LIFE-STYLE AND LOCAL CONTROL IN TWO ARIZONA COMMUNITIES: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

by

Stephen Eugene Auslander

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APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

Vincent L. Marando — 6-19-69

VINCENT L. MARANDO — Date

Assistant Professor of Government

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS--Continued

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES--Continued

LIST OF TABLES--Continued

ABSTRACT

This study relies upon life-style as a theoretical approach to metropolitan and suburban analysis. This theory states that suburban areas will tend to proliferate (create a separate governmental authority) in order to protect certain values.

It was found, in a case study of two Arizona suburbs, that life-style provides a useful approach to urban analysis. However, the residents of a suburban area possessing sufficient resources need not resort to proliferation. Life-style values may be preserved and maintained through the acts of informal, politically-active groups which exert pressure on governmental authorities and therefore exert local control over their environment.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The technological sophistication of the twentieth century has transformed the city into a diverse, sprawling metropolis in a relatively short span of time. Approximately two-thirds of the population of the United States lived on farms or in rural communities under 2,000 at the turn of the century. By 1960, this trend had almost completely reversed itself with just under two-thirds of the population living in metropolitan areas.

Nineteenth century technology gave impetus to rapid urbanization with the invention of the steam power plant, the water main, the electric lamp, telegraph, and many others. Urbanization matured in the twentieth century with the invention of the streetcar, the automobile, the septic tank, and the cesspool.

The impact of the automobile has created what Scott Greer has termed "the centrifugal metropolis."[1] The centrifugal metropolis is characterized by numerous population

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1. Scott Greer, Governing the Metropolis (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), p. 20.

clusters scattered throughout the urban area. Before the invention of the automobile and its subsequent wide spread use, the population of the city was located within what may be today regarded as a relatively small spatial area; the automobile enabled residential settlements to grow further away from the city. The septic tank made adequate sanitation facilities no major problem in these fringe settlements. Retail services were able to follow the settlements using the truck to transport goods. The result was the formation of the subcities surrounding the central or core city.

The subcities created by the centrifugal metropolis sought, in the American tradition of "grass roots democracy" and local control, to govern themselves. In some cases, already existing settlements with existing governmental structures, were repopulated and transformed from a rural to an urban setting. In either case, the result has been the growth of fringe or suburban areas to the point where the central cities no longer contain a majority of the metropolitan population within their political jurisdictions. The centrifugal metropolis has created dozens of suburban areas, each with its own government, each providing similar municipal services.

The Problem: The Proliferation of Governments[2]

The diffusion of governments in the metropolitan area has been considered by political scientists who have approached the subject as the problem of the metropolis.[3] It has, in fact, been referred to as "the metropolitan problem." Moreover, it has been considered as the primary cause of urban problems. As Robert O. Warren explains:

> Most writers in the field of metropolitan government have assumed, usually implicitly, that a causal relationship exists between formal structure

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2. The proliferation of governments refers to the characteristic of governments operating within a metropolitan area. This characteristic is a set of arrangements whereby public authority for providing municipal services is divided among a number of governmental jurisdictions which are formally independent of each other. This condition has also been termed "diffusion," "fragmented," "fractionated," "multi-nucleated," and "decentralized." The converse of this condition would be the same services provided by a single authority. This has been termed an "integrated," "centralized," or "nucleated" governmental structure.

3. There have been a number of metropolitan scholars--traditional and contemporary--who have contributed to this viewpoint either implicitly or explicitly. A partial list of those who have held this view would include the following: Chester C. Maxey, "The Political Integration of Metropolitan Communities," National Municipal Review 11 (August, 1922), pp. 229-253; William Bennett Munro, Municipal Government and Administration (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923); Paul Studenski, The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States (New York: National Municipal League, 1930); Victor Jones, Metropolitan Government (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942); Charles E. Merriam, Spencer D. Parratt, and Albert Lepawsky, The Government of the Metropolitan Region of Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933); Robert C. Wood, 1400 Governments (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1961); Greer; John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, The Metropolis: Its People, Politics, and Economic Life (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

> of government within an area and the performance of government, e.g., the degree to which a given set of organizational arrangements is able to satisfy public needs. This school of thought presumes that a multinucleated structure is the primary cause of the metropolitan problem and that by modifying this variable through governmental integration partial and inadequate responses in the public sector will also be modified so that existing metropolitan problems will be eliminated or ameliorated.
>
> This assumption represents what can be termed the majority position of students of government over the past five decades. Consequently, metropolitan studies have typically proposed structural integration in one form or another, on the assumption that an inverse relationship exists between the number of governmental units in an area and an acceptable level of performance.[4]

Generally, proponents of metropolitan governmental integration have argued that fragmentation results in (1) no concerted attack on area-wide problems of the metropolis, (2) overlapping jurisdictions to provide similar types of services creating wasteful spending, (3) higher taxes which could be lower if services were coordinated and integrated, (4) no central political arena.

As Warren noted, the majority of metropolitan scholars have identified governmental proliferation as a problem. For example, writing in 1942, Victor Jones said:

> Disintegrated local government in metropolitan areas results in unequalized services, in a disparity between need and fiscal ability to meet the need, and

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4. Robert O. Warren, Government in Metropolitan Regions: A Reappraisal of Fractionated Political Organization (Davis: Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, 1966), p. 2.

> in a dispersion and dissipation of political control of the development of social, economic and political institutions . . . the problem of providing services for the entire metropolitan community and of financing and controlling its local government is conditioned by its disintegration.[5]

The argument has not lost its primacy since Jones wrote these words. A more contemporary consideration of the problem is given by Scott Greer:

> [T]his fragmented polity confronts problems that are areawide in their origins, affecting all parts of the metropolitan area; they are problems which seem, logically and technically, to demand an areawide governmental response. Such a response, however, is difficult to imagine in urban complex made up of a hundred or a thousand separate governmental jurisdictions.[6]

Several solutions have been proposed to meet the problem of proliferation. The first efforts to remedy the problem were aimed at total integration of the metropolitan community by either annexation or governmental consolidation; in either case, the point was to create a single, unified, coordinated metropolitan polity. This was considered the correct position by such metropolitan scholars as Chester C. Maxey and William Bennett Munro "who stoutly maintained that as an organic and economic unity the metropolitan community demanded a unified government."[7]

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5. Jones, p. 52.

6. Greer, pp. 107-108.

7. Bollens and Schmandt, pp. 587-588.

This was the popular approach until 1930 when Paul Studenski's The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States was published. Studenski argued that the proper solution to proliferation would have to be some local government version of federalism which would allow for local representation, yet still permit unified areawide action in some sectors of the system. The primary difference in this second approach was the retention of local government with the creation of higher authority binding the local governments together.

A third approach to proliferation called for cooperation on a voluntary basis among the governmental units in the metropolitan area. This is the most recent approach and it has been developed in the wake of numerous metropolitan consolidation attempts by reformers which have failed. As noted by Bollens and Schmandt, interlocal cooperation in the form of a voluntary council of governments is probably the most realistic approach to the problem.[8] However, it has been heavily criticized for such a solution seems to do little more than defend the status quo: "In the vast majority of instances, its use has involved little more than action of limited scope by two or more local units in minor and noncontroversial matters."[9]

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8. Ibid., p. 588.

9. Idem.

If proliferation poses problems in the metropolis, it may not be, however, the cause of all its problems. Proliferation, more realistically, is the result of an increased technology and rapid growth. This position is shared by H. Paul Friesema; after examining the arguments for remedying the problem of proliferation, he writes:

> These positions attribute the proliferation of governments and the creation of service-by-service metropolitan wide organizations as essentially the cause of the difficulties which they find. These judgments are made, implicitly or explicitly, in comparison with what the situation would be, if only the metropolitan area was unified into a single political jurisdiction. In that unlikely, but highly desirable event, programs would be coordinated, they would be under the control of the elected officials, and they would also be within the scrutiny of the discerning public. . . . When the comparison is made explicit, between what is observed, and what would be most desirable, there seem to be strong reasons to suspect that the problems of coordination, of effective control by elected officials, and of public participation and scrutiny, while they may be very real and difficult, are not solved by putting the metropolis under a single political tent, because they are not created by the fractionated governmental system. These are problems which can be attributed to such things as increasing division of labor, specialization, and technical sophistication. The proliferation of governments may be of only minor importance in producing the basic problems. Governmental unification would surely alter the context, but it probably would not solve the problem.[10]

There is an essential force missing in the metropolitan governmental system: a unifying mechanism which would

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10. H. Paul Friesema, "The Metropolis and the Maze of Local Government," Urban Affairs Quarterly 2 (December, 1966), pp. 85-86.

bring the political forces together. Greer has characterized the metropolis of today as the centrifugal metropolis. The centrifugal forces need to be balanced by some centripetal forces.

Metropolitan governmental reform movements in the United States have, as a rule, failed. Among the reasons for this failure may be that the problem of finding integrating mechanisms conflicts with the desire to maintain local control. Generally, the indication has been that where there is greater diversity and differentiation in social and economic spheres of the metropolitan community, there is greater potential conflict and a reformed, consolidated government is less likely to be adopted.[11]

However, the statement that the metropolitan community is a diverse area that tends to resist governmental integration, does not explain proliferation. For example, why have suburban and fringe areas grown? Why do people locate in suburbs? What does local control, which implies proliferation, mean to residents of a suburb? And, perhaps most importantly, what does local control mean in the context of the metropolitan environment?

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11. Brett W. Hawkins, "Political Structure, Ecological Structure and the Outcome of Urban Political Integration Referenda" (unpublished paper, undated; mimeo., in author's possession).

Focus of the Paper and Implications for Proliferation

These are questions with which this paper will be concerned. However, such questions are concerned with only one aspect of the problem of metropolitan governmental proliferation. The question of governmental reform will not be considered in this paper. Instead, this paper will focus on the suburban area and the reasons behind proliferation and resistance to governmental consolidation. It is the thesis of this paper that it is possible for a suburb which is homogeneous in respect to its residents and exhibits high socioeconomic characteristics to exert local control without resort to proliferation and simultaneously protect and maintain certain values shared by the residents of that suburb. This thesis presumes that suburban areas typically tend to proliferate in order to protect and maintain certain shared values.

The implications of this thesis for the problem of metropolitan governmental proliferation are twofold: first, this research is aimed at understanding why suburbs proliferate and resist consolidation rather than accepting the problem as "given"; second, if proliferation is considered as a symptom, rather than a cause, the so-called "problem" is placed in perspective and a greater understanding of the metropolitan area results. In order to develop this thesis, it is necessary to present a theoretical orientation to the study.

Theoretical Framework: Life-Style and Local Control

Robert Wood has noted that suburbs are places and suburbanites are people.[12] Although an obvious distinction, it is an important one. Suburbanites, in their social environment, exhibit characteristics "which distinguish them more or less from other Americans."[13]

Aside from some notable exceptions, i.e., industrial suburbs, there is a distinctly suburban way of life which is based upon certain shared value preferences. These values are shared among suburbanites as a group in reference to patterns of living. Further, there are notable differences between suburbs. For the purposes of this paper, the sum of the shared value preferences of a given suburb will serve as a definition of that suburb's life-style.

Sociologist Wendell Bell has identified three value preference patterns which influence life-style: familism, upward vertical mobility (or career), and consumership.[14] A familism life-style indicates a greater emphasis on the family and family living; and, as Bell explains: "More than this, however, are the norms of consumption--the closely

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12. Robert C. Wood, Suburbia: Its People and Their Politics (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958), p. 1.

13. Idem.

14. Wendell Bell, "The City, the Suburb, and a Theory of Social Choice," in Scott Greer, et al. (eds.), The New Urbanization (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), pp. 132-168.

interwoven set of activities and possessions--that are correlated with and become symbolic of those who are representative of the familism preference pattern."[15]

Upward mobility indicates the values placed on one's career and the corresponding time, money, and energy spent in this pursuit.

A consumer-oriented life-style pattern emphasizes such values as "having a good time" or "living high" to the extent that familism and career life-styles become of secondary importance.

These three choice patterns, although discussed as each was exclusive of the other, occur in combinations. Particular groups may, at one time or another, incorporate all three life-styles, but to varying degrees. Thus, a middle class suburb, one might suspect, would probably emphasize the familism life-style to a greater degree than other life-style values. Indeed, this is Bell's hypothesis:

> . . . the move to the suburbs expresses an attempt on the part of the movers to find a location in which to conduct family life that is more suitable than offered by central cities, i.e., that persons moving to the suburbs are principally those who have chosen familism as an important element of their life styles as over against career or consumership.[16]

Urban analyst Oliver P. Williams considers life-style values as the primary impetus to the proliferation of

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15. Ibid., p. 147.

16. Ibid., p. 151.

governments in the metropolitan area.[17] Williams considers one of the most important tactics used by suburbs in realizing life-style values is "homogeneous and complementary groupings."[18] The suburb, as a political unit smaller than the central city and with a governmental structure which is autonomous, experiences a general agreement of consensus among its residents as to the preferred life-style values. Thus, there is little political conflict in the suburb and therefore:

> Following the logic of this strategy, a decentralized (suburbanized) metropolitan governmental pattern appears to be the superior mode to a centralized (consolidation) one for the enhancement of life-style values. Under the former arrangement, diverse groups need not constantly compete in the same political arena, a situation characteristic of heterogeneous units, such as the core city (particularly as it has existed traditionally).[19]

There are, however, some questions left unanswered by the life-style theory. First, Bell's analysis notwithstanding, there is some question as to the primary elements of life-style. Bell's analysis of life-style is oriented to the sociological characteristics of life-style while Williams' analysis is more concerned with homogeneity and

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17. Oliver P. Williams, "Life Style Values and Political Decentralization in Metropolitan Areas," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 48 (December, 1967), pp. 299-310.

18. Ibid., p. 303.

19. Idem.

spatial relationships. In other words, Bell's work is useful in determining the relationship between cities and suburbs. Williams' analysis of life-style indicates that different suburbs may exhibit differing life-style values which may be reflected in an ecological sense. Thus, if life-style values are to be considered as the salient variable leading to homogeneous groupings, what types of values will unite what types of homogeneous suburbs? It should be noted that Williams terms those suburbs with homogeneous groups as "specializing suburbs," instead of homogeneous suburbs for a suburb may still contain a small amount of diverse groups.

In Bell's analysis one may agree that the suburban movement does reflect an attempt to conduct family life in a more suitable environment. However, what are the different unifying factors which may unite the residents of a middle class suburb as opposed to those factors which may unite an upper class suburb?

Williams argues that there are no clear-cut variables, that the entire spectrum of social, economic, cultural, and political variables will come into play. However, what is the relationship between these variables? One may posit the assumption that not all these variables will weigh equally in the determination or development of life-style values. In elaborating upon Williams' thesis, the following hypothesis is presented for testing:

H-1. If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, then the political behavior of its residents will be influenced primarily by social values.

A second question left unanswered by the life-style theory lies in the precise difference between an incorporated suburb and an unincorporated suburb. Theoretically, an incorporated suburb will be better able to preserve and protect life-style values for the creation of its own autonomous governmental authority insures that demands by residents will be more or less homogenized; thus discord and conflict will be eliminated. An unincorporated suburb, however, does not enjoy this advantage, theoretically. Instead, the demands of residents of an unincorporated suburb must be considered by a higher governmental authority--in most cases county government. The higher governmental authority has a diverse and heterogeneous constituency and the demands of suburban residents must compete in such a political arena.

However, it would seem that the residents of an unincorporated suburb may still exert local control by way of politically-active groups. These groups, such as homeowners associations, are informal and obviously without formal public authority. Metropolitan researchers have been criticized for their strict focus upon formal governmental organizations.[20] Although some attention has been given to

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20. Friesema, p. 78.

ad hoc or informal relations, the extent to which such relations influence the metropolitan political environment is not clear. The question under consideration is: to what extent may an unincorporated suburb, which is not fortunate enough to have a political boundary around it, influence the decisions of the governmental authority to which it must turn for governance? In response to this question, the following hypothesis will be tested:

H-2. If a specializing suburb is unincorporated and possesses sufficient resources, then it is possible for that suburb to exert local control through politically-active groups to approximately the same extent as it is for an incorporated suburb to exert local control.

The following corollaries will also be tested in this study:

C-1. If a suburb's political behavior is influenced primarily by social values, then economic values will be secondary.

C-2. If a suburb's political behavior is influenced primarily by social values and that suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, then the nature of social values influencing that suburb will tend to center around land use policy.

C-3. If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, the concern for life-style values will not

necessarily reflect a corresponding concern for municipal-type services.

C-4. If an individual is a resident of a suburb whose residents tend to view life-style values in terms of low density spatial patterns, then that resident will tend to view his suburb, as it relates to the metropolitan core area, in terms of mutually exclusive and conflicting images.

C-5. If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups and is incorporated, then the residents of that suburb will tend to view their suburb in terms of community more so than the residents of an unincorporated suburb would tend to view their suburb.

C-6. If a suburb specializing in high socioeconomic status groups is not incorporated, the residents of that suburb will tend to view governmental integration in more favorable terms than the residents of an incorporated suburb. (However, this does not mean that the residents of the unincorporated suburb will necessarily view integration in positive terms.)

C-7. If an individual is a resident of a high socioeconomic status group suburb, he will tend to view metropolitan area problems and his role in helping to solve these problems largely in terms of impotence.

Annexation and Incorporation in Two Arizona Communities

The two communities selected for study are Paradise Valley, Arizona, an incorporated township located in the Phoenix Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), and the Cataline Foothills, an unincorporated area located northeast of the City of Tucson in the Tucson SMSA. The Phoenix SMSA includes all of Maricopa County, while the Tucson SMSA includes all of Pima County. The two communities are similar in terms of socioeconomic status as both rank high in this category. The metropolitan areas of Phoenix and Tucson, however, show significant differences, as shown by Table 1.

This difference may be considered in terms of governmental proliferation. The Phoenix SMSA, nearly three times as large as the Tucson SMSA population wise, contains 18 municipalities as opposed to two in the Tucson SMSA. What the data do not show, however, is that the Tucson SMSA contains no suburban municipalities. Thus, the Tucson area contains suburban areas but no incorporated suburbs.

The two municipalities in the Tucson SMSA are the City of Tucson and the Town of South Tucson. The latter is a small area which does not exhibit any of the characteristics normally associated with residential suburban areas.

Governmentally, then, the Tucson SMSA is relatively centralized. This is in contrast to the proliferated Phoenix SMSA. The contrast is particularly vivid when seen in terms of two municipalities to 18.

Table 1

Governments in Tucson and Phoenix[a]

	Phoenix SMSA	Tucson SMSA
Total Land Area (in square miles)	9,226	9,241
Population Total, 1968	937,005[b]	335,000[d]
Population Total, 1960	663,510[a]	265,660[a]
Population in Municipally Governed Areas, 1968	789,599[c]	248,000[e]
Population in Municipally Governed Areas, 1960	561,496[a]	219,896[a]
Number of Local Governments (all types)	110	24
Municipalities	18	2
Single Function Districts	36	4
Total School Districts	55	17

Sources: (a) U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1967 Census of Governments; (b) Maricopa County Department of Planning and Zoning, 1967-1968 Annual Report Including Trends from 1953 to 1968 (mimeo, 1968), Table 5; (c) Idem.; (d) City of Tucson Planning Division and Pima County Planning Department, Population Study: 1967 (January 1, 1967), p. 6; (e) City of Tucson, Tucson Annual Budget 1968-1969.

Paradise Valley is an incorporated township located northeast of Phoenix. It is solely a residential community with the exception of some resort hotels and country clubs in the area. No retail outlets such as food stores or gasoline stations are allowed within the town's boundary.

In 1961, after two previous failures, a group of Paradise Valley residents succeeded in incorporating a three and one-half square-mile area. After incorporation, neighboring areas were annexed to the Town of Paradise Valley. The incorporation of Paradise Valley was followed by a bill passed in the state legislature which prohibits an area within six miles of an incorporated town or municipality from incorporating without the neighboring municipality's consent.

The Catalina Foothills area, as noted above, is an unincorporated area located northeast of Tucson. In 1964-65 this area successfully resisted annexation attempts by the City of Tucson. And again, in 1967, the area was also successful in quieting annexation talk by the City. Although this area is prohibited from incorporating and therefore not enjoying the degree of local control apparently exercised by Paradise Valley, the Foothills area[21] was still successful in resisting metropolitan governmental integration. Thus, the requirement for testing of the second hypothesis--an area exhibiting the advantage of local control and another area without this advantage--is present. These two communities will serve to operationalize testing of the hypothesis and corollaries postulated in this chapter.

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21. For the purpose of this study, the terms "Catalina Foothills," and "Foothills" will be used interchangeably to indicate the same area.

Methodology

Data for this study will be drawn from three sources: newspaper material, census data and other quantitative data such as city and county surveys, and 41 interviews of residents in Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills area. Newspaper material will be used to provide a background for the issues of annexation and incorporation. Census data will be used primarily in describing the socioeconomic characteristics of the two suburbs, and thus to some extent describing life-style.

The interview data will comprise the basic information of the study. In selecting those to be interviewed, special attention was given to the respondent's role in either annexation or incorporation. In the Foothills area, this presented problems for annexation opponents were not confined to the Foothills area alone; thus, some persons were interviewed who were not residents of the Foothills, but surrounding areas. Of the 21 respondents interviewed in conjunction with the issue of annexation in the Foothills, six were not actual residents of the area; however, all six respondents were highly active in the issue of annexation.

Respondents were asked questions relating first to their attitude toward their choice of residence and their concerns relating to specific issues of local control--incorporation and annexation. The results of these questions

were then compiled into tables. The occupations of respondents is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Occupational Breakdown of Respondents in Paradise Valley and Catalina Foothills, 1969

	Paradise	Catalina	Total
Businessman	8	9	17
Developers	3	4	7
Retired	3	3	6
Housewife	4	1	5
Attorney	1	1	2
Public Official	1	1	2
College Professor	-	1	1
Secretary	-	1	1
Total	20	21	41

This study will utilize two basic methods in determining life-style values. Census data will be used to indicate demographic differences between the communities studied and the remainder of the SMSA. Attitudinal data are used to indicate preference patterns also.

With respect to the problem of local control, an analysis of decisions regarding land use policy in the Foothills will be presented. Methodology will be further explicated in the text.

CHAPTER 2

INCORPORATION IN PARADISE VALLEY

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief background of the events concerning Paradise Valley and its efforts to incorporate. The following chapter will provide similar background for the Catalina Foothills area and its efforts to ward off annexation attempts by the City of Tucson.

The first large-scale development of Maricopa County was spurred by mining and agricultural development. In 1880, the census reported a population of 5,689 in Maricopa. The core city--Phoenix--was incorporated in 1870, largely through the efforts of the Salt River Valley Town Association. In 1881, the population of Phoenix was 1,708; the city encompassed approximately one-half square-mile. Agricultural development was made possible by water developers, principally the Swilling Irrigation Canal Company which began its operations in the area in 1868.

The growth of the area since 1880 has averaged 83 percent per decade. However, like many areas in the West, Maricopa County's greatest growth was experienced in the years following the Second World War. The 1940 census

pegged the area's population at little more than 186,000. By 1960, the population had climbed to more than 630,000. The growth rate during this period was more than 450 percent.[1]

Prior to its rapid development in the post-war period, Paradise Valley resembled many similar fringe areas throughout the country. Facilities such as roads and utilities were absent, thereby limiting development to ranching and agriculture.

This was the case with one exception, however. The area, due to its favorable climate, proved to be an excellent location for resort or dude ranch developments. One of the earlier and most popular resorts was the Camelback Inn. It attracted numerous winter visitors who were later to settle in the area on a year-round basis.

Historically, Paradise Valley was the name of an area which encompassed more than 58 square-miles of desert northeast of Scottsdale. Today, those not living within the boundaries of the Town of Paradise Valley, may still consider themselves residents of Paradise Valley. The southern boundary of the area is one of the Phoenix area's most distinctive landmarks: Camelback Mountain. The Valley's remaining boundaries are a subject easily disputed. However

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1. David A. Bingham and Dean E. Mann, "Government in Arizona's Metropolitan Areas. Part I. Maricopa County," Arizona Review of Business and Public Administration 8 (November, 1959), pp. 2, 5.

for descriptive purposes, the northern boundary may be considered to be Shea Boulevard; Scottsdale Road may be considered the area's east boundary; and Thirty-second Street may be considered the area's west boundary.

From 1950 to incorporation in 1961, the most influential group in Paradise Valley was the Paradise Valley Improvement Association (PVIA). The group was first formed in December, 1949,[2] with the motto: "To Be Nation Right and State Right, We Must First Be Community Right."[3] During its first five and a half years of existence, however, the PVIA came to consider the task of being "community right" as inordinately difficult. This difficulty was the result primarily of the PVIA's relations with the Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Commission and Board of Supervisors. As an active voice in zoning matters before the county, the PVIA experienced numerous frustrations. The reasons for this feeling, generally shared by the members of the Association's Board of Directors, are found in the county's zoning decisions.

This was true until March, 1956. It was at this time that the Twenty-third Arizona Legislature revised the state's incorporation statutes. Very little was done to

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2. Phoenix Gazette, December 12, 1949, p. 6.

3. Paradise Valley Improvement Association, Letter, May, 1950 (in author's possession).

revise the law--more simple language was used--with one exception: the term "community" was defined. Arizona's incorporation law allows that an area having 500 or more residents may incorporate if that area's residents submit petitions containing the signatures of persons owning two-thirds of the real property as reflected in assessed valuation. A second method allows that an area may incorporate by submitting a petition containing the signatures of ten percent of the real property owners in the area and calling for an election to decide the question of incorporation.[4] Until March, 1956, the statute used the term "community" stating:

> A. When two-thirds of the real property taxpayers residing in a community containing a population of 500 or more inhabitants petition the board of supervisors, setting forth the metes and bounds of the community, and the name under which the petitioners desire to be incorporated, and praying for incorporation of the community into a city or town, and the board is satisfied that two-thirds of the real property taxpayers residing in the community have signed the petition, it shall, by an order entered of record, declare the community incorporated as a city or town.[3]

The precise definition of "community" was not made a part of the statute until 1956. "Community" was defined in the following manner:

> . . . the word community shall mean a locality in which a body of people reside in more or less

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4. Arizona, Revised Statutes, Section 9-101 (1956).

5. Idem.

> proximity having common interests in such services as public health, public protection, fire protection, and water which bind together people of the area, and where the people are acquainted and mingle in business, social, educational and recreational activities.[6]

The definition of "community" removed any doubts as to the validity of an incorporation attempt in Paradise Valley and thus amounted to enabling legislation for the PVIA.

The Decision to Incorporate and the Two Resulting Failures

Almost immediately after this "enabling legislation," the PVIA Board of Directors decided to incorporate Paradise Valley. In a bulletin circulated to members, the Directors said:

> The zoning situation in Paradise Valley has become acute. Two things have become apparent. One, there are very powerful interests working against our way of living; and two, the Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Commission and the Board of Supervisors show an utter lack of cooperation in protecting our zoning. In fact, they seem to lean over backwards to help subdividers, exploiters, and developers who wish to downgrade zoning.[7]

The bulletin continued specifying alleged zoning abuses by the county. Perhaps the most serious zoning abuse, the PVIA explained, was the downgrading of zoning for a new resort development--Mountain Shadows Country Club. The resort built homes in connection with the club which the PVIA

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6. Idem.

7. Paradise Valley Improvement Association, Bulletin, September 6, 1956, p. 1 (in author's possession).

objected to since the homes were built three and four to an acre. The majority of homes in Paradise Valley were--and still are--built one to an acre.

Incorporation was opposed by both Scottsdale and Phoenix. In addition, a Paradise Valley group called the Paradise Valley Property Owners Association (PVPOA) also opposed the incorporation move.[8]

For nearly a year, the PVIA worked to incorporate a 27 square-mile area in Paradise Valley. At this time, it became apparent that the PVIA did not have enough signatures to incorporate the entire area. The PVIA was approached by Charles Mieg, a wealthy Paradise Valley developer. Mieg, who had made a fortune developing and subdividing property in Paradise Valley, offered to take over the incorporation effort.

Mieg's first act was to cut the proposed size of the community from the 27 square-miles originally envisioned by the PVIA to approximately five and one-half square-miles. This obviously cut the job of incorporation considerably for instead of 3,000 residents to canvass for signatures, Mieg and his associates estimated there were about 1,300 to 1,500 residents to canvass.[9]

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8. Arizona Republic, June 23, 1957, sec. 2, p. 5.

9. Arizona Republic, August 14, 1957, p. 18.

Meanwhile, incorporation opponents--primarily the PVPOA--were circulating petitions requesting those residents who had signed Mieg's incorporation petition to withdraw their names. In February, 1958, Mieg filed petitions requesting incorporation of the Town of Paradise Valley with the Board of Supervisors. Two weeks after the filing of Mieg's petition, the number of signature withdrawals had swelled to 132.[10]

The reason for the signature withdrawals lies in the nature of the area. As a winter mecca, Paradise Valley's residents were often residents of another metropolitan area and often considered the Paradise Valley area as only a winter home. A primary tactic used by anti-incorporation forces to urge withdrawals was to point out this fact and bring up the question of "double taxation." This was apparently a moot question. However, it was argued by incorporation opponents that if residents did sign the petition for incorporation, they would declare themselves to be "real property taxpayers" and would therefore be subject to income and inheritance taxes in both their residences.

The wholesale defection of incorporation petition signatures brought the percentage of those signing down to 52. In March, 1958, the supervisors denied incorporation to

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10. Arizona Republic, February 26, 1958, p. 1.

Paradise Valley due to the lack of signatures.[11] Thus, after two unsuccessful attempts, Paradise Valley remained unincorporated.

The Third and Final Incorporation Attempt

From March, 1958 to late 1960, the PVIA continued to battle for low density zoning. The association wanted to retain full-acre zoning while the majority of real estate developers desired commercial acre zoning. The full-acre lot is 43,560 square-feet; the commercial acre lot is 35,000 square-feet. Developers argued before the Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Commission that the commercial acre made development less expensive since the difference between the commercial and net acre meant land for streets and alleys. The PVIA, on the other hand, argued that there was no shortage of land in the area and that the existing land use pattern favored the full acre lot.[12] However, by July, 1959, a large part of Paradise Valley had been rezoned for commercial acre development.[13]

In November, 1959, the Arizona Supreme Court declared the Maricopa County zoning ordinance null and void.

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11. Arizona Republic, March 7, 1958, p. 9.

12. Arizona Republic, March 21, 1958, p. 8; March 25, 1958, p. 15; January 8, 1959, p. 16; April 12, 1959, sec. 5, p. 24.

13. Phoenix Gazette, July 22, 1959, p. 18.

This decision was based upon the fact that inadequate and improper notice had been given at the time of the statute's adoption in 1953. In the meantime, the county was to be without a zoning ordinance for 90 days; this interim period was to provide proper notice.[14]

The importance of this hiatus for the Paradise Valley area became clear when eight subdivision plats were filed with the Maricopa County Recorder's Office. Because of the absence of a zoning statute, the plats did not require the Planning and Zoning Commission's approval. The plats indicated that homes would be built on lots of a quarter-acre; the eight subdivisions totaled more than 1,000 lots in the Paradise Valley area. It was noted by the County's zoning commission attorney that there was nothing the commission could do to block the small-lot subdivisions.[15] However, county health regulations regarding adequate waste disposal facilities did block developments which had a density higher than four houses to the acre.[16]

In March, 1961, the PVIA announced that a committee had been formed to investigate incorporation for Paradise Valley. However, the decision to incorporate had been made far in advance of this announcement. Again, the expressed

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14. Arizona Republic, November 26, 1959, p. 1.
15. Arizona Republic, January 30, 1960, p. 1.
16. Arizona Republic, February 3, 1960, p. 26.

purpose for incorporation was to preserve low density zoning and to keep commercial zoning out of the area.[17]

The PVIA faced opposition from the PVPOA once again; however, Phoenix and Scottsdale told the press they would not oppose incorporation.[18]

The area proposed for incorporation encompassed three and a half square-miles. Virtually every commercial development was excluded from the proposed area, as were all areas owned by incorporation opponents. Incorporation proponents were, by this time, under pressure to complete the incorporation requirements before a bill pending in the state legislature would become effective. This statute would prohibit the incorporation of any community located within six miles of an existing incorporated town or municipality having a population of 5,000 or more; further, the statute would prohibit incorporation of any area within three miles of a neighboring municipality or town without that incorporated area's permission.

Incorporation petitions were filed in April, 1961 with the supervisors. Immediately following this action, legal suits were filed in Superior Court. The first of these suits requested a temporary restraining order against the incorporation move. The order was granted; however, the

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17. Arizona Republic, March 10, 1961, p. 16.

18. Arizona Republic, April 15, 1961, p. 12.

suit was subsequently dropped when it became apparent to incorporation opponents that the supervisors would again reject the petitions.[19]

By May 4, chances that the supervisors would rule in favor of the incorporation seemed remote, since a total of 114 persons had withdrawn their names from the petition. The PVIA was again having trouble persuading residents that increased taxes would not result from the incorporation or that residents would not be liable for income and inheritance taxes.[20]

A public hearing on the petitions for incorporation of Paradise Valley was held on May 8, 1961. The verbatim report of this hearing runs well over a hundred pages. Basically, attorneys for incorporation opponents and proponents argued two issues: the question of whether there were enough signatures on the petition and whether or not the proposed town was a community as defined by the state statute. After this lengthy debate, the supervisors took the issue under advisement and adjourned.[21]

Two weeks later, the supervisors voted unanimously to incorporate Paradise Valley. Board Chairman Barney W.

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19. Arizona Republic, May 4, 1961, p. 13.

20. Arizona Republic, April 27, 1961, p. 10.

21. Maricopa County Board of Supervisors, Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Supervisors, meeting of May 8, 1961. (Typewritten.)

Burns was apparently the chief supporter of incorporation. The Arizona Republic welcomed the new town by writing, "Paradise Valley could go down in history as the first Arizona town born with the urge to restrict growth."[22]

Incorporation Aftermath

Immediately following the incorporation, the town accepted annexation petitions from adjacent territory and continued to do so until the town had grown from its original three and a half to eleven and a half square-miles.

Less than two weeks after the supervisors had ruled on Paradise Valley's incorporation, State Attorney General Robert Pickrell announced that the incorporation would be challenged in the courts. The State's suit charged that the "sole and only reason for incorporation was to prevent any changes in the use of land and to preserve the present residential character of the entire incorporated community."[23] Second, the suit claimed that the area was not a community according to the legal definition. Third, it was charged that no facts were presented to the supervisors "from which a determination that the area was a community could have been made."[24]

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22. Arizona Republic, May 25, 1961, p. 1.

23. State of Arizona ex rel Pickrell v. Downey, et al., 102 Ariz. 361 (1967).

24. Idem.

In Superior Court on October 4, 1962, Paradise Valley's incorporation was upheld. Superior Court Judge Jack Hays ruled that both the issue of community and the number of signatures were invalid with respect to the State's case.

The case was appealed to the Arizona Supreme Court. This decision was handed down on November 27, 1967. Chief Justice Charles Bernstein, writing the unanimous opinion, stated that Paradise Valley did constitute a community and further, that Paradise Valley residents had similar business interests, professions, and occupations. The court, however, remanded the case back to Superior Court to decide the question of the number of signatures on the incorporation petition. As of this writing, a trial date has not been scheduled.[25]

The state's incorporation law has been revised since Paradise Valley first attempted to incorporate. The first of these statutes has been noted. This law prohibits a community from incorporating within six miles of an existing town or municipality. The second statute was passed in 1968 by the Twenty-eighth Arizona Legislature. The law provides that if an incorporated area should be successfully challenged as to the validity of its incorporation, that incorporated area may simply file a petition with the

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25. Ibid., pp. 362-363.

supervisors to hold an election on the question of incorporation without respect to the existing state statutes concerning incorporation. In the case of Paradise Valley this means that if incorporation should be ruled invalid, an election may be held to re-incorporate without regard to the six-mile limit which would normally prohibit such incorporation.[26]

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26. Arizona, 1968 Session Laws, Twenty-eighth Legislature, sec. 9-101.01.

CHAPTER 3

ANNEXATION IN THE CATALINA FOOTHILLS

The City of Tucson has its origins as a Spanish military outpost and settlement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1870, Tucson's population numbered little more than 3,300. By 1905, it had a population of about 10,500.

Agriculture and mining did not play as large a role in the growth of the Tucson area as was the case in the Phoenix area. However, with mining and agriculture located southeast of Tucson, there was the indirect effect of these activities upon the "Old Pueblo." The building of the Southern Pacific Railroad through Tucson in 1880 made the city a vital transportation center.

Growth in the Tucson metropolitan area resembles that of the Phoenix area. Between 1940 and 1950 the population doubled. Between 1950 and 1960 the population doubled again.[1]

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1. Dean E. Mann and David A. Bingham, "Government in Arizona's Metropolitan Areas. Part II. Pima County," Arizona Review of Business and Public Administration 8 (December, 1959), pp. 1-3.

The Catalina Foothills remained undeveloped until the late 1950's due to the lack of full-scale development of water and utilities. Unlike Paradise Valley, the Foothills area had little resort activity or development despite its ideal climate. Today, with the exception of the Skyline and Tucson Country Clubs, there is still little resort development.

The Foothills area encompasses some 38 square-miles, most of which remains undeveloped today. The northern boundary of the Foothills area is the Coronado National Forest which includes the Santa Catalina Mountains. The area's western boundary may be loosely defined as the Tucson-Florence Highway; the eastern boundary may be considered as Sabino Canyon Road; the southern boundary is the Rillito River.

These boundaries are outlined by the Catalina Foothills Area Plan (see appendix) which was adopted in 1959 by the Pima County Board of Supervisors. The plan designates land use patterns for the future. At the time of its adoption, the plan showed a future high school, two junior high schools, and ten elementary schools. The plan also alloted space for six major shopping centers and two smaller village centers. The remainder of the area was zoned for suburban ranch (SR), which is four acres per dwelling unit and for commercial acre (CR-1) homesites which allows a

commercial acre per lot minimum. It should be noted that much of the Foothills area is rocky with numerous washes, making development of units on less than a commercial acre difficult. Like Paradise Valley, the Foothills area also has problems regarding adequate waste disposal for no sewer lines are available. Thus, septic tanks and leaching fields must be used which requires adequate space for such fields.

Tucson's greatest era of expansion occurred during 1957-60. The city's annexation activities during this period did not involve the Foothills; however, these annexations will be considered briefly before the two subsequent attempts involving the Foothills area.

Arizona's annexation law requires that a petition containing the signatures of not less than half of the value "of the real and personal property as would be subject to taxation"[2] be submitted to the annexing town or municipality. There are no election requirements and petitions may be passed by property owners in the proposed annexation area or by officials of the annexing town or municipality.[3]

During the 1957 period, Tucson annexed a total of 53.73 square-miles and added 92,300 persons to its population. Before this annexation drive, the Tucson City Limits

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2. Arizona, Revised Statutes, Section 9-471 (1956).

3. Idem.

included less than 20 square miles; after the annexation drive the city limits encompassed 70.87 square-miles.[4]

The First Attempt to Annex the Foothills

In July, 1964, the City of Tucson announced annexation plans which would bring an estimated 30,000 persons and 18 and a half square-miles into the city. The plan included the Foothills area and Foothills residents responded with opposition from virtually every existing development in the area. The primary subdivisions voicing opposition were Casas Adobes, Indian Ridge Estates, Tucson Country Club Estates, and the Catalina Foothills Estates. The only means through which residents of these areas could voice their opposition was their respective homeowners associations.[5]

Perhaps the most vocal of these associations was the Casas Adobes Community Club which appointed a committee to wage an "aggressive campaign against annexation."[6] In the official press release, the Club said that annexation was proposed by "the public officials of the City of Tucson as a means of increasing tax revenues payable to such city and

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4. David A. Bingham, "Municipal Growth by Annexation, 1957-60," Arizona Review of Business and Public Administration 9 (August-September, 1960), pp. 11-15.

5. Arizona Daily Star, July 25, 1964, sec. A, p. 7.

6. Arizona Daily Star, August 8, 1964, sec. B, p. 1.

not for the purpose of assisting and rendering municipal services to persons owning property and residing in said areas."[7] Annexation was opposed for this reason and for the fear that the city would break down low density zoning in the area.[8]

The City, however, argued that annexation would bring a $60 to $75 annual savings for the residents outside the city. Tucson Budget Director James Hobart told the press: "What is disturbing is that most people assume they will just pay an added $1.75 city tax rate, and fail to consider what they get for their money."[9] Hobart said the $1.75 per $100 assessed valuation rate would be offset by many city services. For this rate, residents would automatically receive free fire protection, garbage service, library and sewer service. Additionally, fire insurance rates would decrease once property comes under the protection of the Tucson Fire Department. "These are obvious services," said Hobart, "but there are others such as master planning, water development, and the like which the homeowner is normally unaware of until these things are put into effect."[10]

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7. Idem.
8. Idem.
9. Arizona Daily Star, August 20, 1964, sec. B, p. 1.
10. Idem.

It was also pointed out that persons living outside the city limits who were being served city water would immediately receive a monthly savings on their water bill. In areas served by a private water company, savings would result when the city purchased the private company.[11]

Recognizing the existence of strong opposition, the city decided to decrease the proposed annexation area to 11.25 square-miles and an estimated 26,500 persons. However, a few subdivisions in the Catalina Foothills remained in the annexation plan.[12]

In their attempt to convince residents of the merits of annexation, city officials began a public relations campaign speaking to various groups. However, in an appearance before the Casas Adobes Community Club, Tucson City Manager Mark Keane ran into strong, if not abusive, opposition. Keane told Casas Adobes residents: "You use the city's facilities--you are part of Tucson. As Tucson goes, so goes your area."[13] Keane said that if Tucson's population were not increased, the city would lose $150,000 annually in state sales tax revenues. He also cited the argument that it would be cheaper to be in the city than to pay for the

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11. Idem.

12. Arizona Daily Star, September 14, 1964, sec. B, p. 1.

13. Arizona Daily Star, September 16, 1964, sec. A, p. 3.

various services that the county could not provide. These statements, however, went unheeded as the group voted to oppose annexation. The Arizona Daily Star noted that the general tenor of the meeting was not cordial:

> Statements from community group leaders and questions from the audience were put to Keane, often abusively. At one point Keane told the group: We are to you the great ogres from the south coming to force you into the city. We are all here on our own time--we have nothing to gain personally whether you are annexed or not. You say the slums are the Mayor and Council's shames--they should be all our shames.[14]

By April, 1965, the city had given up its attempts to annex the northside areas. This area encompassed more than 3,000 acres and 10,000 persons. The city failed to obtain sufficient signatures for annexation. However, the city experienced great success in annexing eastside areas covering an estimated population of 13,000 and a 2,500 acre area.[15] It should be noted that the eastside areas contain subdivisions which have higher density zoning than in the Foothills.

The Second "Attempt" to Annex the Foothills

In March, 1968, newly elected Tucson Mayor James Corbett, Jr., announced perhaps the most ambitious annexation program to date. The program would bring an estimated

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14. Idem.

15. Arizona Daily Star, April 2, 1965, sec. B, p. 1.

50,000 residents into the city. Corbett said he would bring annexation opponents into the city "kicking, screaming, and stomping,"[16] if necessary. The plan envisioned annexation of nearly all the industrial and residential areas ringing the city. According to the state statute, to bring opponents in against their will, the city would have to have at least 51 percent of the assessed valuation in the proposed annexation area agree to the act.[17]

In order to gain the necessary support, Corbett apparently looked toward the Tucson International Airport with its high assessed value. In the area where the airport is located--south of the city--there is also a large industrial area and Corbett looked toward this area as having the potential value, apparently, to bring the remaining dissidents into the city.

In announcing his annexation proposal, Corbett said: "If they are approached on a pride basis, on a realistic basis, I think they will come in. If they don't, we'll have to say 'you're coming in anyway.'"[18] The Mayor said he anticipated an additional $1 million in assessed valuation would result in the annexation drive--if successful. He said this would help alleviate the city's financial situation

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16. Tucson Daily Citizen, March 14, 1968, p. 1.

17. Idem.

18. Idem.

by allowing an increased bonding capacity. The city, according to the Mayor, had $15-20 million in revenue bonds approved for sale but could not be sold due to bonding limitations imposed by statute.[19]

Northside residents girded for the annexation battle. Several homeowners associations vowed to fight. However, the associations banded together and formed a central steering committee, the Unified Committee Against Annexation (UCAA), to fight the city. A list of these homeowners associations is presented in Table 3; those associations marked with an asterisk are Foothills area associations. Chairman of the UCAA, Parker Perry, Jr., estimated that his committee represented approximately 90 percent of the 50,000 residents.

Almost as quickly as the annexation fires had been kindled, they were quieted. There is an element of mystery in why this was the case. The UCAA--still in existence at the time of this writing--was not sure what Corbett's annexation plan actually was or how it was to be implemented. Due to immediate opposition, the city apparently decided not to continue with the annexation plan. This may have been the result of a lack of support from the airport and neighboring industrial areas.

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19. Idem.

Table 3

Members of Unified Committee Against Annexation, 1969

Arrowhead Hills	Paradise Mountain Estates
Buena Vista	Park Elmonte & West
Casas Adobes Assn.*	Patterson Estates
Catalina Foothills Assn*	Perdido Estates
Catalina Townhouses Assn.*	Pima County Horseman's Assn.
Centennial Park #3	Rillito River Improvement Assn.
Cobo Protection Assn.	River Bottom-Swan Area
Cochise Estates	River Road-Dodge Area
Coronado Foothills Assn.*	River Road-East of Swan
Cortarp Homeowners Assn.	Riverside Gardens
Desert Palms Park Assn.	Riverside Terrace Homeowners
East Speedway (8000s)	Rodeo City Area
Flecha Caida Homeowners Assn.*	Roger Road-Limberlost Area
Ft. Lowell Road-Country Club to Columbus	Romero Park
Harmony Homes	Sabino Vista
Harrison Estates	Saguaro Forest Assn.
Hermosa Highlands Assn.	Santa Catalina Estates*
Hermoso Hills Estates	Shadow Mt. Homeowners Assn.*
Hidden Valley	Shadow Roc*
Indian Ridge Foothills*	Skyline Bell Air Assn.*
Industrial Park Site Assn.	Skyline Country Club Estates*
La Mira	Silver Shadows
Melody Lanes Estates	Sufford Hills
Northmanor Homeowners Assn.	Tanque Verde Valley Assn.
Oracle Foothills East Assn.*	Tucson Country Club Estates*
Oracle Foothills Estates #2*	Tucson Estates
Oracle Foothills Estates #8*	Tucson Mountains Assn.
Pantano Ridge	Tucson Park West Assn.
Pantano Speedway Neighborhood	Windsor Park

Total Associations: 58

Total Foothills Associations: 15

Source: Unified Committee Against Annexation.

*Foothills area associations

Immediately following this annexation announcement, there was an effort by members of the Shadow Mountain Homeowners Association to incorporate. This area lies slightly beyond the six-mile limit requirement for incorporation (discussed in the preceding chapter). In order to meet the statute's requirement that a community of 500 population may incorporate, it was necessary for the Shadow Mountain group to have the support of Oro Valley residents who were located further north. Oro Valley residents, however, were hesitant to incorporate due to pending road improvements to be completed by the county. Thus, the incorporation drive was stalled.

Eight months later, however, the attempt was again made by the Shadow Mountain group. Efforts to solicit the support of Oro Valley residents failed. At the time of this writing, incorporation of this area seems unlikely until such time as Oro Valley residents lend their support or until the Shadow Mountain area grows past the 500 population mark. The Shadow Mountain group still intends to incorporate. However, it is interesting to note that there were indications that Shadow Mountain residents received both moral and financial aid from neighboring Foothills area associations. If Shadow Mountain residents had been successful in incorporating, it would have been likely that Foothills areas would have annexed themselves to the newly formed town in order to escape annexation by the City of Tucson.

CHAPTER 4

LIFE-STYLE

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the problem of life-style values in Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills. It has been noted in the first chapter that life-style values encompass the entire spectrum of social, economic, cultural, and political variables. However, the first three of these variables will influence the latter in the suburb. It will be recalled that life-style has been defined as the sum of the shared value preferences, with respect to living, of a suburb. Because life-style values encompass such a broad range of variables, it is necessary to determine what are the primary elements of life-style values in a given suburb; further, it is necessary to determine relevant measures of life-style. Before consideration of variables relating to life-style, it will be useful to focus upon the measures of life-style. Thus, a discussion of relevant variables may be placed in the context of those tools of measurement.

Measures of Life-Style

The major work regarding development of methods of measuring variations of life-style in the metropolitan area

is Social Area Analysis by Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell.[1] In this work, three basic measures are developed: social rank, urbanization, and segregation. Depending on the goal of the researcher, one or all of these indices may be used to measure life-style.

Social rank may be used to measure the degrees of occupational differentiation in the population. Urbanization may be used to measure changes in the function and structure of the family; urbanization is a measure of what has been termed in this paper as familism. Segregation may be used as a measure of isolation of certain population subgroups.[2]

Shevky and Bell use data regarding occupation, education, rent, and income as indications of social rank. Familism may be gauged in terms of fertility, "which reflects changes in the relation of population to the economy and changes in the function and structure of the family," and "measures of house type and women in the labor force, which reflect changes in the function and structure of the family."[3] Segregation may be measured by consideration of types of ethnic groups.

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

2. Ibid., pp. 9-17.

3. Ibid., p. 17.

These measures have been used, with some variation, by metropolitan researchers. For example, Williams and his associates used social rank as a primary variable in their analysis of the Philadelphia area.[4] In this study, occupation and education were used as measures of social rank. Brett Hawkins used percent of high school graduates and percent of white-collar workers as a measure of social rank.[5] In measuring familism, Hawkins used fertility ratios, percent of females not in the labor force, percent of detached single-family dwelling units, and percent of 14-17 year olds enrolled in school. Greer uses social rank, life-style, and ethnicity as measures.[6] In Greer's analysis, life-style loosely refers to familism.

This paper will consider housing values, family income, and percent of nonwhite residents as measures of life-style. These indices not only reflect life-style, but also homogeneity or specialization.

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4. Oliver P. Williams, et al., Suburban Differences and Metropolitan Policies: A Philadelphia Story (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), pp. 49-57.

5. Brett W. Hawkins, "Life Style, Demographic Distance and Voter Support of City-County Consolidation," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 48 (December, 1967), pp. 328-329.

6. Scott Greer, The Emerging City: Myth and Reality (New York: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 31-32.

Relationship of Life-Style Variables

These measures of life-style are directed toward the characteristics of individuals in the metropolitan area. This study, however, is focused upon the political behavior of two communities and the effect of life-style in relation to political behavior. This study is concerned with Williams' theory that life-style values are the causal factor providing impetus to suburban areas to proliferate and form their own governmental authority. However, the life-style theory must be set in more specific terms than Williams has indicated.

Williams states that a primary tactic used by suburbs in order to preserve and maintain life-style values is to locate in homogeneous groups.[7] This strategy enables residents of the suburb to minimize dissent and to maximize agreement and consensus regarding life-style values. In an area which contains diverse groupsings, demands must compete with other demands which may conflict; these demands are made on the governmental authority within this diverse area. Thus, life-style values may be protected, preserved, or maintained in a suburb which contains relatively homogeneous groups by the formation of a governmental authority possessing jurisdiction over the homogeneous suburban area.

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7. Williams, p. 303.

The implication is that in order to preserve and maintain their values, suburbs will proliferate. This results in the decentralized pattern of governments in the metropolitan area. This fragmented governmental structure in the metropolitan area is considered and defined by some metropolitan researchers as a serious problem as it lends to suplication of services, overlapping jurisdictions and a general strain on economic resources.

However, it is necessary to delineate the primary elements of life-style values in any given suburb. In assessing the range of life-style values, two variables seem to possess more salience than others. These are the social and economic variables. It should be noted that social, economic, and other variables, as they relate to life-style values, are not mutually exclusive of each other but combine to form a complex network of values. However, certain values will possess more salience than others; thus, it is necessary for the researcher to attempt to define the relationship of these variables as they influence the behavior of suburban residents.

Before considering the relationship of variables, however, it is necessary to attempt some classification of the suburb. A simple classification or typology of suburbs may be based on income levels of residents. Hence, areas may be classed as upper, middle, or lower income suburbs.

These suburbs then may be viewed as homogeneous groupings, each possessing distinctive life-style values. Williams terms these areas as specializing, rather than homogeneous, suburbs for a suburb may contain small amounts of heterogeneous groups. The theoretical implications of relating life-style values to a typology of suburbs will be considered in Chapter Six.

At this point, it is possible to consider the relationship of social and economic variables as parts of the life-style whole. However, further problems arise. Economic variables are clearly visible in that they may be measured in terms of tax rates, municipal spending, etc. Social variables, on the other hand, are not so visible. The examination of suburban life-styles may encompass a wide range of social characteristics including familism, consumer, career-oriented life-styles as explained by Wendell Bell.

In view of the above considerations, the following hypothesis and corollaries will be tested:

H-1. <u>If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, then the political behavior of its residents will be influenced primarily by social values</u>.

C-1. <u>If a suburb's political behavior is influenced primarily by social values, then economic values will be secondary</u>.

C-2. If a suburb's political behavior is influenced primarily by social values and that suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, then the nature of social values influencing that suburb will tend to center around land use policy.

It will be noted that the latter corollary (C-2) attempts to define the nature of those social values which may influence the political behavior of suburban residents.

The chapter will be concerned first with examining census data to probe life-style in Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills; in addition, this data will also serve to define the nature of specialization in the two suburbs. Data for this chapter is drawn primarily from census tract material and interviews. Respondents were chosen as to their high interest and activity in the respective issues of annexation and incorporation. As such, it was theoretically supposed that their views were representative of the majority of residents in both Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills.

This chapter will also consider the relation of municipal services to life-style values and their preservation and maintenance. The following corollary will be tested:

C-3. If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, the concern for life-style values will not

necessarily reflect a corresponding concern for municipal-type services.

Census Data: Life-Style and Specialization

The census data used in this study, at the time of this writing, is badly dated. The data draws from the 1960 Census. Also, the census tracts used for this study do not accurately reflect the areas studied as there is overlapping resulting from the inclusion of areas with which the study was not concerned. The tracts used in this study are shown in Figures 1 and 2. Census tract 47 was used in the analysis of the Catalina Foothills; however, it will be noted that this tract does not conform to the Catalina Foothills Area Plan (see appendix) for the tract extends all the way to the Pima-Pinal County Line. Thus, areas not concerned with study were included in this analysis. Figure 2 shows a part of the census tracts for the Phoenix SMSA. Tract Ph 50 was used in this analysis and although there is some overlapping this census tract was chosen as representative of the Paradise Valley area. In order to balance the nine-year old data presented here, supplementary data will be included following the census data.

Table 4 shows the number of housing units in the census tracts used for Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills in addition to the year moved into the unit. Table 5 shows the same data, but for Maricopa and Pima Counties.

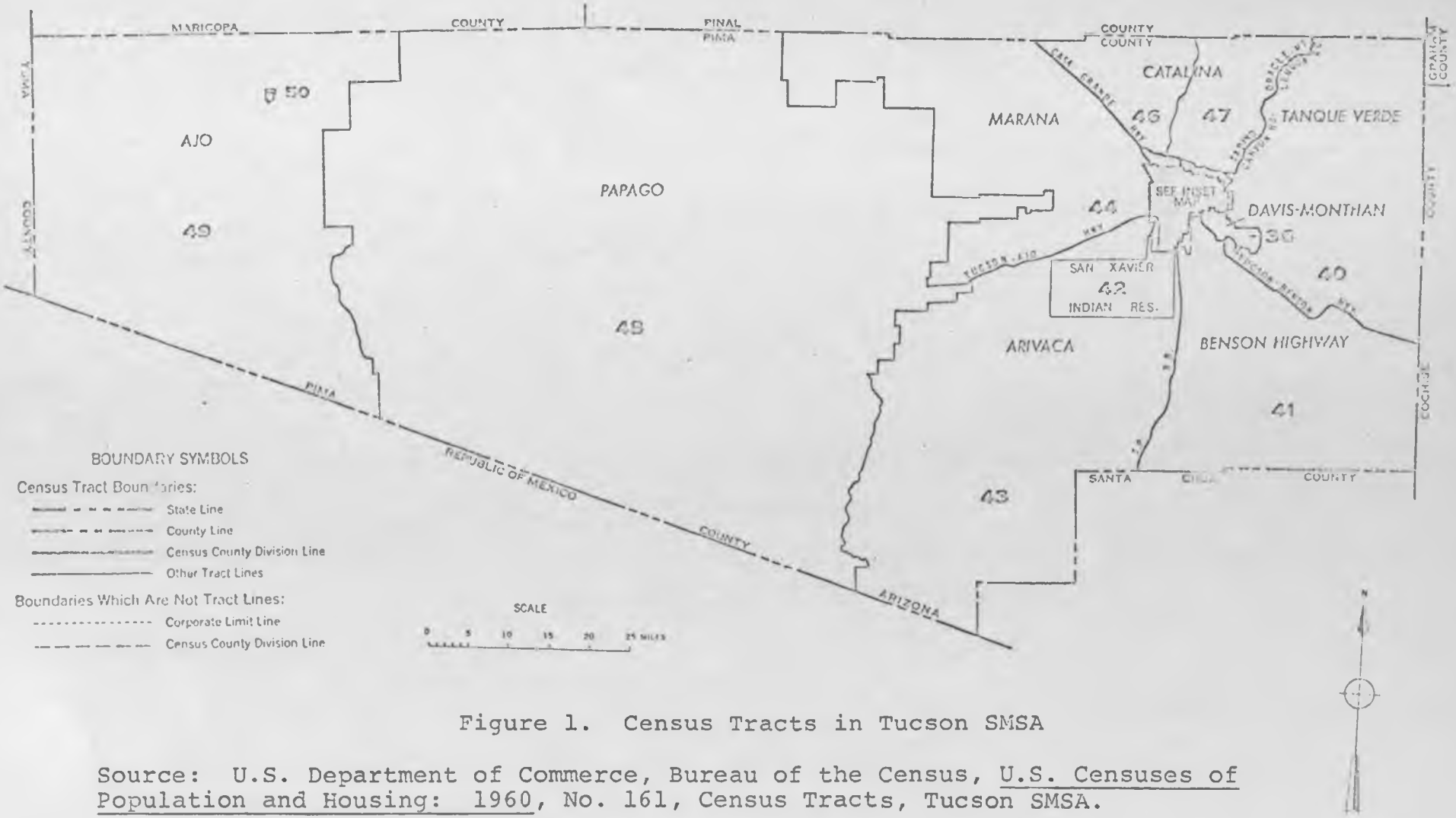

Figure 1. Census Tracts in Tucson SMSA

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, No. 161, Census Tracts, Tucson SMSA.

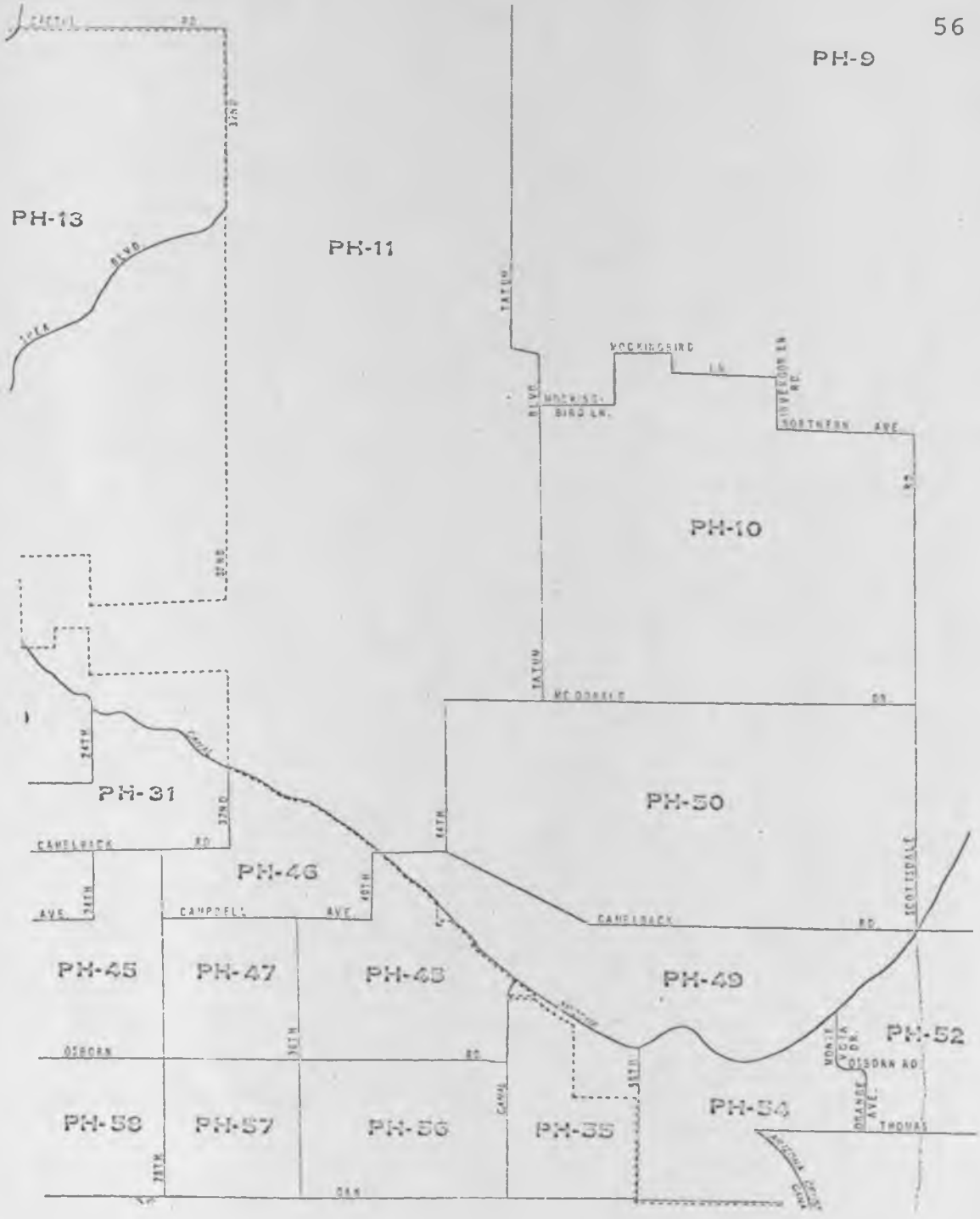

Figure 2. Census Tracts in Phoenix SMSA

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, No. 171, Census Tracts, Phoenix SMSA.

Table 4

Housing Units and Year Moved into Unit:
Paradise Valley and Catalina Foothills, 1960

	Paradise	Catalina
Total Occupied Units	620	872
Year Moved:		
1958-March, 1960	384	413
1954-1957	160	264
1940-1953	72	182
1939-earlier	4	13

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, Nos. 117 and 161, Census Tracts, Phoenix SMSA and Tucson SMSA.

Table 5

Housing Units and Year Moved into Unit:
Maricopa and Pima Counties, 1960

	Maricopa	Pima
Total Occupied Units	191,076	77,426
Year Moved:		
1968-March, 1960	94,589	37,502
1954-1957	49,747	19,254
1940-1953	40,286	17,474
1939-earlier	6,454	3,196

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, Nos. 117 and 161, Census Tracts, Phoenix SMSA and Tucson SMSA.

The trend indicated by these tables is that the greatest growth period occurred in the 1958 to March, 1960 period.

Table 6 indicates the value of owner-occupied housing units in Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills. The median value of units in both areas is more than $35,000. Unfortunately, census data does not reveal values higher than this figure. However, this is quite high as compared to Maricopa and Pima Counties (Table 7) which show median housing unit values of $11,700 and $11,600, respectively.

Table 8 shows the family income distribution in Paradise Valley and Catalina Foothills as compared to Maricopa and Pima Counties. The median income for Paradise Valley residents was pegged at $12,435 and for the Foothills at $9,700. For Maricopa County, the median family income was $5,896; for Pima County it was slightly lower at $5,690. It would seem that the figure for the Foothills is lower than Paradise Valley's for the reason that a large portion of the tract includes lower income groups located north of the Foothills area. The lower income figures for Paradise Valley may be accounted for by either domestics or a few individuals who were in the area before it was developed.

Table 9 shows the racial makeup and median number of school years completed of residents in the two suburbs as compared to the two counties. Both Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills are predominately white, as indicated by

Table 6

Value of Owner-Occupied Housing Units to March, 1960: Paradise Valley and Catalina Foothills

	Paradise	Catalina
Total Owner-occupied Units	509	564
Less than $5,000	0	4
$5,000-$9,999	4	16
$10,000-$14,999	55	20
$15,000-$19,999	19	24
$20,000-$24,999	71	56
$25,000 or more	360	444
Median (in dollars)	$35,000	$35,000

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, Nos. 117 and 161, Census Tracts, Phoenix SMSA and Tucson SMSA.

Table 7

Value of Owner-Occupied Housing Units to March, 1960: Phoenix and Tucson SMSAs

	Phoenix SMSA	Tucson SMSA
Total Owner-occupied Units	108,146	42,890
Less than $5,000	8,136	3,153
$5,000-$9,999	28,618	12,887
$10,000-$14,999	43,582	15,133
$15,000-$19,999	15,612	6,216
$20,000-$24,999	55,049	2,456
$25,000 or more	7,149	3,045
Median (in dollars)	$11,700	$11,600

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, Nos. 117 and 161, Census Tracts, Phoenix SMSA and Tucson SMSA.

Table 8

Family Income Distribution in Paradise Valley and Catalina Foothills as Compared to Phoenix and Tucson SMSAs, 1960

	Paradise	Catalina	Phoenix	Tucson
All Families	570	765	162,697	63,347
Under $1,000	19	15	7,453	2,686
$1,000-$1,999	0	8	10,727	3,925
$2,000-$2,999	32	56	12,862	5,461
$3,000-$3,999	12	20	14,815	6,680
$4,000-$4,999	12	48	17,810	7,868
$5,000-$5,999	18	78	19,740	8,767
$6,000-$6,999	32	37	18,255	7,270
$7,000-$7,999	33	38	14,975	5,542
$8,000-$8,999	40	51	11,598	4,155
$9,000-$9,999	12	45	8,251	3,210
$10,000-$14,999	154	158	17,560	6,706
$15,000-$24,999	79	97	5,727	2,018
$25,000 or more	127	114	2,924	1,059
Median	$12,435	$9,700	$5,896	$5,690

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, Nos. 117 and 161, Census Tracts, Phoenix SMSA and Tucson SMSA.

Note: Figures for Catalina Foothills may be lower due to census tract inclusion of areas not part of the Foothills. Low income figures for Paradise Valley may be accounted for by either domestic servants or a few individuals who were in the area before its development.

Table 9

Racial Composition and Median Number of School Years Completed in Paradise Valley and Catalina Foothills as Compared to Phoenix and Tucson SMSAs, 1960

	Paradise	Catalina	Phoenix	Tucson
Total Population	2,228	2,848	663,510	265,660
White	2,211	2,809	627,080	249.053
Negro	8	29	25,119	8,067
Other Races	9	10	11,311	8,540
Median School Years	13.5	12.9	11.6	12.1

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, Nos. 117 and 161, Census Tracts, Phoenix SMSA and Tucson SMSA.

the table; also, the number of school years is substantially higher in the two suburbs.

Supplementary Data

These tables indicate the life-style and trend of suburban specialization in Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills to March, 1960. In order to portray a more recent picture of the two suburbs, additional data was gathered. For the Catalina Foothills, a 1967 survey of four subdivisions and the Population Study, 1967, conducted by the City of Tucson and Pima County planning departments will be used. Similar survey data for Paradise Valley was not available.

However, in order to up-date data regarding the Paradise Valley area, per acre land prices and housing costs were used. Population estimates of Paradise Valley were available through the Maricopa County Planning Department.

Table 10 shows the population of Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills at three time intervals: 1960, 1965, and 1967-68. The two suburbs possess approximately the same population, with Paradise Valley boasting an estimated 6,000 and the Foothills area an estimated 5,465. However, as indicated by Table 10, Paradise Valley encompasses 11.4 square-miles while the Foothills area encompasses 38 square-miles of land area.

Table 11 shows the results of the survey conducted in four Foothills area subdivisions in December, 1967. The per acre lot costs in the four subdivisions range from $6,000 to $18,000 per commercial acre. The cost of homes, which includes land costs, ranges from $22,500 in Flecha Caida to $150,000 in Skyline Country Club Estates.

This same survey indicated that the average family income is $28,750 for 608 families living in the two-mile radius which this survey encompasses. The survey further noted that 17 percent of the residents were retired and 20 percent were independent of the City of Tucson for their livelihood. The occupations of the residents were listed as professor, lawyer, architect, financier, business executive,

Table 10

Population Estimates and Total Land Area of Paradise Valley and Catalina Foothills: 1960, 1965, 1967-68

	1960		1965		1967-68	
	Pop.[a]	Area[d]	Pop.[b]	Area[d]	Pop.[c]	Area[d]
Paradise Valley	2,091	2.76	6,000	11.4	6,000	11.4
Catalina Foothills	1,975	38.0	2,901	38.0	5,465	38.0

Sources: City of Tucson and Pima County planning departments, Population Study, January 1, 1967 and Maricopa Department of Planning and Zoning, Annual Report, 1967-68.

a. Figures for both areas according to 1960 Census.

b. For Paradise Valley, estimated for November, 1965; for Catalina Foothills, estimates to 1965.

c. For Paradise Valley, estimates to April, 1968; for Catalina Foothills, estimates to January 1, 1967.

d. In square miles.

Table 11

Mean Lot Size, Price, Cost of Homes, and Potential Development in Four Catalina Foothills Area Subdivisions, December, 1967

	Mean Lot Size (acres)	Mean Cost Per Lot	Minimum Cost of Homes[a]	Maximum Cost of Homes	Estimated Development[b]
Skyline Country Club	1.5	$18,000	$35,000	$150,000	280
Skyline Bel Air	1.05	8,200	30,000	110,000	472
Coronado Foothills	1.1	6,000	25,000	90,000	400
Flecha Caida	1.8	7,000	22,000	80,000	900
Mean	1.36	9,750	28,125	107,500	
Total					2,032

Source: Arizona Bank (Survey), Report of Bel Air Plaza Shopping Center and Subdivision Within a Two Mile Radius (December 31, 1967).

a. Includes home building and land costs.

b. In number of homes available.

banker, physician, dentist, stock broker, military officer, and "coupon clipper."

Table 12 reflects the average home value including land in Paradise Valley. The average home cost figure of $46,860 is derived from a formula based on real estate developer's estimates and the value of home construction costs. First, the average lot size figure (1.77 acres) is multiplied by the average per acre lot cost (based on estimates). The average lot size is based on a study conducted by the Maricopa County Department of Planning and Zoning, titled A Land Use Plan for the Town of Paradise Valley. Home construction costs (excluding land costs) are based upon the value of building permits issued by the Town of Paradise Valley and reported monthly in the Arizona Business Bulletin, published by Arizona State University. This figure is then added to the product derived from multiplying average lot size by average per acre cost. To this result is added a 20 percent profit margin which is, according to developer's estimates, minimal for development in Paradise Valley. Thus, the $46,860 figure is arrived at. This figure corresponds with developer and real estate estimates of the average home value of between $47,500 and $50,000. Developers and real estate experts have noted that the cost of homes in the Paradise Valley area ranges from a minimum of $32,500 to as high as $3 million. Per acre lots on the

Table 12

Mean Lot Size, Price, and Cost of Homes in Paradise Valley Computed on Basis of Value of Building Permits and Developer Estimates, 1968

Mean Lot Size[a]		Mean Cost Per Lot[b]	Home Costs[c]		Retail Markup[d]		Combined Total Retail Price for Homes[e]
1.77 acres	x	$12,500	$16,925	x	20% gross	=	$46,860

Sources: noted in footnotes.

a. Maricopa County Department of Planning and Zoning, A Land Use Plan for the Town of Paradise Valley (1964), p. 12.

b. Based on Developer and Realtors' estimates.

c. Based on mean dollar value of building permit applications for a 13-month period see: "Maricopa County Building Permits," Arizona Business Bulletin 16 (February, 1969), p. 48; (March, 1969), p. 79.

sides of either Camelback and Mummy Mountains are priced at $25,000.

Although pre-1960 data has been used to indicate life-style and specialization, this data has been supplemented with more recent information which clearly indicates that both suburbs exhibit characteristics associated with high socioeconomic status groups; further, it should be clear that these two suburbs may be considered as relatively homogeneous. As regards life-style, both areas indicate a high social rank. However, it is necessary, at this point, to further focus upon life-style as it affects the political behavior of its residents.

Life-Style Attitudes

In order to generate data regarding life-style attitudes, respondents in Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills were asked to respond to a series of questions. These questions were designed to give some indication of life-style and the relationship between economic and social factors and life-style as it reflects the political behavior of respondents. It should be noted that some of the questions presented to respondents allowed more than one answer. Thus, the tables will not, in some cases, reflect a 100 percent response, but more than this. At this point, it will be helpful to restate the hypothesis and two corollaries in order to better focus on the question:

H-1. If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, then the political behavior of its residents will be influenced primarily by social values.

C-1. If a suburb's political behavior is influenced primarily by social values, then economic values will be secondary.

C-2. If a suburb's political behavior is influenced primarily by social values and that suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, then the nature of social values influencing that suburb will tend to center around land use policy.

In 41 interviews, each respondent was asked how he considered living in his area and the reasons for his choice of location. Respondent was then asked to compare the differences between living in the Paradise Valley and Catalina Foothills areas as opposed to living in the city. In the case of the Catalina Foothills, the "city" was taken to mean the City of Tucson. In the case of Paradise Valley, the "city" was taken to mean either Phoenix or Scottsdale. It will be recalled that not all respondents interviewed in the Foothills were strictly residents of that area. Of the 21 persons interviewed in reference to the Foothills, six were not residents of the area but lived in areas surrounding the City of Tucson. As previously explained, these six respondents were vocal in voicing their opposition to annexation.

These respondents will be considered in the following chapter. The results of the two questions asked of respondents are presented in Table 13.

Table 13

Attitudes Toward Choice of Residence as Expressed by Respondents in Paradise Valley and Catalina Foothills Areas, 1969

	Paradise	Catalina	Total
Desire for Space, Privacy	100%	90%	95%
Beauty of the Desert	60	47	53
Desire to Live the "Country Life"	35	43	39
Quiet	10	24	7
Lack of City Smog	5	10	7
Lower Taxes	5	10	7

Ninety-five percent of the respondents said they chose to live in their area for reasons of space and privacy; all respondents in Paradise Valley indicated this preference while 90 percent of the respondents in the Foothills expressed similar preferences. Ranking second, respondents indicated a preference for living in their area for aesthetic reasons, citing most often the beauty of the desert. Sixty percent of those interviewed in Paradise Valley indicated this preference while 47 percent of Foothills respondents expressed this preference. Thirty-nine percent of all the

respondents expressed a desire to live the "country life." Some of those interviewed said they desired horses and other animals on their property. Others expressed what they considered to be the importance of living the "simple life." As indicated in the table, factors of smog and quiet in regard to residence were also mentioned. Paradise Valley, however, shares with the entire Phoenix metropolitan area serious air pollution problems. The problems are less acute in the Foothills area.

Only seven percent of the total interviewed indicated that the tax structure of the area in which they chose to reside influenced that choice. This has particular relevance to the hypothesis under consideration. In order to operationalize the concept of economic factors, the tax structure or taxes in general will serve to indicate economic values.

The data in Table 13 indicates strong support for the hypothesis that social values will be primary in life-style values as regards influencing political behavior. The desire for space may be considered a social value, rather than economic. Thus, support for the corollary (C-1) regarding economic values is also supported. Further, it would seem that if space and privacy are a primary consideration of respondents in determining residential choice, they will also exhibit concern for spatial patterns which involve issues related to land use policy. Thus, support is also indicated

for corollary C-2 which states this relationship between social values and land use policy.

It may be argued, however, that spatial patterns involve economic values as well as social values. Also, the beauty of an area will also maintain and probably increase property values. This paper does not posit the statement either social or economic values are mutually exclusive; it does, however, state the primacy of social values over economic values.

Respondents in both suburbs were asked to express what they felt to be the most serious concerns of their area. Table 14 shows the results of this question. This table compliments the data presented in the previous table. Mentioned most often was zoning with the preservation of a "way of life." The latter refers to a rural or "county life" as noted in Table 13. Only 10 percent of the respondents expressed concern over high taxes, again supporting the hypothesis that social values will be primary in influencing political behavior and the corollary that economic values will be secondary. Also, because zoning indicates a concern for land use policy Corollary C-2 is supported.

In order to learn more about land use policy, interviewees were asked whether they would favor a large shopping center in their area. In some cases, where a shopping center was located near the respondent's residence,

Table 14

Primary Concerns of Paradise Valley and Catalina Foothills Respondents, 1969

	Paradise	Catalina	Total
Zoning	55%	67%	61%
Preserve "Way of Life"	40	57	49
Planning	20	5	12
Law Enforcement	10	14	12
High Taxes	10	10	10
Fire Protection	--	14	7
Schools	--	10	5
Roads	10	5	7
Water Resources	5	10	7
Sewage	5	5	5

the question was not asked. More than half, as indicated by Table 15, said they would not favor such a commercial center. Fifty-five percent of the respondents in Paradise Valley stated they would rather drive than have a shopping center in their area and that there was no need for such a development. Fifty-two percent of Foothills area respondents agreed or said that a commercial development was not warranted at the present time.

Forty-five percent of Paradise Valley respondents said they favored a shopping center; however, 30 percent of

Table 15

Attitudes Toward Commercial Development as Expressed by Paradise Valley, Foothills Respondents, 1969

	Paradise	Catalina	Total
No	55%	52%	54%
Yes	15	14	14
Yes, Controlled	30	--	15
Areas where question did not apply	--	29	15
No Opinion	--	5	2
	100%	100%	100%

the 45 said they favored a "controlled" shopping area which would restrict development in regard to location and would also meet the aesthetic requirements of residents. Fifteen percent of respondents in Paradise Valley said there was a need for such a commercial development; fourteen percent of Foothills respondents expressed similar sentiments.

The data in Table 15 would seem to indicate support for the hypothesis that social values are primary in determining the political behavior of residents; at the same time, support is shown for Corollary C-1. It would seem particularly so in the case of the Town of Paradise Valley for commercial development would ease the burden of taxes on the homeowner shifting it to the commercial development.

However, since at this time there is no town tax levy, this may not be important at the moment but has import for the future. Also, the tendency toward discouraging commercial development seems to be consistent with the desire to live the "country life." Third, commercial development may be considered as a potential violator of the aesthetic qualities of the environment.

Respondents were asked what issues they thought would be the most likely to arouse the residents of their community; that is, to arouse their anger. The results of this question are presented in Table 16. Fifty-six percent of all the respondents cited zoning issues as being the most volatile. Less than 15 percent expressed the opinion that the increase of taxes would arouse residents. In the case of the Foothills area, 81 percent of the respondents cited annexation as a salient issue and 24 percent mentioned Mayor Corbett's attitude ("kicking, screaming, stomping") in conjunction with this issue.

The issue of annexation in the Foothills is not a clear cut issue so far as social and economic values are concerned. To some residents, annexation would mean an increase in taxes. However, the City of Tucson has argued in previous annexation attempts that the total cost of services would offset this increase. This argument will be considered more fully later. On the basis of respondents' attitudes,

Table 16

Attitudes Toward Salient Issues as Expressed by Paradise Valley, Foothills Respondents, 1969

	Paradise	Catalina	Total
Zoning	70%	43%	56%
Annexation	--	81	41
Commercial Development	30	14	22
Higher Taxes	20	10	15
Mayor's Attitude Toward Annexation	--	24	12
"Anything that would change our way of life"	15	5	10

however, support has been indicated for the hypothesis: (H-1) If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, then the political behavior of its residents will be influenced primarily by social values. Also, support has been shown for the two accompanying corollaries: (C-1) If a suburb's political behavior is influenced primarily by social values, then economic values will be secondary; and, (C-2) If a suburb's political behavior is influenced primarily by social values and that suburb specializes in high socio-economic status groups, then the nature of social values influencing that suburb will tend to center around land use policy.

Life-Style Values and Municipal Services

It is the purpose of this section of this chapter to consider the relationship of life-style values in the two suburbs studied to the question of public services. A suburb's life-style values may be influenced by the quality and quantity of the services it receives. Conversely, the quality and quantity of services may influence the life-style values of the suburb. In any case, there would seem to be support for the assumption that the nature of municipal services will reflect the values of a given area.[8]

In the following examination of the relationship between life-style values and the role of municipal-type services, i.e., law enforcement, fire protection, road-building and maintenance, the following corollary will be tested:

C-3. If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, the concern for life-style values will not necessarily reflect a corresponding concern for municipal-type services.

In order to consider this relationship, three sources will be used. First, attitudinal data garnered from interviews will be used. Second, the current status of services provided by the Town of Paradise Valley will be reviewed.

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8. Williams, et al., p. 77.

Third, data used by the City of Tucson in promoting annexation of the Foothills and other areas will be considered.

Respondents in both Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills were asked what they thought of the services currently being provided to their area. Table 17 shows the results of respondent's responses.

Table 17

Attitudes Toward Municipal-Type Services: Paradise Valley, Foothills Respondents, 1969

	Paradise	Catalina	Total
Adequate	65%	45%	54%
Inadequate	25	57	41
Don't Know	10	--	5
	100%	100%	100%

The table indicates that a narrow majority of Paradise Valley respondents said that services in their area were adequate. However, 57 percent of Foothills area respondents said services were inadequate. Thus, little support is indicated either for or against the corollary. However, a better picture of the role of services in at least Paradise Valley may result from an examination of the level of services in that area.

The Town of Paradise Valley provides a bare minimum of services. There are presently a total of five law enforcement officers employed by the Town. Only until recently, was the Town able to provide at least one policeman on duty 24 hours a day. Thus, with the current population estimate of Paradise Valley (Table 10), this means that there is one policeman on duty per 6,000 population.

In order to supplement this low level of law enforcement, the Town has approved a private company to patrol its boundaries on a private contractual basis with individual residents. County Sheriff forces are also available to residents in times of emergency.

There is no public fire department for the Town of Paradise Valley. Residents may contract with a private fire protection company for this service, however.

Large-scale road-building is non-existent in the Town of Paradise Valley. Funds are channeled primarily into limited road-maintenance activities. During the course of interviews, a number of Paradise Valley respondents indicated a preference for poor roads as a method of preventing excessive speeding. Garbage service for the area is privately contracted.

This brief description of the services in Paradise Valley would seem to indicate that the Town of Paradise Valley has opted for a minimum level of services rather than

a higher level of services for a proportionately higher tax level. The concern for services, it would seem, ranks third behind land use policy and taxes in terms of priority of concerns.

The Catalina Foothills area receives a level of services similar to that of the Town of Paradise Valley. However, Pima County has been active in road-building and maintenance. The Pima County Sheriff's Office provides police protection; however, there is no public fire department and residents must contract privately for protection.

In its attempt to convince residents outside the city to be annexed, the City of Tucson has estimated the effect of annexation on the average home in terms of cash savings. Table 18 shows this estimate which was used to help persuade residents of Desert Steppes subdivision, located east of the city, to be annexed--which it eventually did. Chapter 3 of this paper has already alluded to these arguments; they are presented here in more detail, however.

According to the Tucson Department of Community Development, which is responsible for annexation activities, the amount of savings grows in proportion to the assessed valuation of the property. Savings are found primarily in terms of garbage collection, fire protection and insurance, and the sanitary district tax. This type of data was supplied to Foothills area residents.

Table 18

The Estimated Effect of Annexation on the Average Home: Desert Steppes

	$11,000-$14,000 House Average Assessed Value: $2,800		$14,000-$17,000 House Average Assessed Value: $3,300		$17,000-$20,000 House Average Assessed Value: $4,000	
	Before Annexed Average Annual Cost	After Annexed Average Annual Cost	Before Annexed Average Annual Cost	After Annexed Average Annual Cost	Before Annexed Average Annual Cost	After Annexed Average Annual Cost
Garbage collection	$ 30.00	$ -0-	$ 30.00	$ -0-	$ 30.00	$ -0-
Fire Protection	15.75	-0-	20.00	-0-	23.00	-0-
Fire Insurance	81.00	67.00	92.00	77.00	103.00	86.00
Library Levy	1.65	-0-	2,32	-0-	2.50	-0-
Sanitary District Levy	54.84	4.51	67.28	5.70	83.30	6.85
Water Bill[a]	105.24	105.24	105.24	105.24	105.24	105.24
City Taxes (at $1.75 per $100 assessed valuation)	-0-	49.35	-0-	64.63	-0-	74.96
Total Cost	$288.48	$226.10	$316,84	$252.47	$347.04	$273.05
Net Savings in City		62.38		64.37		73.99

Source: City of Tucson, Department of Community Development (footnotes deleted).

a. Contingent upon use of city water as opposed to private company.

On the surface, it would seem, in view of the relative dissatisfaction with services as indicated in Table 17, Foothills area residents would opt for annexation instead of resistance. However, as will be shown later, residents interviewed indicated doubt as to the validity of city estimates of the benefits of annexation. This would account for the apparent contradiction between the dissatisfaction with services and the benefits which would accrue as a result of annexation.

In this examination, it would seem that only partial support for the corollary (C-3) has been shown: (C-3) If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, the concern for life-style values will not necessarily reflect a corresponding concern for municipal-type services. In the case of Paradise Valley, support for this corollary was indicated as the concern for services ranks behind land use policy and taxes. In the case of the Catalina Foothills, the fact that respondents doubted city estimates prevents any analysis of the Foothills services in the context of the above corollary. Thus, only partial support for this corollary has been presented.

Conclusion

This chapter's major conclusions are: (1) the two suburbs studied contain homogeneous groups exhibiting a life-style that may be associated with high social rank; (2) the

residents of that suburb will tend to be influenced politically by social values primarily; (3) therefore, economic values will be secondary; (4) that social values tend to center around land use policy; and (5) partial support was indicated for the corollary that life-style values in a suburb specializing in high socioeconomic status groups will not necessarily reflect a corresponding concern for municipal-type services.

CHAPTER 5

LOCAL CONTROL

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the problem of local control as it relates to life-style values. It will be recalled that urban analyst Oliver P. Williams has hypothesized that suburbs will resort to the formation of their own autonomous, decentralized governmental units in order to preserve and maintain life-style values. Also, a primary tactic used by suburbs to preserve and maintain life-style values is homogeneous and complementary groupings. The suburb thereby obviates serious fractionating dissent within the community and promotes consensus and agreement. Thus, local control within a specializing suburb means that the suburb will be better able to preserve and maintain life-style values. Therefore, a decentralized governmental structure will prevail in the metropolitan area.

However, is it possible for a suburb to remain within a centralized governmental structure and still preserve and maintain life-style values? If the answer to this question is yes, then the suburb in question must be able to exert local control. In response to this question, the following hypothesis is submitted for testing:

H-2. If a specializing suburb is unincorporated and possesses sufficient resources, then it is possible for that suburb to exert local control through politically-active groups to approximately the same extent as it is for an incorporated suburb to exert local control.

In the cases of Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills, the two suburbs must exert control through two distinctly different mechanisms. Paradise Valley residents exert control through their own town council which has a homogeneous constituency. However, Catalina Foothills area residents must exert control through Pima County government which has a broad, heterogeneous constituency. Thus, the demands exerted upon Pima County government by Foothills area residents must compete with demands made by other areas which may have diverse, if not conflicting, interests. The difference between the two may be seen in terms of areal jurisdiction: whereas the Paradise Valley Town Council has jurisdiction over an area little more than 11 square-miles, Pima County has jurisdiction over an area of more than 9,000 square-miles. The differences between the two mechanisms of control in the two communities studied permits testing of the hypothesis.

In addition to the above hypothesis, the following corollaries will also be tested:

C-4. If an individual is a resident of a suburb whose residents tend to view life-style values in terms of low density spatial patterns, then that resident will tend to view his suburb, as it relates to the metropolitan core area, in terms of mutually exclusive and conflicting images.

C-5. If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups and is incorporated, then the residents of that suburb will tend to view their suburb in terms of community more so than the residents of an unincorporated suburb would tend to view their suburb.

C-6. If a suburb specializing in high socioeconomic status groups is not incorporated, the residents of that suburb will tend to view governmental integration in more favorable terms than the residents of an incorporated suburb. (However, this does not mean that the residents of the unincorporated suburb will necessarily view integration in positive terms.)

C-7. If an individual is a resident of a high socioeconomic status group suburb, he will tend to view metropolitan area problems and his role in helping to solve these problems largely in terms of impotence.

Methodology

In order to test the above hypothesis, it was necessary to devise a method to measure the degree of local control exercised by residents in the two suburbs. In the

preceding chapter, it will be recalled that there was support for the hypothesis that social values are the primary element of life-style values in Paradise Valley and the Foothills; further, it was shown that economic values are secondary. Corollary C-2 posited the relationship between social values as exhibiting the basic tendency to center around land use policy. Thus, in devising any technique for measuring local control, the focus in both suburbs studies must be on land use policy decisions. Further, these decisions should involve population density patterns and commercial development. Reasons for this focus are shown in Tables 13-16, explicated in the preceding chapter.

In the case of Paradise Valley, emphasis was placed on the activities of the Paradise Valley Town Council during the last eight years of its existence. In the case of the Catalina Foothills, 22 decisions regarding land use policy decisions, more specifically zoning decisions, were considered. These 22 decisions represent 56 percent of the total zoning decisions made regarding the Catalina Foothills during the period 1964-69. The first eight of these decisions listed in Table 19 where chosen on the basis that high interest was exhibited by homeowners associations; the remaining 14 decisions were chosen at random from an area of approximately 40 square-miles in the Catalina Foothills area.

Table 19

Outcomes of Land Use Policy Decisions in the Catalina Foothills, 1964-1969

Applicant		Zoning* Requested	Zoning* Existing	Hearing Protests P/Z	Hearing Protests B/S	Action P/Z	Action B/S
1.	Lissner	CB-1,CR-4	SR	yes	no	approved	approved
2.	McCullough Corp.	CR-5	SR	yes	yes	denied	denied
3.	Jelks	CB-1,CR-4	SR	yes	yes	approved	denied
4.	Yarbrough Bros.	TH	CR-1	yes	---	denied	withdrew
5.	Lew Place	CB-1	CR-1	yes	yes	approved	approved
6.	Pegler	TR	CR-1	yes	yes	approved	denied
7.	Baldwin Development Corp.	RVC,TR	SR	yes	yes	approved	denied
8.	Short-Chandler	CB-1,TR	SR	yes	yes	approved	denied
9.	Hodges	TH	SR	yes	---	denied	withdrew
10.	DuPuy	CR-2	CR-1	no	---	denied	withdrew
11.	Skyline Country Club Est.	TR	CR-1	no	no	approved	approved
12.	Dawes, Roller Coaster Road	CB-1	CR-2	yes	---	denied	withdrew
13.	Far Western Const. Co.	RVC,CR-4	CR-1	yes	yes	denied	denied
14.	Christian Heritage Found.	TR	CR-1	yes	yes	denied	denied
15.	Copeland Construction	CR-4,TR	CR-1	yes	yes	denied	denied
16.	West Foothills	CI-1	CB-2,CR-4	yes	yes	denied	denied
17.	Ruane	CB-2	SR	yes	yes	denied	denied
18.	Minnari Development	RVC,TR	CR-1	yes	yes	denied	denied
19.	Oracle Foothills	CR-4	CR-1	no	---	denied	withdrew
20.	Shadow Roc	RVC,TR,CR-5	CR-1	yes	yes	approved	denied
21.	Leonard	CR-4	CR-1	yes	yes	denied	denied
22.	DeGrazia	CB-1	SR	no	no	approved	approved

Source: Pima County Department of Planning and Zoning, zoning maps and files.

*Key to Pima County Zoning Classifications:

Zone	Uses Permitted	Minimum Lot Area (Sq.Ft.)	Minimum Lot Width (Ft.)	Min. Area Per Unit (Sq. Ft.)	Minimum Yards Front (Ft.)	Minimum Yards Side (Ft.)	Minimum Yards Rear (Ft.)	No. of Stories Bldg. Height
SR Suburban Ranch	1-family residences, agricultural, hospital, recreational	144,000	None	144,000	50	10	50	2 30
CR-1 Single Residence	1-family residences, home occupations. Horses permitted.	36,000	100	36,000	30	10	40	2 30
CR-2 Single Residence	CR-1 uses, 1-family residences, home occupations	16,000	80	16,000	30	10	40	2 30
CR-3 Single Residence	1-family residences, home occupations	8,000	60	8,000	20 or on a corner lot 20	8 18	25 10	2 30
SH Suburban Homestead	SR uses, duplexes, 2 trailers on one lot; Professional, semi-professional offices	36,000	100	18,000	30	10	40	2 30
CR-4 Multiple Residence	CR-3 uses, duplexes, multiple dwellings (not more than 4 units in one bldg.)	7,000	60	3,500	25 or on a cotner lot 25	8 18	35 10	2 30
CR-5 Multiple Residence	CR-3, CR-4 uses; multiple dwellings; boarding, rooming houses	7,000	60	2,000	25 or on a corner lot 25	7 17	35 10	2 30
TH Trailer Homesite	CR-3 uses trailer trailer court	8,000 18,000	60	8,000 2,000	30 30	10 10	40 40	2 30
TR Transi-tional	CR-3, -4, -5 uses; tourist court or hotels, professional offices, clinics	10,000	60	1,000	20 or on a corner lot 20	7 17	25 10	2 30
GR General Rural	Comm. agriculture, any residence, local business, trailer ct.	8,000	60	8,000	30	10	40	2 30
RVC Rural Village	Retail business Multiple dwellings	None 7,000 (Res.)	None 60 (Res.)	None 2,000 (Res.)	Architectural review by committee and P/Z required			2 30
CB-1 Local Business	Retail business Any TR use trailer courts	None 10,000 (Res.)	None 60 (Res.)	None 1,000 (Res.)	20 20 or on a corner lot 20	None 7 17	25 25 10	2 30
CB-2 General Business	CB-1 uses, billboards light manufacturing, wholesale, bars	None 7,000 (Res.)	None 60 (Res.)	None 1,000 (Res.)	15 20 (Res.)	None 7 (Res.)	10 25	35
MU Multiple Uses	Residence, business, indus., agri., home occup. & public uses	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
C1-1 Lt. Ind. &Warehs.	Limited CB-1, -2 uses; Warehouse and light industrial uses	None	None	None	15 (Industrial	None Buffer)	10	35
C1-2 Industry	Limited CB-2, C1-1 uses; other uses subject to conditional permit; warehouse	None	None	None	15 (Industrial	None Buffer)	10	35 50 Ind.
C1-3 Industry	Limited C1-2 uses, other uses subject to conditions	43,560	None	None	10% of lot depth	35	30	None
AA	Airport Approach Zone	Height limits as given in Section 3708.02 in areas shown on Maps 33, 60, 61, 96, S-1/2 15-13, 15-14.						

Supplementary attitudinal data is also presented concerning respondents' attitudes toward their respective governments (Town Council and Pima County). However, this data may only be considered as supplementary since it reflects attitudes toward government and the degree of satisfaction, not control of policy outcomes.

Local Control: Paradise Valley

Paradise Valley today is made up primarily of single family homes which average 1.77 acres in size.[1] The Paradise Valley Town Council has not approved any major subdivision development with lots averaging less than a full-acre in size. Although the Town's zoning regulations allow for cluster development, no new plan for cluster development has been approved.[2] No commercial zoning has been approved by the Town Council. A total of 1.5 acres in the Town is in commercial use. The area is limited to two realtors' offices and three commercial establishments located in the Town Hall

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1. Maricopa County Department of Planning and Zoning, A Land Use Plan for the Town of Paradise Valley (Paradise Valley, Ariz.: Town of Paradise Valley, 1964), pp. 9-12.

2. This point deserves some elaboration. A cluster plan development was approved for the Racquet Club in Paradise Valley. This resort was formerly a tennis and swim club which went bankrupt sometime after Paradise Valley's incorporation. Prior to the approval of the cluster development for a tennis farm, the club served no use at all. In this sense, then, it was not actually a new development and remains the lone exception for cluster development in Paradise Valley.

building. A total of 8.5 acres is in industrial use; the nature of this industry is utilities and railroad. Thus, ten acres comprises the entire commercial and industrial land use of an 8,378 acre area. A little less than half of this total is developed land; the remainder is undeveloped.[3]

These statistics indicate that the Town of Paradise Valley has followed a land use pattern oriented toward residential, low density living. The fact that no new cluster developments or subdivisions with less than full-acre lots have been approved, indicates that the Town has followed the expressed desire of residents to maintain and preserve the salient life-style value of low density spatial patterns.

Local Control: Catalina Foothills

Data regarding the amount of land in the Catalina Foothills zoned for commercial, residential, and industrial use is not available. However, according to the Foothills master plan, 15 acres per section (one square-mile) is alloted to commercial development and 15 acres is alloted to high density living. There are approximately 620 acres per section (also a square mile) and there are approximately 38 square-miles included in the Catalina Foothills Area Plan. These figures, however, do not indicate existing use, only

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3. Maricopa County Department of Planning and Zoning, A Land Use Plan . . . ., p. 9.

what has been planned. There is every indication that actual use is far lower than alloted.

The examination of the 22 land use policy decisions appears in Table 19. It was noted above that these 22 decisions represent those land use policy decisions regarding the Foothills from 1964-69; data regarding prior decisions was not immediately available.

The table shows the applicant, the type of zoning requested, the existing zoning, Planning and Zoning Commission action, Board of Supervisors action, and whether or not protests were made at both the Commission's public hearings or at the supervisors' hearings. A key to the types of zoning is included. Of the 22 decisions, only four were approved by the Board of Supervisors. However, nine of the applications were approved by the Planning and Zoning Commission; thus, five approvals by the commission were reversed by the Board of Supervisors. In all five cases of reversal of Planning and Zoning Commission recommendations by the board, strong protests were lodged in both commission and supervisor hearings. It will be noted that all of the zoning decisions included in Table 19 involve issues which would increase existing zoning density.

The four zoning cases which were approved all were approved on the basis that the rezoning conformed to the Catalina Foothills Area Plan. The area plan allows for both

commercial and some transitional (TR) zoning. In two of the zoning cases which were approved--DeGrazia and Skyline Country Club Estates (numbers 11 and 22 as shown in Table 19)--there were no protests lodged against the applicants.

However, in the remaining two cases--Lissner and Lew Place (numbers 1 and 5 as shown in the table)--protests were lodged against the applicants. The Lissner rezoning involved the development of a $2.5 million resort area bordering on the Coronado National Forest in the Coronado Foothills Estates area; the proposed resort area consisted of a large man-made dam, apartments, and a restaurant. Although protests were voiced at the Planning and Zoning Commission hearing, no protests were lodged at the Board of Supervisors hearing. This may be explained by the fact that the development had the full support of Coronado Foothills developer Don DePugh. However, due to the fact that there were no protests at the supervisors hearing, it would seem that this zoning case constitutes a minor defeat for Foothills area residents so far as maintaining and preserving life-style values.

The second case, however, was a more serious defeat for Foothills residents. This case--Lew Place--involved commercial zoning. Strong protests were made at both the supervisors and commission hearings. However, both boards approved the zoning because it conformed to the Catalina Foothills Area Plan. At the supervisor's hearing, rezoning

opponents sparked a debate concerning high density land use policy in the Foothills. This may be considered the lone major defeat for Foothills residents in respect to preservation and maintenance of life-style values.

In summary, of the total 22 land use policy decisions, two decisions may be regarded as defeats for Foothills residents who, as it has been demonstrated, wish to preserve low density spatial patterns. On the other hand, of the 22 decisional outcomes, Foothills residents won in 20 cases. It would not seem entirely correct, however, to simply state that Foothills area residents were able to influence 91 percent (20 cases) of the land use policy decisions considered. This is because it is apparent that, as indicated in Table 19, pressure was not exerted in all cases. For example, case number 19 reveals that there were no protests lodged against the applicant, Oracle Foothills Estates. Yet, the application was still denied. The key for policy-making by the Board of Supervisors and the Planning and Zoning Commission is, apparently, the Catalina Foothills Area Plan. Although not inflexible, the plan is used as a guide for decisions. As noted above, the plan was approved in 1959; it has been revised since that time. Thus, existing land use, as devised by the area plan, coupled with the expressed preferences (protests) of residents combines to form the basic context of decision-making. It would seem more correct,

therefore, to state that Foothills area residents express policy preferences which conform, more or less, to existing land use policy. By frequently expressing policy preferences, Foothills area residents are able to consistently reinforce their position, making it clear to Pima County policy-makers. In these terms then, this would seem to indicate strong support for the hypothesis: (H-2) If a specializing suburb is unincorporated and possesses sufficient resources, then it is possible for that suburb to exert local control through politically-active groups to approximately the same extent as it is for an incorporated suburb to exert local control.

Attitudinal Data: Assessment of Council and County Governments

The following data is derived from interviews in Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills. Respondents were asked to assess their government in order to generate attitudinal data. The assumption may be made that if respondents exhibit discontent with their government, then this may be some indication that that government is not functioning to preserve and maintain life-style values.

The purpose of presenting this attitudinal data at this point is that it will compliment the preceding data regarding land use policy decisions. However, it should be noted, the assumption that if a suburb looks favorably upon

its government, then it exercises local control, is not to be made regarding this data.

Paradise Valley respondents were asked a series of three questions relating to the governments in Maricopa County. First, respondents were asked to assess Paradise Valley's relations with Maricopa County before the former incorporated. Second, respondents were asked to assess the government of Paradise Valley (Town Council). Third, respondents were asked to compare the Town Council government to the governments of Phoenix and Scottsdale. It should be noted that in the course of the 20 interviews, only two respondents attempted to make any distinction between Phoenix and Scottsdale; in this respect, then, the two cities may be regarded as virtually the same. The results of these questions are presented in Tables 20, 21, and 22

Seventy percent of Paradise Valley respondents said that relations between Paradise Valley and Maricopa County before the former's incorporation were poor; further, these respondents indicated that this was primarily a result of the county's actions. However, after incorporation, the same respondents favored the Town Council government, with 95 percent expressing favor and none expressing disfavor. Nearly 70 percent of the respondents thought the Town Council government to be better than the governments of Phoenix and/or Scottsdale.

Table 20

Attitudes Toward Paradise Valley-Maricopa County Relations Before Incorporation; Paradise Valley Respondents, 1969

Good Job		30%
Poor Job		70
County dishonest, unresponsive	20%	
County showed lack of interest in Paradise Valley problems	10	
County was antagonistic	40	
	70%	100%

Table 21

Attitudes Toward Town Council Government; Paradise Valley Respondents, 1969

Good		95%
Excellent	25%	
Very Good	50	
Fairly Good	15	
Good, but Somewhat Inflexible	5	
Poor		0
Don't Know		5
	95%	100%

Table 22

Comparison of Paradise Valley Government to that of Phoenix and Scottsdale; Paradise Valley Respondents, 1969

Much Better Than Phoenix and Scottsdale	65%
Compares Favorably, But About the Same	15
Don't Know	20
	100%

The importance of this data is that it indicates strong support of the Town Council government as expressed by respondents. It would seem that life-style values were not being preserved or maintained, according to respondents, under Maricopa County government. However, the Town Council of Paradise Valley, according to respondents, seems to be fulfilling the function of preservation and maintenance of life-style values.

Catalina Foothills area respondents were asked three similar questions concerning their attitudes toward government in Pima County. Respondents were asked what they thought of the county's relations with the Foothills area; second, they were asked how they regarded the county's zoning decisions regarding the Foothills area; third, they were asked whether they had more confidence in the Pima County Board of Supervisors or in the Tucson Mayor and Council. Respondents' answers are presented in Tables 23, 24, and 25.

Table 23

Attitudes Toward Foothills-Pima County Government Relations; Foothills Respondents, 1969

Good		95%
Very good, county is responsive	71%	
Fairly good	24	
Supervisors good, Planning and Zoning Commission is unsatisfactory	5	5
	95%	100%

Table 24

Attitudes Toward Pima County Zoning Decisions; Foothills Respondents, 1969

Fairly good, Planning and Zoning Commission leaves something to be desired, however	52%
Good, responsive, and fair	38
Good, sometimes too stringent, however	5
County has not considered aesthetic aspects of planning	5
	100%

Table 25

Comparison of Board of Supervisors Government to Mayor and Council Government; Foothills Respondents, 1969

Favor Board of Supervisors	90%
Favor Mayor and Council	10
	100%

It will be recalled that of the 21 Foothills area respondents, six were not strictly residents of the Foothills proper. The differences between respondents in the Foothills area proper, and those living outside the Foothills area will be considered later. In revealing respondents' answers, when it was evident that questions did not strictly relate to the six respondents, this was taken into account.

Respondents indicated little discontent with Pima County government. Only five percent of those interviewed indicated any degree of dissatisfaction with county government. In regard to the county's decisions relating to land use policy, respondents agreed that the outcomes of decisions were good. In reference to the confidence placed in the Pima County Board of Supervisors compared to the confidence placed in the Tucson Mayor and Council, 90 percent of the respondents said they had more confidence in the former.

At this point, it will be useful to summarize the findings presented in the six preceding tables. As noted above, the preceding attitudinal data are included here as complimentary to data regarding policy outcomes in the Foothills area and the activities of the Paradise Valley Town Council. These attitudinal data do not necessarily reflect any measure of local control exercised by either the Foothills or Paradise Valley residents. However, it may be assumed that if strong support is indicated for the Town Council and county governments, then life-style values are being preserved and maintained. Strong support has been indicated for the two governments; further, respondents have favored either the council or the county over neighboring governments.

Rural Vs. Metropolitan Images

In the preceding pages, it has been shown that residents of both Paradise Valley and the Foothills are concerned primarily with spatial patterns favoring low density living. For the metropolitan area, the implication of this concern is that the resident of a low density suburb will view metropolitan governmental integration in negative terms, for the metropolitan area represents high density living. In this section the following corollary will be tested:

C-4. If an individual is a resident of a suburb whose residents tend to view life-style values in terms of low density spatial patterns, then that resident will tend to view his suburb, as it relates to the metropolitan core area, in terms of mutually exclusive and conflicting images. In order to test this corollary, attitudinal data will again be utilized.

Respondents in Paradise Valley were asked why they favored incorporation of Paradise Valley, As indicated in Table 26, 85 percent of the respondents mentioned zoning encroachments by Maricopa County as the primary reason for favoring incorporation. Thirty percent mentioned the desire to keep commercial business out of the area as a motivating factor; fifteen percent mentioned local control itself; and fifteen percent noted annexation possibilities by Phoenix or Scottsdale as providing impetus to incorporation proceedings.

Table 26

Reasons for Favoring Incorporation of Paradise Valley; Paradise Valley Respondents, 1969

Zoning encroachments by Maricopa County	85%
Keep commercial businesses out of Paradise Valley	30
"Control our own destiny"	15
Prevent annexation	15
Avoid high tax assessments	10

Respondents in the Catalina Foothills were asked why they opposed annexation of the Foothills to the City of Tucson. Table 27 indicates that 76 percent of respondents opposed annexation on the grounds that the city did not have the resources to provide services. (It may now be noted that support is shown for the statement that respondents indicated that they doubted the city's [Tucson's] ability to provide services, as noted in Chapter 4.) Also mentioned as reasoning for opposing annexation were the desire to live the "country life"; reaction against big city government; the fact that county government is responsive; and that the city would downgrade zoning.

Table 27

Reasons for Opposing Annexation of Foothills Area to the City of Tucson: Foothills Respondents, 1969[a]

City does not have resources enough to provide services	76%
Desire to live the "country life"	19
Reaction against "big city government"	14
County government is responsive	14
City would downgrade zoning	10
Taxes would be higher	5
Manner in which annexation was proposed (Mayor Corbett)	5
Premature, Foothills not yet developed enough	5

a. Two respondents expressed pro-annexation sentiments; nineteen were anti-annexation.

The reasons for Paradise Valley's incorporation as expressed by Paradise Valley respondents are found in the desire to maintian and preserve life-style values. This is Williams' hypothesis and it is strongly supported in the case of Paradise Valley. However, this is not the main focus of the paper.

Foothills area respondents noted the primary reason for opposing annexation as the city's inability to provide services for the reason that by voicing opposition in these terms, it could gather support from surrounding homeowners associations. It should be noted that the majority of associations opposing annexation did not exhibit the same low density spatial patterns evident in the Foothills area. The issue of the city's inability to provide services was an issue which would arouse low and high density suburbs alike.

However, except for the indications shown in opposition to annexation, there is little evidence that respondents viewed their suburb in relation to the metropolitan core in terms of mutually exclusive and conflicting images. Respondents in the Foothills noted a reaction against big city government as a reason for opposing annexation.

Respondents in both suburbs were asked what they thought would result from the annexation of their area into the neighboring city. For Paradise Valley respondents, this meant annexation into either Phoenix or Scottsdale; for

Foothills respondents, this meant, of course, the City of Tucson. Table 28 indicates that 73 percent of all respondents said annexation would result in higher taxes without benefit of municipal services. Twenty-four percent of the respondents in the Catalina Foothills were so adamant about the issue of annexation they they said they would move out of the area if it were annexed by the city. Twenty-five percent of the respondents in Paradise Valley said their area would lose its identity.

Table 28

Estimated Outcome of Annexation of Suburbs to Cities As Expressed by Paradise Valley and Foothills Respondents[a], 1969

	Paradise	Catalina	Total
Breakdown of low density zoning	70%	76%	73%
Higher taxes without benefit of services	5	33	20
"I would leave if the area was annexed"	-	24	12
We would lose our identity	25	-	12
It would change "our way of life"	5	10	7
Better candidates would be offered for city elections	-	10	5
Government would be removed from the people	10	-	5

a. Single responses omitted from table.

Table 28 strongly indicates that respondents in the two low density suburbs saw a basic conflict between their area and the core city. The fear that the city would eventually breakdown low density zoning may be attributed to the high density nature of the metropolitan area.

Paradise Valley respondents were asked why they favored incorporation over annexation into either Phoenix or Scottsdale. Both of the cities represent high density urban areas and may be considered as basically the same as respondents did not differentiate between them. As indicated by Table 29, respondents said they distrusted Phoenix and Scottsdale in that they thought the two cities would downgrade zoning and allow commercial zoning. In addition, 20 percent of the respondents said they saw a basic conflict between the interests of the city and the interests of their suburb. Fifteen percent said incorporation was favored in order to escape big city problems.

Table 29 also indicates that the motives for incorporation were twofold: first, respondents indicated that Maricopa County government did not serve to safeguard life-style values (indicated in Table 20); second, as shown in Table 29, respondents expressed the opinion that the neighboring cities would downgrade zoning. The only viable alternative was to incorporate despite the fact that respondents, presumably, could not have known how either

Table 29

Reasons for Favoring Incorporation Over Annexation to Phoenix or Scottsdale; Paradise Valley Respondents, 1969[a]

Phoenix and/or Scottsdale would downgrade zoning and allow commercial zoning	70%
There is a basic conflict of interests between the cities and Paradise Valley	20
"We did not want big city problems"	15
Paradise Valley would lose its identity	10
City government inept	5
Taxes would be higher	5
"We wanted to preserve exclusiveness"	5

a. Two respondents expressed anti-incorporation preferences; eighteen respondents were pro-incorporation.

municipality--Phoenix or Scottsdale--would have reacted to zoning problems. Thus, the act of incorporation implicitly indicates that respondents--if not residents--of Paradise Valley saw annexation as a potential threat to life-style values. Hence, the case of Paradise Valley would indicate support for the corollary (C-4) which posits the relationship between the individual resident of a low density suburb and how he views his suburb in relation to the metropolitan core area which is in mutually exclusive and conflicting images.

The rural image is found in the low density spatial patterns of the two suburbs. This would account for the numerous references in the tables presented up to this point regarding the "country life." The metropolitan image is, of course, found in the core city. Some of the salient aspects relating to the metropolitan image might include: (1) the rpaid, hectic pace of city living; (2) cramped living quarters; (3) traffic congestion; (4) slums, ghettos, and deteriorated living areas; and (5) problems involving crime. The rural image might include: (1) quiet surroundings; (2) spacious environment; (3) aesthetic environment (including wildlife, scenic views); and (4) a relatively isolated or secluded environment (privacy).

This rural-urban dichotomy may have been further accented by the general nature of relations between the two suburbs and the core cities. Respondents in both areas were asked to assess the nature of relations between their suburb and the neighboring city. In the case of the Foothills, respondents were asked to assess Foothills-Tucson relations; in the case of Paradise Valley, respondents were asked to assess relations of their suburb with Phoenix and/or Scottsdale. In the latter case, a number of respondents did make a distinction between the two cities and this is noted in Table 30.

Table 30

Attitudes Toward City-Suburb Relations;
Paradise Valley and Cataline Foothills Respondents, 1969

	Paradise	Catalina	Total
Relations were antagonistic	40%	62%	51%
Relations with Scottsdale good, with Phoenix antagonistic	35	--	17
Mean: Antagonistic			68%
Paranoic suspicion of residents toward city	5	--	2
Relations good	5	10	7
Don't know	15	--	7
Respondents for whom question did not apply	--	28	15
	100%	100%	100%

Nearly 70 percent of all respondents indicated that relations between the suburb and at least one of the core cities were antagonistic. However, antagonistic relations were most likely the result of annexation threats expressed by the core city. Thus, the manner in which annexation is proposed and the past history of annexation would seem to influence attitudes toward annexation. In both Paradise Valley and the Foothills, the history of relations of the suburbs with the neighboring core cities is characterized by antagonism involving threats of annexation and therefore threats to life-style values.

In terms of the preceding data, it would seem that strong support is indicated for the corollary: (C-4) If an individual is a resident of a suburb whose residents tend to view life-style values in terms of low density spatial patterns, then that resident will tend to view his suburb, as it relates to the metropolitan core area, in terms of mutually exclusive and conflicting images.

The Problem of Incorporation

It has been noted that Foothills area respondents showed a high level of satisfaction with Pima County government. However, it was also noted that at least one attempt to incorporate an area in the Foothills has been made (Chapter 3). It may be argued that because Foothills area respondents are not able to incorporate directly due to the six-mile limit imposed by state statute, that respondents were resigned to favoring the county government. However, in interviews with anti-annexation leaders, it was noted that this problem (the six-mile limit) did exist but that it was not insurmountable. Further, it was considered that if a nearby area outside the six-mile limit did incorporate, the remainder of the Foothills area could be annexed to this area. Thus, the possibility of indirect incorporation was, and still is, possible. It was noted in Chapter 3 that the Shadow Mountain group received outside support for the incorporation effort and that this support was financial.

There is every indication that this support came from Foothills area residents who were deeply interested in possible annexation of their area to the newly-incorporated area.

In order to determine how much support incorporation might have in the Foothills area, respondents were asked if they would favor, if possible, incorporation of their area. As indicated by Table 31, respondents were divided as to the desira-ility of incorporation. It is interesting to note that of the six respondents living outside the Foothills (shown as "Respondents for whom question did not apply" in Table 31), that three opposed incorporation, two favored, and one respondent said he did not know. From the data available, it would seem that there is support for incorporation in the Foothills area; however, this is possible only through an indirect method: by annexing to a newly incorporated area which would be considered similar to Paradise Valley in terms of attempting to preserve and maintain life-style values which are centered around land use policy.

The Concept of Community

The purpose of this section is to examine the concept of community as it related to decentralized (incorporated) suburbs and to centralized (unincorporated) suburbs. The preceding section was concerned with an analysis of

Table 31

Attitudes Toward Possible Incorporation of Catalina Foothills; Foothills Respondents, 1969

No		38%
Because sooner or later the area should be part of Tucson	14%	
Because would rather stay in the county; however, would favor incorporation over annexation	24	
	38%	
Yes		33
Because city government is incompetent and would breakdown zoning	24%	
Probably would favor incorporation	9	
	33%	
Respondents for whom question did not apply		29
		100%

respondents' attitudes toward their suburb and the metropolitan area. Support was shown for the corollary (C-4) that residents in a suburb which exhibits life-style values favoring low density spatial patterns will view their suburb in relation to the metropolitan core in terms of mutually exclusive and conflicting images; thus, there is direct conflict between the apparent interests of the suburban area versus the metropolitan area.

The metropolitan area, as it has been pointed out, represents high density living. Further, the metropolitan area is a large mass which is difficult for the individual to consider in any communal sense. In order to be better able to come to grips with his environment, the individual may prefer to identify with a homogeneous suburban area; further, the fact that this suburb possesses its own governmental authority, increases the individual's ability to identify with the suburb in which he resides.

By forming its own governmental authority, a suburb is able to legislate differences between itself and neighboring suburbs. A smaller governmental authority also gives the individual greater access to that government and allows suburban leaders to be more visible, more accessible. This will promote identification with the suburb by making it more distinctive.[4]

In the context of this logic, the following corollary will be tested:

C-5. <u>If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups and is incorporated, then the residents of that suburb will tend to view their suburb in terms of</u>

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4. Thomas R. Dye, "Certain Political Correlates of Social and Economic Differentiation Among Suburban Communities" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1961), p. 5.

community more so than the residents of an unincorporated suburb would tend to view their suburb.

In order to test this corollary, respondents in both the Foothills and in Paradise Valley were asked to state whether or not they considered their suburb a community. It should be noted that in asking the question, the interviewer was often asked to define "community." However, to avoid this problem, the respondent was asked to use his own subjective definition.

According to the corollary, if it were to be supported, respondents in Paradise Valley would indicate a greater feeling of community than respondents in the Foothills area. This is because, as posited in the corollary, Paradise Valley is an incorporated town which is able to legislate differences since it possesses its own governmental jurisdiction.

However, according to the data presented in Table 32, this corollary is not supported. Eighty-seven percent of Foothills area respondents expressed the feeling of community despite its unincorporated status. It will be noted from the table that those respondents not living in the Foothills were excluded; thus, the total universe for the Foothills is based on 15, rather than 21, responses. As expected, Paradise Valley respondents exhibited a high degree of community. In terms of the data presented, it would seem that the evidence

Table 32

Attitudes Toward Feelings of Community;
Paradise Valley, Foothills Respondents, 1969

	Paradise	Catalina[a]	Total
Yes	90%	87%	88%
No	10	13	12
	100%	100%	100%

does not support the corollary: (C-5) If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups and is incorporated, then the residents of that suburb will tend to view their suburb in terms of community more so than the residents of an unincorporated suburb would tend to view their suburb.

How might the fact that respondents in both areas tend to view their suburb in terms of community be explained? Suburban identity in high socioeconomic status suburbs may be fostered first by economic means. Thus, because of high land and housing costs, only those who may afford these costs are able to locate in the area; they, in turn, must conform to the norm as exhibited in surrounding homes.

Although this may be true, there is another factor which plays an important role. This is the developer. Developers in the Catalina Foothills perform the function of bringing utilities and water to the area. This is part of the normal act of subdividing land. However, in selling

lots, the developer in the Foothills and in Paradise Valley may include restrictions on property sold. These are generally known, in real estate terms, as "protective covenants" or deed restrictions. Thus, the developer may list numerous restrictions on the land. Some of the normal--normal in the context of high socioeconomic status suburbs--restrictions made by developers are: (1) the buyer cannot further subdivide his property; (2) all trash receptacles must be hidden; and (3) white roofs are not allowed for homes (this is in order to prevent a view from a higher level from being spoiled). This list will normally include many more restrictions. In addition to these restrictions, developers in both the Foothills and Paradise Valley demand the right to approve or disapprove architectural plans prior to building. This is to insure that aesthetic values will be maintained and that minimum floor space is provided. The latter is usually another normal restriction made by developers.

Thus, the developer is able to legislate those differences which may have been done by a governmental authority. The developer substitutes as a governmental body and it is through him that some sense of community distinction is developed, thus aiding in promoting an atmosphere of community and community identification.

The Problem of Metropolitan Governmental Integration

The purpose of this section is to consider respondents' attitudes toward metropolitan governmental integration. Attitudes toward the metropolitan problem may be linked to the two suburbs. Thus, how might residents of an incorporated suburb consider integration versus the residents of an unincorporated suburb? The following corollary will be tested:

C-6. If a suburb specializing in high socioeconomic status groups is not incorporated, the residents of that suburb will tend to view governmental integration in more favorable terms than the residents of an incorporated suburb. (However, this does not mean that the residents of the unincorporated suburb will necessarily view integration in positive terms.)

Respondents in both suburbs were asked whether they would favor a single government for the metropolitan area. The results of this question are presented in Table 33. Eighty-five percent of Paradise Valley respondents said they would not favor integration, while only 53 percent of Foothills respondents said they would not. Only five percent of Paradise Valley respondents said they would favor integration while 33 percent of Foothills respondents said they would favor integration.

Table 33

Attitudes Toward Metropolitan Governmental Integration; Paradise Valley, Foothills Respondents, 1969

	Paradise	Catalina	Total
No	85%	53%	68%
Yes	5	33	20
Don't Know	10	14	13
	100%	100%	100%

Thus, it would seem that support is indicated for the corollary that: (C-6) If a suburb specializing in high socioeconomic status groups is not incorporated, the residents of that suburb will tend to view governmental integration in more favorable terms than the residents of an incorporated suburb. Again, it must be made clear that this does not mean that the residents of the unincorporated suburb will necessarily view integration in positive terms. As was shown in the above data, a majority of Foothills respondents did not favor integration; however, this number was much lower than that for Paradise Valley respondents.

Metropolitan Problems and the Suburbs

In further analyzing suburban versus metropolitan attitudes, the question of how suburban residents consider metropolitan problems was condisered. The purpose of this

section is to examine this question. The following corollary will be tested.

C-7. If an individual is a resident of a high socioeconomic status group suburb, he will tend to view metropolitan area problems and his role in helping to solve these problems largely in terms of impotence.

In order to test this corollary, respondents in both suburbs were asked first to state what they considered to be the metropolitan area's most serious problems. Second, they were asked whether or not residents of their suburb should be concerned about these problems and, if so, how should they be concerned; and if not, why not. The results of these questions are shown in Tables 34 and 35.

As indicated by Table 34, mentioned most often were the problems of growth (keeping pace with needs), transportation, unemployment, air pollution, and law enforcement. It should be noted that the problem of unemployment is most serious in the Tucson area as reflected in the table. Also, in the Phoenix area, the problem of deterioration of the downtown area is of major concern, whereas in Tucson the problem is not as serious.

Table 35 indicates some support for the corollary. However, support is less than conclusive for only 24 percent of all respondents indicated a feeling of impotence in dealing with metropolitan problems. Those answers marked

Table 34

Attitudes Toward Most Serious Problems Confronting the Phoenix-Tucson Metropolitan Areas; Paradise Valley, Foothills Respondents[a], 1969

	Paradise	Catalina	Total
Problems of growth, keeping pace with needs	45%	28%	37%
Transportation	45	28	37
Unemployment	10	52	31
Air Pollution	25	24	24
Law Enforcement	15	33	24
Deterioration of the Central Business District	20	-	10
Planning	25	5	15
Poverty	15	5	10
Need for Competent Elected Officials in the City	-	19	10
Coordination of administrative offices	5	5	5
Education	5	5	5
Long-range water problems	5	5	5

a. Only two or more responses noted; single responses are omitted.

Table 35

Attitudes Toward Individual Response to Metropolitan Problems; Paradise Valley, Foothills Respondents, 1969

	Paradise	Catalina	Total
No, we should tend to our own problems	35%	5%	20%
Yes, we should be concerned but do not know how we can do anything	15	33	24
*Yes, we should be concerned: should work on an individual basis, as in private charity	20	57	39
*Yes, governments in the metropolitan area should work together	10	-	5
Yes, but we must first achieve sound management of our own affairs	20	1	10
*Yes, we should be concerned and we should pay our fair share	-	5	5
	100%	100%	100%
Total exhibiting concern for metropolitan problems			46%
Total exhibiting segmented disposition			54
			100%

*Indicates concern for metropolitan problems.

with an asterisk indicate some concern for the metropolitan core area and its problems. These answers number less than half of the total respondents in both areas. Those answers not indicating concern for metropolitan area problems (without asterisk) add up to 54 percent of all respondents. Thus, while some support is shown for the corollary under consideration here, there is evidence of a segmented disposition toward metropolitan problems by more than half of the respondents in the two areas.

The segmented thinking of respondents indicates a preference of respondents to remain outside the metropolitan area and therefore, a disposition toward non-involvement in metropolitan area problems. This preference, as exhibited by respondents, seems entirely consistent with the corollary (C-4) that individuals of the type of suburbs studied in this paper will tend to view their suburb, as it relates to the metropolitan core area, in terms of mutually exclusive and conflicting images. The segmented thinking, of course, has implications for the entire problem of governmental proliferation. It may be assumed that the greater the degree of segmented thinking exhibited by residents of a given suburb, the chances are proportionately decreased for the residents of that suburb to accept governmental integration.

Conclusion

This chapter's major conclusions are: (1) strong support has been shown for the hypothesis that an unincorporated suburb which possesses sufficient resources may exert local control through group pressure; (2) support was shown for the corollary that residents of the types of suburbs considered in this paper--those which hold to low density living as the aegis of life-style values--will tend to consider thier suburb, as it relates to the metropolitan core area, in terms of mutually exclusive and conflicting images; (3) support was also shown for the corollary that residents of an unincorporated suburb will tend to consider governmental integration in more favorable terms than the residents of an incorporated suburb. Also, (4) little support was shown for the corollary that residents of the type of suburb studied will tend to consider metropolitan area problems in terms of impotence; however, evidence was presented which indicated a strong tendency toward segmented thinking among respondents in both areas which has serious implications for governmental integration. Further, (5) no support was shown for the corollary that the residents of an incorporated suburb will tend to consider their suburb in terms of community more so than the residents of an unincorporated suburb; the notion of community was, instead, considered to be fostered by economic barriers and by the

developer who imposes numerous restrictions and requirements which further a communal sense.

CHAPTER 6

SOME CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING LIFE-STYLE THEORY FOR METROPOLITAN AND SUBURBAN ANALYSIS

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the implications of life-style as a theoretical approach to metropolitan analysis. In this examination, urban scholar Oliver P. Williams' life-style theory will be briefly recounted. Second, the findings of this case study will be briefly reviewed as they relate to life-style theory. Third, an examination of the problems and benefits associated with this orientation will be made.

Williams: Life-Style Theory

Life-style values, as has been pointed out elsewhere in this study, encompass a broad range of factors including social, economic, cultural, and political variables. The first three variables seem to influence the latter. According to Williams, one of the most important tactics used by suburbs is to gather in homogeneous groups. In this manner, dissent may be minimized while consensus and agreement are maximized. Further, this strategy will lead to a decentralized metropolitan governmental pattern for, in this manner.

suburbs may better protect and maintain life-style values. In these terms, then, local control means the ability of the suburb to preserve, maintain, and promote life-style values.

Case Study Findings

This hypothesis--that suburbs will proliferate in order to maintain and preserve life-style values--was supported in the case of Paradise Valley. At this point, it will be useful to restate those hypotheses that were supported in this study. Support was shown for the following hypotheses and corollaries:

H-1. If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, then the political behavior of its residents will be influenced primarily by social values.

H-2. If a specializing suburb is unincorporated and possesses sufficient resources, then it is possible for that suburb to exert local control through politically-active groups to approximately the same extent as it is for an incorporated suburb to exert local control.

C-1. If a suburb's political behavior is influenced primarily by social values, then economic values will be secondary.

C-2. If a suburb's political behavior is influenced primarily by social values and that suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, then the nature of social values influencing that suburb will tend to center around

land use policy. In terms of this study, land use policy centered around the desire, exhibited both by municipal policy and by respondents, for low density living.

C-4. If an individual is a resident of a suburb whose residents tend to view life-style values in terms of low density spatial patterns, then that resident will tend to view his suburb, as it relates to the metropolitan core area, in terms of mutually exclusive and conflicting images.

C-6. If a suburb specializing in high socioeconomic status groups is not incorporated, the residents of that suburb will tend to view governmental integration in more favorable terms than the residents of an incorporated suburb. (However, as it was noted in this study, this did not mean that the residents of the unincorporated suburb necessarily viewed integration in positive terms.)

Partial support was shown for the following corollary:

C-3. If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, the concern for life-style values will not necessarily reflect a corresponding concern for municipal-type services.

Two corollaries tested in this paper did not appear to be supported or showed little support:

C-5. If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups and is incorporated, then the residents of

that suburb will tend to view their suburb in terms of community more so than the residents of an unincorporated suburb would tend to view their suburb. In testing this corollary, it was found that despite whether or not the suburb was incorporated, a high degree of community feeling existed in both Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills. The evidence showed, instead, that economic barriers and the efforts of the developer--through restrictions established by him--may be enough to develop feelings of community. Thus, C-5 may be restated in the following manner:

C-5 (restated). If a suburb specializes in high socioeconomic status groups, a sense of community may be developed among its residents through economic barriers and through the efforts of developers who establish rules which aid in promoting a sense of community.

Little support was shown for the following corollary:

C-7. If an individual is a resident of a high socioeconomic status group suburb, he will tend to view metropolitan area problems and his role in helping to solve these problems largely in terms of impotence. However, it was demonstrated that respondents in both suburbs exhibited a high degree of segmented thinking which has implications for governmental integration: that this segmented disposition will have to be obviated if reformers desire integration of the metropolitan community.

It is now possible to discuss the life-style theory in the context of the findings of this study.

Life-Style

The life-style theory poses some problems for metropolitan analysis. It has been noted that life-style is a catholic variable encompassing a wide range of sub-variables. Each suburb possesses some life-style values which may not be apparent in view of the wide range of variables which must be considered.

Life-styles will vary from suburb to suburb to suburb. The importance of life-style for the urban analyst is that the unique properties of each suburb's life-style will hold implications for the political environment and behavior of that suburb. Thus, the urban political scientist will probably not be interested in the fact that a suburb's life-style includes the norm of displaying one's martini glass as he walks across the street. This is more the domain of the sociologist. However, the political scientist will be interested if the same individual consistently attends zoning commission meetings and attempts to influence the outcomes of land use policy decisions for the reason that he wants to maintain low density spatial patterns. The point is that the problem of what is relevant, both in the case of the individual suburb and how it varies from other suburbs, may be difficult to solve in terms of life-style

theory. Thus, it should be clear that the political scientist must come to terms with the problem of measuring and interpreting the life-style values of any suburban area studied.

One answer to the problem of sifting relevant life-style values out of the complex network of variables involved, is to be able to assign certain relevant life-style values to certain types of suburbs. This study proceeded on the assumption that suburbs characterized by upper socioeconomic status groups differed from middle and lower income suburbs. Thus, if further research will yield some generalizations that may be made regarding life-style values in upper, middle, and lower income group suburbs, the value of this theory would be greatly enhanced.

If such a series of generalizations may be made, the implications for the problem of metropolitan governmental integration would be that this problem could be considered in terms of life-style values empirically discovered. In Chapter 1, it was pointed out that arguments for and against metropolitan political integration have not been made in an empirical context. Such a set of generalizations regarding life-style values would lend greater understanding of the so-called metropolitan problem.

In terms of the present research, however, one may question whether the desire to maintain low density spatial

patterns is a life-style value which may be attributed to all high socioeconomic status group suburbs. Also, if familism is a life-style value which may be assigned to middle class suburbs, what are the implications of this life-style value for local control? Perhaps the answer to this question lies in the nature of the suburb's school system. Williams has indicated that life-style values will reflect concern for issues of land use policy and education.[1] However, it seems the relevance of life-style values for understanding the behavior of middle and lower status suburbs is a serious question until further research yields answers.

In summary, the problems associated with life-style theory in metropolitan analysis are: (1) the problem of specifically identifying relevant life-style values in a given suburb; (2) the problem of defining the relationship of the large number of variables encompassed in life-style theory, and (3) the problem of eventually developing generalizations regarding the association of life-style values to certain types of suburbs, however classed or typed.

These are problems which Williams has not explained or considered in his life-style theory. The advantages of life-style theory as an orientation to metropolitan research is, on the other hand, explicit. Ironically, the

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1. Williams, p. 306.

advantages of life-style theory are found in its problems, for as a variable which includes a wide range of sub-variables, it is necessary to consider such a universal approach. However, the methods for determining life-style values are never considered by Williams. Nor are the total implications of life-style theory for metropolitan analysis.

Local Control

Throughout this paper, the relationship between life-style values and local control has been postulated: suburbs will tend to proliferate to form their own governmental authority in order to better preserve and maintain life-style values. Thus, the decentralized nature of the metropolitan governmental structure results.

This paper has posited, and shown support for, the hypothesis that it is possible for a homogeneous suburb to exercise local control and thereby preserve and maintain life-style values without resort to the formation of its own governmental authority. This phenomenon is not considered by Williams in his life-style theory either as to the possibility of this happening or how it may occur.

One of the most important aspects of urban political activity ignored by most political scientists, has been the informal organization. The tendency has been to concentrate upon formal governmental structure and to ignore whatever

informal quasi-governmental organizations that may exist in the metropolitan area.

It was clearly shown in this case study that the homeowners associations of both Paradise Valley and the Catalina Foothills play important, if not the most important, roles in approaching the problem of local control. It was shown in the case of the Catalina Foothills that residents, through the use of the structure of the homeowners association, were able to influence 91 percent of the decisions regarding land use policy; or, more correctly, 91 percent of the decisions were what one would expect Foothills area residents to consider in favor of residents. This serves as strong evidence that the influence of informal quasi-political organizations cannot be ignored in analyzing suburban or metropolitan behavior.

The role of the developer in relation to both life-style values and local control is also important. The role of the developer will obviously differ according to region. For example, the eastern United States where development has reached a high level, the developer may not be as influential as in the west where land development is an active, many times speculative, business. However, it was demonstrated in this paper that the developer was instrumental in preserving and maintaining life-style values by exercising authority in the form of deed restrictions and insisting

upon the right of approval or disapproval of architectural plans for homebuilding. In this manner, the developer assumes the authority normally alloted to public authorities.

The role of group pressure in exerting local control is not considered by Williams. Nor is the role of the developer considered. It is clear that further research is necessary in order to portray a complete understanding of both life-style values and local control.

Further Research

A valuable addition to this research would have been the consideration of similar types of neighborhoods within the jurisdiction of the metropolitan core city. Thus, it would have been possible to consider the degree of control exercised by the neighborhood in relation to the metropolitan core city as the primary governmental authority. In such an examination, it would have been possible to make comparisons between the degree of control exercised by the suburbs considered in this study. These observations could have been made within the context of the life-style value of the preference for low density living.

In such an expanded version of this study, it would have been possible to discern some of the consequences of a suburb's integration into the metropolitan core area. Perhaps one result of the suburb's integration would be the fact that the suburb's life-style does not actually become

seriously altered. This would directly conflict with what Paradise Valley and Foothills respondents thought would result in the event of their annexation by the metropolitan core city.

In any case, it should be clear that the life-style theory offers a wide range of possibilities for metropolitan and suburban area research. It is one of the few existing theories regarding the political behavior of the metropolitan area. Further research is necessary if the ultimate potential of the theory is to be realized.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE, PARADISE VALLEY

1. How do you feel about living in Paradise Valley?

2. What do you think are the major differences between living in Paradise Valley and living in either Phoenix or Scottsdale?

3. Do you consider the area in which you live a community? Why?

4. What do you think are the most important things that the residents of Paradise Valley should be most concerned about?

5. What do you think of the services currently being provided in your community?

6. What types of issues, do you feel, would be the most likely to arouse the residents of your area?

7. Would you favor a large shopping center for the Paradise Valley area? Reasons?

8. What do you consider to be among the most serious problems confronting the Phoenix metropolitan area?

9. Do you feel that Paradise Valley should be concerned about these problems? If not, why? If so, how?

10. What were your reasons in favoring or opposing incorporation for Paradise Valley?

11. Why do you think that after two previous failures, the third attempt to incorporate Paradise Valley was successful?

12. Why do you feel that the residents of Paradise Valley favored incorporation over annexation into (1) Phoenix, (2) Scottsdale?

13. Do you feel that there were any disadvantages in incorporation?

14. What do you think would be different about Paradise Valley if it had not incorporated by had been annexed by (1) Phoenix, (2) Scottsdale?

15. What do you feel would have been the result of Paradise Valley remaining in the county?

16. What do you think of Paradise Valley's relations with Maricopa County before incorporation?

17. What do you think of Paradise Valley's relations with (1) Phoenix and (2) Scottsdale before incorporation?

18. What do you think of the government of Paradise Valley and its ability today to conduct its affairs?

19. How would you say this compares with (1) Phoenix or (2) Scottsdale?

20. Which groups, do you feel, opposed incorporation? Why?

21. Which groups, would you say, generally favored incorporation? Why?

22. What influence do you feel developers have had in Paradise Valley?

23. What are your feelings concerning the manner in which Paradise Valley has been developed?

24. What are your feelings concerning the tax rate in Paradise Valley?

25. Who would you consider some of the principle leaders in (1) opposing and (2) favoring incorporation?

26. Would you favor a single government for all of the Phoenix metropolitan area?

27. Do you have anything you would like to add?

Name_____

Age_____

Occupation_____(Husband's)_____

Have you ever held a publicly elected office?_____

Education (degrees?)_____

How long have you lived in Paradise Valley?_____

How long have you lived in the general area (Arizona)?_____

From where did you move?_____

How did you get involved in the incorporation issue?

What was your role in incorporation?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE, CATALINA FOOTHILLS

1. How do you feel about living in the Catalina Foothills area?

2. What do you think are the major differences between living in the Foothills area and living in Tucson?

3. Do you consider the area in which you live a community? Why?

4. What do you think are the most important things that the residents of the Foothills area should be concerned about?

5. What do you think of the services currently being provided to your community?

6. What types of issues, do you feel, would be the most likely to arouse the residents of your area?

7. Would you favor a large shopping center for the Foothills area? Reasons?

8. What do you consider to be among the most serious problems confronting the Tucson metropolitan area?

9. Do you feel that the Foothills area should be concerned about these problems? If not, why? If so, how and what should they do?

10. What do you think of the various annexation proposals that have been made by the City of Tucson? Which ones? Why?

11. What do you feel is the most important function performed by the county in relation to the Foothills area?

12. What do you think of the county's relations with the Foothills area?

13. Are you familiar with any of the county's zoning decisions regarding the Foothills area? If so, what do you think of them?

14. Are you familiar with the Foothills Area Plan? If so, do you have any feelings about it?

15. How do you feel about the Foothills' relations with the City of Tucson? (responsibility, obligation?)

16. What do you think would be the result of the city's annexation of the Foothills area? What would this mean to you?

17. Do you feel that you have more confidence in the Mayor and Council or the Pima County Board of Supervisors?

18. If possible, would you favor incorporation for the Foothills area? Why?

19. What influence do you feel developers have had upon the Foothills area?

20. What are your feelings concerning the manner in which the Foothills has been developed?

21. How do you feel about the tax rate in the Foothills area?

22. Would you favor a single government for all of the Tucson metropolitan area?

23. Do you have anything you would like to add?

Name_____

Age_____

Occupation_____(Husband's)_____

Have you ever held a publicly elected office?_____

Education (degrees?)_____

How long have you lived in the Foothills area?_____

How long have you lived in the general area (Arizona)?_____

From where did you move?_____

How did you get involved in the annexation issue?

What was your role in anti-annexation?

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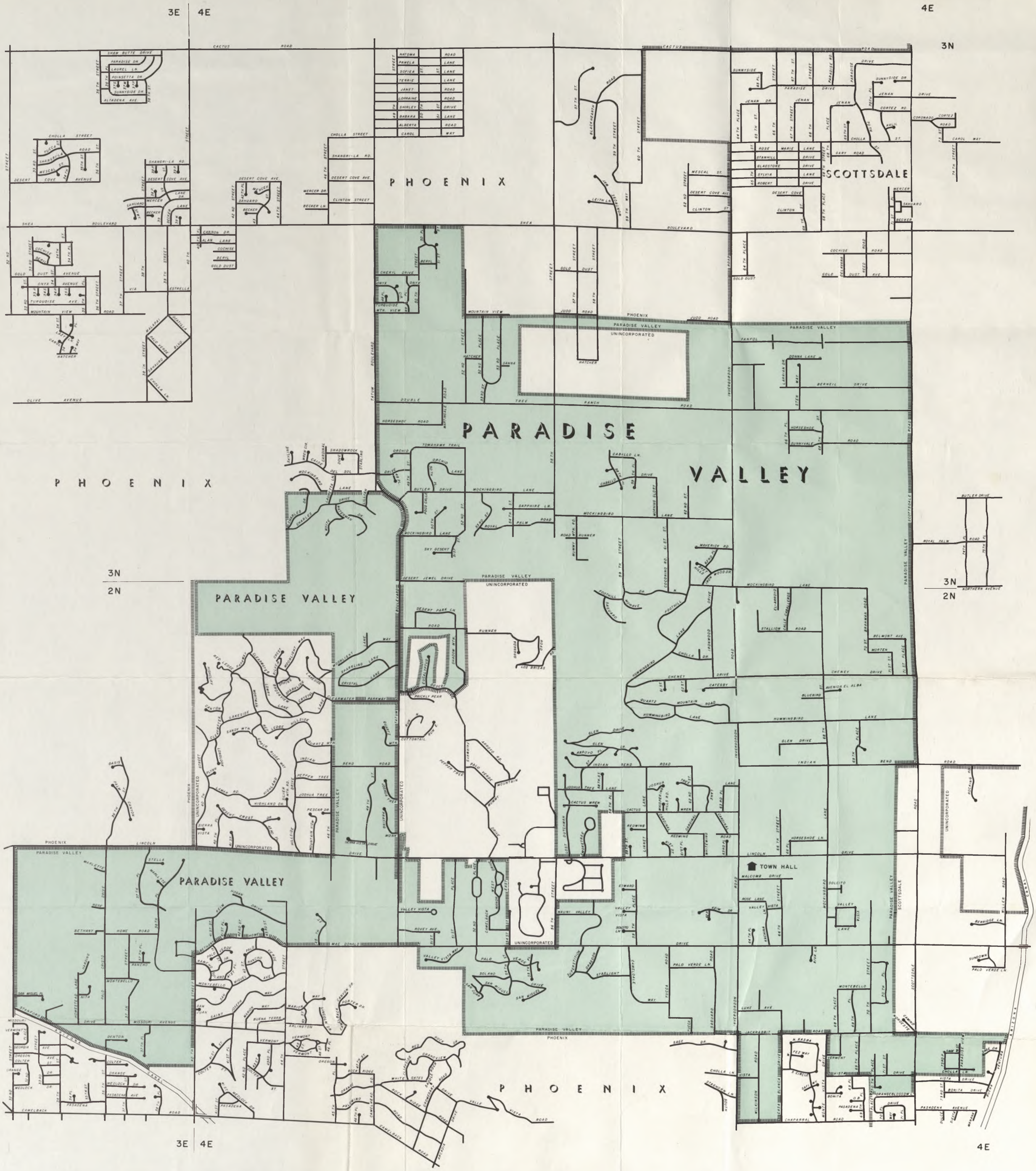
2 maps



THE TOWN OF PARADISE VALLEY

FIGURE 4

TOWN HALL
6325 N. INVERGORDON ROAD

GRAPHIC SCALE IN FEET
800 0 800 1600 2400

MAP DRAWN BY:
MARICOPA COUNTY PLANNING DEPT.
JUNE 1, 1965 G.L.B.
JULY 24, 1968 G.L.B.

LEGEND

SR EXISTING ZONING

CR-1 PROPOSED ZONING

VILLAGE CENTER:

A GROUP OF SHOPPING, SERVICE, AND RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES:

1. CONVENIENCE SHOPPING
2. APARTMENT UNITS WITH ATTENDANT RESTAURANTS & OTHER SERVICE FACILITIES.
3. RECREATIONAL AREAS FOR JOINT USE OF RESIDENTS WITHIN VILLAGE CENTER TO INCLUDE SWIMMING POOLS, PITCH & PUTT COURSES, TENNIS COURTS, ETC.

SHOPPING CENTER

SHOPPING CENTERS PROVIDE FOR THE SALE OF RETAIL GOODS, DAILY LIVING NEEDS, AND FOODS, DRUGS, SUNDRIES AND PERSONAL SERVICES.

NOTE: A MAXIMUM OF 15 ACRES OF CB-1 AND 15 ACRES OF TR IN EACH QUADRANT DEFINED BY THE INTERSECTION OF TWO MAJOR STREETS AND ROUTES FOR SECTION LINES AT T INTERSECTIONS. AN OWNER OR OWNERS MAY COMBINE THEIR PROPORTIONATE SHARE FOR FLEXIBILITY PROVIDED THAT GROSS AREA AT ANY PRINCIPAL INTERSECTION AS SHOWN ON MASTER PLAN, NOT TO EXCEED 60 ACRES OF CB-1 AND 60 ACRES OF TR.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL SITE

JR. HIGH SCHOOL SITE

HIGH SCHOOL SITE

CITY-COUNTY PLANNING DEPT.
A.M. FAURE DIRECTOR

0 1/2 1 mi.

CATALINA SCHOOL DISTRICT

AMPHITHEATER SCHOOL DISTRICT

Area Covered By Colonia Taxco Neighborhood Plan C13-61-9

SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 1

EXISTING CATALINA ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

RECOMENDED IN 1958-60 SCHOOL BLDG. PLAN

BEING AN AMENDMENT OF THE COUNTY PLAN, SHOWING PROPOSED ZONING AND LOCATION OF COMMUNITY FACILITIES RECOMENDED TO THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS FOR OFFICIAL ACTION IN WHOLE OR IN PART, ON CONDITION THAT THE ZONING SHALL BE MADE EFFECTIVE ONLY AFTER:

1. THIS PLAN IS ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS AS PRESENTED OR AS IT MAY BE AMENDED,
2. AN ACCEPTABLE SUBDIVISION PLAT CONFORMING TO THE COUNTY PLAN SO ADOPTED SHALL HAVE BEEN REVIEWED BY THE COMMISSION AND APPROVED BY THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS FOR ANY PART OF THE AREA COVERED BY THE PLAT.

ADOPTED BY THE PLANNING AND ZONING COMMISSION THIS 29TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER 1959
AMENDED THIS 28th DAY OF APRIL 1964

James S. Maguire 6-25-64
Executive Secretary Date

ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, EXCLUDING SEC 7, S½ and E½ of NE¼ SEC 6, T13S R14E, PIMA COUNTY ARIZONA THIS 20TH DAY OF OCTOBER 1959
AMENDED THIS 12th DAY OF MAY, 1964

Ellen B. Hanna 6/25/64
Clerk of the Board Date

C13-59-4

FIGURE 3 CATALINA FOOTHILLS AREA PLAN
MASTER PLAN FOR COMMUNITY FACILITIES

TUCSON, PIMA COUNTY

NOTE: ON RECOMMENDATION OF THE COUNTY PLANNING AND ZONING COMMISSION ON APRIL 28, 1964 AND APPROVED BY THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS ON MAY 19, 1964 SHOPPING CENTER SYMBOL REMOVED FROM LOCATION AT RIVER ROAD AND SABINO CANYON ROAD.

CITY-COUNTY PLANNING DEPT. C13-59-4 10/16/59 ARG ① AMENDED (P/Z COMM-12-27-62)(B/S-1-16-62) ② AMENDED (P/Z COMM-10-29-63)(B/S-12-3-63) AMENDED (11-17-64) AMENDED (3-16-65) AMENDED 2-21-66 ; AMENDED 5-17-66 ; AMENDED (4-30-68)

Catalina Foothills Area Plan