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THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE

by

Anna Katharine Bennett

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements For the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
In the Graduate College
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1979

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I hereby recommend that this dissertation prepared under my direction
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Richard N. Hohm                     May 11, 79
Dissertation Director             Date

As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have
read this dissertation and agree that it may be presented for final
defense.

Constance Cronin                     May 11, 1979
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Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent on the
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SIGNED: Emma L. Bennett
PREFACE

The events described in this work are a matter of public record. Nevertheless, to protect the actors in those events from unnecessary exposure to public scrutiny, I have referred to them by pseudonyms throughout the work. The future researcher who wishes to consult the sources I cite will discover the real names of the actors, but the more casual reader can follow my analysis of the events without needlessly intruding upon the private lives of the actors.

No grant funds supported the research or writing of this dissertation. Throughout the data-gathering phase of the research I was employed in Coolidge, first by the City of Coolidge and then by the Central Arizona Association of Governments. During the time I wrote the dissertation I was employed by the Southeastern Arizona Governments Organization, in another part of rural Arizona. I am indebted to the staff of the Southeastern Arizona Governments Organization for their willingness to allow me a flexible work schedule so that I could write this dissertation. I wish to express my appreciation to all my colleagues in government agencies throughout the State who so freely shared their knowledge with me.

The existence of this work is a testimonial to the kindness and generosity of the people of Coolidge, the many elected officials, administrators, and private citizens who expressed their concerns and wisdom about the past, present, and future of their community to me.

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I am deeply indebted to them for their willingness to share their ideas with me.

At The University of Arizona, T. Patrick Culbert contributed much to the organization of this work. I particularly appreciated his ability to convey his criticisms in the form of helpful suggestions.

To Constance Cronin, who regularly coupled her demands for rigorous thinking with expressions of confidence in my ability to do just that, I owe special thanks. Professor Cronin's willingness to spend long hours in discussion, helping me to find the logic of my arguments, exemplifies the ideal teacher-student relationship.

Richard N. Henderson directed this dissertation. It was his excellent teaching that first awakened me to the potential of applying anthropological methods of analysis to the study of American life. Throughout the long struggle to complete this work, he provided constant encouragement to me in the difficult task of becoming an ethnographer of my own culture. I am most grateful to Professor Henderson for his unflagging inspiration, thoughtful guidance, and careful criticism at every stage of the work.
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ABSTRACT

Contemporary American municipal governments must adapt to changes that they cannot control, such as population increases, displacement of workers by technological change, and environmental deterioration. In spite of their powerlessness, municipal governments are important political institutions because, as the lowest level of government, they can be seen as most representative of their constituents.

The notion that the lowest level of government is best qualified to make decisions for its citizenry follows from the emphasis that the American value system places upon individualism. Frederick Jackson Turner stated that the value of individualism was a product of the particular social, economic, and environmental conditions of the American frontier. Given the kinds of changes that have taken place in those conditions during the 20th century, one would expect a change in value from individualism to interdependence. To test the hypothesis, a case study of political change in Coolidge, Arizona is presented.

Cotton agriculture was originally the town's most important economic activity. Coolidge developed as a commercial center for the surrounding agricultural area. When cotton farming was mechanized in the mid-1950's, agricultural workers, many of them members of ethnic minority groups, had to find other employment. Commercial activity suffered. Further declines in commerce resulted when the freeway route bypassed Coolidge in the 1960's. Anglo workers moved away, creating
new employment opportunities for Mexican-Americans. Coolidge, like all of Arizona, experienced growth in its retired population, predominantly Anglos.

The existence of Coolidge resulted from a federally funded water control project; Coolidge Dam opened the area to agriculture. In recent years, state government has become the largest employer in Coolidge. The municipality was incorporated in 1945. During its first decade, local government prospered from the revenues generated by the presence of farm laborers in town. When the cotton industry was mechanized and the freeway bypassed Coolidge, economic stagnation set in.

In the early 1970's, the most pressing issue facing the City Council was the antiquated sewer plant. A first attempt to replace the plant failed, when the town suddenly grew by 2,000 persons due to annexation of a neighborhood with a high proportion of minority residents and when four Council members voted to fire the City Manager. Dissension over firing the Manager precipitated a recall election, resulting in a Mexican-American's becoming Mayor. The same old problems of economic stagnation and the failing sewer plant confronted the new Council.

The City administration renegotiated the federal grant for sewer plant construction, but, when the time came to connect residences to the plant, it became clear that neither Council nor residents were committed to extending sewer service throughout the City. More federal money broke the stalemate. When attempts to rehabilitate the downtown failed, the Council and the merchants displaced their frustration onto the derelicts who inhabited Main Street. An ambitious campaign to
improve housing resulted in the eviction of some 35 households of mostly elderly people from their rented living quarters.

The analysis of events in Coolidge leads to a rejection of Turner's hypothesis as an explanation for change in local government. The economic dependence of municipalities on factors beyond their control and the short-term nature of local decisions make Turner's hypothesis inapplicable. Change in local government occurs first in behavior, rather than value, and in response to economic pressure from outside agencies. Anthropology can ease the strains that change produces in local government by providing information to leaders on the consequences of their decisions and by helping various interest groups make their voices heard.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In August 1971, Coolidge, Arizona, a community of 5,000 in the desert midway between the urban centers of Phoenix and Tucson, received a distinguished foreign visitor. Dr. Gandov was the head of the Division of Environmental Health of the Israeli Ministry of Health, who came to inspect Coolidge's antiquated sewage treatment plant and to finalize engineering plans for an innovative sewage treatment plant to replace the old one. A unique feature of the new sewage treatment plant was its dependence upon the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process, purifying waste through a combination of biological and chemical action. For the biological action to take place, ample sunlight was needed. The Accelerated Photosynthetic Process had been developed in Israel; the only sewage treatment plants using the process were in Israel. The process seemed ideal for a desert climate such as Coolidge's, both because of its use of sunlight and because the effluent released from the treatment plant could be used for growing food crops. An added benefit of Coolidge's new sewage treatment plant was to be a half-acre experimental farm under a plastic tent, the farm to be watered with effluent from the treatment plant.

Coolidge's need for a new sewage treatment plant was forcefully demonstrated by the foul odor that hung over the community. The outdated equipment at the old plant was simply inadequate to handle the
community's wastes. The problem of the sewage treatment plant had been an important topic in the 1970 municipal election. In June 1971, not long before Dr. Gandov's visit, Coolidge voters had approved issuing a $100,000 bond to help finance the new sewage treatment plant.

The recycling of effluent from the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process sewage treatment plant for agricultural use was an especially interesting feature of the plan. Agriculture is an important part of Coolidge's economy. Cotton fields surround the community. Cotton is Arizona's principal crop; almost one-third of the State's cotton acreage lies within Pinal County, where Coolidge is located. Pumping water for irrigation agriculture has produced a serious depletion of groundwater in the County. By 1976, Pinal County was pumping groundwater at 3.4 times the rate at which it was renewed (Valley National Bank of Arizona 1977:43). Thus, the water-saving features of the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process sewage treatment plant made Coolidge's plan particularly attractive.

Mayor Levine of Coolidge accompanied Dr. Gandov on his tour. The Mayor predicted that Coolidge "will be a pioneer in the field of waste water reclamation. The whole Southwest and particularly the city of Phoenix will have its eyes on how the new system will work here in Coolidge" (Coolidge Examiner 8/12/71:1). The Mayor and Dr. Gandov journeyed together to Phoenix, the state capital, where Dr. Gandov was presented with a key to the city and the two men were received by the Governor of the State. Dr. Gandov's visit was an exciting event for Coolidge.
The Accelerated Photosynthetic Process sewage treatment plant was never built. Fourteen months after Dr. Gandov's visit, four of the seven Coolidge City Council members voted to fire the City Manager, who had served in that position for 16 years. One of the charges against the City Manager was that he mishandled City funds for the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process sewage treatment plant. In July 1971, the City had contracted $66,320 of the funds raised by the bond issue to the only American firm capable of manufacturing this particular kind of sewage treatment plant, to enable the firm to draw up plans and specifications. In June 1972, the Environmental Protection Agency, the federal agency that was to provide the major share of funds for construction of the sewer plant, informed the City that the plans and specifications did not conform to the federal agency's requirements for open and competitive bidding. Because there was only one firm in the country capable of building the innovative plant, the City had not solicited bids for the planning contract.

The four Council members' move to fire the City Manager in the fall of 1972 brought these events to light. The City had wasted $66,320 in the attempt to build the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process sewage treatment plant and was still left with the stinking old plant.

The Council members who wanted to oust the City Manager said that his mismanagement of the funds for the new sewage treatment plant was but one example of the Manager's poor administration. The four Council members stated that the loss of City money in the attempt to construct the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process sewage treatment plant was not the principal reason that they wished the Manager fired;
rather, they stressed his lack of responsiveness to the needs of a majority of the City's residents (*Coolidge Examiner* 11/30/72:1).

The split between the four Council members who sought to fire the City Manager and the three who supported him led to the successful recall of the city council. Voter turnout in the recall election was unusually high; almost three times as many votes were cast in the recall as had been cast in the regular municipal election earlier in the same year. The four Council members who had voted to fire the City Manager emerged triumphant. Among them were the first Mexican-American and the first woman elected to a Coolidge City Council. The former, Bob Gonzales, had originally been elected to the Council in 1968; the latter, Linda Newman, had then joined the Council in the regular election of 1972. At the first meeting of the new Council after the recall, Bob Gonzales was elected Mayor of Coolidge.

As a political candidate, Gonzales never stressed his minority identification. In the regular election of 1972, Gonzales in fact ran against another Mexican-American candidate, Jose Perez. Perez described himself "as the voice of the poor and disadvantaged" while Gonzales said he "desires to speak and act for all people in the city, including the poor" (*Coolidge Examiner* 1/6/72:1). In the recall campaign, Gonzales had declared, "It is time that all people, all races, colors and creeds as taxpayers be considered in the City Government of Coolidge" (*Coolidge Examiner* 11/23/72:1). While Gonzales' becoming Mayor may well have indicated a heightened interest in the use of political power by Coolidge's minorities and a more liberal attitude
towards members of ethnic minorities on the part of Coolidge's Anglos, there was other evidence to suggest continuing problems in ethnic relations in Coolidge.

Housing patterns do not change with the same speed as political alliances. De facto residential segregation of ethnic groups, long present in Coolidge, persisted during Gonzales' administration. A housing survey conducted in 1975 showed that the western portion of the City was occupied by Anglos exclusively, while over 50% of the households in the eastern portion, literally "the other side of the tracks" and separated from the west side by the central business district, were comprised of minority persons (Kahn et al. 1975:25). The same survey described the overall ethnic mix of Coolidge at that time as 79% Anglo, 15% Mexican-American, 4% Black, and 1% American Indian and other minorities (Kahn et al. 1975:25).

Main Street, the deteriorating downtown portion of Coolidge's central business district, has occasionally been the site of incidents of racial tension. For example, in the spring of 1975, one of the Main Street merchants fired shots over the heads of three Black youths to discourage them from loitering near his store in the early evening. The boys were waiting for a relative to pick them up from the movie theater, less than a block from the merchant's store. In the summer of 1976, the Coolidge City Council considered an anti-loitering ordinance that was proposed to "clean the drunks off Main Street," a concept of hygiene that clearly carried racial overtones. Confronted with public opposition organized by then ex-Mayor Gonzales, the Council, however, abandoned this proposed ordinance.
While the recall election of 1972 suggested the beginning of increased minority participation in local government, discrimination against members of ethnic minorities by no means came to an end with the recall victory. Problems in ethnic relations in Coolidge, as elsewhere, are related to the local economy. Derelicts lounge on the streets in front of abandoned stores where the City's leaders would like to see shoppers thronging. Some of the frustration with the continuing decline of Main Street is misdirected at those poor and minority individuals who spend most of their waking (and some of their sleeping) hours on the street. More constructive, though not more successful, efforts have been made to improve business conditions on Main Street.

In the 1972 campaign, Gonzales presented himself as pro-business, interested in "encouraging a more progressive atmosphere in order to attract industry" (Coolidge Examiner 1/6/72:1). As Mayor, Gonzales attempted one downtown beautification project that failed utterly. The project consisted of building landscaped medians down the center of two wide streets in the business district. Parallel parking along both the medians and the curbs was to replace the curbside diagonal parking then in use. One day in August 1973, City workers began tearing up the center of the streets to construct the medians. The excavation stopped abruptly when a group of merchants protested that the medians would reduce the amount of parking available in front of their stores. After a stormy Council meeting at which the Mayor called for a motion in support of the beautification project and no motion resulted, City workers replaced the excavated pavement.
The failure of the downtown beautification project and the anti-loitering ordinance are but two examples of the Coolidge City Council's continuing responsiveness to the concerns of local merchants. It is as if the Council can see no other avenue to economic development than strengthening retail trade. That retail trade is, in fact, not the most important economic activity in Coolidge is suggested by the results of a labor market survey in the Coolidge area in 1976. The authors of the survey reported that only 11.5% of all employed persons in the labor market area (which included the nearby town of Florence) worked in retail trade (Burgess, Kingston and St. Louis 1976:Table A-9). In contrast, more than 40% of all workers in the same labor market area were employees of federal, state, or local government. Even if the Coolidge City Council could achieve its often repeated goal of rehabilitating the downtown business district and improving retail sales, the result would have only a modest impact on the local economy.

This brief account of several political events during the 1970's in Coolidge, Arizona scarcely seems to suggest any definite direction of future change in this community. Indeed, the outcomes appear contradictory. The City government attempted to build an innovative sewage treatment plant that promised progress on a complex environmental problem; the attempt died in political scandal and a bureaucratic entanglement with a federal funding agency. The recall election of 1972 hinted at a new era of political participation by ethnic minorities, but, in many other ways, racism continued to flourish. The City Council struggled to improve the local business climate, but deterioration of the downtown went on.
I think that equally contradictory trends can be seen in most contemporary American communities, large and small. The problem of continuing adaptation to an ever-changing social, economic, and environmental setting faces all municipal governments. Much of the change is beyond the control of local government: population increases or decreases; the age structure of the population shifts; corporations move into or out of the area; old patterns of industrial or agricultural activity culminate in the depletion of essential resources. Although a municipal government may be relatively powerless to alter the course of change, it is nevertheless an important governmental structure because it is the lowest level of government.

Popular American mythology holds that, because local government is the lowest level of government, it most effectively represents the will of the people and is best qualified to develop responses to change that are adapted to the community's particular situation. In the following chapter, I shall explore the place of this belief about local government in the American value system and present a uniquely American model, Frederick Jackson Turner's famous frontier thesis, that will serve as an organizing principle for a more detailed examination of the political events that took place in Coolidge during the early 1970's. From my analysis of those political events, I shall conclude with a discussion of the validity of Turner's hypothesis for explaining change in contemporary American communities and some insights into the place of local government in providing for the welfare of its constituents.
CHAPTER 2
FRONTIER VALUES

Values are idealized conceptions that both describe the particular context in which a culture exists and imply behavior appropriate to that context. Values serve to define the goals of a culture and the approved methods for achieving the goals. While values may be viewed as simply lists of cultural statements of preference indicating that one technique, for example, for making an arrowhead or performing a religious ritual, is better than another, values can also be clustered into groups of associated values, called value-orientations (Vogt 1955:7). These value-orientations are often ranked so that a single value-orientation can be seen as central to the culture, with all others subordinate to it, like a theorem and its corrolaries. The sum total of all the values of a culture, prioritized according to its major value-orientations, constitutes that culture's world view or value system, a framework that provides an integrated conception of reality (Spradley and Rynkiewich 1975:361).

The value system does not exist in isolation; it bears some relationship to the social, economic, and environmental systems of the culture. Vogt (1955:2) noted several ways of viewing the interrelationship of these four systems in a given culture. The value system may be treated as either the dependent or the independent variable. If the value system is considered dependent, the influence of social,
economic, or environmental conditions, or some combination of these, upon the value system is examined. If the value system is viewed as independent, its role in shaping the social order, the economy, and the environment is studied.

The Turner Thesis

One theory about the relationship among these four systems in American culture that has stimulated much controversy throughout this century is the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner, first published in 1893. As Turner stated the thesis: "The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development" (Turner 1962:1). Turner described a historical relationship between human beings and the land that he found along the constantly shifting western frontier between the time the first settlers arrived in America and 1890, when there was no more free land. During the time period between 1620 and 1890 the frontier invited expansion and provided opportunities for individual accomplishment. At each point along the frontier, there was a characteristic succession through time of economic activities (Turner 1962:12).

First came the traders, whose posts made only a slight impact on the land. Traders were followed by ranchers or miners, whose pattern of exploitation of the land was more intense than that of the traders, but still resulted in a very scattered settlement pattern. The final stage of exploitation of the frontier land was marked by the entry of farmers whose impact upon the land was most direct.
To the pioneer the forest was no friendly resource for posterity, no object of careful economy. He must wage a hand-to-hand war upon it, cutting and burning a little space to let in the light upon a dozen acres of hard-won soil, and year after year expanding the clearing into new woodlands against the stubborn resistance of primeval trunks and matted roots. He made war against the rank fertility of the soil. While new worlds of virgin land lay ever just beyond, it was idle to expect the pioneer to stay his hand and turn to scientific farming (Turner 1962:270).

As settlement became more dense, first traders, then ranchers and miners, moved westward in search of more open space. Then soil exhaustion prompted the farmers to follow suit.

Year by year the farmers who lived on soil whose returns were diminished by unrotated crops were offered the virgin soil of the frontier at nominal prices. Their growing families demanded more lands, and these were dear. The competition of the unexhausted, cheap, and easily tilled prairie lands compelled the farmer either to go west and continue the exhaustion of the soil on a new frontier, or to adopt intensive culture (Turner 1962:21-22).

Some people remained behind to build more permanent settlements as the frontier moved westward, but the ever-beckoning attraction of free land made a deep impression on American values.

... to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are the traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier. Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open but has even been forced upon them (Turner 1962:37).

Turner's writings were characterized more by the dramatic quality of his style than by precise statements of the interrelationships
of variables. As Craven (1972:118) observed, Turner used the word "frontier" to refer variously to a geographic locality, to a sparse settlement pattern, and to a style of life. Given the fluidity of Turner's expression, what did he say about the relationship among environment, society, economics, and values in America?

Pierson, a critic of Turner, pointed out that the thesis could be seen on one level as a simple statement of geographical determinism (Pierson 1972:74). Pierson, however, noted that a closer examination of Turner's writings suggested that the frontier concept combined the environmental condition of wilderness with the social condition of a sparse and highly mobile population: "The West was rough (a geographic factor) and it was empty (a sociological force). Perhaps, then, Turner's greatest achievement was his successful marriage of these two dissimilar forces in the single phrase: free land" (Pierson 1972:94).

Still another student of Turner's work noted that the economic system of capitalism was also a factor in the frontier concept.

The other institution that magnified the importance of the individual was capitalism, an economic system under which each person undertakes to enrich himself by his own effort. It is only in the presence of great abundance that such a free-for-all system of wealth-getting can operate. There must be present enough wealth to go around to make such an economy practicable. We have seen that the tapping of the frontier furnished just this condition, made a superabundance of land, of gold and silver, and of commodities which made the principle of laissez-faire tenable (Webb 1972:142).

Turner's independent variable, the frontier, was, then, a combination of environment, society, and economy.

The American value system is the dependent variable in Turner's hypothesis. One critic accused Turner of directing the attention of American historians into research on the "American spirit" when they
could have been better attending to matters of international economics and the class struggle (Hacker 1972:55). Turner's writings detail how the interaction between people and land at the frontier influenced what he called "American character" or "American intellect." The Turner hypothesis can thus be restated: Given apparently unlimited land (an environmental fact), low population density (a social fact), and a capitalist system (an economic fact), a peculiarly American value system resulted.

Turner saw this interaction among environment, society, economy, and values as a historical event, happening over and over again in specific times and places. Because of its repetition with each westward advance of the frontier, the process had a powerful impact on American values, but the interaction had both spatial and temporal limits. When there was no more free land, the interaction no longer took place. Other processes such as urbanization and industrialization became important after the passing of the frontier. Before examining the post-frontier era, however, I shall first delineate the major value-orientation that Turner saw the frontier giving to American culture.

The Frontier and Individualism

The value of individualism that Turner considered a product of frontier conditions was not born in America. It had deep historical roots in Europe, but frontier life gave individualism a different emphasis in America than it had had in Europe.

Turner noted the European antecedents of individualism in the Calvinistic idea of a calling, but he said the American frontier gave new meaning to the European concept (Turner 1962:302). Kluckhohn
also observed that the American tradition of individualism took a different course from the European. He was in agreement with Turner that frontier conditions, for Kluckhohn exemplified by Jeffersonian agrarian democracy, made the crucial difference between the American and the English variants of individualism. Turner described Jeffersonian democracy as a product of the western frontier.

Jefferson was the first prophet of American democracy, and when we analyse the essential features of his gospel, it is clear that the Western influence was the dominant element... Jefferson's 'Notes on Virginia' reveal clearly his conception that democracy should have an agricultural basis, and that manufacturing development and city life were dangerous to the body politic. Simplicity and economy in government, the right of revolution, the freedom of the individual, the belief that those who win the vacant lands are entitled to shape their own government in their own way,—these are all parts of the platform of political principles to which he gave his adhesion, and they are all elements eminently characteristic of the Western democracy into which he was born (Turner 1962:250).

Hsu, also acknowledging the common roots of European and American individualism and its greater elaboration in America, has termed the American variant of individualism "self-reliance." "American self-reliance is basically the same as English individualism except that the latter is the parent of the former and the former has gone farther from the latter. However, self-reliance possesses no basic characteristics which were not inherent in individualism" (Hsu 1975:384). While individualism in Europe was translated into a demand for political equality, the American ideal of self-reliance proclaimed equality not only in the political order, but also in social and economic spheres. Turner related how the apparently unlimited resources of the frontier promoted the ideals of social and economic equality.
These slashers of the forest, these self-sufficing pioneers, raising the corn and live stock for their own need, living scattered and apart, had at first small interest in town life or a share in markets. They were passionately devoted to the ideal of equality, but it was an ideal which assumed that under free conditions in the midst of unlimited resources, the homogeneous society of the pioneers must result in equality. What they objected to was arbitrary obstacles, artificial limitations upon the freedom of each member of this frontier folk to work out his own career without fear or favor. What they instinctively opposed was the crystallization of differences, the monopolization of opportunity and the fixing of that monopoly by government or by social customs. The road must be open. The game must be played according to the rules. There must be no artificial stifling of equality of opportunity, no closed doors to the able, no stopping the free game before it was played to the end (Turner 1962:342).

Hsu (1975:384) has considered self-reliance to be the "core" American value, the one primary value-orientation in the system to which all others are subordinate.  

A value system is a cultural interpretation of reality, not necessarily a faithful representation of that reality. In placing primary emphasis on self-reliance, the American value system downplays certain basic facts of human biology. Humans are, after all, social animals. They cannot exist in isolation. While the value system may stress self-reliance, Americans, like all peoples, exist within a social order.

Turner was well aware of the contradiction between the dominant value of individualism and the need for social order in frontier communities. In this context, he argued that where social cooperation

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1. While agreeing with Hsu that self-reliance is best understood as the primary American value-orientation, I shall not always follow his usage of self-reliance as the term distinguishing the peculiar American variant of individualism. Rather, for linguistic variety, in the following pages I shall use the terms individualism and self-reliance, and occasionally independence, more or less interchangeably.
was necessary, pioneers preferred ad hoc voluntary associations to formal government structure.

This power of the newly arrived pioneers to join together for a common end without the intervention of governmental institutions was one of their marked characteristics. The log rolling, the house-raising, the husking bee, the apple paring, and the squatters' associations whereby they protected themselves against the speculators in securing title to their clearings on the public domain, the camp meeting, the mining camp, the vigilantes, the cattle-raisers' associations, the 'gentlemen's agreements,' are a few of the indications of this attitude. It is well to emphasize this American trait, because in a modified way it has come to be one of the most characteristic and important features of the United States of today. America does through informal association and understandings on the part of the people many of the things which in the Old World are and can be done only by government intervention and compulsion (Turner 1962:344).

On the one hand, frontier individualism bred a distrust of strong government.

Complex society is precipitated by the wilderness into a kind of primitive organization based on the family. The tendency is antisocial. It produces antipathy to control, and particularly to any direct control. The tax-gatherer is viewed as a representative of oppression (Turner 1962:30).

On the other hand, with the passage of time and especially as the frontier moved westward, a greater degree of centralized control became necessary in order to capitalize the exploitation of arid lands.

The pioneer farmer of the days of Lincoln could place his family on a flatboat, strike into the wilderness, cut out his clearing, and with little or no capital go on to the achievement of industrial independence. Even the homesteader on the Western prairies found it possible to work out a similar independent destiny, although the factor of transportation made a serious and increasing impediment to the free working-out of his individual career. But when the arid lands and the mineral resources of the Far West were reached, no conquest was possible by the old individual pioneer methods. Here expensive irrigation works must be constructed, cooperative activity was demanded in utilization of the water supply, capital beyond the reach of the small farmer was required.
In a word, the physiographic province itself decreed that the destiny of this new frontier should be social rather than individual (Turner 1962:258).

The political tension generated by the contradiction between the value of self-reliance and the need for governmental control in contemporary American communities is a central theme of this study.

**Changing Conditions**

The era of free land, the epitome of frontier conditions, largely came to an end less than a decade before Turner wrote his first articulation of the frontier thesis, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in 1893. Since Turner saw in the frontier the independent variable that had shaped the course of American development between 1620 and 1890, he raised many questions about the American future in the post-frontier era.

In an essay written in 1910, Turner articulated a combination of social and economic changes that accompanied the passing of the frontier. Not only had free land come to an end, but free competition was becoming less possible. "To-day we must add that the age of free competition of individuals for the unpossessed resources of the nation is nearing its end" (Turner 1962:312). Opportunities for free competition were reduced, not only by the concentration of capital, but also by the prospect of exhaustion of natural resources. "At the present rate it is estimated that the supply of coal would be exhausted at a date no farther in the future than the formation of the constitution is in the past" (Turner 1962:313).

Changes in industrial structure meant a much reduced scope for individual achievement.
In a word, the old pioneer individualism is disappearing, while the forces of social combination are manifesting themselves as never before. The self-made man has become, in popular speech, the coal baron, the steel king, the oil king, the cattle king, the railroad magnate, the master of high finance, the monarch of trusts. The world has never before seen such huge fortunes exercising combined control over the economic life of a people, and such luxury as has come out of the individualistic pioneer democracy of America in the course of competitive evolution (Turner 1962:319).

In spite of the reduction in opportunities for individual advancement, industrialists continued to rationalize their successes in terms of the ideal of individualism.

At the same time the masters of industry, who control interests which represent billions of dollars, do not admit that they have broken with pioneer ideals. They regard themselves as pioneers under changed conditions, carrying on the old work of developing the natural resources of the nation, compelled by the constructive fever in their veins, even in ill-health and old age and after the accumulation of wealth beyond their power to enjoy, to seek new avenues of action and power, to chop new clearings, to find new trails, to expand the horizon of the nation's activity, and to extend the scope of their dominion (Turner 1962:319).

While industrialists cited the ideal of individualism, citizens of the west asked for government intervention to protect individuals' access to opportunity.

On the other hand, we have the voice of the insurgent West, recently given utterance in the New Nationalism of ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, demanding increase of federal authority to curb special interests, the powerful industrial organizations, and the monopolies, for the sake of the conservation of our natural resources and the preservation of American democracy (Turner 1962:319).

Turner saw the ideal of individualism having reached its logical limit soon after the era of free land closed. Given change in those environmental, social, and economic factors that fostered the elaboration of the value of individualism, change in that value would
be expected. "The present finds itself engaged in the task of readjusting its old ideals to new conditions and is turning increasingly to government to preserve its traditional democracy" (Turner 1962:321). The core value of individualism should give way to a greater emphasis on the interdependence of persons.

It is not surprising that socialism shows noteworthy gains as elections continue; that parties are forming on new lines; that the demand for primary elections, for popular choice of senators, initiative, referendum, and recall, is spreading, and that the regions once the center of pioneer democracy exhibit these tendencies in the most marked degree. They are efforts to find substitutes for that former safeguard of democracy, the disappearing free lands. They are the sequence to the extinction of the frontier (Turner 1962:321).

The direction of change in America that Turner saw in 1910 —
environmental change leading to an exhaustion of natural resources, social change marked by population growth, and economic change increasing the concentration of capital and reducing the scope for individual entrepreneurship — has proceeded apace throughout the 20th century. I shall briefly summarize the status of change into the 1970's along these three lines.

Social Change

Of all the social changes that have taken place in America during the 20th century, the simple fact of population increase stands out as one of the most fundamental. Turner observed the growth of population from 62,500,000 at the end of the frontier era to over 90,000,000 in 1910 (Turner 1962:314). Between 1910 and 1970, the U.S. population more than doubled, increasing to some 203,000,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1973a:Table 1). Both natural increase and
immigration account for the growth. Turner was well aware of the importance of immigration in changing the climate of opportunity for individuals in America.

If we turn to consider the effect upon American society and domestic policy in these two decades of transition we are met with palpable evidences of the invasion of the old pioneer democratic order. Obvious among them is the effect of unprecedented immigration to supply the mobile army of cheap labor for the centers of industrial life. In the past ten years, beginning with 1900, over eight million immigrants have arrived (Turner 1962:315-316).

The "open door" policy admitting all immigrants continued into the 1920's.

Not only has the U.S. population increased in absolute numbers, but there have been changes within the age structure of the population that have implications for the ideal of individual self-reliance. Because of significant improvements in public health and medicine, the proportion of the population that is of advancing years has increased markedly. While in 1910 persons aged 65 and over comprised only 4.3% of the population (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1913:Table 6), by 1975 persons aged 65 and over made up 10.5% of the population (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1976:Table 28).

Although the concept of retirement from one's occupation is not strictly biological, it is true that, with advancing years, many individuals are forced to reduce their activities. The increase in the proportion of elderly persons, who might be assumed to be less competitive in the labor force by reason of the physiological and psychological effects of aging, has gone hand in hand with legislative change promoting the idea of retirement around the age of sixty-five.
Especially since the financial depression of the 1930's, the government has intervened ever more directly in the lives of individuals with a complex variety of income subsidies. Social Security, providing a monthly income to individuals after age 65, is now only one of many types of public transfer payments that help support individuals. Supplemental Security Income, extending Social Security benefits to workers who by reason of their occupations did not pay into the Social Security fund, and welfare payments such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children are among the more important cash subsidies. To these must be added all of the in-kind transfers, such as Food Stamps, public housing, Medicare and Medicaid.

Social Security legislation imposes limits on the amount of income individuals may earn and still receive the subsidy. These limitations on earned income increase the likelihood of individuals retiring around the age of 65 (Bowen and Finegan 1969:279). While Social Security legislation contributes to the probability than an individual will retire from the labor force at age 65, the subsidy enables individuals to maintain at least the illusion of economic self-sufficiency. Hearing older people bemoan the passing of the ethic of individualism, one could hardly guess that their economic self-sufficiency is the result of government intervention in the form of Social Security.

Very briefly, then, two social trends in 20th century America have combined to limit the operation of free competition as postulated by the value-orientation of individualism. These trends are: (1) a dramatic increase in sheer numbers of population, making the rewards
of competition divisible by an ever greater denominator; and (2) the direct intervention of government in the economic activity of individuals, both in the positive direction of subsidies and in the negative direction of income taxes.

Economic Change

The value of self-reliance presupposes the existence of opportunities for achievement in the economic system. Although the American value system places great emphasis on occupational mobility, there are, in fact, no great differences in mobility between America and other industrialized countries. Lipset and Bendix (1959:13) concluded from their comparison of occupational mobility in America and European countries that "the overall pattern of social mobility appears to be much the same in the industrial societies of various Western countries."

Nevertheless, mobility plays a central role in validating the myth of America as a place where individual effort reaps its just rewards. Two substantive questions about mobility in America need answers: (1) Was America in the past really the promised land of opportunity for the flood of immigrants who came from abroad and for the pioneers who pressed westward? (2) Are the opportunities different today? If so, how have they changed?

Thernstrom's (1964) study Poverty and Progress was designed to measure working class mobility in Newburyport, Massachusetts between 1850 and 1880. Thernstrom found that one-sixth of the working class families sampled had at least one member who entered a nonmanual occupation during the three decades. The most frequent avenue of intra-generational mobility was through proprietorship of a small farm.
Sons of laborers who achieved mobility were more likely to have become small businessmen (Thernstrom 1964:143). In another one-fifth of the families, at least one member achieved occupational mobility, not out of the working class, but into a skilled craft (Thernstrom 1964:147). Still other families, while they achieved no occupational mobility, were able to accumulate property holdings worth more than $300, usually a family residence (Thernstrom 1964:148). Altogether, two thirds of Thernstrom's sample was able to achieve property-ownership or occupational mobility. Thernstrom concluded that these gains were probably sufficient to validate the myth of America as the land of economic opportunity for members of Newburyport's working class.

Most of the social gains registered by laborers and their sons during these years were decidedly modest—a move one notch up the occupational scale, the acquisition of a small amount of property. Yet in their eyes these accomplishments must have loomed large. The contradiction between the ideology of limitless opportunity and the realities of working class existence is unlikely to have dismayed men whose aspirations and expectations were shaped in the Irish village or the New England subsistence farm (Thernstrom 1964:164-165).

Thernstrom then turned his attention to the 20th century to see if there was evidence to support the notion that opportunities for mobility are fewer today than they were in the past century. He found "that chances to rise from the very bottom of the social ladder in the United States have not declined visibly since the 19th century; they seem, in fact, to have increased moderately in recent decades"(Thernstrom 1964:222).

If the frequency of opportunities for occupational mobility today continues to be the same as in the past, has there instead been a change in the nature of those opportunities? In The Theory of
Economic Development, originally published in 1934, Schumpeter stressed the distinction between entrepreneur and capitalist. In Schumpeter's terms, entrepreneurial activity was not the routine work of running a business, but the act of creatively combining productive factors. The entrepreneur was an innovator. Successful entrepreneurial activity led to routinization of the enterprise, a changed situation that called for the management skills of capitalists, rather than the creativity of entrepreneurs (Schumpeter 1961:506-507).

Schumpeter observed that opportunities for entrepreneurship varied under different historical conditions.

The more accurately, however, we learn to know the natural and social world, the more perfect our control of facts becomes; and the greater the extent, with time and progressive rationalization, within which things can be simply calculated, and indeed quickly and reliably calculated, the more the significance of this /entrepreneurial/ function decreases (Schumpeter 1961:510).

Turner's frontier era was one of those times when innovative individuals had the opportunity to exercise economic leadership.

In The New Industrial State, Galbraith (1967) carried Schumpeter's distinction between entrepreneurship and capitalism forward into the second half of the 20th century. Galbraith began by distinguishing two systems in the American economy, the industrial and the entrepreneurial.

The two parts of the economy—the world of the few hundred technically dynamic, massively capitalized and highly organized corporations on the one hand and of the thousands of small and traditional proprietors on the other—are very different. It is not a difference of degree but a difference which invades every aspect of economic organization and behavior, including the motivation to effort itself (Galbraith 1967:21).
Galbraith argued that entrepreneurship, which makes economic activity responsive to the democratizing influence of the market, is no longer the predominant mode in the American economy. According to Galbraith, the few hundred firms that make up the industrial system dominate the contemporary American economy.

Nearly all communications, nearly all production and distribution of electric power, much transportation, most manufacturing and mining, a substantial share of retail trade, and a considerable amount of entertainment are conducted or provided by large firms. The numbers are not great; we may think without error of most work being done by five or six hundred firms (Galbraith 1967:21).

These firms do not operate according to the principles that govern entrepreneurial activity.

... the forces inducing human effort have changed. This assaults the most majestic of all economic assumptions, namely that man in his economic activities is subject to the authority of the market. Instead, we have an economic system which, whatever its formal ideological billing, is in substantial part a planned economy. The initiative in deciding what is to be produced comes not from the sovereign consumer who, through the market, issues the instructions that bend the productive mechanism to his ultimate will. Rather it comes from the great producing organization which reaches forward to control the markets that it is presumed to serve and, beyond, to bend the customer to its needs. And, in so doing, it deeply influences his values and beliefs. ... One of the conclusions that follows from this analysis is that there is a broad convergence between industrial systems. The imperatives of technology and organization, not the images of ideology, are what determine the shape of economic society (Galbraith 1967:18-19).

Galbraith found that the contemporary industrial system is motivated, not by individuals striving for profit, but by the goal of ensuring the industrial system's own survival. In this system, the management of price and demand takes precedence over the traditional economic goal of maximizing profit. Managing price and demand calls
for acquiring and coordinating specialized knowledge. The individual achieves in this system by subordinating his or her goals to those of the corporation.

Galbraith's analysis of the contemporary American economy indicates that the nature of opportunities for individual achievement has changed. In the past, the economic system rewarded the innovations of entrepreneurs. In the present, individuals find opportunities for advancement by putting their technical skills to the service of industrial corporations. In the same way that demographic changes have led to greater centralization in the social system, industrial growth has produced a more bureaucratic organization of the economic system.

Environmental Change

Turner saw the existence of an apparently unlimited supply of free land as a major cause of the American frontier ethic, promoting the value of individualism. Turner witnessed an era of environmental concern that produced legislation governing matters such as the inspection of food and the regulation of interstate commerce (Turner 1962: 320). Since Turner's time, the pace of both exploitation of natural resources and legislative attempts to regulate the use of natural resources has accelerated greatly.

America is not alone in contemplating the combined threats of increasing population and dwindling resources. In 1972, the Club of Rome warned:

If the present growth trends in world population, industrialization, pollution, food production, and resource depletion continue unchanged, the limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime within the next one hundred years. The
most probable result will be a rather sudden and uncontrollable decline in both population and industrial capacity (Meadows et al. 1972:29).

If such warnings are to be taken seriously, the frontier value of infinite expansion is indeed no longer in touch with environmental conditions.

In the face of this threat of world-wide resource depletion, some authors have seen the solution in "appropriate technology" and "Buddhist economics." Schumacher (1973), for example, argued that, in underdeveloped countries, the promotion of regional self-sufficiency with primacy given to effective use of human labor would be a wiser means to economic development than mechanization and increased consumption based on capital-intensive industry.

Downing has contrasted the social and environmental effects of regional development, which he terms "ecodevelopment," with the effects of industrial capitalism.

Capitalism emphasizes short-term, economic growth maintained by the constant exploitation of non-renewable resources. In contrast, ecodevelopment stresses sustained growth through the rational exploitation of renewable resources. Whereas capitalism replaces human labor with capital intensive technology, ecodevelopment supports the development and diffusion of technologies appropriate to the sustained reproduction of a socioeconomic system. Appropriate technologies utilize, whenever possible, locally available manpower and renewable resources. Capitalism and its economic development mission produce profit for the few. Poverty and pollution are its byproducts. In contrast, the primary objective of ecodevelopment is the satisfaction of human needs—food, clothing, shelter, fuel, and dignity for the individual—for a large segment of the population (Downing 1978:214-215).

However well-reasoned such arguments may be, they run headlong into the demands of industrial societies for increasing production to combat unemployment and inflation. An American example of this
conflict between the needs for pollution control and for continued economic growth can be seen in the continuing controversy over the implementation of the Environmental Protection Act. The environmentalists point to the need to ensure a continuing supply of land, air, and water for the growing American population, while the industrialists stress the costs in money and jobs of limiting industrial pollution of the environment.

The American value-orientation of self-reliance strongly implies that economic exploitation of the environment should be encouraged. By the 1960's, however, the environmental costs, especially in terms of air and water pollution, of continuing economic growth, became too obvious to ignore. Government regulation of industry seems the only means of controlling industrial pollution, but such control runs into direct conflict with the value of individualism.

The Arab oil embargo of 1973 heightened the tension between industrial growth and environmentalism. The American response to the embargo's lesson of the dangers of dependency upon a foreign energy supply, fully in keeping with the value of self-reliance, was to make new effort to exploit native energy resources. Construction of the Alaskan oil pipeline, strip mining of vast areas for coal, and construction of nuclear power plants have all resulted from this new concern with energy independence. Each step brings fresh opposition from environmentalists who stress the permanent loss of natural resources that will result from intensified exploitation of the energy source.

There is today in America a growing awareness of the environmental cost of uncontrolled growth and a new concern with living in
greater harmony with nature. This emerging value-orientation, however, often conflicts with the American core value of self-reliance. The struggle to find a compromise between these two opposing directions in the American value system describes many of the contemporary controversies over environmental issues.

**Change and American Politics**

While the direction of change in each of these systems — social, economic, and environmental — leads to further centralization and bureaucratization, the value of self-reliance makes Americans suspicious of any perceived encroachment of government into their private domains.

Historically the center of gravity of the integration of American society has not rested in the political field. There came to be established a kind of "burden of proof" expectation that responsibilities should not be undertaken by government unless, first, the necessity for their being undertaken at all was clearly established, and second, there was no other obviously adequate way to get the job done. It is therefore not surprising that the opening up of vast new fields of governmental responsibility should meet with considerable resistance and conflict (Parsons 1960:230).

The tension between the growing need for governmental control and the value of individualism has had a variety of political expressions in the second half of the 20th century.

McCarthyism in the 1950's, according to Parsons (1960:226) was one expression of this tension.

McCarthyism can be understood as a relatively acute symptom of the strains which accompany a major change in the situation and structure of American society, a change which in this instance consists in the development of the attitudes and institutional machinery required to implement a greatly enhanced level of national political responsibility.
Parsons saw the geographical center of McCarthyism in the Midwest. The movement was particularly attractive to sections of the business community and to people of recent immigrant origin.

A decade later, the same tension took a different form, in the appearance of the John Birch Society. Both movements, McCarthyism and Birchism, shared a resistance to the increasing complexity of American organizations.

Common to all the multifarious aspects of the right wing is a certain type of 'individualism.' It has such facets as the individualism of the small unit as against the large -- the independent entrepreneur versus the large corporation, and similarly the rural and small town versus the city and the metropolis. As regards international relations, this individualism romanticizes our earlier lack of involvement in the complex world of power relations, when America could be left to work out its own destiny. Most generally perhaps this individualism is the idealization of pristine simplicity as against organizational and other complexity (Parsons 1964:233).

The geographical heartland of the John Birch Society, however, was different from that of McCarthyism.

The John Birch Society found its strongest support in small towns in the Southwest. It is to one of those small towns in the Southwest that I shall turn to see what political form the tension between the increasing complexity of American life and the value of self-reliance takes in the 1970's.

Statement of the Problem

Turner's frontier thesis implies that a value system is dependent upon social, economic, and environmental factors. Given change in the social, economic, and environmental systems, beginning with the end of the era of free land and continuing along the same lines for
another half century, the Turner hypothesis suggests that change in the central value-orientation of individualism (earlier created by frontier conditions) would result.

Some Examples

If the value system of a community were indeed strictly dependent upon social, economic, and environmental factors, one would expect to see a weakening of the value of individualism in favor of a new emphasis on cooperation and interdependence. In a municipal government, this change would manifest itself in a merging of the goals of the community with national goals, such as those mandating pollution control or equal employment opportunity for members of all races. One example of change in the direction of this ideal type from the contemporary literature is the community described by Dean as Newtown. "Community leaders here appear to identify with the whole of humanity, and they view their community as the world in microcosm. . . . Newtown leaders expect their community to conform to global expectations, and if this involves sharing the terrain with underprivileged races and classes, so be it" (Dean 1967:133).

At the opposite pole, if the values system were independent, one would expect to see the value system unchanged by changing social, environmental, and economic factors and even in confrontation with them. In local politics, preservation of the ideal of individualism would prevail over any need for greater cooperation imposed by changing conditions. To preserve the ideal of individualism may require that the community ignore data that inconveniently contradict the values system.
Examples of contemporary communities continuing to make decisions as if individualism were the central value in American life are numerous in the community study literature. In a rural community in New England, Vidich and Bensman (1960) described a domination of village government by local businessmen which resulted in loss of political control to state agencies.

In dominating village government, the businessmen give to it a character of niggardliness which reflects their scarcity psychology and their interest in low taxes. In following the path of the dominant political group, local government is forced to surrender its potential political powers to the agencies of state government which, because they have funds at their disposal, are able to fulfill functions which might otherwise be fulfilled by village government (Vidich and Bensman 1960:216).

Vogt's (1955:188) prognosis that continued emphasis on individualism over cooperation would lead to an ever more sparse settlement pattern, eventually causing the New Mexican community of Homestead to cease to exist, is an even more extreme example of the same process. The community of Minersville, described by Dean (1967) is yet another example of a fatal case of insularity prescribed by a value system.

The result of a community's continuing to make decisions on the basis of individualism can become an abrogation of responsibility to higher-level institutions of state and federal government, reducing the community's ability to control its own future and ultimately defeating the goal of independence and individualism. In practice, then, Turner's hypothesis does not always hold true. Acting as if the value system were independent of social, environmental, and economic factors is an option that is always open, even though exercising that option may lead to the destruction of the community. The issue in
contemporary America is not really whether government should exist or not, but what kind of government people should have.

In addition to the polar types described, where values appear either entirely dependent or entirely independent, other adjustments are possible between value systems and social, economic, and environmental systems. Cronin (1970:270-271) found that Sicilian immigrants to Australia were likely to maintain their traditional values as ideals, but to modify their actual behavior in the face of changed conditions in the new environment. Another type of adjustment between value and social, economic, and environmental systems involves selective change; that is, changing behavior only where it can be done without violating the value system. One recent example of this type of adjustment can be seen in the New York City financial crisis of 1977. The City reached a point of insolvency such that it could no longer maintain services and meet its financial obligations. The City requested financial aid from the federal government to meet the crisis, but was unwilling to make compromises that would have altered basic policies governing City operations. The issue of accepting federal funds is one that frequently evokes this type of response. The community will seek to use federal funds to solve some problem, but in a way that continues to maintain the value-orientation of independence.

Striving to preserve the value-orientation of independence, even at the expense of leaving unresolved potentially fatal problems, seems to be a very common response in American communities. Turner's hypothesis of the dependence of the values system upon social, environmental, and economic systems, then, does not appear to fully explain
the responses that contemporary American communities make to changing conditions. In the following chapters, I shall test the validity of Turner's hypothesis in explaining the political events that took place in one community over a five-year period in the 1970's. To what extent is the hypothesis applicable to a local government? Are there other factors that should be incorporated into the model? What does the model indicate about the role of local government in the American political process?

Methodology

I shall first describe the nature of change in the social, economic, and environmental systems of Coolidge, Arizona, then examine a series of political events in the community to see how change in these systems has affected the value-orientation of individualism. The primary dimensions of social change that I shall consider are changes in the distribution of power among ethnic groups and an increase in the elderly population. The former is influenced by a variable that is more economic than social: changing patterns of occupational mobility for members of various ethnic groups. Another economic factor to be considered is change in the degree of independence of the local economy; that is, how appropriate is the model of individualism to the local economic situation? The most important dimension of change in Coolidge's environment is increasing dessication. Environmental change is related to historical patterns of economic exploitation in the area and to the social fact of increasing population density.

I shall then describe a series of political events that represent an attempt by the people of Coolidge to enact their primary
value-orientations. In those events I shall trace the relationship between the value system and changing social, economic, and environmental conditions.

Coolidge, like other incorporated communities, is a unit having both a geographical and a legal basis. The geographical basis may change, as it did in Coolidge where an annexation took place. The legal basis of the community lies in its formal incorporation, which includes the acceptance of corporate responsibility for the provision of services, such as fire protection or garbage collection, to its residents. Questions about what services should be considered essential, to whom the services should be provided, and how their provision should be financed, as debated and resolved by elected officials in the community are the issues I shall use to determine the direction of the relationship between value systems and social, economic, and environmental systems in contemporary American communities.

The community I have selected for study is a small one, under 10,000 population. The applicability of the hypothesis, however, should not be restricted to small communities. Similar relationships between value-orientations and social, environmental, and economic change should also be discernible in urban centers. The main reason I selected a small community was one of technique, not theory. I chose the small community because its size made it amenable to study by the participant-observer technique. My preference for the participant-observer technique was dictated both by the circumstance that I was a participant in some of the events I describe and by my
anthropological inclination to observe and analyze whatever human behavior passes before my eyes.

The community I shall examine is in the state of Arizona. Arizona is an ideal location for studying change in American frontier values, being, as the last of the 48 contiguous states to join the union, a kind of last frontier. U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater, during his unsuccessful presidential campaign of 1964 and since, has expressed in the national political arena the strong Arizona value-orientation of individualism, with its attendant conservatism and isolationism. The conflict between, on the one hand, the American frontier value of individualism and, on the other hand, changing social, economic, and environmental conditions that point to a need for greater cooperation should be clearly evident in local politics in Arizona.
CHAPTER 3

A PROFILE OF COOLIDGE

Coolidge was founded in 1925. The town's origins were closely linked to the spread of cotton agriculture in Arizona in the 1920's, when Coolidge Dam, on the Gila River, provided irrigation water that made commercial cotton farming possible in the Coolidge area. New transportation routes provided the cotton farmers with access to markets. In 1924, the Southern Pacific railroad opened a line connecting Picacho and Phoenix that passed through Coolidge. State Highway 87, dedicated in 1927, became one of the main streets of Coolidge and routed motor traffic between Tucson and Phoenix through Coolidge.¹

During its first 30 years of existence, Coolidge became a distribution and service center for the surrounding agricultural area. Businesses flourished. While the permanent population of the town remained fairly stable at around 4,000 people, the annual influx of migratory workers for the harvest provided customers in large numbers for the local merchants. October marked the height of the season; in that month employment in cotton production was as much as 28 times that of the lowest month, February (Padfield and Martin 1965:87).

Present-day residents nostalgically recall those years (up to the mid-1950's) when workers, with a week's wages in their pockets on

¹. Figure 1 shows the location of places mentioned in the text.

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Figure 1. Coolidge, Arizona and surrounding area.
Friday night, thronged the broad streets of downtown, buying groceries, clothing, and household needs in the stores, relaxing and visiting in the local bars. There was singing and dancing in the streets, sometimes erupting into drunken brawls. While wages were not high, hungry workers needed groceries. Every local structure that could be construed as shelter was rented; tent cities sprang up in the fields outside of town.

Cotton agriculture has continued to flourish in Arizona. Between 1966 and 1976 the value of Arizona's cotton crop increased from $57,000,000 to almost $275,000,000 (Valley National Bank of Arizona 1977:46). Employment in the cotton harvest, however, reached its peak in 1952, when 48,500 pickers were recorded in the State (Padfield and Martin 1965:88). After that time, machine picking of cotton rapidly began to displace hand picking, so that, by 1963, 95% of the State's cotton crop was picked by machine (Padfield and Martin 1965:89). In the labor market survey conducted in 1976, less than 5% of all employed persons in the Coolidge-Florence area reported that they worked in agriculture (Burgess et al. 1976:Table A-9).

The decline in use of hand labor in cotton agriculture in the late 1950's meant that fewer people came to shop in Coolidge. Where once there had not been a parking place available in downtown Coolidge on a Saturday afternoon, vacant stores came to line the streets. Not only did the numbers of shoppers decline, but the demand for goods and services changed. For example, the visitors who now came to Coolidge to spend the winter away from colder climates are interested in a
higher quality of merchandise and a greater variety of services than Coolidge's merchants formerly supplied to migrant farm laborers.

Employment in trade declined correspondingly in the decades after 1950, as Coolidge's importance as a retail trade center waned. Table 1 shows the percentages of workers employed in each major industrial group for the three Census decades for which information is available. A revision in the way the Census Bureau classified industries between 1960 and 1970 obscures changes in employment in agriculture and in personal services, but some important trends do appear in the Census data. Employment in professional and related services increased threefold between 1950 and 1970. Employment in public administration also expanded considerably, indicating growth in governmental activities.

The percentage of Coolidge's population that was employed remained roughly the same for the three Census decades, but not all the workers formerly employed in agriculture were able to capitalize on the expansion of employment opportunities in professional and related services and in public administration. Because some of the new jobs were filled by workers moving in from outside, a pool of unskilled labor, part of the group of former agricultural laborers, was left behind in Coolidge.

Employment in manufacturing did expand between 1950 and 1970. As early as 1956, when the effects of the change to machine harvesting of cotton first began to be felt, the Coolidge Chamber of Commerce began a drive to entice garment manufacturers to move into the town, with the idea that that type of industry would substitute for the payroll formerly spent in town by the farm laborers. The first garment manufacturing plant in Coolidge opened its doors in January 1957, but
Table 1. Employment by industry in Coolidge 1950-1970.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>1950 (%)</th>
<th>1960 (%)</th>
<th>1970 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, communication, and public utilities</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, insurance, and real estate</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and repair services</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal services</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment and recreation services</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and related services</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public administration</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other industries</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not reported</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1952:Table 39, 1963:Table 81, 1973b:Table 117.

*The Census classification of industries changed between 1960 and 1970, so that workers in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries; mining; personal services; and entertainment and recreation services in 1970 are all included in other industries. Workers in finance, insurance, and real estate were combined with those in business and repair services in 1970.*
soon closed due to lack of orders. From that time to the present, there has been a series of manufacturers in Coolidge, one at a time, opening and then closing.

The primary attraction Coolidge has to offer manufacturers is its pool of unskilled labor, a resource that is, however, by no means unique to Coolidge. The most recent manufacturer to close in Coolidge did so to move its plant to Tijuana, a community even better endowed than Coolidge with unskilled labor and one free from the constraint to pay workers the federal minimum wage. Coolidge's supply of unskilled labor cannot compete with that of the Mexican border.

The most nearly successful attempt to bring a new manufacturer into Coolidge occurred in 1966, when California Girls Wear opened its factory. The company's major product was military uniforms. By April of 1967, California Girls Wear's monthly payroll had reached $100,000 and the firm's employees numbered over 400 (Coolidge Examiner 4/13/67: 1).

Local support for the manufacturer was high. In June 1967, California Girls Wear needed room for expansion. The firm was talking about opening another plant in Nogales because they could not find space in Coolidge. The Coolidge Chamber of Commerce launched a fund drive to raise $35,000 to give the firm a 6-year lease at 3% interest on a building at the Coolidge-Florence municipal airport (Coolidge Examiner 6/8/71:1). The goal of the fund drive was easily reached and the firm's expansion continued to benefit Coolidge.

The bubble burst in February 1968, when the Army rejected a shipment of 150,000 pairs of military fatigue trousers (Coolidge
Examiner 2/15/68:1). California Girls Wear closed. Since then other garment manufacturers have come and gone, but none with so large a work force as California Girls Wear.

In the 1960's, a second problem exacerbated the decline of Coolidge's retail sector. With the completion of the freeway between Tucson and Phoenix, Coolidge became a backwater. The drop in employment in the transportation industry between 1950 and 1970 is one reflection of this problem. The freeway corridor was routed not through Coolidge but through Casa Grande, 25 miles west of Coolidge. In the 1950's, both communities had been about the same size, but, with the coming of the freeway, Casa Grande began to grow more rapidly, offering a variety of goods and services that Coolidge did not.

The location of the freeway corridor through Casa Grande hurt Coolidge's retail sector in two ways. First, as more stores moved into Casa Grande, Coolidge shoppers began to find it worthwhile to travel to Casa Grande for their shopping needs. Secondly, a wishbone-shaped pattern of growth out of Phoenix was established, bypassing Coolidge. One direction of growth lay east from Phoenix into Apache Junction, northeast of Coolidge. The other arm of the wishbone was to the south, but the freeway emphasized a southwesterly direction of urban growth towards Casa Grande, rather than due south towards Coolidge.

**Physical Layout**

Commercial establishments in Coolidge are scattered on four streets. The two or three mile stretch of State Highway 87 through

2. Figure 2 shows the layout of main streets and neighborhoods in Coolidge.
Figure 2. Neighborhoods in Coolidge.
Coolidge is called Arizona Boulevard. There one finds the usual business establishments that might be expected on a highway passing through a small town: new car dealers, gasoline stations, several unpretentious restaurants and a couple of bars, two motels that function as motels (and several more that have slipped into the category of cabins for transients), farm equipment dealers, and a variety of other stores. At the north end of Arizona Boulevard in town is the office of the State Department of Economic Security and, across the street, the new shopping center, containing a chain grocery store, a chain variety store, a local drugstore, and space for a dozen or more shops still unrented. Farther north on the highway, just outside of the city limits, lie the Casa Grande Ruins, a 13th-century archaeological site of the Hohokam Indians which is a national monument operated by the U.S. Park Service.

Near the center of town, two main thoroughfares cross Arizona Boulevard. Along Central Avenue, the more northerly of the two streets, are the major city park and swimming pool, the two banks in town, and a modern city hall complex of public library, meeting room, city offices, and police department.

Parallel to Central Avenue and four blocks south is Coolidge Avenue. The Southern Pacific railroad tracks cross Coolidge Avenue two blocks east of Main Street. On the eastern end of Coolidge Avenue most of the shops are abandoned and boarded up; a junk dealer and a bar remain. Going west on Coolidge Avenue towards Arizona Boulevard there are a few businesses still open among the vacant shops: a laundromat and coin-operated car wash, a Mexican curio shop, several
auto parts dealers, and the Hope Mission. The sign atop the mission indicates the building was once the Coolidge Hotel. Now a local preacher operates it as a hostel where transients can obtain a meal, a place to sleep, and a chance for salvation. Main Street between Coolidge and Central Avenues forms the fourth side of the rectangle that makes up the business district of Coolidge. As on Coolidge Avenue, more storefronts are boarded up than occupied on Main Street.

Alcohol appears to be the most important commodity sold on Main Street. In the four blocks between Coolidge and Central are two liquor stores and three bars. At anytime between sunrise and midnight, one encounters several groups of three or four men sitting or standing on the street sharing a bottle in a brown paper bag or resting in the doorway of a shop. These men represent all the ethnic diversity of Coolidge: Anglos, Mexican-Americans, Blacks, and Indians. Occasionally a couple of Indian women, usually in pairs, join the groups of men. Many of these men are obviously handicapped and in poor health. Among the regular hangers-out on Main Street are a blind man and a man with a crudely-made peg leg. The city's ambulance makes frequent calls to Main Street to pick up victims of internal hemorrhage brought on by years of alcoholism.

A drugstore occupies one corner on Main between Coolidge and Central. A solid brick structure with old-fashioned screen doors and ceiling fans, it serves as the Coolidge depot for the Trailways bus line. Behind the ticket window and the long wooden lunch counter where beer, coffee, and greasy hamburgers are sold are shelves with the
remains of the pharmacy's ancient stock: toothpowders and patent medi-
cines in special wartime metal-saving containers.

Land Use and Commerce

One factor that makes the commercial district of Coolidge appear more desolate than it actually is, is its scattered distribution over the city. From the grocery store, bar, and other stores at the south end of Arizona Boulevard to the shopping center at the north end of the street is over two miles. Between Arizona Boulevard and the railroad tracks, over half a mile to the east, commercial buildings stretch along Coolidge and Central Avenues. There are four city blocks between Coolidge and Central Avenues, but only along Main Street and Arizona Boulevard is there any continuity of commercial use of the land.

This pattern of widely scattered commercial land use appears to be an outgrowth of the individualistic values of the earliest developers of Coolidge. The first commercial structure in the town was a cotton gin and store opened by Will Smith in the late 1920's on Coolidge Avenue between Main Street and the railroad tracks. Exemplifying the spirit of competition that characterized the town's growth, the founder's brother, meanwhile, opened his own store on the north end of Main Street at Central Avenue. The McPherson family began developing the southern end of Arizona Boulevard, selling land for both commercial and residential use. Residential development west of Arizona Boulevard between Coolidge and Central Avenues proceeded, but even as late as the early 1940's there were still cotton fields in the rectangular area in the center of town bounded by Arizona Boulevard, Main Street, Coolidge Avenue, and Central Avenue. The present problems of
abandoned commercial structures throughout downtown is in part a natural result of the original land use pattern. If all of the occupied commercial structures in the city were gathered into a single central business district, the city's commercial center would not appear the wasteland it does today.

Residential Neighborhoods

The authors of the housing survey conducted in 1975 identified five distinct residential areas in Coolidge (Kahn et al. 1975:16). West of Arizona Boulevard, bounded by Coolidge Avenue to the south and Vah Ki Inn Road to the north, is West Coolidge. North of Vah Ki Inn Road and Florence Avenue on either side of Arizona Boulevard is North-east Coolidge. East Coolidge lies east of the Southern Pacific tracks that pass through town on a diagonal roughly parallel to Main Street. Between Arizona Boulevard and the railroad tracks, demarcated by Coolidge Avenue on the south and Florence Avenue on the north, is North Coolidge. All of the area south of Coolidge Avenue on both sides of Arizona Boulevard is called South Coolidge. Each of these five neighborhoods has a somewhat different character, based on the ethnic mix, age distribution, and income levels of its residents.

Subpopulations

Ethnicity and age are variables that define major social groups in Coolidge. These two variables serve as the basis for residential groupings; that is, Anglos tend to be concentrated in some

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3. The same street is called Vah Ki Inn Road to the west of Arizona Boulevard, Florence Avenue east of Arizona Boulevard.
neighborhoods, while most members of ethnic minorities are concentrated in other neighborhoods. Similarly, some neighborhoods have a much higher proportion of elderly persons than others. Table 2 shows the percentage of members of each ethnic group by neighborhood. Table 3 shows the percentage of persons aged 65 or older and the median age of each neighborhood.

Both of these social variables are, in turn, associated with income. Table 4 shows the median household income and percentage of households with annual incomes below $5,000 by neighborhood. In general, members of ethnic minorities have lower income levels than Anglos. To a lesser degree, older persons have lower income levels than younger persons.

**Ethnic Groups**

Anglos, numerically the largest ethnic group in Coolidge, are found in concentrations higher than their percentage in the city's overall population in three neighborhoods: Northwest, North, and West Coolidge. That the neighborhoods where Anglos are most heavily concentrated are also the neighborhoods with the highest income levels is a result of years of discrimination against members of ethnic minorities. It is noteworthy, however, that the wealthiest neighborhood, Northwest Coolidge, is not so exclusively Anglo as West Coolidge. The fact that some members of ethnic minorities live in Northwest Coolidge suggests that sufficient wealth can overcome the social handicap of minority group membership.

The houses in Northwest Coolidge are all new and large. West Coolidge has some older housing, constructed in the 1930's but most is
Table 2. Ethnic group membership by neighborhood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood</th>
<th>% Anglo</th>
<th>% Mexican-American</th>
<th>% Black</th>
<th>% Indian</th>
<th>% Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kahn et al. 1975:25

Table 3. Age by neighborhood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood</th>
<th>Median Age</th>
<th>% Aged 65 and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>28.0 years</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>32.8 years</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>30.7 years</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>24.7 years</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>19.8 years</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kahn et al. 1975:24, 27

Table 4. Income by neighborhood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood</th>
<th>Median Income</th>
<th>% Households With Income Less Than $5,000/year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>$13,910</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>7,750</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>12,920</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>7,140</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>4,700</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kahn et al. 1975:23, 29
in good condition. North Coolidge, the neighborhood with the lowest income level of the three heavily Anglo neighborhoods, has more dilapidated housing. In fact, the authors of the housing survey found a higher percentage of substandard housing in North Coolidge than in South Coolidge (Kahn et al. 1975:57). The lower income levels and poorer housing conditions in North Coolidge are a result of the high proportion of elderly persons who live in that neighborhood.

Mexican-Americans are concentrated in two neighborhoods, East and South Coolidge. East Coolidge is by far the poorest neighborhood in the city. Dilapidated housing and generally miserable conditions are the lot of most residents of East Coolidge, including the Mexican-Americans who live there. The authors of the housing survey found 58% of the housing units in East Coolidge to be substandard, compared with 7.6% in West Coolidge and none in the Northwest (Kahn et al. 1975:57).

Although South Coolidge has its share of housing problems — 40% of its housing units were classified as substandard (Kahn et al. 1975:57) — the neighborhood appears to be improving. A number of new houses have been built there in recent years under the Farmers Home Administration's low-interest loan program. East Coolidge is the end of the road for the very poor; South Coolidge is a neighborhood for families on the way up.

Black residents of Coolidge are most likely to live in East Coolidge. One Black woman lives in a building that was originally a barracks during the Second World War. Neither the walls nor the ceiling are finished inside. Behind her house is the small city park in East Coolidge. The restrooms in the park are frequently closed because of
vandalism, so children come in to use her toilet. The house has no interior walls. Near the front door is a Coke machine, a color television, a card table, and some chairs. The house serves as a focal point for neighbors to come and visit. The owner is the President of the Pinal County chapter of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

There are only a few Indian residents in Coolidge, scattered in the Northwest, South, and East neighborhoods. Although Indians do not make up a large number of residents of Coolidge, they are of no small economic importance to the local merchants. Coolidge serves as the nearest retail trade center for much of the Gila River Reservation. Far more Indians come into Coolidge to shop than actually live within the city limits of Coolidge.

Only with regard to the Pima Indian residents of Coolidge is it inappropriate to talk about recent migration. The Casa Grande ruin at the north edge of Coolidge is a Hohokam site. The Hohokam are generally considered to be the ancestors of the modern Pimas. The southern boundary of the Gila River Reservation, a Pima reservation, lies less than five miles north of Coolidge. Pima residence in and around Coolidge long pre-dated European occupation of the area.

The Dust Bowl Migration. Anglos, Mexican-Americans, and Blacks all came to Coolidge as part of a migratory movement from the Dust Bowl states in the 1930's. The coincidence of the expansion of cotton farming in Arizona with the unfavorable agricultural conditions of the Dust Bowl brought farmers and farm laborers alike to Coolidge. The influence of this great migration is still felt in Coolidge today.
In 1970, for the first time, the U.S. Census inquired about the state of origin of respondents. Almost one-half of Coolidge residents in 1970, 47.8%, were born in another state. Of those born in another state, more than half, 54.2%, came from the region described as the South, including Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas as well as the Deep South states (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1973b:Table 117).

The importance of this common origin of the three largest ethnic groups in Coolidge cannot be overemphasized. Black and Anglo families, in particular, often came from the same towns in east Texas and knew one another both before and after migration. Status differences, however, do exist among the three groups.

Anglos are distributed through all socio-economic classes in Coolidge, but the upper class is almost exclusively Anglo. Anglo cotton farmers are considered the founders of Coolidge. Most City Council members are and have been Anglo; most of the professional workers and owners of local businesses are Anglo. At the lower end of the social scale, among the class of residents who originally came to Coolidge as agricultural workers, there are few differences among the three ethnic subcultures, although the local ranking system generally places Anglos above Mexican-Americans and Mexican-Americans above Blacks.

Pearl Lind was one Coolidge Anglo I knew whose migration history and current economic situation could equally well be that of a member of a Black family. Pearl had come from southeastern Missouri, chopping cotton, settling in Coolidge in the late 1940's. In 1975, she and her grown daughter lived in two tiny houses on the same lot in Coolidge. Pearl could not read or write, having worked in the fields.
as a child, but she was proud that her daughter had completed the ninth grade. Both Pearl and her daughter lived with other family members in their respective houses. Pearl lived with her husband, who had not worked for years because of severe emphysema, and her mother, who was confined to a wheelchair. Pearl's mother could not be left unattended all day, but Pearl stopped in to care for her between her several part-time jobs as a homemaker for elderly clients of the State Department of Economic Security and as a cleaning lady. These jobs, recently acquired, were the first Pearl had had outside of farm labor. Pearl's daughter lived with her husband, who had permanent but seasonal employment as a ranch hand nearby. It was his income that enabled the two families to keep up the mortgage payments on the property.

**Mobility for Farm Laborers.** Because of the mechanization of cotton agriculture, many of the jobs that brought farm laborers of all three ethnic groups to Coolidge no longer exist today. The more migratory of the farm workers simply moved along to other agricultural areas, but many stayed behind. What kind of occupational mobility have these former farm workers who stayed in Coolidge experienced?

Padfield and Martin (1965:289), in their study of the effects of technological change upon occupational mobility in Arizona agriculture, concluded that the occupational replacement by capital substitution that happened in the cotton industry, while drastically reducing the total number of jobs available, at the same time provided some opportunities for occupational mobility for workers in that industry. Some of the former hand laborers have become skilled machine operators.
Others have had to find employment outside of agriculture. No data are available to make a comparison of the occupations and industries of members of different ethnic groups through time, but it is my impression that there has been a different response to the decline in number of agricultural jobs by members of different ethnic groups. Anglos and Blacks have been more inclined to move away, to seek opportunities for work elsewhere, while Mexican-Americans have tended to stay and move into non-agricultural jobs.

One study of workers' response to the closing of a mine in another Arizona town corroborates my impression that different ethnic groups have responded differently to a decline in jobs in one industry in a community. Martin et al. (1976:19) found that, when the copper mine in Bisbee closed, the younger and more employable Anglos left town while the less employable Anglos and the Mexican-Americans remained. Of those who stayed behind, the Mexican-Americans were more likely to go back to work. (There were no Black workers at the mine.)

Mexican-Americans in Coolidge have moved into a variety of jobs since the mid-1950's. The Mexican-American who became Mayor in 1972 was first employed as a high school teacher in Coolidge, then as an administrator at the community college. The manager of the Coolidge office of the State Employment Service in 1975 was a local Mexican-American. Some of the local businesses are owned by Mexican-Americans. In general, the picture seems to be one of upward occupational mobility for Mexican-Americans in Coolidge in the 1970's.  

4. Glazer and Moynihan (1963) described differences in ethnic patterns of occupational mobility in New York City in times of economic
Although the sons and daughters of Black as well as Mexican-American families attend the local community college, the employment prospects in Coolidge seem more limited for Blacks. At any given time, there is usually one Black patrolman on the City's police force, but, for one reason or another, he never continues long enough to receive a promotion. It is my impression that those Blacks from Coolidge who succeed in professional careers do so by leaving town, usually for a larger city. In talking with Black families in Coolidge, I heard about sons and daughters who are schoolteachers, accountants, and lawyers in other cities, but the young adults who remain in Coolidge seem doomed to low-paying jobs interspersed with long spells of unemployment. Among the public agencies in the County, there are a few Blacks employed as administrators. I knew some details of the life history of some of these; all whom I knew had come from outside the County to take their jobs, from Phoenix, Tucson, or another state.

The Elderly

The second variable that helps to define people's place in Coolidge society is age. The portion of Coolidge's population that is elderly has increased over the years. Table 5 shows the distribution of Coolidge's population among four age groups for the three decades for which Census data are available. The percentage of children, persons 0 to 19 years, increased between 1950 and 1960 and declined slightly between 1960 and 1970. The percentage of persons 20 to 44 expansion. The evidence from Coolidge suggests that times of economic decline also present different opportunities to members of different ethnic groups.
Table 5. Age distribution of Coolidge's population 1950-1970.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1950 (%)</th>
<th>1960 (%)</th>
<th>1970 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-19 years</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-44 years</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64 years</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ years</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1952:Table 38, 1963:Table 22, 1973b:Table 31.
years, the prime age for labor force participation, declined steadily over the three decades. This suggests a migration out of Coolidge by young adults in search of employment. In the age group where some people begin to retire, from 45 to 64 years, there was a gradual increase for each of the three decades. The oldest age group, persons 65 years and older, showed the most marked increase, from 5.7% of Coolidge's population in 1950 to 9.6% in 1970. In 1970 there were over 200 more people in Coolidge aged 65 and over than there had been in 1950.

Coolidge's population has been relatively stable during the 1970's. The Arizona Department of Economic Security reports that Coolidge experienced a 36.9% increase in population between 1970 and 1976, from 5,314 persons to 6,865 (Arizona Department of Economic Security 1977:Table 7A). Considering that some 2,000 persons were added to the City's population by the annexation of an unincorporated area in 1972, it appears that the present population is unchanging or even slightly declining in numbers. It is my impression that Coolidge is experiencing a steady population loss of younger people, because of the lack of employment opportunities. Immigration of retired persons, however, approximately replaces the number of youth lost to the cities.

Coolidge's experience of an increase in the proportion of the population that is elderly is part of a statewide phenomenon. Since its admission, Arizona has been one of the most rapidly growing states in the union. In recent years, along with Florida and Nevada, Arizona has been one of the three states with the highest percentage of population growth. These three states contain 5% of the population of the
United States but account for 20% of its growth (Arizona Department of Economic Security 1975:3). One of the factors contributing to Arizona's high growth rate is the State's attraction as a place for retirement. The largest cities, Phoenix and Tucson, offer retirement communities like Sun City and Green Valley to the migrant. While smaller places like Coolidge have no such facilities, they still share in the State's retirement boom.

Retirees come to small cities like Coolidge, instead of Phoenix or Tucson, for two main reasons. Housing costs are lower in places like Coolidge than in big cities. Probably those retirees who come to Coolidge are generally less well off financially than those who find their way to the planned retirement communities near urban centers, such as Sun City and Green Valley. There also seems to be a matter of choice involved. In talking with persons who have retired to Coolidge, most mentioned having deliberately chosen to live in a smaller community. Many of these came from similar sized towns in the Midwest, where they were farmers or merchants. In religious affiliation, most of these retirees from small Midwestern communities are fiercely fundamentalist Protestants. Wednesday night prayer meeting is a major social event for this group. Their religious preferences help them integrate with another stratum of Coolidge society, the people who came to Coolidge as migrants during the Dust Bowl era.

North Coolidge is the neighborhood with the highest percentage of elderly persons. Like South and East Coolidge, North Coolidge's median income of $7,750 is below the City-wide median of $8,900 (Kahn et al. 1975:23). North Coolidge has more households with annual income
below $5,000 than South Coolidge (Kahn et al. 1975:29). The authors of the housing survey presented two measures of the relative age of residents. In both measures, shown in Table 3, North Coolidge had the highest elderly population of the five neighborhoods. In measures of poverty and poor housing, North Coolidge is more like South and East Coolidge, but in the measure of ethnicity North Coolidge, 90% Anglo, is more like Northwest and West Coolidge.

Retirement and Ethnicity. Aging is obviously not a process restricted to one ethnic group, but the social categories of "retired person" and "senior citizen" in Coolidge tend to refer to Anglos. There is some truth in this restriction. By reason of generations of economic deprivation, members of ethnic minorities have a shorter average life span than Anglos. There are proportionately more Anglos in the higher age brackets than in the population as a whole. For only one Census decade, 1960, did the age distribution of Coolidge's population distinguish between White (including Anglos and Mexican-Americans) and non-White (Black, Indians, and others). In that year, non-Whites made up 6.9% of Coolidge's total population, but only 2.0% of the population aged 65 and over (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1963: Table 22). A similar under-representation of elderly persons can be seen in 1976 for Pinal County where 8.2% of the White population was aged 65 and over, but 5.8% of the non-White population was aged 65 and over (Arizona Department of Economic Security 1977:Tables 3G-3I). In 1976, 14.4% of Pinal County's total population was non-White, while 10.7% of the County's elderly population was non-White (Arizona Department of Economic Security 1977:Tables 3E, 3H, 3I).
A second reason for retirement being a largely Anglo phenomenon is even more clearly economic. Because of historical patterns of discrimination in employment, Anglos are much more likely than members of ethnic minorities to have worked in the kind of job that provides a pension plan and to have stayed at that job for sufficient years to have achieved enough income to support a move to the Sunbelt in the retirement years.

**Senior Citizens and Winter Visitors.** Retirees, both local people who have continued to live in Coolidge after retirement and the new migrants who come to the Sunbelt in their retirement years, make up a group of people that are locally termed "senior citizens." It is these senior citizens who make up the large elderly population of North Coolidge. They are distinguished from another named local group, winter visitors, by the fact that they cannot afford to leave Coolidge in the summer when midday temperatures soar to 115 degrees. Winter visitors are older persons who come to spend part of the winter in Arizona's warm climate. Both groups, senior citizens and winter visitors, tend to be almost exclusively Anglo.

Unlike the retirees, winter visitors maintain another residence elsewhere. Winter visitors are generally wealthier than retirees, in that they can afford the expense of two residences for at least a part of the year. Some own homes, mainly in West Coolidge, that are left vacant during the summer; most rent for the winter in Coolidge while maintaining their year-round home in another state. The season for winter visitors in central and southern Arizona extends roughly from
mid-October to mid-April, though most do not spend a full six months in the State.

The winter visitors who come to Coolidge share certain characteristics with the retirees. Like the retirees, most say they chose to come to Coolidge because they like the small town atmosphere. Most seem to originate from the Midwest. That housing costs are less in Coolidge than in the larger cities is also probably a factor in their choice.

The Anonymous Elderly. There are other persons, chronologically in the same age range as the senior citizens and the winter visitors, who are not dignified by any local name. This group includes most of the elderly minority group members, as well as the poorest Anglos. Many spent all their working lives in the cotton fields. With no provisions made for their retirement, they spend their last years dependent on younger relatives or living alone in tiny rooms. Supplemental Security Income (SSI) is a federal assistance program, funded under the Social Security Act, that provides a monthly cash payment to low-income elderly persons whose employment was not covered by Social Security. In 1975 that payment amounted to about $165 a month. The primary source of income for the anonymous group of elderly poor in Coolidge is SSI. In addition, the SSI recipient could also be eligible for food stamps and County medical care for the indigent.

The sight of old men and women scavenging in trash bins for aluminum cans and other salvageable material is a common one in Coolidge. If Sun City is a Sunbelt retirement community for the upper
middle class, Coolidge serves the same function for aging farm laborers. The poor, however, do not choose their place to retire. Coolidge was simply where they happened to be when they could no longer work. Too poor to move on, they stayed.

Summary

In the half-century of Coolidge's existence, major changes have taken place in its economy and society. Although cotton today continues to be Coolidge's most important product, agriculture now plays a more limited role in the life of the community than it did in the earlier years. Between 1929 and 1955, agricultural production had a direct impact on the lives of a majority of Coolidge's residents. The 1930's were difficult years for agricultural people in the U.S., but Coolidge was a promised land to refugees from the Dust Bowl. Rich and poor alike came to build a new life for themselves, the rich to buy land and grow cotton, the poor to work in the fields. The promise of being able to make a living in Arizona's cotton fields was equally attractive to Anglos, Mexican-Americans, and Blacks. The agricultural workers who came needed food, shelter, and clothing. Their presence in Coolidge supported a thriving commercial center.

The first and most dramatic change came in the mid-1950's when cotton farmers began to replace human labor with machines. Although community leaders tried to bring garment factories into town to substitute for the agricultural payroll, Coolidge had no particular advantage to offer manufacturers. When the interstate highway route bypassed Coolidge in the 1960's, the town acquired another disadvantage
in being away from a major transportation route. The commercial sector suffered further declines.

Those who could moved away. The workers who left were the better-educated and higher-skilled persons who could compete in urban labor markets, predominantly young Anglos. A new type of immigrant came to replace those who left, retirees from colder climates seeking a place in the sun. These new migrants were largely Anglos, but they did not compete for local jobs. The departure of the young Anglos left some jobs open for those who stayed behind. It was the Mexican-Americans who moved into the new job openings.

In the 1970's, old problems still plague Coolidge. The search for a solution to economic stagnation goes on. No single new industry has replaced the agricultural payroll of the 1940's and early 1950's. Commerce still limps along, as the merchants bitterly complain. Displaced agricultural workers, living a miserably poor existence, still make up a significant portion of Coolidge's population.

The effects of change, however, present new challenges. How does the value of self-reliance find expression when fewer and fewer Anglos, the community's traditional leadership, are active in the labor force? Has the recent occupational mobility of Mexican-Americans meant a new role for them in the community's power structure?
CHAPTER 4

GOVERNMENT IN COOLIDGE

The municipal government of Coolidge is one arena where the challenges of economic stagnation and social change are faced. The municipal government, however, is limited in both its sphere of influence and its resources. Cotton farmers did not consult the City Council about their decision to purchase mechanical harvesters. The State Highway Commissioners selected the interstate highway route despite protests from the Coolidge Chamber of Commerce. The municipal government could not afford to build the new sewer plant it so badly needed in the 1970's without financial aid from the federal government.

For the first 20 years of the community's life, Coolidge had no municipal government. The County provided the roads and police protection that existed. In the years before Coolidge was incorporated, state and federal decisions helped shape the future of the community. Incorporation did not serve to reduce the impact of decisions by higher levels of government; it simply added another level of government through which decisions were filtered. Policy and funding decisions by all three levels of government -- federal, state, and municipal -- affect the lives of Coolidge's residents.
Federal Government

While cotton agriculture brought Coolidge to life, it was a federal water control project that provided the irrigation water for agriculture in the area. The construction of Coolidge Dam on the Gila River was the original impetus for the existence of the community.

In later years, as Coolidge began to grapple with the effects of technological change in agriculture, federal policies guided the direction of change. The federal directive ending school segregation helped make it possible for Mexican-Americans to take advantage of the new employment opportunities presented by Anglo out-migration. Coolidge's public schools were racially integrated in 1954. The legal guarantee of equal access to education for members of ethnic minorities became a powerful force for change as Anglos left Coolidge. Mexican-Americans, in particular, could acquire the necessary education to move into jobs vacated by departing Anglos.

In the 1960's, President Johnson's War on Poverty, and especially the Community Action Program, helped Coolidge's Mexican-Americans translate their economic gains into power in the local political arena. The Community Action Program was authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. In many parts of the country, the Community Action Program gave formerly powerless people their first taste of local political action. The Community Action Program was intended to stimulate cooperation among local governments, voluntary organizations, and representatives of the poor themselves to develop long-range programs designed to attack the causes of poverty. One philosophical underpinning of the Community Action Program was the
belief that poverty is build into social and economic systems, that poverty persists because of poor people's lack of political power. The efficacy of the Community Action Program (CAP), from this perspective, could be measured by the degree to which it increased participation of the poor in local political institutions:

This view holds that only as the poor acquire political influence can they change the community policies and conditions that prevent them from acquiring their fair share of society's goods and services. . . . In this view the CAP was regarded more as a social movement whose success was to be measured by increased power accruing to the poor and by change in institutions so they function more equitably for the poor (Kramer 1969:5).

The first Mexican-American to serve on the City Council, Bob Gonzales, was born and raised in Coolidge. He began his political career in Coolidge as a member of the local board of the Community Action Program. The two-fold strategy of increasing political participation by people who had never been involved in local politics and of using federal funds to solve local problems that led to his success in the recall election of 1972 were techniques that had been encouraged by the Community Action Program.

Funds from the Economic Opportunity Act also played a role in the effort to bring garment manufacturing to Coolidge. A federal grant paid for the training of workers at the California Girls Wear plant in 1966. The Defense Department gave preference to the firm in letting its contracts because Coolidge was officially certified as an economically depressed area. Coolidge's leaders welcomed this government tampering with the operation of the free market. A newspaper editorial at the close of 1966 praised Coolidge's leaders for their wisdom in
participating in such federal programs. "Coolidge is one of the few towns in the state, maybe the only one, which has made use of govern­ment programs for training people to work, and actually putting them to work" (Coolidge Examiner 12/29/66:1). The same editorial proclaimed, "The trend of a declining economy has been reversed." In spite of the training grants and preferential treatment in government contracts, the firm failed to be the economic salvation that Coolidge sought.

Another form of federal subsidy for private industry was equally warmly welcomed by Coolidge in 1966, when the Economic Develop­ment Administration made a long-term, low-interest loan of over half a million dollars for the construction of the Pima-Coolidge Industrial Park on the Gila River Reservation just north of Coolidge. Although the park has broad paved streets complete with curbs and gutters, sewage and water connections, and fire hydrants, today most of its tenants are creosote bushes. In 1976, four firms were located in the industrial park. One was a canvas product manufacturing firm operated by the Gila River Indian tribe that employed Indians from the Reser­vation. It appears that the major factor attracting the other three firms to the industrial park was its remoteness from population and, hence, its suitability for conducting noisy or hazardous activities. The firms were a pyrotechnics manufacturer, a steel fabricator, and a firm that cleaned barrels that had held toxic chemicals, altogether employing about 100 workers. The federal loan for the industrial park was long ago defaulted on.

The failure of federal grants to stimulate an economic revival in Coolidge suggests that federal funds alone are not a panacea for a
community's ills. Nevertheless, federal programs in Coolidge have produced some results that could not have been accomplished with local resources, such as the construction of the new sewer plant in 1974. The federal grants that have met goals desired by Coolidge's leaders have, at the same time, brought with them unanticipated consequences. Local leaders were happy to accept poverty money for the Community Action Program in the 1960's. The same leaders were dismayed at the results of the 1972 recall election, that brought a Mexican-American into the office of Mayor.

State Government

Like the federal government, the state government played a part in the founding of Coolidge, by locating State Highway 87 through Coolidge in 1927. Coolidge boasted a luxurious tourist accommodation, the Vah-Ki Inn, that was a popular rest stop for travelers between Phoenix and Tucson. For 12 years, from 1954 to 1966, Coolidge had a close link with the state legislature through Senator Anderson, who had been Mayor of Coolidge before his election to the state senate.

In the late 1950's, the leaders of Coolidge fought bitterly with the State Highway Commission over the location of the interstate highway route through Pinal County. Although the source of funds for construction of the interstate highway was federal, the final choice of the route, within certain parameters, was left to the state. The federal government, wisely, did not want to take sides in conflicts such as the one that developed in Pinal County.
A committee composed of representatives of the Coolidge City Council, the Chamber of Commerce, and other prominent businessmen and farmers joined with similar groups from Florence, Mesa, and Chandler to protect the interests of these communities. In 1955, the Coolidge committee demanded that the state funds originally earmarked for acquisition of the interstate right-of-way be reallocated to improve Highway 87. With the help of Senator Anderson, who was then Chairman of the Senate Highways and Bridges Committee, the funds were redirected to improve Highway 87 (*Coolidge Examiner* 6/24/55:1).

The proposed interstate route favored by Coolidge was approximately equidistant from Coolidge and Casa Grande. In May 1959, the Highway Commission announced a public hearing in Casa Grande on the location of the interstate. Members of the Coolidge committee were invited to the hearing, but representatives from Florence and Mesa were not. The Coolidge committee members were outraged. They demanded that hearings be held in all the affected communities. The State Highway Engineer replied that the people of Casa Grande would select the route (*Coolidge Examiner* 5/15/59:1, 7). The Coolidge committee answered by demanding that their District Highway Commissioner be fired and announced their support of legislation to restrict the activities of Highway Commissioners in locating and constructing interstate highways (Anderson 1959:1).

Coolidge sought the help of Senator Anderson. In January 1960, the Mayor of Coolidge and the President of the Chamber of Commerce went with leaders from Mesa to request of the Senate Highways and Bridges Committee that hearings on the location of the interstate be held in
all the affected communities and that a survey be made of the economic impact of the proposed routes before the final route was selected (Coolidge Examiner 1/29/60:1). The survey was conducted and hearings were held, but the interstate route finally selected was one three miles east of Casa Grande.

Not even Senator Anderson's support had been sufficient to turn the tide. He did soften the blow of the interstate route on Coolidge and other communities in the eastern part of Pinal County by bringing about the dedication of a new highway between Florence and Tucson, the Pinal Pioneer Parkway.

In another way, Senator Anderson was more successful in helping ease Coolidge through the period of decline in farm labor. From his position as Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, he assured funding to expand and improve two major state institutions that employ workers in the Coolidge area, the Arizona Training Program for the mentally retarded at Coolidge and the Arizona State Prison in Florence.

Each of these institutions has a staff of more than 500 persons. Although the presence of these two institutions makes an important contribution to employment in the area, neither of the local governments, Coolidge or Florence, makes much effort to attract workers at these institutions to live or shop in the area. One reason for the lack of local recognition of a major employer may be the unsavory reputations of both institutions. In a state not noted for its enlightenment in the provision of social services, these two institutions are each acknowledged to be the worst of their kind.
The Florence prison is the only maximum security prison in the state and is severely overcrowded, with 2,000 inmates. Murders among inmates at Florence are a regular feature of state-wide news. The Training Program at Coolidge is the oldest and largest of the three residential facilities for the mentally retarded in the state. The Coolidge institution is presently a training facility. Clients reside at the facility for about two years, learning self-care and job skills to the extent that they are able, before returning to their communities. In the past, however, the institution was in fact mainly a custodial facility. A portion of the Training Program's residents have lived there in custodial care for the past 30 years. In 1970, the population of this institution reached a peak of about 1,000 residents. Since that time, there has been a change in the institution's focus from custodial care to training, accompanied by a policy of returning as many residents as possible to their own communities, resulting in a decline in the number of persons living at the facility. In 1976, there were some 640 clients residing at the Training Program.

The municipal government has no direct control over decisions that effect Coolidge residents who work at the institutions. For example, the decision in the early 1970's to change the goal of the Training Program from custodial care to training was made at the state level in order to reduce the cost of providing services to the mentally retarded. The fact that reducing the resident population of the Training Program resulted in reducing employment opportunities for Coolidge residents was not a matter of concern to the state legislators.
The U.S. Supreme Court's one-man one-vote ruling in the mid-1960's required that state legislators be apportioned according to population. This federal decision meant that Coolidge would never again enjoy such munificence from the state legislature as it did in Senator Anderson's time. With the rapid population growth in Phoenix and Tucson in recent years, the balance of power in the state legislature has shifted from representatives of rural interests to those of urban areas. The needs of towns like Coolidge are now subordinate to those of larger cities.

Even with this shift in state politics from rural to urban concerns, the future of the prison seems assured. Urban legislators are more than happy to keep the loathsome institution, with all its problems, at a safe distance from their districts. Recent state legislation providing for mandatory sentences for crimes such as armed robbery keeps the prison population of Florence growing.

At the end of the 1960's, another state-funded institution opened near Coolidge. Central Arizona College, situated midway between Coolidge and Casa Grande, is Pinal County's two-year community college. The main campus has 50 faculty members serving 4,500 students. The State Department of Economic Security also has a local office in Coolidge with a staff of fifty. Altogether, employees of public agencies, the majority of which are state-funded, made up over 40% of the labor force in Coolidge in 1976.

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1. Parsons (1964:236) noted the importance of the redistricting issue to the John Birch Society in the early 1960's.
Municipal Government

It was the Coolidge Chamber of Commerce who led the move to incorporate the community in 1945. The Chamber had been organized in 1939 to represent the interests of the local merchants. The Chamber proposed a slate of candidates to make up the new Town Council. The slate included the owner of a hardware store, a dentist, two men who were co-owners of a lumber yard (one of whom was also a farmer), the owner of an electrical contracting and appliance sales firm, the owner of a hotel, and a carpenter. All were male Anglos. Residents of the area were asked to vote for or against incorporation. A vote in favor of incorporation was a vote for the Chamber's slate of candidates. Coolidge voters approved the incorporation in the fall of 1945.

The Chamber's plan was that the new municipal government could capture some of the money flowing through the commercial sector by means of business licenses and fines for various forms of misconduct. That revenue could then be turned back into improvements in the business district such as paving and lighting streets.

In their first meetings, the new Town Council members passed a series of ordinances licensing circuses, carnivals, and business establishments, as well as establishing a curfew and providing penalties for a variety of immoral practices, including public drunkenness. Coolidge folklore grants the title of founding fathers to the first cotton farmers. A convincing case could be made that it was the town's drunks who founded the municipal government. On the Monday morning after the

2. The Appendix details the occupations and terms served of all Council members from 1945 to 1976. Names of Council members mentioned in the text are also indicated.
vote to incorporate, the first revenues of the new Town of Coolidge were collected: fines from 15 drunk and disorderly cases (Coolidge Examiner 11/9/45). About one-third of the Town's revenue in 1945 was made up from drunk and disorderly fines and another third of the revenue came from a tax on liquor sales.

Revenue from alcohol consumption was sufficiently high that no property taxes were levied in the early years of the town's existence. Labor provided by prisoners at the town jail also made an important contribution to the municipal budget. The labor was voluntary. Prisoners could choose between working at street cleaning and on public works projects and eating three meals a day or remaining in jail and eating two meals a day.

Gambling was the first issue that seriously divided the new Council. One faction wanted to prohibit gambling, the other thought it would be more advantageous to tax it. One Council member resigned over the conflict. The prohibitionists won the battle, but it is said that illegal gambling operations continued in Coolidge all through the years that large numbers of farm laborers came into town.

In the spring of 1946, the first regular election for the Town Council was held. Only one of the members of the first Council was re-elected. Bill Anderson, a distributor of petroleum products, was first elected to the Town Council in 1946. Five of the Council members elected in 1946, including two Mayors, resigned before the expiration of their two-year terms of office. In January of 1947, Bill Anderson became Coolidge's fifth Mayor in less than a year and a half. Five
men were appointed to fill the vacancies left by the resignations: two farmers, a druggist, a cattle dealer, and the manager of a motel.

Six of the seven men who completed their term of office were re-elected in 1948. The seventh member was Abe Klein, the owner of a department store. Anderson was again elected Mayor. The years that Anderson was Mayor of Coolidge were prosperous ones. The Chamber's original strategy of taxing commercial activity for public improvements worked well as long as there was a large transient population to support commerce and to commit crimes such as public drunkenness for which fines could be levied. New subdivisions were added to the town; downtown streets were paved and lighted; and the first sewer plant was constructed, all while Anderson was Mayor.

The only stories about town government that appeared in the newspaper during Mayor Anderson's tenure were occasional announcements of the completion of some new public improvement. What dissension there was in the Council appears to have been handled by the resignation of the disaffected member. One Council member refused to take office in June 1948; another resigned the following September. In the 1950 election, their seats and that of the druggist first appointed to the 1946 Council were taken by two more farmers and a bookkeeper who provided services to several local businesses. In 1951, another Council member resigned.

The seven men elected in 1952 had all served on the Town Council before. Anderson was once more elected Mayor. Two of the other 1952 Council members had first been appointed to fill the vacancies on the 1946 Council. Klein had first been elected in 1948;
the other three had joined the Council in 1950. Coolidge's voters appeared well satisfied with the performance of Mayor Anderson and his colleagues.

Then, in 1954, came an abrupt break in the continuity of Town Council membership. Mayor Anderson, campaigning for election to the state senate, did not run in the 1954 Town Council election. Nor did any of the other former Council members. Only seven men, none of whom had ever before served on the Council, ran for the seven vacant seats.

It was probably no chance event that the apparent political unanimity in Coolidge's municipal government dissolved at the same time that the numbers of farm laborers began to decline. As businesses closed, the revenues from their licenses fell off. The bars and dance halls stood empty, making drunk and disorderly fines scarcer. As if there were not enough troubles with fewer prisoners to keep the streets clean, press labor was outlawed. Municipal government became more costly.

An important change in the structure of Coolidge's municipal government occurred in 1958. Coolidge's population had reached 5,000, making the municipal government eligible to move from Town to City status. The change meant that council members would be elected for four-year terms instead of two-year terms, either three or four seats coming up for election every two years. As a City, the Council could employ a City Manager as full-time administrator. In the 1958 municipal election, Coolidge voters approved the change to City status. Ken Willcox, who had been the Town Clerk, was appointed by the Council to be the first City Manager of Coolidge.
Representation on the Coolidge Council

In spite of the decline in Coolidge's commercial sector that began in the mid-1950's, there were proportionately more merchants on the Coolidge City Council in the 1960's than there had been in previous decades. In the 1940's, 19 different men served on the Coolidge Town Council; 8 of them, 42.1%, were employed in wholesale or retail trade. Of the 25 men who were Council members during the 1950's, 12 (48%) had occupations in wholesale or retail trade. Between 1950 and 1960, employment in wholesale or retail trade in Coolidge declined from 30.7% to 22.9% (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1952:Table 39, 1963:Table 81), but the percentage of Council members employed in wholesale or retail trade increased to 62.5%, 10 of 16 individuals. Not until the 1970's did the percentage of Council members employed in wholesale or retail trade decline; only 6 of the 17 individuals (35.3%) who served on the Council between 1970 and 1976 were employed in trade.

In 1970, 23.9% of Coolidge's employed persons worked in wholesale or retail trade (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1973b:Table 117). In the minds of community leaders, trade occupies a more significant position in the local economy than the percentage of workers the industry employs. Retail trade is the prototype of free enterprise, where independent entrepreneurs can both make personal profits and benefit the community by distributing some needed commodity and employing other workers.

Linda Newman, a schoolteacher, made an issue of the need for representation of other interests on the Council in her campaign during the regular election of 1972.
My second reason for wanting to be on the city council is that I think being a housewife and mother would be an asset. The present council is all male and most are business oriented. The point that I am trying to make is that the council should be representative of the citizens of Coolidge. People from all walks of life can give their own ideas to situations that might arise. A Mother is interested in her children and the functions that go on in the community, while men are caught up in the world of business (Coolidge Examiner 1/6/72:11).

She became the first woman ever elected to the City Council of Coolidge.

The change in the cost of alcohol consumption to the municipal government illustrates the problem that over-representation of merchants can cause the City Council. Public drunkenness was once an asset to the municipal government. In the 1970's, it became a liability. As a result of a state law declaring that public drunkenness could not be treated as a crime, in 1974 the City was prevented from jailing drunks. Instead, the City had to transport persons who were drunk in public to the Local Alcoholism Reception Center, where they were housed for two days at the City's expense. In a twelve-month period between the summers of 1974 and 1975, the City collected $4,390 in tax revenue from the sale of alcoholic beverages (Roether n.d.). In the first twelve months of the Local Alcoholism Reception Center's operation, from August 1974 to July 1975, the City paid out $4,108 for the care of public drunks. Payments to the Local Alcoholism Reception Center increased as time went on. The City's bill for one month alone, March of 1976, was $1,475. It appears that liquor sales are no longer a boon to the City, but any attempt on the part of the Council to restrict liquor sales would be construed as a vicious attack on the local business community. In the past decade, two liquor store owners have
served on the Council, one for two terms from 1966 to 1970, and the other from 1966 until the 1972 recall election.

The role played by farmers on the Coolidge Council declined considerably over the years. In the 1940's, 4 of the 19 Council members (21.1%) were farmers; in the 1950's, 6 of the 25 Council members (24%) were farmers. In each of the two following decades, there was one farmer on the Council, comprising 6.2% of the 1960 Council members and 5.9% of the 1970-1976 Council members. Today most farmers live outside the City limits and, consequently, do not participate in municipal politics.

Summary

Both federal and state government had much to do with the founding of Coolidge through the public works projects that gave the new community vital transportation links and irrigation water. The influence of federal and state government continues to be important in Coolidge today. State government is the single largest employer in the area. Federal grants provide funding for projects that the City would otherwise not be able to afford.

The first decade of municipal government in Coolidge provided great benefit to the local business community. The merchants appreciated the public improvements in the business district that were financed at little cost to themselves. A single strong personality, that of Mayor Anderson, dominated the local political scene.

Then, in the mid-1950's, the golden age came to an end. The decline in commercial activity narrowed the City's resource base. The cost of municipal services increased and bitter quarrels ensued over
what services should be provided to whom. The search for means of improving the local economy has continued to be a central preoccupation of Coolidge's leaders since the mid-1950's, but the Coolidge City Council is relatively impotent in economic matters.

The factors that affect the economic climate of the community, such as the change in agricultural technology, the location of the interstate route, and funding levels for state institutions, are not within the control of the municipal government. The City and Chamber of Commerce can work together to bring a few small industries into town, but the last 20 years' experience suggests that this has not been enough to bring about any major change in the local economy.

Infusions of federal money, to train workers at the California Girls Wear factory and to construct the Pima-Coolidge Industrial Park, did not have any impact on the stagnant economy either. Coolidge is simply no longer favorably located for industry. The public sector, especially state institutions, is the most important source of jobs in Coolidge at the present time.
In the early 1970's, a single issue, the bad odor from the old sewer plant, demanded the Coolidge City Council's attention. In the background, however, was another issue less amenable to direct action, the question of how the municipal government would respond to the new mobility of Mexican-Americans.

In 1964, Sid Levine had been elected to the City Council. He was a relative newcomer to Coolidge, but the son-in-law of Abe Klein. Klein's department store was one of the first in Coolidge, and Klein had served three terms on the Council during Mayor Anderson's era.

Sid Levine was elected Mayor of Coolidge after the preceding Mayor resigned in October 1967. As an outsider, Levine may have been a more accurate observer of the social changes occurring in Coolidge than most local people. For whatever reason, in 1968, Mayor Levine encouraged Bob Gonzales to run for the City Council. Gonzales had first entered the local political arena as a board member of the Community Action Program. At the time of the 1968 municipal election, he was a teacher at Coolidge High School. Gonzales became Coolidge's first non-Anglo City Council member.

The Council began to take action on the relatively straightforward problem of the stench from the sewer plant. In the spring of 1972, federal funding to construct a new sewer plant seemed assured.
Then, six months later, it was revealed that Ken Willcox, the City Manager, had improperly contracted the City's share of the money for the project, causing the federal government to withdraw its support.

Gonzales led a move to fire Willcox, but the issue turned into one of minority participation in City government, not the Manager's mishandling of the sewer grant. In the following sections, I shall detail the events that led to a major confrontation in Coolidge politics, from which Gonzales emerged victorious.

Replacing the Sewer Plant

As early as 1961, the sewer plant had been creating an unpleasant odor over Coolidge. By 1970, the need for construction of a new sewer plant had become an election issue. During the election campaign of 1970, the local newspaper had asked each of the candidates what he considered to be the City's major problems. Roberts had cited the sewage plant: "We have a problem with the sewage plant... In the winter, just when the material is thicker and harder to move, we double the load. We need a new sewage plant" (Coolidge Examiner 1/8/70:1). In March, at the first Council meeting after the 1970 election, Levine was unanimously re-elected for a second term as Mayor. After the election, in a speech thanking the Council for their support, Levine listed a new sewage treatment plant as one of the accomplishments he hoped to see in his coming two-year term as Mayor (Coolidge Examiner 3/12/70:1).

In December of 1970, faced with complaints about the odor from the sewer plant, the Council approved a resolution to seek $20,000 from the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development for an
engineering study to determine what should be done about the sewer plant. In April 1971, Mayor Levine described to the Council the innovative sewage treatment system that he proposed, the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process, developed in Israel. The system was said to be able to handle 800,000 gallons of sewage daily. The cost of constructing the new plant was estimated at $400,000. Mayor Levine told the Council that 75% to 80% of the cost could be obtained through grants. The Council unanimously authorized the Mayor and City Manager to proceed with grant applications for the new sewage treatment system (Coolidge Examiner 4/1/71:1).

The Council called for a bond election that would include $100,000 as Coolidge's share of the cost of constructing an Accelerated Photosynthetic Process (APS) sewage treatment plant. One Council member said of the bond issue:

I am very much in favor of the bonds. I have not had anything but complaints about the smell of the sewer and I think it is about time we did something about it. I think the APS is a good system and I am very much impressed with it; especially since the federal government is picking up most of the cost. I think it becomes even more attractive when we consider this factor (Coolidge Examiner 6/10/71:1).

The President of the local Chamber of Commerce echoed the Council member's sentiments about the smell of the sewer plant. "I feel the new sewer disposal system will be an asset to Coolidge and it will get rid of the smell. This will help Coolidge to grow..." (Coolidge Examiner 6/10/71:1). Plans for the sewage treatment plant had now expanded to include a hydroponic experimental farm under a plastic tent, to be watered with effluent from the plant. In June 1971, the bond issue for the sewage plant was approved, with 353 voters in favor
of it, 50 against. About the same number of people voted in this bond election as usually cast ballots in Coolidge elections.

Mayor Levine traveled to Israel in July 1971, inspecting the operation of APS sewage treatment plants in Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem. He reported to the Council that "no odor and reusability of the water were the chief advantages of the Accelerated Photosynthetic system" (Coolidge Examiner 7/15/71:1). In August, the Israeli engineer, Dr. Gandov, paid his visit to Coolidge. The Mayor reported that construction of the new sewage treatment plant would begin about November 1, 1971 and that the plant would be operating in 1972.

In 1972, Mayor Levine did not run for re-election. He moved away from Coolidge, leaving the state to go into another business. Since a solution to the problems with the sewage treatment plant was supposedly at hand, it was not a major issue in the 1972 campaign. In his statement to the press, one incumbent did claim credit for solving the sewage plant problems as part of his past record on the Council (Coolidge Examiner 1/6/72:1).

In the 1972 Council election, Gonzales was re-elected, along with new members Newman and Adams. At the first Council meeting after the election, both Holmes and Gonzales were nominated for Mayor. Holmes won the election and Gonzales became Vice-Mayor. Between the election of members to the Council and the mayoral election, the newspaper reported that the City had received notification of the grant award for construction of the sewage treatment plant. "The money . . . assures that the project will begin soon according to city officials" (Coolidge Examiner 2/24/72:1).
In mid-June of 1972, a problem arose. Ken Willcox, the City Manager who had been responsible for negotiating the grant for the sewer plant, announced to the Council that he had received a letter from the Environmental Protection Agency, the source of the largest portion of federal funds for the construction of the sewage treatment plant. The letter informed the City that: "We have determined that the plans and specifications do not conform to federal requirements for open competitive bidding on certain portions of the project, consequently this agency cannot give approval to the plans and specifications" (Coolidge Examiner 6/15/72:1). The City Manager planned a trip to Washington to discuss the matter with Environmental Protection Agency officials. Mayor Holmes commented, "If it doesn't work out, it means we'll go through another time-consuming process" (Coolidge Examiner 6/15/72:1).

Plans to replace the sewer plant had reached a stalemate by the end of 1972. Before the Council had a chance to formulate a new course of action to rectify Willcox's mistake in contracting for the project, two events — the annexation of South Coolidge and the recall election — changed the picture entirely. The annexation of South Coolidge increased the City's population to beyond the capacity of the planned sewer plant. Four Council members demanded Willcox's resignation, but not because of his poor judgment in letting the contract for the sewer plant. Instead, they said the problem was that City government did not adequately represent its residents. Public opinion divided sharply over the question of how well the City Council represented the community. By the end of 1972, the faction who had fired the City
Manager was in control. During the months of political struggle, plans for the sewer plant receded into the background.

The Annexation of South Coolidge

Two issues were involved in the annexation of South Coolidge: increasing the participation of Mexican-Americans in city government and expanding the federal resources available to the municipality. South Coolidge was a neighborhood that had both a higher proportion of members of ethnic minorities and a lower median income than the City as a whole, but South Coolidge was not so rundown as East Coolidge, a neighborhood already within the City limits. Extending the boundaries of the City to include South Coolidge brought in a group of residents who, though relatively poor, could be described as upwardly mobile.

It would be surprising to find a City Council motivated solely by altruistic principles, such as expanding municipal boundaries to make local government more representative of its citizenry. Such altruism would be even more startling when the move meant increased costs to deliver municipal services, such as refuse collection and police and fire protection, as it did with the annexation of South Coolidge.

The four Council members who supported annexation, Gonzales, Newman, Adams, and Monroe, however, saw a prospect for financial gain in the move. They wanted the City administration to make greater use of federal funds for community improvements. Federal revenue-sharing funds are allocated to municipalities on the basis of population size. By increasing its population by some 2,000 persons through the
annexation of South Coolidge, the City increased its portion of federal revenue-sharing money.

In a newspaper interview during the 1979 municipal election campaign, one of the candidates had listed annexation of the south side as one of the important issues facing the City (Coolidge Examiner 1/8/70:1). In particular, he mentioned the problem of providing fire protection to the area, but he noted that the annexation idea seemed to have little support among residents of the unincorporated area (Coolidge Examiner 1/8/70:1).

Gonzales saw the annexation of South Coolidge as inevitable during the 1972 regular election campaign. "We live in a small city with a great number of people living out of the city limits. South Coolidge is now experiencing some growth, an area with growing problems that Coolidge will some day inherit. We must take a closer look at the problems and areas to prevent confusion and apathy (Coolidge Examiner 1/6/72:1).

For an Arizona municipality, the annexation process begins with a petition containing signatures from sufficient property owners in the area of proposed annexation to equal a majority of the assessed valuation of the area. The only persons whose opinion the City Council must solicit are those property owners within the area of proposed annexation, for it is they who will have to pay for any improvements involved in the extension of municipal services to the area. In the case of South Coolidge, the assessed valuation of the area was $410,798; signatures were obtained from property owners representing $252,686 of that valuation (Coolidge Examiner 11/2/72:1).
The City Council chambers were packed for the meeting of October 10, 1972. Rumors had been flying about the Council's debate over firing the City Manager. At that point, no one knew why some Council members wanted to fire Willcox. Residents came to the October 10 meeting to question the Council about the rumors, but the Council refused to discuss the matter. When one member of the audience asked the Council about their intent to fire the Manager, they simply failed to respond (Lee 1972b:1). The Council was badly divided over the issue of firing Willcox, but neither side was willing to bring the debate into the open until they were sure they could win. Two more weeks were to elapse before the issue was publicly settled.

The question of annexing South Coolidge was a central topic of the October 10 meeting. The Council heard that two petitions were circulating on the south side, one for and one against annexation. The City Attorney explained that the negative petition was not necessary, that it was simply a question of whether or not the petition in favor represented a majority of the property owners' assessed valuation (Coolidge Examiner 10/19/72:1).

The Mayor addressed the south side residents attending the Council meeting.

"If you people want to come in, we'll accept you into the City of Coolidge," . . . The mayor said garbage, police and fire services would be furnished immediately upon officially entering the city.

Sewer service, street lighting and other municipal services would come later and would depend upon the wishes of those living in the area (Coolidge Examiner 10/19/72:1).

A concern was also expressed about continuing school bus service if the south side were annexed. The newspaper quoted a letter from the
school superintendent to a south side resident who supported annexation, saying that the school board has "no intention of discontinuing the bus service to South Coolidge whether or not this area becomes incorporated" (Coolidge Examiner 10/19/72:1).

The City Council met again on October 24. Gonzales introduced a motion to fire the City Manager; it passed by a four to three vote. The split among the Council members polarized the community. Gonzales, Newman, Adams, and Monroe charged previous City administrations with favoritism and called on all residents to involve themselves in City government. Mayor Holmes, Dr. Roberts, and Burton defended the Council's past actions. Supporters on both sides took out petitions to recall their antagonists.

The Council met once more in October 1972. One of the Council members, Dr. Roberts, who had voted against firing the City Manager, was absent from that October 30 meeting when the question of annexing the south side was on the agenda. The two other Council members who had opposed firing the Manager the previous week, Mayor Holmes and Bill Burton, were present, as well as the four victors, Bob Gonzales, Linda Newman, Ben Adams, and Ken Monroe. The City Attorney reported to the Council that petitions representing 61.5% of the assessed valuation of south side property had been received. Burton moved to table the question of annexation until the Council's next meeting. Much discussion ensued, but no second for Burton's motion. After a brief recess, the Mayor again called for a second. The Mayor's request found no response. Instead, Ben Adams moved that the area be annexed. Bob Gonzales seconded the motion, and it passed unanimously (Coolidge Examiner 11/2/72:1).
South Coolidge would officially become a part of the City on November 29, 1972, 30 days after the Council's vote. The annexation of South Coolidge brought a new group of voters into the City, giving meaning to Gonzales' call for the extension of City government to include a broader cross section of residents. The people who lived in South Coolidge represented those whom Gonzales said that City government had ignored.

The Recall Election

Activity on the sewer plant came to an abrupt halt when the controversy erupted over firing Ken Willcox, the man who had been City Manager of Coolidge for 16 years. After the October 24, 1972 meeting at which the votes of Gonzales, Newman, Adams, and Monroe carried the motion to fire the City Manager, the four released a statement to the press intended to explain their actions and call for unity.

We know it is difficult for some to accept our decision. We also know that it will take time to heal the wounds of our decision. But we also feel that we are acting in the best interests of the people. We now ask the council to unite and set aside ill feelings that may affect the future efforts of our community.

With the combined efforts of all groups, service clubs, churches, organizations and our youths, let us join together.

1. We should help encourage coordination of all department functions so that they operate in the best interest of the city.

2. We should help explore the possibilities of federal funding for drainage and flood control.

3. We should hope to help develop a workable budget to meet the present day and future needs of our community.

4. We should hope to help update outdated ordinances.

5. We should hope to request from the city manager a yearly progress report and a set of goals for the coming year.
6. We should hope to open the doors to you the people so that you may have input in directing the functions of the city.

With all this organized effort... no hurdle is too high, no goal so distant that we may not enjoy the fruits of our efforts. For in helping all the people in our community we justify our being (Lee 1972a:8).

The charges that the four made against the former City Manager seemed vague. Prior to their vote to fire Willcox, on October 17, the Council had held a closed session at which the four requested the Manager's resignation. He refused. After the October 17 meeting, Gonzales revealed to the newspaper that he and Newman, Adams, and Monroe had in June 1972 compiled a list of actions they had wanted Willcox to implement immediately.

--Meet the wishes of the city council.

--The city council will ratify the position of the city manager each year by a majority vote.

--The agenda will be in the hands of each councilman the Friday before the first Monday of each month.

--A council work session will be held one week prior to each regular council meeting for the purpose of discussing the agenda or amending it, as the council sees fit.

--The mayor will open a communications line to the press and radio to keep the council action before the public.

--Each department head will handle his own complaints to relieve the city manager of this time consuming job (recommendation) (Lee 1972b:12).

Gonzales said that, after a discussion of the list in June, two more items had been added.

--We want the office personnel to be more congenial when people walk in.

--We want the department heads to be more tactful and cooperative in dealing with the public.

'And of these points,' Gonzales said, 'our main concern was having the city manager's position reviewed by a vote every year' (Lee 1972b:12).
At the October 24 meeting, Burton condemned Gonzales' six-point list, saying that only three items on the list were related to the City Manager's position (Lee 1972a:1). Burton continued that the City Manager had been:

... 'nothing but congenial' with the council and that his position is always under the auspices of the council. He also said that the council now receives an agenda well ahead of the regular council meeting. Other items in the list are unrelated to the job of city manager.

... Burton further charged that, during a meeting among the council in June, the four council members discussed firing not only Willcox, but Police Chief Rod Baker and City Engineer Mel Henderson.

Gonzales and the other three members later denied Burton's charge. They said the meeting was informal, Roberts was absent, and that they only discussed the six-point list (Lee 1972a:1).

Throughout the recall campaign, Mayor Holmes, Burton, and Roberts continued to call for a public explanation of the reasons Gonzales, Newman, Adams, and Monroe had fired the Manager.

We feel the events that led to this recall need public clarification. We feel the people of the City of Coolidge are entitled to know of this chain of events and to fully understand our position.

This began with the decision by a council majority of Gonzales, Newman, Adams, and Monroe that Willcox was not acting at the Council's direction, and he had 'been on the job too long.' Other key city personnel had also been considered for dismissal at this time by Gonzales, Newman, Adams, and Monroe.

Our role initially was to ask publicly for the real reasons for such drastic action, as purported reasons seemed petty and inconsequential. At a public meeting October 24, 1972, the question was asked—Why? Appeals were made for tabling of this action, until public opinion could be elicited as to the effect of this action by the City of Coolidge. We were refuted without explanation, other than, such an employee by City ordinance could be fired without cause (Coolidge Examiner 11/23/72:1).

Gonzales, Newman, Adams, and Monroe responded to the demand for an explanation by, for the first time, clearly articulating their charge
that previous City administrations had been responsive to the interests of only a minority of residents.

You the petitioners are so right! In the past only a majority of the voters and City Hall, as stated in your charge, have been considered. However, if we examine who the voters are we discover a select group, in reality a minority, who have run the City of Coolidge for years and years.

All the people have been largely ignored.

We will act in the best interests of all the people in the Community, not just the dictates of City Hall.

Three councilmen have negated our right to sit in council with them for the sole reasons that we are concerned about the rights of all.

It is time that all the people, all races, colors and creeds as taxpayers be considered in the City Government of Coolidge (Coolidge Examiner 11/23/72:1).

It was not until five days before the recall election that the account of the former Manager's mishandling of the funds for the sewer plant was revealed (Schrambling 1972:1). When the City accepted the grant from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to construct the plant, it agreed to conform to all of the federal agency's requirements governing the use of the money. The City Manager made a fatal mistake in contracting $66,320 raised in a municipal bond election to Ecology Development Corporation, the only firm in the country capable of constructing the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process plant. The $66,320 was to be part of the City's share of the project; as such, use of that money had to conform to EPA's requirements. Because only one firm, Ecology Development Corporation, could bid on the project, the bidding procedure was disapproved by the EPA.

Gonzales, Newman, Adams, and Monroe responded that the Manager's waste of the City's money for sewer plant construction was only an example of his mismanagement, not their sole reason for firing him. They
sought to keep the issue on a broader level, using the controversy occasioned by the Manager's loss of $66,320 of the City's funds to drive home their point that City government had not been working for the best interests of a majority of its residents.

In November, two sets of petitions were circulated by two factions of Coolidge voters: one to recall Gonzales, Newman, Adams, and Monroe; the other to recall Holmes, Roberts, and Burton. Both sets of petitions obtained sufficient signatures to force the recall election of all seven Council members. The Acting City Manager, Jim Durham, who had been temporarily appointed to serve until the Council could hire a new Manager, set the election date for December 5, 1972. Nearly three times as many people, 1,520, voted in the recall election as the 540 who had voted in the preceding municipal election (Coolidge Examiner 12/14/72:1). The slate of candidates headed by Gonzales won. This evidence of popular support seemed to justify Gonzales' claim that previous administrations had not served all of the community and to indicate that the real issue behind the recall election was indeed one of broad participation in municipal government.

Gonzales' attempt to expand participation in local government to include more of Coolidge's residents was certainly successful, at least for the recall election. The wife of a former mayor of Coolidge described the election to me several years later, telling me how Gonzales and his supporters had brought out all kinds of Blacks and Mexicans who had never voted before, from South Coolidge and the other side of the tracks. She went on to say that the people who had previously been active in City politics found this organizing effort by
Gonzales unforgivable, and that the former power group felt nothing but hate for City Hall ever since. The newspaper termed the political conflict "one of the most bitter power struggles this city has ever faced" (Coolidge Examiner 11/9/72:1).

The recall election indicated a new attitude on the part of Coolidge voters towards City government. From its incorporation until 1972, the City had responded to the needs of a few small groups of residents, ignoring the majority. The public revelation of Willcox's error in contracting for the sewer plant provided a reason to bring into question the way the City Council had represented the interests of all the community. The results of the recall election clearly stated the answer; a majority of Coolidge residents, many of whom had never before participated in municipal politics, favored a change. Two monumental tasks faced Gonzales' administration after the recall election: to break down the polarization between Gonzales' supporters and the former holders of power that had developed during the fall of 1972 and to secure the federal funds to carry out the promised community improvements.

Influence of the Annexation on the Recall Election

In the local newspaper's announcement of the recall election, the following statement appeared: "South Coolidge residents of the newly annexed area will be unable to vote because of the time limit on residence within the city limits, according to Acting City Manager Jim Durham" (Coolidge Examiner 11/30/72:1). Durham's logic in excluding South Coolidge voters was that South Coolidge residents could
not meet the State's requirement of thirty days' residency in the City because the area did not legally become part of the City until six days prior to the election.

Four residents of South Coolidge filed suit against the City on November 27, demanding to be allowed to vote in the recall election. The attorney for the South Coolidge residents argued that the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled against durational residence requirements. The County Superior Court Judge who heard the case on December 1 declined to rule on the State's residency requirement. He simply ordered the City to allow South Coolidge residents to vote, tallying their votes separately so that another election would not be necessary if his decision was later overturned (Coolidge Examiner 12/7/72:1).

Afterwards, Gonzales' critics accused him of gerrymandering the south side so as to enable a bloc of Mexican-American voters to lend their support to his side. Since the votes from South Coolidge were counted separately, that charge can be countered with facts. There are no wards in Coolidge; all seven Council Members are elected at large by all voters. The vote of South Coolidge residents was decisive in the contest for only one of the seven seats, that between Mayor Holmes and his challenger, Carl Wilson. Wilson defeated Holmes in a 749 to 725 vote. Had South Coolidge residents been excluded, Wilson would have lost to Holmes by ten votes (Coolidge Examiner 12/7/72:1). Gonzales and the rest of his slate would have won the recall election even without the votes from South Coolidge.
Fiscal Policies and the Recall
Election

In the recall campaign Holmes, Roberts, Burton, and the rest of their slate of candidates stressed their policy of fiscal responsibi­

City government is everybody's business because it works with tax dollars. The mayor and council should be composed of people who understand values, are responsive to the times and are capable leaders. The taxes they control are yours.

My many years on the city government as mayor and council­

The present vice-mayor and his crowd feel we need a big debt and several other irresponsible things we don't have the money for. I cannot believe Coolidge taxpayers want or need galloping, paralyzing taxes (Coolidge Examiner 11/23/72:1).

Earlier, Roberts, in defense of the fired City Manager, had praised him as a "nickel nurse" (Lee 1972a:1).

Burton suggested that Gonzales, Newman, Adams, and Monroe were advocating a spendthrift, if not illegal, fiscal policy for the City.

My ideas on the recent problems of Coolidge--I am very dis­appointed that the problems that have developed in the past months could not be resolved by the City Council. I am just as concerned and for sure, more determined to see that more serious and more costly problems don't develop in the future. I feel that unless we have a seven man council, with each and every one willing to state the pro or con to the other six councilmen and to the people at large, that they the councilmen are repre­senting then there is no possible way to have a good city government.

Good city government meaning to me--

1. The most for each tax dollar, to do the most good for all the people of Coolidge.

2. To spend and budget this money according to the law, and manage the funds in such manner that the tax burden can be carried by all our people and still have the basic services a city is obligated to offer its people with some money to spend for improvements for a better way of life.
3. That Councilmen shall to the best of their ability abide by and promote ordinances and actions in accordance with state laws. That City personnel will be treated as good employees with a will to serve the city to the best of their ability, and that they, city employees have the same rights as any other citizen of Coolidge or of the United States, in that they are innocent of accusations of negligence of duties or breach of courtesy to the people of Coolidge—until facts are presented and are proven to be true.

These are only three of the points of good government but they are points that aren't being followed by the majority of the present Council, and unless a change is made, City government will continue to give birth to more and greater problems than we now have (Coolidge Examiner 11/16/72:3).

Gonzales' opponents took a conservative view of fiscal matters in the City, looking back to that golden age of Coolidge in the early 1950's when no property taxes were levied and press labor did the work of employees on the City payroll.

Newman answered that available federal money was not being used, that a more aggressive City administration would seek out federal funds to solve local problems.

There are many problems that confront a city council. The problem of annexation became an issue. A majority of the citizens of South Coolidge expressed a desire to become part of the City of Coolidge. We, the council, wanted to annex South Coolidge. The larger area would provide for progress and orderly growth. The increase in population would give more state and federal funds for Coolidge. With the passing of the revenue sharing, the cities will share 15 percent of the state income tax according to the population of each city.

Federal funding is another source of revenue for cities. We have been told that these funds are not available. How did we get our new City Hall? Maybe if it is something that we really want, we will work to get the money. . . . (Coolidge Examiner 11/16/72:3).

The recall victory gave the winners a mandate to pursue federal funds for Coolidge more diligently. Gonzales and his supporters believed that bringing in additional resources from outside the City
budget in the form of federal grants would permit community improvements that would not be possible if only City funds were used. Roberts and Burton had articulated the opposite view, that the City should live within its means. Their view neglected several important points: that residents' expectations of acceptable levels of service, such as police and fire protection and garbage collection, had grown; that outlawing press labor had increased the cost of service delivery; and that the City's tax base had dwindled with the decline of the commercial center. Using more federal funds was an acknowledgment of the City's economic dependence.

The New Administration

At the first meeting of the new Coolidge City Council after the recall election, Bob Gonzales was unanimously elected Mayor. One of the most urgent tasks facing the Council was the appointment of a City Manager, someone who could implement the new approach to local government that the recall victors had promised. Expertise in obtaining federal grants was one of the qualities the Council sought in their new Manager. "He should know how to get federal funds. . . ." "Regional government is an important background for any city manager these days. . . ." "He should be able to take the lead in community planning" (Coolidge Examiner 12/21/72:1).

The "galloping, paralyzing taxes" that Roberts had predicted would accompany the election of Gonzales and his colleagues appeared on the horizon, when, another meeting in December, the council discussed the imposition of a City sales tax (Coolidge Examiner 12/21/72:1).
The Council also began plans for a mid-decade census, so that the City could benefit from the residents added by the annexation of South Coolidge in revenue-sharing.

Three problems demanded the new Council's attention. First was resumption of work on replacing the old sewer plant. In addition, the Council wanted to undertake programs to address a more chronic problem, the shabby and rundown appearance of the community. The Council's interest in beautifying Coolidge focused on two areas: re-habilitating the downtown business district and improving housing, especially in the newly annexed portion of South Coolidge.

The Council hired a new City Manager to carry out these activities. Gary Knight, a young and energetic man from California, came to work as the City Manager of Coolidge in March 1973. The local newspaper carried a front page article on the new manager and the problems confronting him. The dilapidated condition of much of Coolidge's housing was a central topic of that article.

Knight's first day on the job 10 weeks ago he waded through papers down to a depth where he discovered a 1966 study which condemned an incredible 70 percent of the city's buildings as substandard. The report said 40 percent of those were in such poor state they were candidates for the bulldozer. And this did not include the south side of the city which had become a sociological dumping ground for Indians, Blacks, Chicanos and poor whites (Whitaker 1973:1).

Knight was eager to do what he could to improve housing conditions, both by encouraging new construction and bringing existing structures up to standard.

No progress towards constructing the new sewer plant had been made for many months, since the revelation of Willcox's mismanagement of the City's funds in connection with the project. The annexation of
South Coolidge had dashed all hopes of constructing the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process sewer plant. That particular type of plant could serve only 8,000 persons. With the addition of South Coolidge residents, the plant would have been serving 7,500 persons the day it opened, too near capacity to permit any future growth (Schrambling 1972:11).

The ambitious plans for the innovative sewage treatment plant came to an end in January 1973, when the Council voted to cancel the contract with Ecology Development Corporation. One Council member commented, "We may end up without a sewage treatment plant or the money to build one" (Coolidge Examiner 1/4/73:1).

The money that the City had spent on planning the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process sewage treatment plant was indeed lost, but Knight began working with the Environmental Protection Agency to develop another set of plans that would enable the City to receive a grant for 75% of the cost of constructing a conventional sewage treatment plant. The grant was to cover the cost of constructing the plant itself, as well as trunk and interceptor lines to link private properties to the plant.

**Sewer Lines and the New Sewer Plant**

One of the Environmental Protection Agency's conditions of the grant for the sewer plant was that construction would actually result in providing sewer service to residents. The sewer lines could not be built to stand unused, like ancient Roman aqueducts, as memorials to previous city administrations. While the interceptor lines funded
by EPA would extend sewer service into a neighborhood, the cost of linking each household to the interceptor line would have to be financed by some other means. The broken lines in Figure 3 show the portion of the sewerline construction that had to be financed locally.

The costs of connecting households to the interceptor line can be broken down into two types: (1) the communal costs of laying lateral lines down the streets or alleys to carry sewage from a tap on each lot into the interceptor line; and (2) the private costs, on the owner's property, of installing pipe from the sewer tap to the house to connect the house's plumbing system to the sewer. The private costs are usually borne directly by the individual property owner. If the house is situated some distance from the sewer tap, these costs may be high.

The usual procedure for financing the corporate costs is through the formation of an improvement district. Residents of the area to benefit from the project share the cost of the improvement. The process begins with an engineering study to determine exactly how the construction will be done and what its cost will be. Residents are then notified of the costs and given an opportunity to accept or reject the proposed improvement. Should the residents reject the improvement, the city council must pay the cost of the engineering study. If the residents accept the improvement, the cost of the engineering study is added into the construction costs that are shared by all. The city council, therefore, would not wish to undertake the engineering study without some assurance that the improvement district would be formed.
Figure 3. Sharing the cost of sewerline construction.
Once approved, the improvement is constructed. The city council must then figure out the basis for determining how the costs will be shared among the residents, usually on the basis of number of feet of frontage owned or the number of taps provided or some combination of the two criteria. Obviously, in a sparsely populated area the cost of the improvement district to individual property-owners will be higher than in a densely populated area. State law gives the residents opportunity to protest the basis of allocating costs. Once the allocation formula is worked out, bonds are issued in the amount of the construction costs. Residents may pay off the total amount of their share within 30 days of issuance of the bonds. If they do not, the bonds are sold and residents pay twice-yearly installments of principal and interest.

By the summer of 1973, one improvement district had been formed to extend sewer service into the northern portion of the city. Residents of the western and more densely populated half of South Coolidge indicated interest in forming another improvement district. Construction of the interceptor lines would proceed along with construction of the new sewage treatment plant. Approval of the grant for the sewage treatment was received from the Environmental Protection Agency at the end of 1973. Construction of the plant and its connecting line to the north began early in 1974.

**Improving Housing Conditions**

Knight hired a Building Inspector to carry out the new housing improvement program. The Building Inspector reviewed plans for new
construction and made recommendations to the City's Planning and Zoning Commission. For the first time, building permits had to be obtained for alterations, allowing the Building Inspector to make sure the renovation was up to standard. The Building Inspector also began the lengthy process of forcing owners to tear down abandoned buildings. First, the Building Inspector had to notify the owner of the conditions that did not meet the Building Code, giving the owner 30 days in which to correct the conditions or appeal the decision. If the owner did not respond to this official notification, the City could proceed to tear down the abandoned structure and charge the owner for the work. Because many of the owners of abandoned buildings had left town, the legal proceedings often dragged on for many months, but gradually the City began to succeed in removing many of the unsightly burned out and abandoned structures. The Building Code Enforcement program was one of the factors that contributed to the improvement of South Coolidge after its annexation.

The Downtown Beautification Project

On August 27, 1973, City Manager Gary Knight presented to the Council a plan for constructing planted parking medians downtown. Councilman Wilson moved that the plan Mr. Knight recommended be adopted; Jones seconded the motion; and it passed. Construction began on the following Monday.

As soon as work began on the streets, angry merchants appeared at City Hall to protest the project, saying that eliminating diagonal parking would reduce the number of parking spaces available and curtail
their sales. In an attempt to respond to the merchant's concern, the City Manager set up an emergency meeting of the Council for that evening. Calling a City Council meeting on such short notice was not strictly legal, so no formal action could be taken at that meeting. Mayor Gonzales was out of town on that day, August 30, 1973, and could not be reached. Vice-Mayor Adams chaired the meeting, to which 71 Coolidge residents came to protest the beautification project. Thirteen citizens in turn asked to be recognized and each spoke against the project. The Vice-Mayor thanked them for their interest and closed the meeting. The City Manager ordered work on the project halted until another vote could be taken.

At the next regular Council meeting in early September, Mayor Gonzales asked for a motion to continue the beautification project. No motion was forthcoming. Instead, Councilman Wilson, who had made the original motion in favor of the project, moved that it be abandoned. Newman seconded the motion and it passed. The City employees were directed to restore the pavement they had dug up for the project.

After that unsuccessful confrontation with the merchants in the central business district, Mayor Gonzales gave his support to plans for construction of a new shopping plaza at the north end of Arizona Boulevard. The shopping center, opened in 1974, resulted in the abandonment of two more large stores in the Main Street area, the Safeway building on Central Avenue across from City Hall and a drugstore at Coolidge and Main.
Summary

The new Council's first effort to beautify the downtown ended in an ugly confrontation with the Main Street merchants. In giving in to the merchants, the Council tacitly agreed with the argument that parking space was more important than planted medians. No one inquired how much parking was actually needed to serve the stores. Acquiescence to the requests of Main Street merchants and failure to question the logic of the merchants' proposals described the Council's action on the downtown beautification project, a pattern of response that was to be repeated in subsequent interactions between the City Council and the merchants.

Progress had been made in other areas. By the end of the first year after the new Council took office, construction of the sewer plant and interceptor lines to North Coolidge had begun. The Building Code Enforcement Program had eliminated some of the most dilapidated abandoned structures in town and procedures existed to make new construction meet the standards that the Council had agreed upon.

The 1974 City Council

The first regular municipal election after the recall was held in early 1974. The terms of four Council members were expiring: Monroe, Jones, Wilson and Shaw. Monroe did not run again, the other three did. Shaw, a grocery store owner from South Coolidge, was the only incumbent re-elected. Lawson, another Council member elected in 1974, had previously served on the Council between 1958 and 1960. He owned a shop on Main Street. The other two new members of the 1974 Council were Hamilton, a retired auto dealer, and Benson, a dentist.
At the first meeting of the Council after the election, two men were nominated for Mayor, Gonzales and Hamilton. Gonzales won by one vote.

That four to three split, with Gonzales, Adams, Newman, and Shaw on one side and Hamilton, Benson, and Lawson on the other, came to characterize many of the decisions made by the new Council. The mandate that Coolidge voters had given to the recall candidates in 1972 was waning. Voter turnout for the 1974 election was moderately high, with 906 votes cast, midway between the high of 1,520 in the 1972 recall election and the low of 540 in the 1972 regular election.

Continuation of the Sewer Project

In September 1974 the flow from the old sewer plant was diverted into the new plant. A final cloud of sulphur stench hung over Coolidge for a few days while the old ponds dried out. At that point, the new sewage treatment plant became fully operational. The interceptor line to the north of Coolidge was completed at the same time.

In his speech upon re-election as Mayor in 1974, Gonzales

... pointed out that he believes the most pressing issue facing the city of Coolidge is construction of the south trunk line for the newly annexed area of the city.

"The improvement district must be formed in that part of Coolidge and when it is, it will allow the area to participate as a real part of the community. ... It will improve the whole area and the environment of that part of the City."

Gonzales added that the proper growth of South Coolidge will be stunted if a trunk line is not constructed (Coolidge Examiner 3/21/74:1).

In May 1974, residents of the western portion of South Coolidge agreed to the formation of an improvement district in the western half of the area.
By the end of 1974, the western portion of South Coolidge was connected to the new sewage system. The assessment for this improvement district in the south, for the shared costs of constructing the lateral lines to each property, was approximately $8000 for each household. In addition, property owners paid for the construction of the lines on their own property. Only the eastern half of South Coolidge remained outside the new sewer system. The resistance that one of the City Manager's activities directed towards cleaning up Coolidge met with in the eastern part of South Coolidge posed a problem later, when the City Council tried to form another sewer improvement district in that part of South Coolidge.

The Rooster Ordinance

Whether or not keeping domestic animals within the City limits should be restricted was an issue that reappeared a number of times during Coolidge's history, beginning soon after incorporation in 1945. When Knight became City Manager, the ordinance regulating the keeping of farm animals within the City limits had long gone unenforced. As part of the beautification effort, Knight hired an animal code enforcement officer in the summer of 1974. Had this new officer confined his activities to catching dogs, of which there were many strays, he might have been tolerated. When he told South Coolidge residents they could no longer keep roosters in the City, they protested vigorously.

For residents of South Coolidge, the rooster issue became a symbolic rallying point. They said that much of their reluctance over annexation in 1972 and before had been based on a fear that incorporation would change the rural character of their neighborhood. They
claimed that Gonzales and his supporters had explicitly promised them that annexation would not change the rural nature of the area, only bring certain obvious amenities of municipal government such as fire protection and garbage collection. This sentiment about the importance of a rural style of existence was strongest in the eastern half of South Coolidge, where many of the property-owners had large lots. A few horses were kept in the area, as well as smaller farm animals. The organized protest against enforcement of the rooster ordinance came from the eastern portion of South Coolidge. The City's crusade against roosters was perceived by these South Coolidge residents as a threat to their future ability to keep domestic animals within the city limits. Keeping domestic animals was one of the activities that defined a suitably rural quality of life for South Coolidge residents.

After the initial protests from South Coolidge to City Hall, a two-week moratorium was declared on enforcement of the rooster ordinance until the issue could be discussed at a Council meeting. It was later said that no City Council meeting had ever been so well attended as the one in September 1974, when the rooster ordinance was considered. The outcome was an amendment to the ordinance, removing the prohibition against keeping roosters, a decisive victory for South Coolidge.

Knight never seemed to understand the basis for protest over the rooster ordinance. For him, the issue was an entirely different matter. In one of the houses in the eastern portion of South Coolidge lived a family whose major economic activity was breeding fighting cocks. While cock fights are illegal in Arizona, breeding fighting cocks is not. Knight said the rooster ordinance was enforced with the
intention of closing down the cock breeder's operation. To Knight, the fact that South Coolidge residents rallied to support the cock breeder was evidence of their ignorance and gullibility.

Since the eastern portion of South Coolidge was less densely populated than the western portion, the cost of forming a sewer improvement district would be higher in the east. The hostility between City Hall and the residents of the eastern part of South Coolidge that was generated in the conflict over the rooster ordinance combined with the prospect of a costly sewer improvement district to present the Council with some serious difficulties in extending the sewer lines into that part of South Coolidge.

Summary

The one unifying theme running throughout Coolidge politics in the early 1970's was the City Council's effort to replace the old sewer plant. Otherwise, the events of 1972 seemed to represent a sharp break with the past. The annexation of South Coolidge extended municipal government to a neighborhood with a higher proportion of minority persons than the city as a whole. The central issue in the recall campaign of 1972 was the charge that City government had not responded to the needs of a majority of residents. That Gonzales and his supporters won appeared to be an indication that Coolidge's voters, including members of ethnic minorities, wanted to participate more actively in local government.

The new Council members attempted to meet the expectations they had raised during the recall campaign, in particular, to improve
housing and breathe new life into the rundown commercial center. Their first effort to beautify the downtown, however, was a complete failure. A concentrated program of demolishing abandoned houses did have more success, but there was still much to be done to clean up all the dilapidated housing in Coolidge.

When the new City Manager was hired in 1973 he renegotiated the grant from the Environmental Protection Agency to build the new sewer plant. The plant was completed and all of the city except one neighborhood connected to it by the end of 1974. The City Manager had angered the residents of that rather rural neighborhood still outside the sewer system when he tried to enforce a prohibition against keeping roosters within the City limits in the summer of 1974.

The results of the 1974 municipal election suggested that the political enthusiasm generated during the recall campaign had ebbed. After the election, Gonzales and his colleagues still held a one-vote majority on the Council, but the wave of popular interest in City government that had swept Coolidge in 1972 seemed to have passed. The same tasks -- completing the sewer system, improving housing, and rehabilitating the central business district -- continued to occupy the Council's attention in the following years.
I came to work in Coolidge in April 1975, as an employee of the Community Action Agency that served Pinal and adjoining Gila County, assigned to work in the Coolidge area. The City of Coolidge provided me with office space, a telephone, and secretarial service. In exchange, I worked closely with the City on matters that affected poor and minority residents of Coolidge. I found myself involved in issues that had occupied the Council for some years: the merchants' demands for action to rehabilitate the downtown business district, a new phase in the effort to improve housing conditions, and the continuing extension of sewer lines throughout the city.

A month after I started to work in Coolidge, Gary Knight, the City Manager hired after the recall election, submitted his resignation. Knight left Coolidge in August 1975, to become the City Manager of a more prosperous community in California. For the rest of 1975, Greg Jenkins, who had been hired by Knight as City Clerk and Finance Director, served as Acting City Manager until the Council could recruit a new administrator.

Rehabilitating the Commercial Sector

The City Council and the local merchants fully share the desire to expand local commerce. Growth in the commercial sector would...
give higher profits to the merchants and more tax revenue to the City administration. The abandoned storefronts on Main Street are assumed by the City's leaders to mean that there is room for improvement in Coolidge's commercial sector. There is, however, other evidence to indicate that the goal is unrealistic.

**Retail Capture**

The results of an analysis of retail sales in Coolidge during 1974-75 suggest that any significant expansion in commerce is unlikely (Roether n.d.). The analysis was accomplished by comparing estimates of how much Coolidge residents might be expected to spend on various types of retail goods with actual sales. The estimates of what residents could be expected to spend was based upon national, state, and county expenditure patterns, adjusted for the relatively low average income level of Coolidge residents.

Table 6 shows the percentage of possible retail sales based on the expenditure pattern that each type of retail outlet experienced between August 1974 and August 1975. Overall, Coolidge merchants captured 104% of the sales that would be predicted from the expenditure pattern. The entries above the horizontal line indicate the types of retail outlets that are drawing in customers from outside of Coolidge. The types of retail outlets below the horizontal line indicate the purchases that Coolidge residents are more likely to make outside the City.

For a community of its size and income level, Coolidge's retail sales are slightly above what the model would predict; that is,
Table 6. Percent of retail capture in Coolidge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Retail Outlet</th>
<th>% Capture in Coolidge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm Implements</td>
<td>796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor Stores</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variety Stores</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Hand Stores</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auto Dealers, Service, and Supplies</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Stores</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumber, Building Material, Hardware</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating and Drinking Places</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialty Retail</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Stores</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparel Stores</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department Stores</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture and Appliance Stores</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Services</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Recreation</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>104</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Roether n.d.
business is not likely to get better unless the population grows more. This finding helps to explain why Coolidge's leaders have had so little success in expanding commercial activity. Instead of directing their attention to other types of economic development, however, Council members and merchants continue to act as if Main Street could be turned into a bustling shopping center. Their frustration at repeated failures finds expression in persecuting the poor people who inhabit Main Street.

The Main Street Merchants

One merchant vented his hostility by shooting a pistol over the heads of three Black boys who were standing around on Main Street one evening in April of 1975. He was fined $27 for firing a gun within the City limits.

The man who shot at the boys was a vocal member of a group of Main Street merchants who called themselves the Downtown Improvement Committee. The Committee's stated goal was to rid Main Street of the undesirables who, it was said, were responsible for the low volume of business on Main Street. The group claimed that customers were afraid to wend their way past the winos to enter the merchants' shops.

There was some concern at City Hall about the vigilante aspects of the Downtown Improvement Committee. In an attempt to channel the Improvement Committee's energies into constructive effort toward rehabilitating the downtown and to stimulate dialogue between the Committee and City Hall, the local Community Development Specialist of the Cooperative Extension Service joined the Committee. When members
complained about inadequate street lighting and police protection on Main Street, the Community Development Specialist suggested that the Committee meet with the Chief of Police, the utility company's local manager, and a representative of the City Attorney's office to discuss their problems.

The meeting took place one evening late in April of 1975, at the Chamber of Commerce's building in the City's main park. I attended as an observer. The outside door was kept locked throughout the meeting, which was chaired by one of the younger businessmen on Main Street, an insurance agent. He endeavored to keep order, but his efforts were somewhat frustrated by irrelevancies interjected by an apparently drunken member of the Committee. The Improvement Committee had three requests to make of the City: additional lighting of streets and alleys downtown, police foot patrols on Main Street, and enforcement of a curfew for youth.

The utility company manager detailed what additional lighting could be available, at what cost to the City and the individual merchants. Six months later, the Downtown Improvement Committee's request for alley lighting appeared on a City Council meeting agenda. When no Committee members came to the Council meeting, although they had been informed of this agenda item, the Council tabled the question. It never came up again.

The Chief of Police responded to the request for foot patrols by saying that it was indeed a fine idea, but his department's budget simply did not contain enough money to pay for such a service. The request for a curfew was the one agenda item that resulted in action.
The representative from the City Attorney's office explained to the Committee members that enforcing a curfew such as they proposed would be unconstitutional. Nevertheless, a few days after the meeting of the Downtown Improvement Committee, the City began to sound a siren every weekday evening at nine, weekends at ten, avowedly to remind the youth of the community that it was time to go home.

The curfew was not enforced, but the sounding of the siren was expected to have some psychological impact on the youth or, at least, on the members of the Downtown Improvement Committee. Once again, the Council demonstrated its willingness to respond to whatever demand might come from the Main Street merchants, without considering whether the request could really benefit the commercial center.

**Building Code Enforcement**

The City Council continued to pursue the goal of improving local housing. For the Council, housing was strictly a physical issue; substandard housing was a major contributor to the shabby appearance of the community. Never was there any discussion of housing as a human issue, that people's dwellings, however miserable, might have meaning in their lives. By the end of 1974, most of the abandoned structures that the City could remove had been destroyed. Given the lack of concern about housing as a place where people lived, the logical next step in carrying on the program of housing improvements was to begin to condemn occupied substandard housing.

During the winter of 1974-75, the Building Inspector first posted an occupied building, notifying the local landlord that he had
30 days to correct the substandard conditions. It was an apartment house in the center of town, a block west of Main Street between Coolidge and Central Avenues. The tenants were old and poor, several of them invalids. When the landlord received the City's notice, he promptly had the building's utilities disconnected, leaving the tenants without running water or heat in the middle of winter. The landlord had no intention of making the repairs necessary to bring the building up to standard. Cutting off the utilities served to minimize the landlord's losses. In an atmosphere of panic, the City Police, assisted by the local Welfare Department, moved the tenants out. Several were taken to the County's nursing home. The rest just faded away, moving in with relatives, leaving town, or relocating to another hovel. The landlord paid for the demolition of the building, leaving another vacant lot in downtown Coolidge.

The next round of condemning occupied housing began late in the summer of 1975, just as Knight was leaving Coolidge. The Building Code Enforcement program continued in spite of Knight's departure.

In the latter part of August 1975, the Building Inspector posted occupied housing units belonging to six landlords. He informed them that they had 30 days in which to repair the buildings, destroy them, or appeal the City's decision. The posted housing was of the variety known in Coolidge as a "cotton camp," a group of separate one-room cabins located around a community toilet and shower.

Wishing to avoid the panic removal of tenants that had occurred the past winter, Knight had requested that I go to see each of the tenants as soon as possible after the landlords were officially
notified of the City's action. I was to explain the condemnation pro-
ceedings to the tenants, encourage them to look for other housing, and
do what I could to refer them to other social service agencies who
could help them with relocation.

The signs the Building Inspector posted at the cotton camps,
informing the reader that the landlord had 30 days to correct the sub-
standard conditions before the City closed the building, vanished
within the first 24 hours, perhaps removed by the landlords. The land-
lords were not pleased with my notifying the tenants of the City's
actions. Having the tenants aware of the condemnation proceedings now
made it difficult for the landlords to collect rents during that 30-
day period.

Five of the six landlords were Coolidge residents. The one
absentee landlord, Sanchez, lived in Tucson. His rental units, four
small cabins, were located in the part of South Coolidge annexed in
1972. Jose Perez, an unsuccessful candidate for the City Council in
the regular election of 1972, owned a small grocery store on Main
Street south of Coolidge Avenue. His units, also four small cabins,
were located a couple of blocks from the store. McBain's units were
in the same area south of Coolidge Avenue, but between Main Street and
the railroad tracks. McBain was a junk dealer and ran a second-hand
store on Coolidge Avenue. Two of his tenants sold aluminum cans and
other salvage to him. The only units posted in East Coolidge were half
a dozen cabins that belonged to the City Attorney. The largest group
of cabins posted was located on Arizona Boulevard, south of Coolidge
Avenue. There were some 15 occupied units in that group, belonging
to the McPhersons, a family who owned much of the land in South Coolidge. A final group of cabins belonged to Neil Swanson, who also owned a lot of other rental property in Coolidge as well as the local taxi service. His units were not really in the cotton camp category, being of more substantial construction. Each cabin had a private bathroom attached. They were posted along with the cotton camps because of faulty wiring and the dilapidated condition of the garages adjoining each cabin.

On one day during the initial 30-day posting period, I observed that a total of 34 units in the six camps were occupied, but the total varied daily as tenants moved in and out. I was appalled to find new tenants moving in after the initial posting, but the movement continued until the cabins were knocked down. Rents for the cabins ranged from $35 to $65 a month, with most at $50. It was not easy for the tenants to find other housing in the same price range.

I started with McPherson's cotton camp. A Mexican-American family, a couple with three children, lived in one of McPherson's one-room cabins. Another cabin was occupied by an Anglo couple in their sixties. Another half dozen cabins were occupied each by a single Anglo male. One was a young man in his thirties, with a back injury that forced him to walk with a cane. All of the other men were over sixty.

Slim was one I came to know. The first day I stopped at Slim's cabin I found him upset by a problem I could help with. He had gone that morning to the Department of Economic Security to apply for an emergency allotment of food stamps. He had been given an appointment
to see an eligibility worker ten days later. I made a call to the food stamp supervisor, pointing out that an appointment for ten days later did not solve his emergency shortage of food, and got Slim some attention. His primary source of income was the Supplemental Security Income check. He also traded a little junk and mowed an occasional lawn. He had last worked steadily in 1958 as a farm laborer.

I had begun with the tenants at McPherson's because the director of the Senior Citizens Center, Liz Jones, wanted to look up a client of hers whose daughter lived there. Liz's client turned out to be away, in Kansas visiting relatives. We did find her daughter living in one cabin with her school-aged child. In another cabin lived the son of Liz's client, a man who looked to be in his fifties and ravaged by alcoholism. When I asked his age, I was shocked to hear he was 34.

I went on knocking on the doors of the cabins, explaining to the tenants about the condemnation proceedings.

I met a Mexican-American man in his sixties, Eduardo Quiroga, who lived in one cabin with his adult son. Quiroga said yes, he was ready to move; McPherson had come to him that morning to return $30 of his $50 monthly rent and to tell him to get out. Quiroga said he wanted to go back to Texas but couldn't leave till after the first of the month because he was expecting a check. I was puzzled to find McPherson moving tenants out himself, but then learned that it had nothing to do with the condemnation proceedings. McPherson felt that Quiroga's son was causing trouble messing around with the women who lived in the court. Another day when I was at McPherson's, an older
Indian woman went after her husband with a bread knife, chasing him around the court. I ducked out of their path.

Quiroga's son found a job on a nearby farm. I drove father and son out to their new on-farm housing in a cotton field a couple of miles out of town. As a benefit with the job, they were allowed to sleep in an abandoned house that had one exterior wall missing. The interior was filled with trash, rags and old tires. Several Indian farm laborers, both men and women, were already living there.

I saw least of the tenants in the City Attorney's cabins in East Coolidge. There lived five single Black men and one Indian couple, all past middle age. One of the Black men, Sam Hanson, I knew in another context. He owned two houses near Main Street south of Coolidge Avenue one he rented; the other was occupied by his wife and the half dozen of his 14 children who still remained at home. Sam achieved domestic tranquility in his retirement years by living alone in one of the City Attorney's cabins.

Four of McBain's five cabins were occupied by Black people. The one Anglo tenant was Maisie, who had moved into McBain's when the City closed the apartment building in the center of town the winter before. She walked all over town every day, pulling a battered child's wagon, accompanied by a pack of scruffy dogs, collecting aluminum cans out of trash bins. She was also in her sixties and received a monthly Supplemental Security Income check.

Willie was not so disturbed to learn about the condemnation of McBain's cabins. I encountered him, a Black man in his fifties, flattening aluminum cans in front of his cabin at McBain's by running over
them with his pickup truck. He said he owned a house near Eloy, but lived in the cabin to save money on gas while he had a job at the cotton gin in Coolidge.

Two of McBain's cabins were occupied by elderly Black women. Both cabins were clean and pretty, decorated with nicknacks, artificial flowers, and pictures clipped from magazines. One woman had lived there more than ten years. She became very angry when I told her about the condemnation proceedings, saying the City would have to move her out forcibly. The other woman, Allie Mae Wilson, was a heavy person badly crippled with arthritis. She came to Arizona from Texas in 1928, first to Buckeye, south of Phoenix, then homesteading at Gila Bend. After Gila Bend, she moved to Florence, and finally to Coolidge in 1950.

There were also two young Black men in one of McBain's cabins. I knew one as the husband who had deserted his wife and three children in East Coolidge. The other, Bates, was working as a flagger for the airplane pilots who dusted the crops. The following winter Bates was sentenced to a term in the State prison for dealing heroin.

Three of Perez's cabins were occupied at the time I went to them. A middle-aged Mexican-American woman lived in one with her 20-year old retarded daughter, Penny. Penny seemed to spend most of her time hanging around the neighborhood bars that catered to Blacks.

In another of Perez's cabins lived Tomás, a gracious, aging Mexican-American alcoholic. After Perez's cabins closed, I often saw Tomás with a group of men who spent their days lounging on the corner of Coolidge and Main. He was always neatly dressed and greeted me kindly.
Perez' third tenant was an Anglo man, probably in his seventies. When I told him about the condemnation proceedings, he replied that the cabins would be closed when a lumber company in Springfield, Missouri chose to do so. As the conversation went on, he told me that the lumber company in Springfield was a very powerful organization that, among other things, provided him with a monthly check. The man said that he owned the cabin though not the property on which it stood. He pointed to the remains of a rusted out cotton trailer that stood in the yard and assured me that if the cabins were closed he would just load his on the trailer and move it to another location. I never saw him again. He vanished from my view, leaving the cabin behind, when Perez's place closed.

At Sanchez', three of the cabins were occupied. I knew one Anglo tenant, Bill Lane, as someone who spent time around the Senior Citizens Center. He was a big man in his early sixties, physically in good shape but mentally not all there. He had periodic run-ins with the local police when he tried to take little girls on their way home from school out into the bushes.

Bill alerted me to a strange situation in one of the cabins, where an old Anglo man, bedridden and incontinent, lived alone. The woman who had a trailer parked next to the cabin sent a child over once a day to leave food for him. I talked to the woman, who said she had recently married the man. The woman was a welfare recipient, so I questioned her case worker about the old man. Comparing notes, it appeared that the woman had committed bigamy in an attempt to add the old man's Supplemental Security Income check to her revenue.
The old man was removed to the County nursing home when Sanchez' cabins were closed. One afternoon I had been at Sanchez' talking to the old man. When I started back toward my car, I found Bill Lane with a shotgun between me and the car. At Bill's side was Lester, one of the elderly Anglo alcoholics about town. I was not pleased to be confronted with a gun, but felt confident that Bill was not a serious threat. Bill said he just wanted to make sure I did something for Lester. Lester was in tears, obviously in great pain. He said he wanted to go to the County hospital to have his broken leg tended, an injury that had occurred several days before in downtown Coolidge when he had fallen in a drunken stupor. He had been picked up by the police and taken to the Local Alcoholism Reception Center (LARC), where he had been kept for the two-day drying out period. The LARC staff had brought him back to Coolidge with his leg still unset. I told Bill I'd have to return to my office to make the calls necessary to get Lester to the hospital. He waved me on with the shotgun and I went back to my office to make the arrangements for Lester.

Swanson's cabins were more spacious than the others and two families lived there: one, an Anglo man with two small children, the other, a Mexican-American woman with three teenaged children. Hers was the one household I was able to get into the County's public housing project.

The alternatives for cheap housing that I could offer the tenants in the cotton camps were extremely limited. The rental units operated by the County Housing Authority, where the rental rate was calculated on a sliding scale based on income were the only possibility.
For two reasons those units were of little use to the tenants in Coolidge's cotton camps. First, eligibility was limited to "families," loosely defined as two or more persons who claimed a relationship to one another. Most of the tenants in the cotton camps were single persons, for whom the Housing Authority had no accommodations. The second problem with the Housing Authority's units was their location. They had units in three places in western Pinal County: in Coolidge, in Florence; and at Eleven-Mile Corner. Eleven-Mile Corner is located eleven miles southwest of Coolidge, also eleven miles from Casa Grande and Eloy. The housing project for farm laborers there was built in the 1930's by the Farm Security Administration. It is convenient to nothing except the cotton fields and, thus, is entirely unsuitable for an older person without transportation. The project in Coolidge is within the city limits, on the north end of East Coolidge at Florence Avenue, but also beyond walking distance of the center of town for an older person. The Florence project was within walking distance of the shopping district there, but I found no one willing to move to another town. I discussed the Housing Authority as a possibility with all the tenants who were eligible, such as the couples at McPherson's, but, for all except the woman at Swanson's, the transportation problem was insurmountable. Two other cabins were occupied by single Anglo men, both apparently alcoholics. One was 70 and had lived in Coolidge for many years. The other, Ron Walker, was in his fifties and had stayed around the area after his release from the State prison.

Because Swanson appealed the City's decision that the cabins were substandard, his place did not finally close until the following
February. When the closing day came, Ron Walker still had nowhere to go and did not have money to rent another cabin. He came into my office that morning, looking ashen, asking for help. As I talked to him, I realized he was having a heart attack. I called the ambulance and got from him the phone number of his brother in Chicago. Ron's housing crisis was solved with a move to the County hospital, where he recovered. His brother came and took him back to Chicago. Over a year later, I received a letter from Ron, written as he was being evicted from a condemned transients' hotel outside of Chicago. He thanked me for my help in Coolidge and wryly observed, "I shall think of you fondly every time I get thrown out of wherever I happen to be living at that time."

One morning after McBain's had closed, I discovered that Allie Mae Wilson had moved into Swanson's. She was as horrified as I to learn that she had selected another condemned housing unit.

In an effort to find some other way of assisting the tenants who were being moved out, I talked over the condemnation proceedings with Wynn Warner, the Director of the Legal Aid Society. After some research, he said there was a possibility of a class action by the tenants against the landlords for not having given the tenants 30 days' notice to vacate. A successful suit could produce payment for damages on the order of $100 for each tenant. I said that would be a real help to those tenants. I began to round up tenants, one from each landlord's property, who would file in the name of all the tenants at that site. Before he got the papers drawn up, Warner left the Legal Aid Society to go into private practice in Tucson. I told his
successor about the proposed suit; he said I should let Warner handle it. I had difficulty contacting Warner in Tucson. Months passed, the tenants from the closed places scattered, and nothing happened.

The tenants' immediate need was for housing at a similar cost to that from which they were being moved, but the condemnation proceedings in the summer of 1975 took most of the very cheap units off the local market. There remained a few scattered places, where a landlord had a trailer or a single cabin that had not come to the attention of the Building Inspector. Some of the tenants relocated to these units of about the same quality as those they had left. Others, like the Quirogas, came out of the move with substantially lower quality housing. All I could do for the tenants was offer what information I had on available rentals, but most were higher priced, $65 to $80 a month. For most of the tenants, closing the cotton camps meant they had to spend a higher proportion of their limited income on housing.

The Outcome

McBain's cabins closed first. Soon after they had been posted, McBain talked over what would have to be done with the Building Inspector and concluded that the rentals did not justify the cost of repair. He told his tenants they would have to leave and tore the cabins down himself. Perez reached the same conclusion within the 30-day posting period. Sanchez did not reply to the City's notification. After the initial 30 days, the City saw to it that the cabins were vacated and leveled them. It was probably not a coincidence that the condemnation proceedings put the three smallest camps out of business,
while the camps that belonged to landowners with more holdings and more influence in town remained open.

At the end of the 30 days, McPherson told the Building Inspector that he would make the necessary alterations to the cabins. He asked for an extension of the time limit to carry out the work. He began the renovations and dragged out the work over the following winter until, first, a new City Manager and, then, a new Building Inspector came to work for the City. Neither of the new staff members were as zealous in pursuing the Building Code Enforcement program as the former Manager and his staff had been. McPherson's cabins remained open, with some improvements.

The cabins had been posted in the last week that Gary Knight served as City Manager of Coolidge. When Knight left, another staff member, Greg Jenkins, was appointed to serve as Acting City Manager until a new Manager could be recruited. The Status Report that Jenkins sent to the City Council on September 5, 1975 tersely informed the Council of the City's action on the cotton camps.

On August 25, 36 units were posted as substandard by our Building Inspector. The owners of these units will have 30 days from that date in which to respond in one of three ways. They can either obtain building permits to bring the buildings up to standard, demolish the building, or appeal the decision to the Board of Appeals. To date, no one has made such an appeal.

The Board of Appeals at that time had no members. Rather than appoint new members to the Board, the Council declared itself the Board of Appeals. Prior to the Council's regular meeting in October, the Building Inspector informed them that the cabins belonging to Perez, Sanchez, and McBain were closed; that McPherson had taken out a building permit
to repair his; and that Swanson and the City Attorney were going to appeal the City's decision. A meeting of the City Council as the Board of Appeals was set for October 27, 1975.

Mayor Gonzales was absent from the October 27 meeting of the Board of Appeals. Vice-Mayor Adams chaired the meeting. As the Council was entering the room, Jenkins, the Acting City Manager, announced that the City Attorney's appeal had been resolved by negotiation prior to the meeting. Certain requirements in the Building Code, such as that for vented heating, could not be enforced because, in effect, there was no heat in the cabins. The only source of heat in winter at the City Attorney's and all the other cabins was the kitchen stove. The City Attorney had agreed to comply with all the enforceable violations within 30 days.

Because it had been anticipated that the Council would hear the City Attorney's appeal at the meeting, another attorney from Casa Grande represented the City. After the Vice-Mayor opened the meeting, he asked who was representing Swanson. Swanson said he was representing himself. The attorney representing the City called the Building Inspector as a witness, questioning him about the procedures used to notify Swanson and about the unsafe conditions at Swanson's property. The Council began to question Swanson. He told the Council that he turned all the profits from the property back into improvements, but the profits were so low that he could not afford to complete the repairs quickly. Adams asked if he could do it in six months. Swanson said no. Finally, the Council agreed to meet again at Swanson's property to inspect the unsafe conditions for themselves before
reaching a decision. It was January of 1976 before the Council finally denied Swanson's appeal. In February the cabins were closed while Swanson began the repairs.

In none of the City Council's discussions about the closing of the properties was there any mention made of the problems that the action might cause the tenants. There seemed to be an unspoken consensus that if the condemnation proceedings forced the tenants to leave town it would be no loss. Towards this portion of Coolidge's elderly population the Council showed no sympathy. The tenants in the condemned housing were among the last sad remnants of the active farm worker population of the 1950's. Old age and years of unemployment had left them with no resources. They could do nothing but comply with the City's decision to close the cabins and move on.

The City Council could have taken a different approach to the problem of substandard rental housing, by making provision for new housing for the tenants before closing the rental units. The Farmers Home Administration makes long-term low-interest loans to rural communities for the construction of housing for the elderly. To undertake such a project, however, would have forced the City Council to acknowledge some responsibility for the tenants in the cotton camps. Constructing a housing project for low-income elderly would have taken a long time to complete, leaving the cotton camps standing in the interim. It was infinitely simpler to phrase the issue of condemning the cotton camps in terms of eliminating substandard housing, ignoring the human problem of displacing people from their homes.
One day early in September, I was talking with the news editor of the local paper. She kept asking me what was going on, apparently looking for some juicy tidbit of news. I told her about the effects of the condemnation proceedings on the occupants of the cotton camps, but, as I expected, that did not interest her any more than it did the Council.

It was the tenants' lack of reaction to being forced out of their housing that surprised me most. With the one exception of the Black woman at McBain's, none expressed any anger at being moved out. The victims of the City's campaign to eradicate rundown housing shared the Council's view that there was no human issue involved in condemning occupied housing.

The City Council and the Elderly

In the summer of 1975, in the months before the cotton camps were condemned, the City Council took actions that affected two other groups of elderly persons in Coolidge, the winter visitors and the senior citizens. Contrasting these actions with the results of the condemnation of the cotton camps on the city's poorest elderly residents clearly indicates the municipal government's attitude towards the elderly.

The Winter Visitor Program. The Coolidge Chamber of Commerce annually operates a Winter Visitor Program, a series of social events in Coolidge and day-long sightseeing trips to nearby points of interest. It is hard to imagine that anyone would be attracted to Coolidge solely because of the Winter Visitor Program, but it undoubtedly does provide
some social activity for the temporary residents and may influence
decisions to return another year. The social activities are not very
elaborate: potluck suppers, slide shows, shuffleboard contests, and
car pooled excursions to Phoenix and Tucson. Most of the events are
held in the Cultural Center, a meeting room between the City Hall and
the City Library that the City routinely makes available free of charge
to civic groups. The Chamber of Commerce's office is a small building
on a corner of San Carlos Park, the City's largest park located in the
center of town near the City Hall. The only shuffleboard courts in
town are in the park next to the Chamber's building. Chamber of Com-
merce staff try to keep the shuffleboard courts for the exclusive use
of their Winter Visitors Program.

The Chamber of Commerce puts on an annual parade to initiate
the Christmas shopping season and it does its best to encourage new
businesses to locate in Coolidge, but the Winter Visitor Program is
its most ambitious and successful activity. The Coolidge City Council
approved inclusion of $6,745 for the Chamber of Commerce in its budget
for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1975. Mayor Gonzales recommended
the expenditure, requested by the Chamber, "because of the Chamber's
efforts in improving the business community" (Coolidge Examiner 6/12/75: 8).

**The Senior Citizens Center.** Early in 1975, a Senior Citizens
Center opened in a storefront building on Main Street. A small grant
from the local Community Action Agency paid the rent for the first year.
One part-time staff person was hired with funds from the Older
Americans Act. Under that grant, her principal duties were to provide a telephone information and referral service for the elderly in Coolidge, but she also functioned as a director for the Center. With such a modest budget, the Center's programs were necessarily limited. Its primary function was as a gathering place for older persons in the center of town. The storefront Center was open from nine to five daily, furnished with donated chairs and tables. Once a week, a potluck meal was held at midday. Handicraft classes were organized and occasionally speakers came in to address the group. The Social Security representative paid a weekly visit to Coolidge to see clients who found it difficult to get to the office in Casa Grande, 25 miles away. Before the Senior Citizens Center opened, he had used an office in the Police Department for his weekly visit; he moved to the Senior Citizen Center soon after it opened.

The clientele of the Senior Citizen Center is largely Anglo, with a sprinkling of Blacks. In spite of efforts to encourage Mexican-Americans to join in the activities, the Center has remained a predominantly Anglo group. There is certainly no intent to exclude Mexican-Americans from the Center, but the religious preferences of those who do attend the Center may be a factor segregating the Anglos and Blacks from the Mexican-Americans. Much of the informal conversation among the clients at the Center is around church activities and fundamentalist Protestant doctrines. Church meetings and the private practices of prayer and Bible reading are important activities for most of the Senior Citizens Center's clients. Although Anglos and Blacks in Coolidge do not usually attend the same churches, they do
attend the same kind of fundamentalist, usually Baptist, churches. There are few Mexican-American Protestants in Coolidge, however. Most are Catholics. In general, the Mexican-Americans do not share the zeal for evangelism that the fundamentalist Anglos and Blacks do.

Transportation is a chronic problem for those elderly in Coolidge who are too poor to maintain a car or whose health is not good enough for them to drive. The Center's location on Main Street is near the post office, to which people walk daily. However, the County Hospital, upon which many of this group rely for medical services, is ten miles away in Florence. There are "Mom and Pop" grocery stores scattered throughout town, but the only chain grocery store, with a wider selection and somewhat lower prices, is in the shopping center on the north side of town, about a mile from the post office. Liz Jones, the Center's Director, began by trying to organize a pool of volunteers to assist the elderly with transportation, bringing people into the Center for activities there and providing rides for trips to the doctor and shopping.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1975, the City of Coolidge had been on a veritable shopping spree for surplus property from military bases, made available free to municipalities through an arrangement with the Four Corners Regional Commission. The Mayor, the City Manager, the Police Chief, and the Fire Chief traveled, sometimes separately and sometimes together, to military bases all over the Southwest to scavenge for surplus property. They always went with some sort of shopping list of items that the City did need, but they also became caught up with the job of acquiring as much as they could, claiming whatever
appealed to them without much thought of its utility. Extra equipment for the landfill and refuse collection, for the Fire Department and the ambulance service was acquired in this way. Vehicles filled the parking lot behind City Hall and the yard at the City Garage. Two nine-passenger vans appeared. The City personnel had picked out the vans with no definite plans for them; they just looked like something that might be useful.

After discussions with the City Manager, Liz Jones of the Senior Citizens Center went to a City Council meeting in May 1975, to ask for the use of one of the vans to assist with transportation for the elderly. The City Manager himself introduced Ms. Jones to the Council; she described the local problem with transportation for the elderly and asked for the van. The Council was concerned that they not have to provide gasoline for the vehicle and about their liability for its use by the Center. They were, however, willing to let the Center use the van. After some discussion, they agreed to let the City Attorney work out a suitable arrangement. So the Senior Citizens Center came to acquire a van from the City.

Summary. The City Council's actions in 1975 towards its elderly residents clearly depended on the financial status of the recipients of the actions. To the Winter Visitors, those who had the most money and thus promised to spend most in Coolidge, went a direct cash subsidy, in the form of $6,745 to the Chamber of Commerce. To the middle-income group, represented by the Senior Citizens Center, the City made a gift of a piece of property that the City had acquired at no cost.
and did not need. In making the gift, the Council took care that it did not incur any continuing obligation to support the Senior Citizens Center. From the poorest group of elderly residents, the City took away their cheap housing. In the Council's decisions affecting the elderly can be seen unmitigated adherence to the ethic of individualism: those that have succeeded economically shall be rewarded; those that have failed economically shall be punished.

The City's concern towards the Winter Visitors and the Senior Citizens were expressed in terms of assisting persons in those social categories. In contrast, the City Council never made mention of the tenants in the condemned housing. The City's decision with regard to that group was made in terms of a housing issue; the City wished to close certain substandard housing units in order to carry out its Building Code Enforcement Program.

Why did the Coolidge City Council ignore the human element in condemning the cotton camps? Two factors seem to be involved. One is racism. The Winter Visitors and the Senior Citizens are almost exclusively Anglos, while the tenants in the cotton camps were more racially mixed. Still, Anglos predominate even in the poorest group of elderly. More than along racial lines, the boundary seems to be one of social class, between former farm workers and other residents of the community. The distinction ignores the fact that farm labor was the reason for the community's existence. The payroll spent by the farm workers in Coolidge was what made possible the town's commercial center. Nowadays, without that payroll, the commercial center is in trouble.
The Council's discriminatory attitude produces a serious blind spot in planning for the community. Because the contribution to the local economy that farm laborers made in the past and poor people make in the present is undervalued to the point of being totally ignored, the Council mounts campaigns that have the effect of driving some of its residents away. Even though people are poor, they still need to purchase food and clothing, generating sales tax revenue for the city. In running poor people out of town, the Council's actions result in further erosion of municipal revenues.

**The Southside Sewer Improvement District**

At the May 5, 1975 City Council meeting at which Mr. Knight tendered his resignation, he reflected on the accomplishments of his administration, including the completion of a $650,000 wastewater treatment facility (Coolidge Examiner 5/8/75:1). At that same meeting, the City Council adopted a resolution to apply to the Environmental Protection Agency for $106,000 to extend the South Coolidge sewer line into the eastern half of the area (Coolidge Examiner 5/8/75:1). As in the extension of sewer services to the western half of South Coolidge, the City administration needed to convince the residents to form an improvement district to pay for the lateral lines. Extending the line to the eastern part of South Coolidge would mean that all of the City was connected to the new sewer plant.

The City Council meeting in early June 1975 was announced as a public hearing to consider the establishment of a sewer improvement district in the eastern half of South Coolidge. Some 20 residents
came to the hearing, enough that the meeting had to be moved out of the Council Chambers into a larger meeting room. Council members were seated behind a long table on one side of the room, removed from the audience. Knight, the City Attorney, and a representative of the engineering firm that had worked on the sewage treatment plant were seated at another table, closer to the audience.

I had begun working in Coolidge about six weeks before this meeting. The meeting interested me greatly as it was the first example I had seen of Coolidge citizens taking an active interest in their local government. It seemed a stereotyped, almost comic-theatrical, situation where administrators tried to force an unwanted improvement on citizens in the name of progress, while elected officials "looked the other way."

Mayor Gonzales opened the meeting by explaining that the City had obtained a grant to construct a new interceptor line to the eastern portion of South Coolidge. The engineering firm's representative then spoke about the project. As he spoke, the members of the City Council began to converse on other matters so loudly that it became impossible to hear him. Residents interrupted the speaker to ask how much the sewer assessments would cost. The City Attorney attempted to answer the question by explaining that if the neighborhood were interested in a sewer an engineering study would be undertaken to determine the cost. This answer was entirely unsatisfactory to the residents and they repeated their question. Mr. Knight stepped in to explain how the Farmers Home Administration might purchase the bonds, making it possible for payments to be spread out over a period of up to 25 years at
a low rate of interest. Again there were questions from the floor on the cost to property owners and again the engineer explained that the study would first have to be completed before the estimates could be made. Once more the Council members drowned him out with their own private conversation.

Finally, Jan Evans, who had led the protest against the rooster ordinance, took the floor to say that she had contacted a number of residents of the area. Of the 47 persons she had asked, 45 had said they were not interested in the sewer. Mayor Gonzales brought the meeting to a close by thanking the residents for letting the Council know how they felt about the sewer. The other Council members had shown no interest in the resident's comments and questions on the improvement district.

Knight wanted the project to go through as a final feather in his administrative cap. Completing the extension of sewer service throughout the city represented an obvious good to him; he was angry that Mrs. Evans threatened to thwart his plans once more. Mrs. Evans' argument was that many of the residents were too poor to pay the assessment. She said that if the sewer were put in many residents would have to sell their property because they would not be able to afford the assessment. The Council seemed uninterested in the whole matter, willing to let Knight and the residents fight it out.

The day after the meeting, I told Knight of my interest in South Coolidge's reaction to the proposal. He encouraged me to become involved in the issue, hoping that I would be able to sell his plan to the residents.
The Neighborhood

I began to visit in the eastern part of South Coolidge. I found the neighborhood was something of an oasis in the Coolidge desert. Residents of the area had access to irrigation water, so it was economically feasible to maintain some vegetation around the houses. Large trees, a rare commodity in Coolidge, shaded some of the houses. Several houses were surrounded by half-acre parcels of land planted in grass. A pony grazed in a pasture next to one house bordering on the irrigation canal. That house had a large billboard in front advertising grooming and boarding of domestic animals. A pair of Afghan hounds ranged between the fence and the house; cats rested on the front porch.

I went first to make the acquaintance of Mrs. Evans. I was surprised when she told me that she personally would like to see the sewer come in; she was only objecting in order to protect the poorer residents of the area. Mrs. Evans gave me the names of some of the South Coolidge residents that she felt could not afford the sewer assessment. She suggested I go to talk with them, and I did.

I found considerable misinformation circulating about the proposed sewer line and I counteracted that, especially by explaining at what points in the process of forming an improvement district citizens had rights to protest. I stressed that requesting the Council to conduct an engineering study would not automatically obligate the residents to pay for the sewer lines. The engineering study was necessary to determine what the cost of the project would be. Once the engineering study was completed, if the residents felt that the costs were too high, they had the right to reject the project.
At the same time, I was able to examine Mrs. Evans' claim that the coming of the sewer would force some South Coolidge residents to sell their property. Lydia Castro, for example, owned a small house in the neighborhood. A few months before, her husband had been sent to a federal prison in another state. She and her ten children lived on a monthly Aid to Families with Dependent Children check. The state legislature in Arizona authorizes welfare payments amounting to 60% of what it is calculated the family needs to live on. Lydia was plainly fearful about the proposed sewer. The household was obviously overcrowded but had some cheerful aspects. In the front room, which served as living room, dining room, and bedroom, a pair of wild doves lived in a shoebox. Lydia said her son had found them as fledglings when he had been clearing an irrigation ditch. Under a big tree in the front yard was a large parrot. Chickens scratched in the flower beds where roses and gladioli bloomed. Lydia said her husband had planted the flowers and young trees that lined the yard before he went to prison.

The Hendersons were a retired couple who lived in an attractive mobile home. Their financial circumstances were not as difficult as Mrs. Castro's, but their life was not without problems. Living with them was an adopted son, Stan, a friendly boy of 12 who was brain damaged. He had come to the Hendersons as an infant when his mother, the Henderson's daughter, had been killed. Like the Evans, they lived on a military pension. They said they would welcome a sewer but were reluctant to speak out in favor of it because they felt some of their neighbors could not afford it.
Max lived alone in a two-room house on the canal. His wife had died a couple of weeks before and he had bills to pay for her medical and burial expenses. He had a withered arm and his only income was Supplemental Security, on account of his disability. He acted quite threatened by the proposal for the sewer and said he did not want to see the project carried out. I was sorry to add another worry to his already difficult life.

I first met Pearl Lind and her family while contacting South Coolidge residents about the sewer improvement district. I spent considerable time on Pearl's front porch, talking to her about the project. The family stayed out on the porch in the hot June afternoons (a time of year when most people kept indoors) because they could not afford to run their evaporative cooler. Pearl wanted to know about the plan to sell the sewer bonds to the Farmers Home Administration. She asked if I would write out the proposed schedule of payments so her daughter, Bertha, could study them. Pearl said, "I cannot understand all those numbers. I worked in the fields as a child, but Bertha is well educated. She finished the ninth grade."

Through South Coolidge, I went for several weeks collecting tales of many forms of human misery. Between calls, I took to stopping at Mrs. Evans' to rest in her cool living room and talk it over. The more I learned the more impressed I became with the social cohesiveness of the neighborhood, the concern that the better-off residents had for their less fortunate neighbors.

The households Mrs. Evans sent me to she selected to illustrate her point that South Coolidge residents could not afford the sewer.
I found ample evidence to support her claim. Most of the income in the households I visited came from the government in one form or another: Social Security, Supplemental Security Income (from another title of the Social Security Act, replacing the former Old Age and Disability Welfare programs), Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and military pensions. I did encounter some employed persons: Pearl Lind, two who worked at the state institution for the mentally retarded, and two farm laborers. None of the employed persons earned enough money to support their households by themselves. Combining the income from these low-paying jobs with various cash and in-kind transfer payments, the households survived, but with little cash reserved to meet unexpected expenses.

The issue over formation of the second sewer improvement district in South Coolidge came before the Council again in June 1975. Two Council members were absent from the meeting. Fewer residents attended than had come to the earlier hearing on the improvement district. The discussion was largely a replay of that previous meeting.

Repeating questions and comments they voiced during the first meeting this month, south-area residents asked council members what the cost to each property owner will be if the district is formed. Again council members and engineers explained that it is impossible to estimate cost until it is determined what property might be included in a sewer district (Coolidge Examiner 6/19/75:1).

The questioners wanted assurance from the Council that they could reject formation of the improvement district if the engineering study revealed the cost to be too high. I was surprised that the question was repeated, as it was one I had answered many times in the preceding weeks during my visits to South Coolidge residents. When I asked
Mrs. Evans why my answer to the question had been so poorly understood, she said it was not that the residents had not understood me. She said they did not trust the Council. The question was asked at the public meeting so that the answer -- that signing a petition indicating interest in formation of a sewer improvement district, a necessary first step before the engineering study to determine costs could be undertaken, would not automatically obligate the residents to pay the costs of the improvement district -- would be recorded in the minutes.

Of the Council members present, only Gonzales and Shaw participated actively in the discussion of the sewer improvement district. Shaw liked to fancy himself the "Mayor of South Coolidge." After the discussion had proceeded for some time, Shaw moved that a sewer improvement district be formed in the eastern half of South Coolidge. Mayor Gonzales and Vice-Mayor Adams suggested to Shaw that his motion was rather hasty; Shaw withdrew the motion. Vice-Mayor Adams moved that the decision on the new sewer improvement district be tabled until the July regular Council meeting. The motion passed. Gonzales made a final comment to the assembled residents. "We need to bring this before the council and either go with it or kill it. . . . We can't afford to take any more time. If we can't muster enough interest, we can just forget about it. We're not trying to push anyone into doing anything" (Coolidge Examiner 6/19/75:6).

In fact, if the City could not muster support from South Coolidge residents to form the sewer improvement district, the City would have to turn back the $106,000 they had requested from the Environmental Protection Agency for construction of the trunk line to the
eastern part of South Coolidge. Ultimately, the Environmental Protection Agency would penalize the City for not providing sewer service to the area.

The question of forming the second sewer improvement district in South Coolidge did not come up at the July Council meeting. The issue remained in limbo until the following January.

The Solution

The solution to the stalemate between residents and City administration over forming the sewer improvement district in South Coolidge came in the form of yet another federal grant. The Acting City Manager, who had taken over after Mr. Knight's departure, was interested in the City's making application for a Community Development Block Grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). In December 1975, I organized the public hearings that HUD required as the method of determining for what project the funds would be used. At the public hearings, the residents who attended indicated interest in two different projects: (1) purchasing property and constructing a building that would serve as a community recreation center, particularly for youth and senior citizens; and (2) laying the lateral lines for the sewers to the eastern portion of South Coolidge, thereby covering most of the corporate costs that residents would incur in the formation of a sewer improvement district.

A number of attempts to establish a recreation center in Coolidge had been made over the past two decades, but none were successful. In 1975, the City Council was concerned that, even if HUD funds were
obtained to acquire the property and build the center, the City would then have to find a way of financing the ongoing operation of the center. There was also reason to believe that HUD would be more likely to fund the sewer line construction project than the recreation center. In January 1976, the Council approved a grant application to HUD to pay for the cost of constructing the lateral lines to the eastern part of South Coolidge.

With the prospect of HUD funding for most of the costs of the improvement district, the residents of the area were willing to go ahead with the project. Although there had been no great demand for sewer services in the area, most residents felt that sewer service would enhance the value of their property. Their primary concern had been with the cost of the project; the HUD grant removed that obstacle. Construction of the sewer lines to the eastern portion of South Coolidge began, eventually tying the entire City into the new sewage treatment plant.

The HUD grant, however, carried with it a condition that affected the City Council's activities in another area. In accepting the HUD grant, the City had to agree to make a cash payment of $15,000 to any household it relocated, whether in connection with the sewer-line construction project or not. In the year prior to receiving the HUD grant, the City had been condemning and demolishing occupied substandard housing as part of its Building Code Enforcement program. The condemnation of occupied housing had to stop when the City began receiving HUD funds.
The most interesting thing about the formation of the last sewer improvement district in South Coolidge was how little anyone in Coolidge wanted it. The reason the project was undertaken at all was to comply with the Environmental Protection Agency's requirement that sewer service be provided. When the residents balked at paying for the improvement, other federal money was brought in to cover their contribution. Local government had very little to say about the implementation of this project.

The 1976 Municipal Election

The terms of three Council members expired in 1976, those of Gonzales, Newman, and Adams. Mayor Gonzales chose not to run again, saying he planned to complete his doctoral dissertation in the administration of higher education. He made a brief speech announcing his intention not to run.

Gonzales said that Coolidge is in 'excellent financial condition.' He said that adequate equipment and substantial grants will favorably affect budgets of the city for the next five years. 'The city won't have to spend as much money as it would if we had not gotten the extra money help.'

He cited some major projects completed: sewer plant, buildings as additional facilities, new south trunk lines, and the beginning of a city master plan ([Coolidge Examiner 11/20/75:1]).

Newman did not run in the 1976 election, but Adams did. Adams was defeated. Newman was replaced by another woman schoolteacher. The principle that the Coolidge City Council should include at least one woman appears to have been established, but the woman elected to the Council in 1976 did not enter local politics through the Community Action Program. She was a member of the McPherson family, important
Coolidge landowners since the town's founding. She ably represented the family's interests on the Council.

A farmer and an insurance salesman, both Anglos, replaced Adams and Gonzales. Once again, only Anglos served on the Coolidge City Council. Shaw was the only person elected in the 1972 recall campaign who remained on the Council after the 1976 election.

**Gonzales on Main Street**

In July of 1976, the problems of Main Street again became an issue. A group of Main Street merchants approached Council member Lawson, who also had a shop on Main Street, about possible ways to get rid of the loiterers on the street. Lawson discussed the matter with the City Manager, who asked the City Attorney to draw up an ordinance that would prohibit sitting or lying on the streets or curbs of the City.

Word of the proposed ordinance leaked out. The day before the City Council meeting at which the ordinance was to be discussed, two men who said they represented the Main Street loiterers came to see the City Manager. They told the City Manager that if the ordinance passed they would stage a boycott of the Main Street stores by setting up carpools to carry shoppers to Casa Grande.

Twenty-five people came to the City Council meeting to protest the proposed ordinance, an unusual display of public interest in Coolidge. Discussion of the ordinance was scheduled near the end of the agenda. The City Attorney read the proposed ordinance, but concluded by saying that he did not agree with it. Ex-Mayor Gonzales
asked to be recognized as the spokesperson for the loiterers. He sug­
gested that the ordinance did not really address the problems of Main
Street.

Lawson replied, informing the audience that none of the persons
present need fear arrest under the ordinance; it would be enforced with
great discretion. The City Attorney and members of the police depart­
ment present paled at the public mention of selective enforcement, but
Lawson went on to talk of the need to clean the drunks off Main Street.

The City Attorney reminded him that public drunkenness was not
a crime in Arizona, that the City was required to transport public
drunks to the County's Local Alcoholism Reception Center, where they
were housed at the City's expense until they dried out. He added that,
according to the proposed ordinance, sitting on the sidewalk was
allowed, while sitting on the curb was prohibited. Several members of
the audience said that the ordinance would be unconstitutional. Shaw
suggested that benches, shade trees, trash cans, and public urinals on
Main Street would be a more humane way to clean up the nuisance.

After much colorful discussion, a motion passed to table the
proposed ordinance until the next regular City Council meeting, when a
public hearing would be held. The ordinance was abandoned at that
next meeting.

Main Street and the City Council

In looking at the Coolidge City Council's attempt to improve
the Main Street shopping district during the mid-1970's, two features
stand out. First, the Main Street incidents are another example of
the Council's willingness to support those who have resources and to
deprive those who have not of any opportunity to improve their situa-
tion. In 1975, the Council actually made a very limited concession to
the merchants in sounding the siren as a curfew. The Council, however,
was willing to consider greater support for the merchants, in the form
of additional street lighting and an anti-loitering ordinance. Toward
the youth and alcoholics who hang out on Main Street (predominantly
members of ethnic minorities), the Council's policy is to try to make
them disappear.

The second and perhaps more important feature of the Main
Street incidents is their triviality. Both the Council and the Main
Street merchants share a genuine interest in strengthening local com-
merce. That concern, however, focuses on minor issues that are
tangential to the overall economic questions. The only outcome of the
events described, which took the better part of two Council meetings
and considerable staff time, was the meaningless blowing of a siren.
As Gonzales tried to point out in the Council meeting on the anti-
loitering ordinance, the problem of Main Street is not so much the
presence of winos as the absence of shoppers. Shoppers are absent be-
cause they go to Casa Grande and Phoenix to do their shopping. The
Council and the merchants only dimly recognize the larger dimensions
of the problem, the change in transportation patterns and the decline
in migrant labor. Because they do not recognize the broader issue of
the community's economic dependence, their efforts to improve the eco-
nomic situation are frustrated. Their frustrations are displaced,
away from the genuine problem of economic development, to the elabora-
tion of schemes to clean up the drunks.
The Turner Hypothesis and the Coolidge City Council

Turner's hypothesis stated that a value system is dependent upon social, economic, and environmental systems, that change in the latter systems will result in change in the value system. In the preceding chapters, I have outlined the social, economic, and environmental issues that faced the Coolidge City Council in the 1970's. To what extent did the City Council's responses to these issues reflect the change from a value-orientation of individualism to one of interdependence that Turner's model would predict?

The Coolidge City Council did act independently in making an innovative response to changing circumstances in two cases. Both ideas, the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process sewage treatment plant and the Building Code Enforcement program, were initiated locally in response to particular local problems. Neither activity, however, was actually carried out in such a way that the outcome could be said to correspond to Turner's model.

The Accelerated Photosynthetic Process sewer plant never came to be. While the plans for the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process sewage treatment plant serve as the best example of local creativity in response to changing circumstances, that creativity was stifled by the federal government. Had Coolidge been in control of the financial resources needed to construct the sewer plant, the innovative plant might have been built. In reality, however, Coolidge could not finance the sewage treatment plant without reliance on federal resources. Given that dependence on outside resources, Coolidge had no choice but
to conform to the federal requirement that the project be put out to bid. This requirement was hardly an example of meaningless federal red tape, intended as it was to reduce the possibility of personal gain in the letting of contracts.¹

Another change, the increase in population due to the annexation of South Coolidge, invalidated the original plans for the sewage treatment plant. With its enlarged population, Coolidge had no choice but to accept the more conventional sewer plant design dictated by the federal funding source.

When the Building Code Enforcement program entered the phase of condemning occupied housing, it became a clear expression of the value of individualism. The growth in Coolidge's elderly population did not lead the City to extend aid to that part of the population, as Turner's model would predict. Instead, in 1975, the City adhered to its time-honored policy of giving financial support with public money to the more affluent residents while treating the poor as lesser objects to be manipulated in the pursuit of other goals.

In the majority of instances where change occurred in Coolidge during the 1970's, the change can better be described as a result of the stimulus of federal money than as an indication of change in the value of individualism on the part of Coolidge's leaders. The annexation of South Coolidge served to increase Coolidge's share of federal revenue-sharing funds. The heightened political participation by

¹. It is conceivable that Mayor Levine could have made some commitments to Ecology Development Corporation prior to letting the contract to develop plans and specifications for the Accelerated Photosynthetic Process plant. If so, it was the City Manager, Ken Willcox, who took the blame for Levine's action.
Coolidge's minorities that shaped the outcome of the recall election was a result of this together with the federal Community Action Pro-
gram. Environmental Protection Agency funds built the new sewer plant. A requirement of that same agency caused the City to extend sewer ser-
vice to all its residents. The receipt of a grant from the Department of Hosuing and Urban Development led the City to stop condemning occu-
pied housing. Federal funds created the Senior Citizens Center, to which the City loaned the van.

The events connected with extending sewer service to the western part of South Coolidge clearly indicate that the incentive of federal money produced behavioral change, but not value change. The residents of the last improvement district were never enthusiastic about being connected to the sewer. Had it been necessary for them to pay for the installation of the sewer lines, they would have refused. Only because federal money was available to pay their share of the pro-
ject did they agree to the formation of a sewer improvement district.

The one place where the value of mutual interdependence was evident in Coolidge during the 1970's was in the resistance by resi-
dents of South Coolidge to the formation of the sewer improvement dis-
trict, first called forth by the rooster ordinance. The shared threat to the rights of individuals to maintain what they perceived as a rural way of life, first in keeping domestic animals, then in disposing of sewage, evoked the value of mutual interdependence. The group that shared this value was not a large one, composed of about 50 households. It appears more like the _ad hoc_ voluntary association of the frontier,
described by Turner (1962:344), than some new expression of the value of interdependence resulting from changed circumstances.

In devising a response to the City's economic troubles, the Council has been hampered by the narrow range of interests represented by the businessmen who have traditionally dominated the municipal government. In spite of evidence that a return to the level of commercial activity of a quarter century ago is highly unlikely, these men continue to lead the Council into dead-end debates over drunks on Main Street. There is no evidence that the economic decline brought on by the disappearance of farm labor and the interstate highway's bypassing Coolidge has stimulated value change on the part of local government.

It is not clear whether or not Gonzales' election to the City Council indicated a real and permanent change in the participation of minorities in local government in Coolidge. On the one hand, the election of a Mexican-American to the City Council can be taken as an important recognition of the growing power of Mexican-Americans in Coolidge. On the other hand, it can equally well be construed as an example of tokenism that, of 63 persons elected to the City Council between 1945 and 1976, only one was Mexican-American.

One important environmental change, the decline in the water table around Coolidge, has received no attention whatever from the City Council. The spectre of a growing limitation on water resources available to Coolidge results from two factors. The increase of population of the Coolidge area during the past 50 years has increased the demand for water. The particular pattern of economic exploitation that made possible the growth of Coolidge, irrigation agriculture, is
one that has and still continues to tax the water resources of the desert environment.

The Coolidge City Council's basic approach to these environmental issues has been to neglect them. In this attitude, manifested in the Council's continuing to ignore the issue of the declining water table and in its grudging acceptance of the sewerline construction project in South Coolidge, the Council accurately reflects the immediate interests of its constituents. Environmental issues are communal, not individual, issues. Until an environmental problem reaches a crisis point such that it interferes directly with individuals' personal interests, it does not receive attention from the municipal government.

Similarly, the active participation of Coolidge residents in local politics occurs most often in response to a crisis. Only events like firing the City Manager in 1972, the rooster ordinance, and the anti-loitering ordinance, that threatened to encroach on individual rights, stimulated political activity on the part of residents. The Council's inclination to ignore important issues until they reach a crisis point is an accurate representation of the antipathy most Coolidge voters feel towards political matters. The distrust of government in general that Turner (1962:30) noted as a characteristic of the frontier still reigns in Coolidge.

Change does come to Coolidge, but the change is more likely to be in behavior, not in value-orientation. The behavioral change is motivated by short-term calculations of economic gain or loss.
Turner's model is not a very good explanation of the way change has taken place in the municipal government of Coolidge.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

Frederick Jackson Turner saw the American value system, with its emphasis on individualism, as a product of the social, economic, and environmental conditions of the frontier. Turner's model predicted that the social, economic, and environmental changes resulting from the end of the frontier era would produce corresponding changes in the value system, from its primary emphasis on individualism towards a greater recognition of interdependence. In the preceding chapters, I attempted to use Turner's hypothesis to explain political change in a contemporary American community. I found that actual events did not correspond to the kinds of change Turner's model predicted.

Turner formulated his frontier thesis to explain change on the national level. Two reasons account for the failure of the hypothesis to explain change at the local level. First, Turner's model describes a closed system, but local governments in contemporary America are not self-sufficient units. While the model might be more appropriate to some idealized self-sufficient farming community of the past, contemporary American communities are not so isolated.

In Springdale, the town described by Vidich and Bensman (1960), elected officials' primary goal was to keep local taxes to a minimum. Pursuing the goal of keeping taxes low meant that the village government failed to provide certain services. In a closed system, the
residents of the village would have to live with the outcome of the village government's attempt at economy. In reality, the state government stepped in to provide the services that the village government chose not to (Vidich and Bensman 1960:216).

In the arid West, where occupation of the area was dependent upon large-scale water control projects, local governments have always been subject to economic and political forces beyond their control. Not only national decisions such as those affecting the funding of water control projects, but also international events, can determine the future of communities. The possibility of future large increases in the cost of petroleum products would have serious consequences on places like Coolidge. Cotton acreage would decline as the price of gasoline to pump irrigation water increased. The annual influx of winter visitors would be reduced as the cost of travel increased. Whether or not the decisions of local elected officials reflected change in value standards resulting from economic change such as an increase in the price of petroleum, the effects of the change would still be felt.

Instead of responding to social, economic, or environmental change within its perimeters, a local government may simply choose to ignore change. In doing so, the local government gives up whatever ability it might have to formulate a response to the change that is representative of its constituents' values, but local leaders can make that choice. Because a local government does not operate as a self-sufficient system, if it fails to respond to change, a response will probably be formulated by some higher level of government. While
local leaders choose to ignore change within their boundaries in the name of preserving the value of individualism, by abrogating responsibility to a higher level of government they actually contribute to the dependence of their community. When a municipality's refusal to provide services results in a higher level of government's stepping in, the refusal is only a face-saving gesture on the part of local officials. The rhetoric of individualism is preserved, although the fact of dependency is increased.

The second reason that change in local government does not conform to Turner's model is that Turner said nothing about the length of time that might elapse before a change in values would result from social, economic, and environmental change. Turner's model might be true in some very general way over a long period of time, but a city council deals with problems on a short-term basis; for example, to decide whether one street or another should be paved. A broader approach, such as developing a five- or ten-year plan for street paving is more difficult to elicit from a council. One reason is the temporary nature of membership on a city council. Most municipal council members are elected for two- or four-year terms. Re-election is to some extent dependent on how well council members respond to the expressed desires of their constituents. Council members who devote their terms of office to studying complex issues and developing long-range plans while neglecting to pave their constituents' streets are not likely to be returned to office.

Because city council members are elected for relatively brief terms and because they usually serve on a part-time basis while
continuing their regular employment, it is unreasonable to expect local government to formulate long-range responses to change. Issues tend not to come to the attention of a city council until they have reached a crisis point. Although the consequences of gradual change may be equally as serious as those of a crisis, only the latter type of issue receives consideration. Thus, in Coolidge, the environmental issue that came to the council's attention was not the declining water table, but the smell of the sewer plant. The increasing upward mobility of Mexican-Americans in Coolidge did not become an issue until gradual social change erupted into the divisive political struggle of the recall election.

Local government is not the primary locus of change in the American value-orientation from individualism to interdependence. In Coolidge, it was the federal government that promoted values associated with a sense of interdependence, such as the participation of ethnic minorities in politics, the provision of social services to the elderly, and the need for a centralized sewage disposal system. Local government continued to deal with these issues in accordance with the principle of individualism, sharing the resources that should have belonged to all among the narrow circle of persons whose interests the council represented, until economic coercion from the federal government forced a change.

An Alternative Explanation

The American way of life is changing. Increased access to employment opportunities and to political power by people who were
formerly excluded has altered the relationships between different ethnic groups and between women and men. The number and proportion of elderly persons in the population have increased. Meeting their needs for health care and adequate shelter has become a growing concern in Galbraith's terms, the American economy has changed from an entrepreneurial to an industrial system. Fewer people are employed in the production of commodities and more in the provision of services. Population growth and the economic exploitation of natural resources have placed stresses upon the environment to the point where conservation has become a national issue.

All of these changes, in combination, have put the value of self-reliance and individualism to the test, forcing Americans to become more aware of the needs of one another and of their natural environment. Racial segregation mocked the ideals of political freedom and equality. The growing proportion of retired people in the nation raises doubts about whether, in the future, there will be enough workers to support them under the Social Security system. Free enterprise looks more like a myth when 625,000 Americans work in federally-subsidized public service employment positions and a tiny handful of large corporations dominate such major industries as steel production and communications. When rivers catch fire because they are so polluted with industrial wastes and nuclear power plants threaten devastation, a new awareness of the environmental costs of industrial growth comes to the fore.

The only possible response seems to be a retreat from the value of individualism, substituting for the vision of Americans as rugged
frontiersmen taming the wilderness a new view of the nation, its people and its resources as an interdependent system. While the value of self-reliance decrees that the least government is the best government, the social, economic, and environmental changes of the 20th century seem to demand more government control — to protect the rights of minorities, to transfer wealth from the rich to those who are unable to work, to provide public services, to limit industrial pollution and environmental destruction.

At what level of government should policies to respond to these changes be developed? A corollary of the ideal that the least government is the best government is that, where government is necessary, the more local it is the more accurately it will reflect the needs of the people. Local government's primary concern, however, seems to lie in protecting the short-term interests of the small groups of citizens whom it happens to represent. The impetus for change, then, is more likely to come from the federal, not the local, level of government because a greater diversity of interest groups is represented in the federal system. For example, in Coolidge where Mexican-Americans are numerically in the minority, local leaders could safely ignore their concerns. An organization of Spanish-speaking Americans such as the League of United Latin American Citizens, however, is able to wield more power on the national scene, where the organization can speak in the name of millions of voters. On environmental issues, the need to balance the interests of different regions within the federation promotes the value of interdependence.
Economic Factors in Local Government

Economic factors appear primary in bringing about change at the local level. How funds from outside the community made available to a formerly powerless group can reorganize the balance of local political power is well documented in the case of Crystal City, a south Texas agricultural town where 80% of the population is Mexican-American (Shockley 1974). From the town's founding in 1907 until 1963, Anglos dominated the city council. In 1963, a slate of five Mexican-American candidates, with the support of the Teamsters Union and a political organization developed from the Viva Kennedy clubs of the 1960 presidential campaign, won the municipal election. The new leaders, however, were not able to consolidate their political power and lost to Anglo candidates in the following municipal election, two years later.

In 1969, Mexican-American candidates in Crystal City won all the seats in both the school board and municipal elections. In the years between 1965 and 1969, Mexican-Americans had fought to gain a more active role in federal programs in the community, such as the Community Action Program and Model Cities (Shockley 1974:104). This time, the Mexican-Americans were able to establish and maintain their political control.

If the concept of representation in government is interpreted literally to mean that elected officials ought to share roughly the same ethnic characteristics as the population they serve, it took 60 years to achieve that type of representation in Crystal City. Factors outside the control of the local Anglo leaders, such as the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision ending school segregation and financial support
for the Mexican-Americans' cause from national organizations, brought
to an end the political domination of a majority Mexican-American
population by a minority Anglo group.

A political upset similar to that in Crystal City, but without
the racial overtones, occurred in New Haven, Connecticut a decade
earlier. There the issue of using federal funds for urban renewal was
instrumental in tipping the balance of power away from the traditional
elite to a new group of leaders (Dahl 1961).

In Coolidge, the active participation of minorities in the
1972 recall election was a result of the organizing effort subsidized
by the Community Action Program. The Community Action Program pro-
vides one example of the way federal grants become a force for change
in local politics. The Program simply made money available to citi-
zens' groups to accomplish a goal that many local governments did not
consider important enough to allocate resources to -- improving ser-
vices to the poor by increasing the participation of the client
population in decisions about the programs.

Thus federal funds can be an important resource to the power-
less in the process of change. While a community's traditional landed
elite may struggle to balance a municipal budget based on local tax
revenues, the whole system can be turned upside down when another group
lacking the traditional bases of power introduces the issue of federal
funds that do not depend on local tax revenues, but, rather, are
granted to accomplish specific ends. Planning and grantsmanship then
replace fiscal conservatism as the skills needed to administer local
government.
Other federal programs carry negative economic sanctions. For example, the federal government provides financial assistance to local governments to construct sanitary sewer systems. Theoretically, the local government makes the choice of whether or not to install a centralized system of sewage collection and treatment. Should the local government choose not to provide sewer service, however, it becomes subject to large monetary fines by the federal government. Elected officials have little choice with this type of federal program. If they decide not to provide the federally mandated service, they must allocate local resources on a continuing basis to pay the fines. The only economically rational response a local government can make to such a mandate is to accept it, along with whatever federal funds are available to provide the service.

Federal programs also bring about change in local governments through indirect financial pressure, the proverbial "strings" attached to federal grants. The requirement of a $15,000 payment to any household that the City relocated, which came as a string attached to Coolidge's Department of Housing and Urban Development grant, is one example. During the 1970's the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) has enabled many local governments to increase their personnel with public service employment positions funded by the federal government, but local governments accepting these funds are required to develop an Affirmative Action Plan that will result in members of ethnic minorities being represented in proportion to their distribution in the local population in municipal jobs. The bait of federal money has done much to open new employment opportunities in local
government to members of ethnic minorities. In Coolidge, CETA funds brought the first minority persons to work in City Hall in 1974. Previously, the City had employed minority persons only as laborers on the public works crew.

Based on the popular ideal that local government is the proper locus of control, President Nixon initiated a program of federal revenue-sharing. The federal government, instead of making categorical grants to accomplish specific objectives, began to give money to municipalities to use for whatever public purposes local elected officials saw fit. When revenue-sharing funds became available, many municipalities allocated the funds to purchase equipment for public works departments and subsidize their regular staff salaries, leaving unfunded the social programs that categorical grants had previously subsidized. The Coolidge evidence suggests that turning over greater control of resources to local government, unless this control is accompanied by restrictions to ensure that all residents receive a share of the benefits and that certain services be performed, is likely to result only in a perpetuation of the interests of small groups of citizens. In contrast, if federal funds are granted expressly for the purpose of assisting some group that the federal government defines as disadvantaged, that group gains a resource base that it did not have access to locally.

Behavioral Change as an Intermediate Step

Short-run economic calculations of profit or loss are more likely to produce behavioral change, not value change, in municipal
governments. The extension of sewer service to the eastern portion of South Coolidge, when neither the City Council nor the residents cared about it, clearly illustrates that behavioral change can occur without any change in value. This incident parallels Cronin's (1970:271) finding that most Sicilian immigrants to Australia changed "habit and custom but not necessarily . . . value and ideal."

If a value system is functionally related to a total cultural system, it must, in the long-run, change so that it bears some resemblance to actual behavior. This process of gradual change in value as a result of behavioral change seems to have been occurring in American culture with regard to the position of members of ethnic minorities. Although the American value system as embodied in the Constitution has always acknowledged the ideal of equality for all, it was not until the second half of the 20th century that the ideal was legislated into prohibitions of racial discrimination in education and employment. As the American public has become accustomed to the presence of members of ethnic minorities in schools and workplaces, segregationist values have receded. Behavioral change, mandated by legislative and judicial decisions, has led over time to value change. Federal action appears crucial in the process of successfully implementing the broader implications of the Constitution at the local level.

**Turner's Hypothesis and Contemporary American Communities**

If an intermediate step were added to Turner's hypothesis, to state that change in social, economic, and environmental systems leads to behavioral changes, which, in time, bring about change in values,
the hypothesis would provide a more accurate explanation of change in a total cultural system. Turner's hypothesis does not, however, serve to explain change in subsystems within a culture, such as local governments. The dependence of such subsystems upon economic factors outside their control means that local governments will change primarily in response to economic pressures manipulated by a higher level of government or some other external agency. Without economic coercion, behavioral change and any consequent change in value is unlikely to occur.

Summary

The myth of American communities as independent units, able to control their destinies through a decision-making process representative of their constituents, is simply another form of the myth of American society as a collection of self-reliant individuals. Both myths ignore a basic fact of human existence, that there will always be some individuals in a society who are dependent upon others; indeed all human beings ground their very existence in such interdependence! The passing of the frontier era has forced national political institutions to give greater recognition to the fundamental interdependence of social, economic, and environmental subsystems.

While past times may have offered more scope for the rugged individual, trends such as advances in medical care that keep handicapped persons alive and lengthen the lives of the elderly, and the displacement of human labor by machines, mean that a growing proportion of Americans are dependent upon others for their subsistence. Large-scale irrigation projects funded by the federal government have
provided the foundation for the existence of communities like Coolidge. Developments in transportation, making possible exotic patterns of transhumance such as that of winter visitors to the Southwest and the nationwide distribution of standardized commodities, inextricably bind communities to the national economy. Economic dependence reduces the role of local government to that of any other interest group, like labor unions, minority rights organizations, and industrial associations, lobbying in the national arena for its share of public resources.

The contradiction between the ideal of self-reliance promulgated by the American value system and the need for centralized control occasioned by social, economic, and environmental changes that highlight the interdependence of groups and regional interests within American society generates a political tension, as Turner (1962:321) noted. One expression of this tension can be seen today in the dynamic interactions between local governments and the federal government.

Although social, economic, and environmental changes impact upon both national and local situations, it is at the federal level that these changes are likely to result in value change as expressed in laws made by Congress or reinterpreted by the Supreme Court. The principle of federalism, upon which our national government is based, forces the negotiation of compromises between diverse interest groups and produces decisions that give greater recognition to the value of interdependence than decisions made by local governments.

The economic resources or sanctions embodied in the laws enacted by Congress, then, determine the way local government will respond to change. In the short run, changing conditions are thus
likely to produce behavioral change, motivated by simple economic calculations of profit and loss, at the local level.

The strain between the value of individualism expressed by local leaders and the necessity for changed behavior forced by federal funding decisions can have unpleasant political manifestations. Parsons (1964) saw both McCarthyism in the 1950's and the radical right movements of the 1960's such as the John Birch Society as expressions of the tension between the ideal of self-reliance and the burgeoning need for centralized control.

In Coolidge, the effects of such strain could be seen most clearly in the decisions that the City Council made concerning Main Street. Guided by the value of individualism, the Council automatically acquiesced to the demands of Main Street merchants. When meeting those demands failed to improve commercial activity, the Council and the merchants experienced frustration. Instead of leading to greater acceptance of the facts of Coolidge's economic dependence, the frustration was displaced onto the victims of economic change.

**Anthropology and Local Government**

While anthropology can do little to alleviate the basic problem of economic dependence that municipal governments face, it can contribute to easing some of the tensions generated by the dynamics of political change, perhaps even preventing some of the more unpleasant manifestations. There are two areas where anthropology can improve the functioning of local government: in providing elected officials with information on which to base decisions and in assisting various interest groups in making their opinions heard.
Provision of Information

The part-time and temporary nature of service by elected officials on a city council is a major reason why local governments spend more time dividing up resources on a short-term basis than in long-range planning. Social scientists in general can help municipalities consider the long-term consequences of their actions by preparing information for city council members. The presentation of such information in a simple form is equally as important as the collection of accurate data. Municipal council members need information presented in a readily intelligible form with the implications of possible actions (or inaction) carefully spelled out. Masses of data on most aspects of municipal life that would concern a city council are readily available from a variety of public agencies. The challenge to the social scientist lies in digesting, interpreting, and condensing the information in order to put it into a form that can be readily understood by elected officials.

Anthropology in particular has a contribution to make in the interpretation of information. The holistic view of culture (Weaver and White 1972:117) that is characteristic of anthropology means that anthropologists are perhaps better qualified than other social scientists to help city council members understand that actions they take in one area may have consequences in another area of municipal life; for example, that a meeting place for senior citizens should not only be equipped to provide the services that the elderly need, but also be within walking distance of the area where a majority of the client population lives. The concept of the interrelatedness of all aspects
of human life that anthropology brings to a problem, properly presented in a clear and concise manner, can go a long way to help city council members weigh the pros and cons of possible courses of action.

City council members are charged with very general responsibilities to provide for the well-being of people who live within their communities. The problem for any social scientist working in municipal government is not so much in amassing information as in translating the data so that it can be understood by a generalist who is continually beset by various and particular short-run pressures...

Diverse Interest Groups

One of the simplest and most basic points of anthropology, that cultural differences exist, is not widely understood by the general public. City council members and administrators in municipal government tend to be recruited from a single social grouping, Anglo males of the upper middle class. The idea that there are different ways of doing things, that not everyone wishes to live in the same kind of house or spend their leisure time in the same way, is foreign to most people who work in municipal government. The anthropologist has an important role to play in helping those who make decisions affecting the welfare of others realize that not everyone wants the same thing and in assisting decision-makers to negotiate compromises that are acceptable to all.

In my work in Coolidge, I spent considerable time on housing problems. The Farmers Home Administration offered two programs that provided low-interest loans to homeowners, one for rehabilitating
existing housing and the other for constructing new housing. I was responsible for identifying potential clients, then taking the Farmers Home staff member who packaged the loans to interview the potential clients and inspect their houses. The loan packager was a bright person, seriously interested in improving local housing. He lacked, however, any perception of housing except that of the Anglo middle class, to which he belonged.

The visits that he made with me to potential Farmers Home clients proved a revelation to him. On one occasion I took him to see the woman in East Coolidge who lived in the converted barracks building. Upon inspecting the house, it became very clear that the maximum amount permitted for a rehabilitation loan would not be sufficient to bring the house up to the standards of the Uniform Building Code, a condition of the Farmers Home loan. The loan packager suggested tearing down the house and building a new one to Farmers Home specifications. It surprised him to learn that the woman valued her existing house's function as a gathering place for neighborhood residents more than a house with modern conveniences built according to a standardized floor plan.

Another time we visited an elderly Mexican-American woman in East Coolidge. Her dwelling consisted of two small houses connected by a passageway. One of the houses, that served as kitchen and dining area, was made of crumbling adobe. None of the walls met at right angles and the floor was dirt. The woman laughed as she told us that the house had been her late husband's first adventure in building with adobe. The house was a remembrance of their life together. Her home
did not meet the standards for rehabilitation either, but she had no interest in replacing it with a new one.

I took the loan packager to see some 20 houses over several months. From the visits, he learned much about the variety of purposes that a house fulfills for its occupants, purposes that cannot always be met by the standardized design of the Farmers Home new houses. Since the young man was looking forward to a career working with public housing programs, I thought my effort to demonstrate to him that housing means different things to different people was time well-spent.

The concept of culture is so fundamental to anthropologists that they are inclined to forget that not everyone they meet shares it with them. Although the perspectives that anthropology can bring to public life may seem simple to the person who holds them, those perspectives nonetheless have an important contribution to make in helping elected officials make wise choices that promote the wellbeing of their constituents.
APPENDIX A

OCCUPATIONS OF COOLIDGE CITY COUNCIL MEMBERS

1945

1. Owner, hardware store. (Mayor; resigned from Council Nov. 1945 to become Town Clerk.)
2. Dentist, local private practice.
3. Co-owner, lumber yard. (Mayor from Nov. 1945.)
5. Owner, electrical contracting and appliance sales firm.
6. Carpenter.
7. Owner, hotel.

1946

8. Owner, automobile dealership. (Mayor; resigned as Mayor Oct. 1946; resigned from Council July 1947.)
9. Engineer, irrigation district. (Mayor from Oct. 1946; resigned as Mayor Jan. 1947; resigned from Council Nov. 1947.)
10. Petroleum products distributor. (Mayor from Jan. 1947.)
    (Anderson)
11. Physician, local private practice. (Resigned from Council July 1947.)
12. Farmer and Owner, farm machinery dealership. (Resigned from Council Jan. 1948.)
13. Manager, local branch bank. (Resigned from Council Jan. 1948.)
5. See above.
Appointments to fill vacancies:

14. Farmer and Manager, feed store.
15. Druggist.
17. Manager, motel.
18. Farmer.

19. Owner, department store. (Klein)

1948
10. See above. (Mayor.) (Anderson)
14. See above.
15. See above.
16. See above. (Resigned from Council Sept. 1948.)
17. See above. (Refused to take office, June 1948.)
18. See above.
19. Owner, department store. (Klein)

1950
10. See above. (Mayor.) (Anderson)
15. See above. (Resigned from Council Nov. 1951.)
18. See above.
19. See above. (Klein)
20. Farmer.
21. Bookkeeper, providing services to several local businesses.
22. Farmer and Manager, cotton gin.

1952
10. See above. (Mayor.) (Anderson)
14. See above.
18. See above.
19. See above. (Klein)
20. See above.
21. See above.
22. See above.

1954
23. Petroleum products distributor. (Mayor.)
24. Partner, electrical supply firm and Owner, bar.
25. Owner, auto parts store.
27. Plumbing and heating contractor.
28. Building contractor.
29. Repairman, telephone company.

1956
30. Farmer. (Mayor.)
31. Farmer.
32. Building contractor.
33. Retired insurance agent.

1958
34. Owner, drycleaners. (Mayor; resigned from Council Jan. 1960.)
35. Owner, photo shop. (Lawson)
36. Salesman, auto dealership.
37. Owner, frozen food locker.
38. Owner, furniture store.
23. See above.
30. See above. (Resigned from Council June 1959.)
Appointment to fill vacancy:
39. Veterinarian, local private practice. (Roberts)

1960

40. Owner, grocery store. (Mayor.)
23. See above.
37. See above.
38. See above.
39. See above. (Roberts)
41. Owner, farm machinery company.
42. Owner, restaurant.

1962

43. Salesman, agricultural chemicals. (Mayor.)
23. See above.
39. See above. (Roberts)
40. See above.
42. See above.
44. Lawyer, local private practice. (Resigned from Council Jan. 1963.)
45. Manager, cotton gin. (Resigned from Council June 1963.)
Appointments to fill vacancies:

41. See above.

46. Farmer.

1964

43. See above. (Mayor.)

39. See above. (Roberts)

40. See above.

41. See above.

42. See above.

46. See above.

47. Partner, local department store. (Levine; also son-in-law of 19, above.)

1966

39. See above. (Mayor; resigned as Mayor Oct. 1967.) (Roberts)

47. See above. (Mayor from Oct. 1967.) (Levine)

40. See above.

42. See above.

48. Insurance agent and Owner, liquor store.

49. Manager, auto parts dealership.

50. Owner, liquor store. (Burton)

1968

47. See above. (Mayor.) (Levine)

39. See above. (Roberts)

40. See above.

48. See above.
49. See above.

50. See above. (Burton)

51. Schoolteacher. (Gonzales)

1970

47. See above. (Mayor.) (Levine)

39. See above. (Roberts)

40. See above.

50. See above. (Burton)

51. Administrator, community college. (Gonzales)

52. Owner, gasoline station. (Holmes)

53. Truck driver. (Monroe)

1972 Regular Election

52. See above. (Mayor.) (Holmes)

39. See above. (Roberts)

50. See above. (Burton)

51. See above. (Gonzales)

53. See above. (Monroe)

54. Employee, tire sales firm. (Adams)

55. Schoolteacher. (Newman)

1972 Recall Election

51. See above. (Mayor.) (Gonzales)

53. See above. (Monroe)

54. See above. (Adams)

55. See above. (Newman)
56. Owner, restaurant. (Jones)
57. Employee, telephone company and Salesman, real estate. (Wilson)
58. Owner, grocery store. (Shaw)

1974
51. See above. (Mayor.) (Gonzales)
54. See above. (Adams)
55. See above. (Newman)
58. See above. (Shaw)
35. See above. (Lawson)
59. Retired Manager of auto dealership. (Hamilton)
60. Dentist, local private practice. (Benson)

1976
59. See above. (Mayor.) (Hamilton)
35. See above. (Lawson)
58. See above. (Shaw)
60. See above. (Benson)
61. Salesman, insurance company.
62. Farmer.
63. Schoolteacher.
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VALLEY NATIONAL BANK OF ARIZONA


VIDICH, ARTHUR J. and JOSEPH BENS MAN


VOGT, EVON Z.


WEAVER, THOMAS and DOUGLAS WHITE

WEBB, WALTER PRESCOTT


WHITAKER, FRANK