership associations have little need for the ERG to be representative of the general public and hence tend to have the smallest ERG's. The public type of association has a greater need for an ERG which is representative of the general public and hence the ERG's tend to be larger. This is graphically illustrated by Table 17 which has been modified from Nall's (1967: 300) sample of national associations.

In Nall's (1967) sample of national associations there is also observed a tendency for the size of the ERG to increase with the size of the MRG. This is, of course, dependent in part on the legal restrictions of the state in which the association is incorporated. The data from Nall's sample has been reproduced in Table 18.

Another type of group which can be found in the association is the clique which is formed around friendship networks. As Turney-High (1968: 299) has pointed out, the majority of cliques in any social system are self-appreciative, but there is a potential for them to seek power and influence over others thus becoming instrumental. At times a potentially instrumental clique will purposively plan in secret ways to control or influence the association. In such instances we can speak of cabals (cf. Burns 1955). Sagarin (1968), Gellman (1964), Selznick (1963), Lipset, Trow and Coleman (1956),

Table 17. Financial Type and ERG Size

Financial Type	ERG Size			Total
	1-20 Pct.	20-30 Pct.	30 or more Pct.	
Membership	40.9	19.1	40.0	100.0
Semi-Public	47.1	18.3	34.6	100.0
Public	26.9	19.5	53.6	100.0

Modified from Nall (1967: 300)

Table 18. MRG and ERG Size

MRG Size	ERG Size			Total
	1-20 Pct.	20-30 Pct.	30 or more Pct.	
1,000 to 7,000	47.5	17.5	35.0	100.0
7,000 to 50,000	48.0	21.0	31.0	100.0
50,000 or more	35.2	13.3	51.5	100.0

Modified from Nall (1967: 299)

Barber (1950), Truman (1951) and Moore (1963) have indicated that associations are often ruled by instrumental cliques or cabals.

According to Lipset, Trow, and Coleman (1956: 174):

At the head of most private organizations [associations] stands a small group of men most of whom have held high office for a long time, and whose tenure and control are rarely threatened by a serious organized internal opposition. In such organizations, regardless of whether the membership has a nominal right to control through regular elections or conventions, the real and almost invariably permanent power rests with the men who hold the highest positions.

If the administration clique or cabal is challenged by an anti-administration cabal, then a faction results (cf. Yadava 1968: 898). Studies of factions in associations such as the Mattachine Society (Sagarin 1968) the Democratic Party of San Miguel County, New Mexico (Maloney 1968), and the Suntan Nude Ranch (Eiselein 1968), indicate that as the association grows larger and the ruling clique becomes more isolated from the membership, the greater is the potential for factionalism. Factionalism can however occur in any association and according to Sagarin (1968: 310):

When viewed from afar, any organization, like the grass on the other side of the valley that looks so green, appears to be harmonious, unified, and filled with idealism. This is not only the image that is projected to the public, but it is often the one shown to researchers as well. Then, on close examination, it is seen as faction-ridden, its members engaged in internecine struggle, its idealism replaced by strangulating practical politics, with hatred and suspicion in abundance where one might have expected friendship.

Both Turney-High (1968) and Warner (1959, 1962b, 1963) have recognized that ritual plays an important part in the organization

of associations and that they take up much associational time.

Ritual, according to Turney-High (1968: 252-253), is

Any standardized procedure used by groups to enunciate or to strengthen a belief and thereby to produce some desired end, or to forestall an undesirable one, or to restore the homeostasis of personalities or groups of personalities which has been broken or disturbed by crises. It is basically a technique for expressing and satisfying a collective wish.

Following Warner we can delineate four basic types of ritual:

1. Sacred. Ritual of this type involves propitiating or calling on the sanctions of the gods. A prayer at the beginning of a meeting would be an example.
2. Sacred-Secular. Ritual of this type has both sacred and secular aspects. The Pledge of Allegiance, which involves the secular entity of the United States and the sanctions of the gods, would be an example of this type of ritual.
3. Secular-External. This type of ritual involves the members of the association and some aspect of the larger society. The recitation of a pledge to conserve the nation's natural resources would be a ritual of this type.
4. Secular-Internal. This type of ritual involves only the members of the association. Examples would be voting, reading the minutes, eating together, the seating of officers, initiation of new members, etc.

Finally any concept of the internal organization of associations must take into account charter, goals, and bylaws. The charter is the document, written or verbal, which provides the legitimacy of the organization. In associations which have incorporated under state law, the charter takes the form of the articles of incorporation. The goals of an association are what its members hope to accomplish, not necessarily what they actually do accomplish. The general goals are often spelled out in the charter and implied in ideology and more specific goals are enacted in the form of resolutions. The goals of the association are responsible for bringing into the association like-minded members, for as Sagarin (1968: 343) mentions in discussing the ideology and organization of the Mattachine Society of New York: "Organization brings one in contact with large numbers of others having similar position-based outlook, thus exposing people to arguments and viewpoints in the absence of those who might offer rebuttal." Goals, as Sills (1959: 18) points out, can be changed either deliberately or as an unplanned consequence of the association's activities. Much of the internal structure and the secular-internal ritual may be spelled out in the set of bylaws which are supposed to govern the association. The charter, the goals, and the bylaws represent the ideal aspects of the association, those aspects used in the association's public image, but at times they may have little bearing on the reality of the collectivity.

Relationships with the System

The water-oriented associations of Weststate do not exist in vacuo, but rather they are components in a social system and as such they should be expected to somehow articulate with other components in the system. In their study of Yankee City, Warner and Lunt (1941: 308-309) found that "the majority of the associations in the Yankee City community are either formally connected to others in the association structure or to other structures such as the family, economic organizations, schools, churches, and political structures." In the study of Banbury, England Stacey (1960) encountered a similar phenomenon. It would seem that within Weststate we should expect to find that the associations have connections with other associations, and with the agencies, universities, corporations, and coresidential units which constitute the other components of the system.

The external articulations or connections appear to have three general characteristics: (1) they can be direct or indirect, (2) planned or unplanned, (3) cooperative, uncooperative, or antagonistic. With these three characteristics in mind we can ask how associations in Weststate might be expected to articulate with the other components of the system.

One of the ways in which any two social units can articulate with each other is by the sharing of personnel as Stacey (1960) has shown in mapping the interconnections of the associations of Banbury. When there is a common core of personnel in the leadership roles in two or more social units, it is possible to speak of what Warner and

Unwalla (1967) and Gans (1967: 64) call "overlapping directorates." Warner (1962b: 242) has observed that "when two or more associations possess a common core of membership, the members often bring them together for common enterprises." In a study of the politics of Brunswick, Maine, Lincoln Smith (1963: 155) noted that "many activities of the Chamber of Commerce have become semi-official--often the same men officiate in dual capacities for both [city and association]." It would thus appear that personnel sharing, whether between two associations or between an association and a coresidential unit, is characterized by cooperation. This type of articulation is, of course, direct and may be either planned or unplanned.

There are ways other than personnel sharing by which associations articulate with the other components of the system. In Yankee City Warner and Lunt (1941: 309) observed: "These connections are sometimes established in the association's constitution or bylaws, or through the joint work of committees whose membership is drawn from several associations." Let us term the first of these connections "constitutional" or "contractual" articulation, and the second "indirect membership sharing".

The constitutional type of articulation is direct, planned, intended to be cooperative, and in addition, is intended to be stable and long lasting. While the Yankee City data refers primarily to the constitutional articulation between associations, there appears to be ample evidence that this type of articulation is not confined to associations. Nall (1967: 308-309), in his survey of

American national associations, has mentioned constitutional articulation between associations and governmental entities. Warner and Martin (1967: 341-342) noted similar phenomena and have cited the agricultural associations as most frequently having this type of articulation with governmental entities. There are numerous documented cases of this type: the TVA and the Farm Bureau (Selznick 1949), the Farm Bureau and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (Vidich and Bensman 1958: 84, 211-212), and the Agricultural Extension Service and the Agricultural Extension Association (Gallaher 1961: 155). Constitutional articulation also exists between corporations and associations as is seen in the relationship between corporations and trade unions (Collins 1967) and corporations and trade associations (Warner and Martin 1967). The constitutional types of articulation is also found in other emergent societies: association-coresidential unit in Denmark (Anderson and Anderson 1964), in France (Wylie 1966), and in Canada (Seeley, Sim and Loosely 1956), and association-association in Wales (Frankenberg 1957).

The indirect membership sharing type of articulation may be planned or unplanned, and is not necessarily cooperative. The Yankee City data (Warner and Lunt 1941) appear to indicate that the "committee" which provides the environment for the indirect membership sharing is usually an association itself. Hence with regard to associations, there are two associations being articulated indirectly via a third association. While the data from Yankee City, Levittown, Crestwood Heights, and other communities indicates indirect

membership sharing only among associations, I can see no reason why an articulation of this type cannot occur between associations and other types of social units.

Another way in which associations can articulate with other social units is through communication. Direct and planned communicative articulation may occur in letters, resolutions, and other forms of communication being transmitted between collectivities. Indirect and often unplanned communicative articulation can occur through the filter of various news media (v. Hunter 1953: 179 for a discussion of the role of the news media in associational articulation). Communication articulations may be cooperative, uncooperative, or antagonistic.

One final way in which the association can articulate with the other components of the systems is through expertise. Since an association is often composed of a rather narrow, specialized segment of the population, it may be called on by decision-making bodies to furnish information about this segment of the population. Sagarin (1968: 24) cites an interesting example of this for the Mattachine Society of New York, an association of homosexuals. In this instance an attorney called the society to determine if there was any evidence which he could use to show that homosexuals per se are not unreliable witnesses. Other examples of associations acting as experts speaking on behalf of specialized segments of the population can be seen in the activities of the Indian Rights Association (Spicer 1962: 360),

the various trade associations (Warner and Martin 1967: 339-344), and the National Education Association (Havighurst 1967: 516-517).

Function of the Association in the System

Several social scientists have tendered some theoretical explanations on what associations do in social systems. I would like to recapitulate these in the following subsections and from them extract some hypotheses.

Tangency

Eliot Chapple and Carleton Coon (1942) in their Principles of Anthropology outline a theory in which they see associations arising at "points of tangency". They state: "It must be remembered that, whatever the other characteristics of an association, it is always formed at the point of tangency of several institutions, or of sub-systems within an institution" (1942: 418). Following this orientation Turney-High (1949: 489) explains to beginning anthropology students that associations "assist the parent institution in those realms where it comes in contact with other institutions". Later Turney-High (1953: 127) states this more eloquently:

By tangency they [modern social anthropologists] mean the phenomenon of institutions' grinding and conflicting along their margins, either because of overlapping membership and function or because of lack of harmony in ambitions and methods. In such situations, organizations called associations will be formed to ease and resolve such tangency.

In his most recent work Turney-High (1968) sees two types of tangency--institutional and departmental (i.e., the subsystems within an institution)--at which associations can be formed.

The key to understanding the tangency theory of associations lies in understanding what the theoreticians mean by "institution".

According to Chapple and Coon (1942: 287) an institution is:

. . . an aggregate of individuals who habitually or recurrently interact under the following circumstances: (1) each individual within the system is a member of one or more sets, (2) the membership of the largest set includes all individuals in the other sets, (3) all of the individuals who constitute the system interact with each other at higher frequency than they do with outsiders when the system is in operation.

Turney-High (1968: 346) offers a simpler, tentative, working definition: "An institution is a ritualized system of groups in equilibrium organized around goals considered too important to trust to informality." Turney-High (1968: 345) admits that what he calls institutions are called "formal organizations" or "complex structures" by other social scientists.

In the present work I should like to make a distinction between the concepts of "institution" and of "social unit" or "social group". A social unit or a social group is a concrete social entity, that is, it contains identifiable human beings and is at least in theory capable of separation from similar social units (cf. Levy 1952: 88; Nadel 1951: 146-147). An institution is an analytical structure; it is an abstract ideal pattern (cf. Levy 1952: 102-103; Nadel 1951: 108). If we are dealing with a particular association, then we are dealing with a social unit, a concrete entity in which we can

identify X, Y, Z as belonging. If we look at several associations and from these form a model of the ideal pattern based on what was found to be similar among them, then we are dealing with an institution, an abstraction from reality. The Charter-Personnel-Norms-Material Apparatus-Function concept of Malinowski (1944) appears to be applicable to both the social unit and the institution. Tangency may be found between social units and between institutions, though it is most readily identifiable between social units.

Tangency, according to Turney-High (1968), if departmental may threaten the equilibrium of the social unit ("institution") in which the departments occur, and if "institutional" may threaten the tension management of the social system in which the social units ("institutions") are found. Hence it is the function of the associations which arise at these points of tangency to resolve the conflicts, ease the tensions, and lubricate the grinding and conflicting so that the social machinery can maintain some semblance of working order. In a more pessimistic vein Turney-High (1968: 361) warns that "the growth of associations may be a danger signal warning of the inefficiency of the official institutions." That is, the growth of associations may be an indication of increasing conflicts between social units.

Probably the most frequently cited example of an association arising at a point of tangency is that of the Parent-Teacher Association. Here there is tangency between the social unit of the school and the numerous social units of the families whose children

attend school. There is membership overlap between these social units as well as some conflicting goals as to how the child should be educated. In theory the P.T.A. is formed to resolve possible conflict and to form a meeting ground for the tangential social units.

In Springdale, New York, Vidich and Bensman (1958) found the P.T.A. was not tangential to two social groups, but rather to three--the parents, the teachers, and the school board. There are also many documented cases of associations other than the P.T.A. appearing at school-oriented points of tangency: the Rotary Club of Jonesville in the tangency of the businessmen and the school (Hollingshead 1949), and the Citizens' Association for Public Schools in Levittown, New Jersey in the tangency between highly educated parents and the school (Gans 1967). In both Jonesville and Levittown there were operative P.T.A.'s, but these did not apparently cover all of the school centered tangencies.

Power Distribution

Another theoretical viewpoint sees the association as a power distributing structure. Arnold Rose (1967: 247) sees this as giving more power to the individual:

Through the voluntary association the ordinary citizen can acquire as much power in the community or the nation as his free time, ability, and inclinations permit him to, without actually going into government service, provided he accepts the competition for power of other like-minded citizens.

Similar thoughts are aired by Kornhauser (1966: 489):

Let me begin with a paradox: those elements in a community that do not have power often win controversies. For example, when a fluoridation controversy breaks out, the powerful and prestigious people generally are arrayed on the side of fluoridation--yet fluoridation often loses.

It would appear that through participation in associations the citizen can regain the power which his apathy and isolation have delegated to the elite. In this light, Lipset, Trow, and Coleman (1956) suggest that associations function as independent bases of countervailing power and hence as potential opponents to any central authority.

Another aspect of this power distributing theory of the association has received comment by Moore with regard to associations in the process of industrialization. According to Moore (1965: 105), "All sorts of social functions become conducted by specialized organizations--like welfare agencies, hospitals, schools, and consumer cooperatives--voluntary associations are frequently formed to promote, support, and control those organizations." Hence Moore indicates that power distribution between agencies and associations is possible. While the association may control the agency, as was the case with the Rotary Club and the School Board in Jonesville (Hollingshead 1949), the opposite may also occur. The case of agencies controlling associations and utilizing them to gain grass-roots support for agency programs has been well documented in the classic study of the TVA by Selznick (1949). According to Selznick (1949: 220): "In many cases, perhaps in most, the initiation of local

citizens' associations comes from the top, and is tied to the pressing problem of administering a program." An association thus formed and tied to an agency tends to have little power:

It cannot become an effective part of the major policy-determining structure of the agency. In practice only a limited sphere of decision is permitted, involving some adaptation of general directives to local conditions, and within that circumscribed sphere the responsible (usually paid) officials of the agency will play an effective part. (Selznick 1949: 221).

As power distributing structures it would appear that there are three possible alternatives for the association: (1) it can influence legislative and executive decision-making, (2) it can control agencies and hence influence agency decision-making, and (3) it can be exploited by an agency for the purpose of gaining support for agency programs.

Buffer

The thesis that the association acts as a buffer between its members and the pressures of elites via the stabilization of the members' commitments to group interests by the collective formation of opinions and cognitive awareness has been advanced by Nall (1967). This seems identical to the idea of Sills (1959) and Lipset, Trow, and Coleman (1956) that associations mediate between their members and the state. Following Nall we see that one of the major mechanisms of this buffering is the internal educational program of the association aimed at the formation of a collective opinion and cognition. In Nall's (1967: 311) sample of national associations he found that:

. . . the great majority of associations do devote attention to molding their members' opinions and cognitions. What is more, most of this activity occurs on a face-to-face basis. Conferences are the most frequent form utilized by associations . . . with talks, lectures, workshops, and seminars figuring very importantly, but with relatively few organized classes.

The program of internal education is only part of the picture if associations truly serve as buffers. The association must also project the collective opinions of its members to the external social environment either by educational programs aimed at the general public or by educational and social influence programs aimed at selected decision-makers or elites.

Several examples of associations as buffers can be found in Mowitz and Wright's (1962) description of Detroit. In the case of the urban renewal of Corktown they record that the Detroit Associated Wholesalers and the Corktown Home Owners' Association both attempted to protect their members' interests against the pressures of the governmental elite. In both cases this was done by the associations' mediating directly with the government and by their projecting the appearance of collective opinion on the part of their members in an attempt to influence the governmental decisions.

Social Change

Yet another thesis concerning associations contends that they are instruments of social change. According to the major spokesman of this thesis, Arnold Rose (1967: 249):

The voluntary associations offer a powerful mechanism of social change. As soon as a felt need for some social change arises, one or more voluntary associations immediately spring up to try to secure the change. Not only do they operate directly on the problem, but their attention to it also makes the government concerned about the problem, as a democratic government has to pay attention to the interests of alert voters.

Another advocate of this thesis is Warner (1962b: 226) who states:

"When 'something needs to be done' or 'a serious problem must be solved' in the United States, private citizens usually band together in a new association or use one already available." On the other side of the coin, associations can also try to block certain social changes if they are viewed as harmful to their members (Rose 1967: 250).

Examples of associations as inducers of social change are quite numerous. Rose (1967) cites in some detail the examples of the P.T.A. and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The implementation of new farming practices by the Artificial Insemination Society of Anderen, Netherlands (Kuer and Kuer 1955) serves as an example to show that this phenomenon is not limited to the United States.

Another aspect of social change is its prevention. It would seem that the association could also function to prevent proposed changes or portions of proposed changes. Mowitz and Wright's (1962) study of Detroit yields two examples of associations functioning in this manner: (1) the Corktown Home Owners' Association which opposed an urban renewal project, and (2) the Save Our City Committee which

sought to prevent a cross city freeway. Other examples are found in the unnamed anti-fluoridation associations of Kornhauser's (1966) study. In all of these cases the following similarities can be observed: (1) emotionalism, (2) charges of conspiracy, (3) attempts to create an image that the association is for the "little people", and (4) leaders who do not occupy positions of responsibility within the community. One of the reasons for the attempts to create an image of the "little guys" fighting the "conspiracy" of the "big guys" is seen in Wallace's (1961) psychology of culture change. Acceptance of change is difficult if the innovation is identified with an "enemy" or an "inferior" group and thus the image sought by the association will tend to impede the proposed change. It would appear that in order to function as a change preventor, the association must tap the latent power of the apathetic masses to overcome the power of the governing elite.

Summary

After surveying the theories about the functions of the association and some of the data from various emergent societies, I postulated a priori some hypothesis about the functions of the associations in the Weststate system of water resource development decision-making. Weststate's water oriented associations might function to:

1. Ease or resolve the potential conflicts of tangent social units;

2. Transmit power to influence or determine water-oriented decisions to the general public (the "apathetic masses");
3. Transmit power to influence or determine water resource decisions to specific segments of the population;
4. Gain grassroots support for the water resources decisions of the visible and invisible governmental elite;
5. Induce changes;
6. Prevent changes;
7. Educate specific segments of the population and/or the population in general.

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