SIMCOE: SMALL-TOWN ONTARIO'S RESPONSE

TO EXTRA-COMMUNITY CHANGE

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TO EXTRA-COMMUNITY CHANGE

By

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the community power structure in the town of
Simcoe. In the past ten years, the town of Simcoe has experienced
extensive pressures on its social structure due to the extra-community
influences of mass industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization.
Previous studies of community power structures reveal that when communi-
ties experience extra-community change the elite structure is factional-
ized. Community elites focus on conflict issues in an effort to gain
access to the new resources of power or strengthen their current power
positions. These factions are usually split in terms of localite-
cosmopolitan orientation or oldtimer-newcomer differences. This study
finds that the Simcoe respondents do not differ significantly in their
extra-community orientation or their social characteristics. Rather, it
is the elite's social network ties that determines the faction to which
he/she belongs and the way in which he/she can be seen to support an
issue.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of the nature of elite structure in the
community of Simcoe. The town of Simcoe is particularly interesting
sociologically because of the structural changes that have been
occurring in the community during the past few years. Situated in the
midst of a prime agricultural district which is slowly being trans-
formed into a major industrial complex, Simcoe is an excellent example
of the impact of social change. The transformation of the district
from an agricultural to an industrial economy has also greatly affected
the agriculturally-oriented population of the area. This study examines
the impact that this agricultural-industrial transition has had upon the
elite structure of the town.

Simcoe has had a long and distinguished history and is one of
the oldest communities in Southern Ontario. The community was first
settled in 1795 when a United Empire Loyalist named Aaron Culver was
granted permission by General John Graves Simcoe to build a grist mill
at the headwaters of the Lynn River. This mill soon became the site of
a small trading-post for settlers moving into the fertile farming
district. As more settlers arrived, the trading-post grew larger.
"Foundries, gristmills, distilleries, carriage works, blacksmith shops,
grocery stores and clothing shops were established to supply the needs
of the surrounding farm community" (Pond, 1978: viii). More stores
and businesses were gradually added until today that small trading-post
has become the largest community in its district. Many of the elites
of Simcoe are direct descendants of these pioneer settlers, merchants

and businessmen who first came to the area in the late seventeenth and
early eighteenth centuries.

Simcoe has become prosperous primarily because it has estab-
lished itself through the generations as the major supplier and pro-
cessor of the agricultural goods that sustain the local farm community.
The district of Norfolk in which Simcoe is located has always been a
rich agricultural region highly noted for its canning crops such as
peas and corn, its apples and small fruits and its dairy and mixed
farming. In the past four decades, the area has also become a leading
producer of tobacco crops. In fact, until just a few years ago, the
largest industries in the area, apart from those based on agriculture,
were the Electric Reduction Company of Canada at Port Maitland (45 miles
from Simcoe) and the production of gypsum and building supplies in
Haldimand (50 miles from Simcoe). As a result, Simcoe's main function
as a community has always been that of a service centre for the out-
lying rural population of the agricultural district.

In the past few years, however, Simcoe has experienced a
radical transformation of its social structure due to the immediate
influence of industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization. In
1968, the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco) purchased 6,600 acres of
land near the small town of Nanticoke just 15 miles south-east of
Simcoe. This purchase, in turn, stimulated further industrial develop-
ment as the Dominion Foundries and Steel Company (Dofasco) and Ontario
Hydro built plants near the Stelco industrial park. As a consequence
of this industrial development, the Ontario Provincial Government
decided to "regionalize" the area by joining the former counties of

Haldimand and Norfolk into one regional district thereby changing the former 28 municipalities into 6 new municipal districts "in order to cope with the radically and rapidly changing conditions" that the industrialization process of Nanticoke would entail (Simcoe Reformer, December 28, 1979). In addition, the provincial government has begun to build a "new city" of Townsend to be the "new urban centre to accommodate a projected population increase of 250,000 by the end of the century". Townsend is situated just 11 miles north of the town of Simcoe (Simcoe Reformer, December 28, 1979). This rapid industrialization and urbanization of the Haldimand-Norfolk district has had enormous repercussions for the communities in its vicinity.

The town of Simcoe is one of these communities. In the past decade the people of Simcoe have been exposed to a series of changes in both their physical and social environment. Much of the farmland in the Simcoe area, for example, has been purchased for industrial and residential development and three new suburbs have been built in the town itself. The implementation of regional government has also resulted in an extension of the town's boundaries to include twice the area that it had formerly presided over. In addition, industry is gradually replacing agriculture as the major employer and source of income. The powers of Simcoe town council have been diluted by the higher authority of the Regional council of Haldimand-Norfolk. Many new people have moved into the community bringing with them new ideas and different viewpoints. All of these changes have been produced primarily as a result of the rapid industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization of the rural counties of Haldimand and Norfolk.

Although Simcoe, like most North American communities, would normally be exposed to all of these social pressures, the presence of Stelco and its dominance over the Nanticoke area has intensified the stresses placed on the social structure of the town. If it is to maintain its traditional identity, the community of Simcoe must react quickly and sensibly to the radical changes that the presence of Stelco, Townsend and regional government present. Many of these reactions are highly dependent upon the responses of the leaders of the community. An analysis of the elite structure in Simcoe therefore enables us to examine the formation of any new community social structures that are developing in order to cope with the social pressures that rapid industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization produce. For this reason, the main focus of this study is the way in which this industrial-agricultural transition of Haldimand-Norfolk has affected the elite structure in the community of Simcoe.

This study concentrates on the elite structure of Simcoe for various reasons. First, Simcoe has a long history of good leadership and Simconians take great pride in the accomplishments of their leaders. As a result, one would expect that the leaders of Simcoe will feel an obligation to become involved in the changes that are taking place in the community. Secondly, the elite have a strong vested interest in the town as most of them own property and businesses in Simcoe, occupy positions of authority, and have ancestral ties to the area. Because of this, they will probably be more aware of the issues that arise in town and are very likely to become involved in the changes that are occurring in the community. Thirdly, many of the new people moving

into Simcoe are the "elite" of the new industries, that is, they are
the managers, personnel representatives and public relations staff of
Stelco, Hydro and Texaco. An examination of the elite structure of
Simcoe should therefore demonstrate how these people have integrated
into the community. Finally, this study shall test the hypothesis
that,

> The introduction into the local community of the
> institutions and influence of national-urban culture
> produced a "fragmentation of local normative order"
> or a disruption of consensual expectations concerning
> the norms prescribed by existing power arrangements.
> As expectations are altered and interests are differ-
> entiated, new resources are exploited for the creation
> of competing power groups. (Walton, 1974, 369)

This study will emphasize these four points. Chapter I gives
an overview of Simcoe, its physical and demographic characteristics,
its historical background and the general ideology of the community.
Chapter II discusses the changes that are occurring in the community
with specific reference to Stelco, Townsend and regional government.
Chapter III first presents a review of community theory and the results
of previous research done in the area of community study, while Part II
of that chapter reviews much of the literature on elite theory.
Chapter IV is the methodology chapter. It contains a review of the
methodology used by such elite theorists as Robert Dahl, Floyd Hunter
and Robert Presthus and outlines the relationship between the theory
and research methods used in this study. Chapter V discusses the elite
structure of Simcoe, its demographic characteristics and its general
role in the community. Chapter VI examines the network structure of
the Simcoe elites while Chapter VII discusses the role that the elites

have played in the changes that have occurred in the Simcoe community. Chapter VIII is a general conclusion of the results and findings of this research together with a discussion of the implications of our findings and their contribution to our knowledge of how communities operate.

It should be noted here that because this study concentrates on the elite structure in Simcoe that the majority of the respondents are members of that sector of the population. This presentation is a presentation of Simcoe as the elites in Simcoe view their community and the changes that have occurred as a result of the new influences of Nanticoke, Townsend and regionalization. In consequence, the sample is biased in that we have obtained the opinions and descriptions of a privileged group who tend to be very positive in their attitudes toward the community. Although their views might not be shared entirely by the remainder of the community, our specific interest in leadership and the community power structure will, by definition, generally manifest such inconsistencies.

CHAPTER I - SIMCOE: "AN ISLAND OF OLD UPPER CANADA"

Location

The town of Simcoe is situated at the mouth of the Lynn River just six miles north of Lake Erie in the south-western part of Ontario known as the Regional Municipality of Haldimand-Norfolk. The district of Haldimand-Norfolk covers about 1,100 square miles of gentle-sloping, fertile farmland on the north shore of Lake Erie south and southwest of Hamilton. It is mainly an agricultural region forming a small triangle of rural habitation surrounded by the large urban centres of St. Catharines, Niagara Falls and Welland to the east, Hamilton, Brantford and Kitchener-Waterloo-Cambridge to the north, and London to the west. Simcoe, the largest urban community in the Haldimand-Norfolk district, is located in the mid-section of this triangle (See Map I).

Historical Background

The town of Simcoe is one of the first settlements in Southern Ontario. This factor is of great import to the study of the community as it is quite impossible to discuss Simcoe independently of its ancestral roots. The character of the town, its physical and social structure, have all been greatly influenced by the fact that it was founded after the American Revolution in 1776 when the United Empire Loyalists settled in the Lake Erie area of Upper Canada. It is this historical heritage combined with the citizens' pride in the community's early years which gives the local inhabitants a sense of cohesion and

Map I

SIMCOE

GUELPH — 86 kilometres
KITCHENER — 78 kilometres
TORONTO — 147 kilometres
WOODSTOCK — 69 kilometres
BRANTFORD — 40 kilometres
HAMILTON — 58 kilometres
LONDON — 94 kilometres
NIAGARA FALLS — 137 kilometres
BUFFALO — 120 kilometres
WINDSOR — 270 kilometres
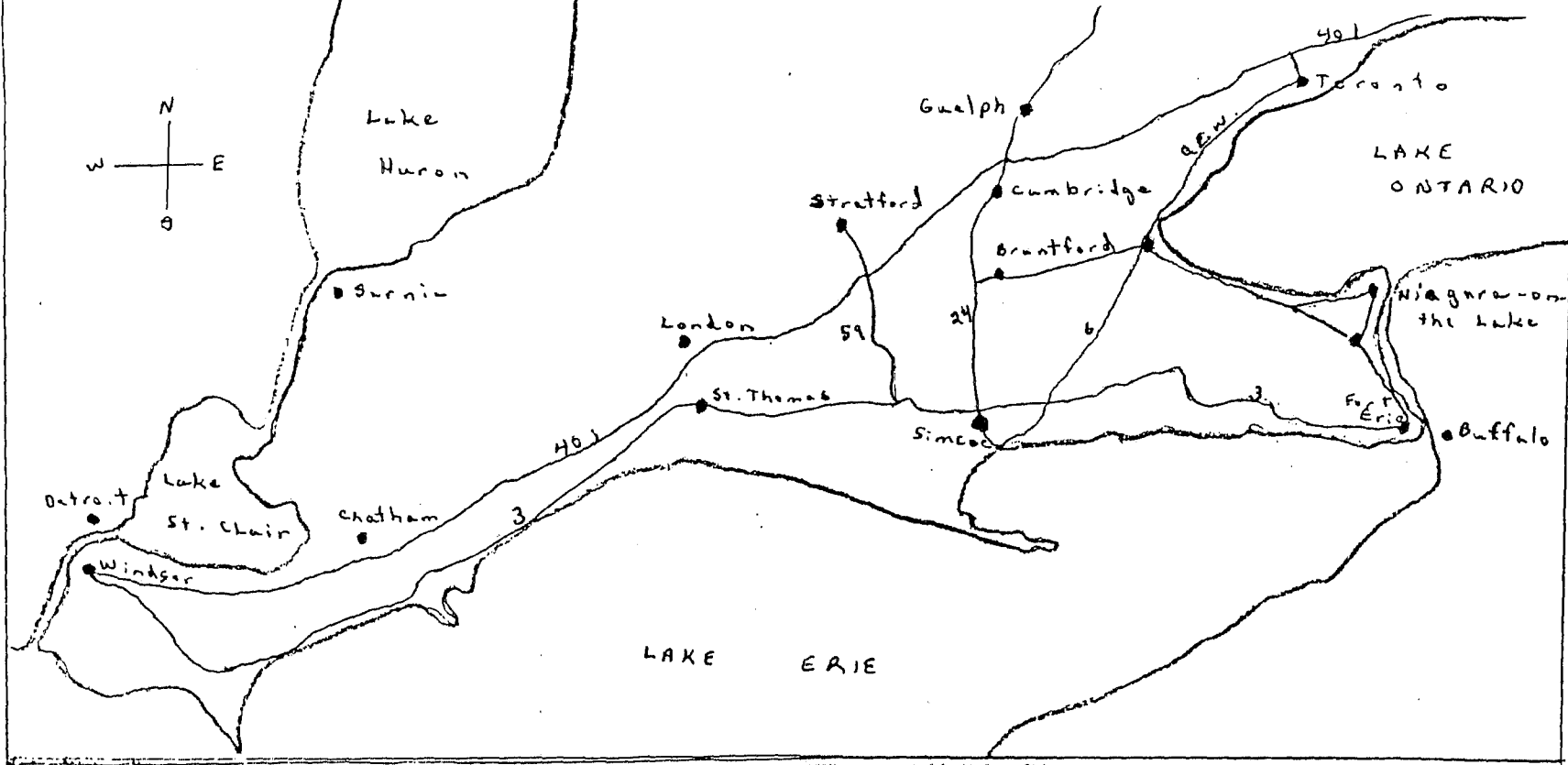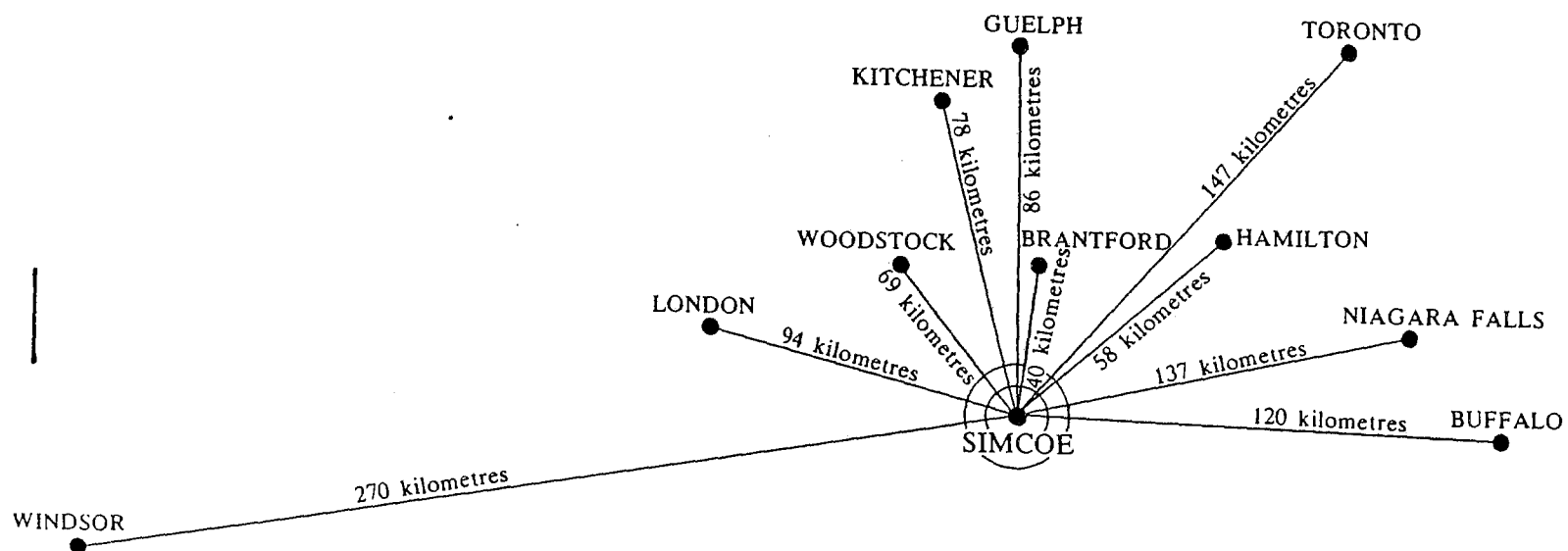
common interest. It is something in which every member of the community can share and delight. It is a part of the town's ethos, its culture and common ideology. It is a symbol of their unity as a community set apart from others, safe in the knowledge that they are "a unique people living in a unique community unlike all others" (Informant No. 3).

Most members of Simcoe know its history. Few I met fail to speak of it. It is claimed, for example, that in 1795, General John Graves Simcoe, for whom the town was ultimately named, bivouacked with his troops in what is presently Lynnwood Park, Simcoe. It is at this site that Governor Simcoe was petitioned by Aaron Culver, a United Empire Loyalist settler, for permission to build a grist mill at the headwaters of the Lynn River. Governor Simcoe, it seems was "very impressed with Mrs. Culver's loaves of wheaten bread" and granted Culver's petition "upon condition of having a loaf of wheaten bread for the King's Governor so often as he passed between York and Long Point" (Pearce, 1973: 74). It is this initial gristmill that formed the corner stone of what is today the municipality of Simcoe, Ontario.

Although a few houses and families settled near Culver's mill, it was not until 1829 that the site began to show any significant growth. This was the year that Duncan Campbell, the owner of the general store, obtained permission from the government of Upper Canada to set up a post office in his establishment. Farmers who came to the post office for their mail began to frequent Campbell's General Store for their necessary supplies. It was not long before the small outpost assumed the status as the major trading centre for the entire area. New trades-people were attracted to the site by the promise of this local farm

business. A blacksmith shop, a carriage works, a foundry, a tannery and a distillery were quickly built to furnish the farmers' other needs. Churches and schools that were erected to accommodate the businessmen's families also served the outlying farm population. It was on the basis of farm trade that the foundation of the community of Simcoe was set.

Yet this farm business would not have enriched the community of Simcoe if the settlers had not themselves profited from the rural environment that "provided" for the farmer and his family. Unlike many other settlers in Canada, the farmers who came to this district found that the land was fertile and the climate fair. There was plenty of water for farming, trees for building and game for hunting. The fruits and vegetables that were planted survived easily. Crop failure was limited and pastureland was plentiful. Lake Erie provided easy transportation and access to the markets of Toronto, Niagara and the United States which were all eager to purchase the excellent timber available from the Norfolk woods. The citizens of Simcoe were able to profit substantially as the marketers of this agricultural abundance.

This lucrative farm market provided "all the natural requisites for the building of a prosperous community" (Brown, 1929: 22). As more settlers came to the area to farm, more stores and businesses were added to the millsite. Clothing stores, grocery shops, feed and grain mills were set up. In 1837, the community received the added distinction of being appointed the "Talbot County Seat" and with it the additional facilities required by such government responsibilities. A jail and courthouse were promptly erected. There was an influx of a new

population of professionals who were concerned with the duties essential
to these activities. More houses, churches, schoolrooms and businesses
were built to accommodate this new increase of population. By 1878,
when the population had grown to over 2,000, the millsite was incorpor-
ated into a town. By the celebration of its one hundredth anniversary
of the opening of Campbell's post office, Simcoe had become the
"thriving centre of a rich agricultural district" complete with three
railways, two provincial highways, paved roads, hydro, sewage disposal,
a hospital, a public library, four schools and five churches (Brown,
1929: 80). Today, the community claims a growth rate of 19 per cent
per decade, a per capita income 7 per cent above the national average,
and market sales which are 109 per cent above the national average.
Twelve schools, 17 churches and 3,550 occupied dwellings accommodate
its current population of 14, 189. There are 140 retail stores, 28
manufacturing industries, 5 banks, 3 trust companies, a daily newspaper
and a local radio station (Census Canada, 1976; Municipal Profile,
1978). Thus, over the years, Simcoe has maintained a pattern of slow
and steady development that has meant continued growth and prosperity
for the community.

Ideology

The people of Simcoe see this pattern of continued growth and
posterity as a reflection of their ancestral roots. Simconians believe
that if it had not been for the strength and dedication of their pioneer
forefathers, the town would have deteriorated in the same manner as that

of some of the other settlements in the area. Instead, the town fathers

made Simcoe the "leading community in the county". For years it had all

the major facilities and amenities in the area. It had "the only post

office, the only department store and the only high school in the area".

It was the "county town", the "seat of justice" and the "centre of all

municipal life". The Norfolk Golf and Country Club, for example, is

"the oldest in point of continuous service in the Dominion of Canada".

The Norfolk Agricultural Society was established in Simcoe in 1844 and

still holds its annual fair at the Simcoe Fairgrounds in the south end

of town. The War Memorial Carillon Tower, erected in remembrance of

all Norfolk soldiers who were killed in action in the First and Second

World Wars, stands at the edge of the Lynn River and rings its bells as

a reminder of the "glory of Simcoe's past". The Eva Brook Donly Museum

is the former private home of one of Simcoe's leading citizens who left

it to the town when she died. The "Old Court House", restored to "all

its former splendor", has become Simcoe's new municipal building. These

are merely a few of the examples that Simconians use when they speak of

the benefits of living in the community. I did not interview one

citizen who was unaware of such historical events. All were eager to

inform this "ignorant stranger" of Simcoe's past achievements. Many

even took me for a tour of the town in order that I might "see for

myself" the memorial plaques and monuments that pervade the townsite

(Brown, 1929; Pearce, 1973; Pond, 1979).

The town fathers left a legacy which the citizens of Simcoe

eagerly uphold. These men were "enterprising young men" who were "in

their time producers of what is giving many of us luxuries today"

(Brown, 1929, 42). They were "public-spirited", "community-conscious"
and "devoted to the good of their town" (Informant No. 29). Many, upon
their death, donated plots of land for parksites. Others donated their
family homes or large grants of money. The county hospital, for example,
was built in 1929 because one "community leader" donated the land for a
hospital site while another donated $5000 to "start the building fund"
(Pearce, 1973; Pond, 1979). The dedicated documentation of Simcoe's
past achievements combined with the retention of many of its historical
buildings serves as a constant reminder of such "noble gestures".

The people of Simcoe maintain this tradition of community
involvement. For example, "If you want respect in Simcoe, you would
have to be very, very publically-spirited and known as a person who has
volunteered his time for goodly deeds such as the United Appeal"
(Informant No. 8). Community members are credited for their participa-
tion and interest in community events. People are judged by their
apparent willingness to volunteer their services for community projects
such as coaching minor hockey or helping with the Norfolk County Fair.
When asked why they volunteer their services, respondents generally
reply: "It lets me put back something into the community"; "It's
communication with others and sometimes you can help someone, too" or
"I don't think a person is a whole person until he belongs. If I want
to be a part of this community, I should be involved...I just can't
imagine anybody who wasn't" (Informants No. 32, 9, 5).

Newcomers can be integrated into the community in the same
manner. Every Simconian, whether a newcomer, a long-term resident or
native-born is able to identify with Simcoe's historic past thereby

becoming a knowledgeable member of the community. For example, when I

asked "How long do you think a person has to live in Simcoe before he

is thought of as a long-term resident?", the typical reply was not in

terms of a definite time period but something like "Well, that depends

on how involved he gets in the community, doesn't it?" or "It's the

individual's attitude as to whether they have a stake or involvement in

the community. It just depends on how long it takes to develop this

attitude" (Informants No. 32, 4). Involvement in the community's

activities is reflective of Simcoe's former days when the citizens "all

got together to work things out" (Informant No. 11). "It's at the root

of everything and the historic nature of the town. It's combined the

history of the past with the flourishing nature of the present"

(Informant No. 3).

This attitude toward community involvement is reinforced by the

idea of strong leadership. The people of Simcoe see their community as

the leading community in the area. They consider other communities in

Haldimand-Norfolk to be jealous of Simcoe's accomplishments. These

other communities "view Simcoe as 'hog town' because it has the

aspirations and the needs of the biggest town in the area" (Informant

No. 1). Yet, Simconians think that this jealousy is not entirely

justified as Simcoe has earned its position through the hard work of

its leaders and the involvement of its community members. "Simcoe

always took care of itself and was able to do it without the help of

outsiders" (Informant No. 9). It "was the innovator who always led the

way" (Informant No. 31). As one informant aptly states,

I think that the community...the people have been
progressive in seeing that when the need arose the
facility was there. For example, we have two ice
arenas, good recreation complexes, good swimming
facilities and when the need arises the people seem
to arise to the occasion. I guess that goes with
the pride that the people have in the community.
(Informant No. 11)

Physical Setting

Simcoe has maintained its historic tradition of continued growth

and prosperity primarily because it has established itself as the major

shopping centre for the outlying rural population. As a result, the

downtown business section defines the physical setting of the town. The

two main entrances into Simcoe, for example, are Highway Number 24 on

the south which services the farm communities along the shores of Lake

Erie, and Highway Number 3 on the north which services those communities

between Simcoe and Brantford. These two highways converge at the north

end of Norfolk Street which is the main street of Simcoe and the oldest

street in the community. Norfolk Street, therefore, stretches from one

end of the town to the other and almost all traffic entering, leaving or

simply travelling about the town must cross this thoroughfare at some

point. This has produced a ribbon-like effect with all major development

spreading out from the centre of Norfolk Street.

Once again, in the physical design of the downtown area, one is

highly conscious of Simcoe's historical roots. Initially, Simcoe was

constructed on a block system with everything sectioned off into specific

areas. The downtown core consists of the original section of old Simcoe

with the main business establishments in the centre of Norfolk, Robinson,

Colbourne and Peel Streets, older homes and estates two or three blocks
to the east and west of Norfolk Street, established industries along
the original boundaries of the town and the new suburbs on the outer
fringe. New industrial development has been allocated to three indus-
trial parks which lie to the north-east and north-west of the outer
boundaries of the town past the downtown area and the new suburbs.
Because of this, it is very rare to find residential building beside
industrial development and the town has the appearance of a residential
community.

Since Norfolk Street is the major access into town as well as
the main street of the downtown business section, Simcoe has retained
the atmosphere of a small-town community. For example, if you stand at
the major intersection of Simcoe on the corner of Norfolk and Argyle
Streets where Duncan Campbell first built his post office and general
store, you can easily locate most of Simcoe's leading townsites. One
block to the north of this intersection, you will find the Lynn River,
the War Memorial Carillon Tower, the high school, the post office,
Wellington Park and the Beatrice Dairy. One block to the south of this
intersection are the more established shops and businesses, the Eva
Brook Donly Museum, The Canadian National Railway Line and, then, open
countryside as Norfolk Street becomes Highway Number 24. Immediately
to the west of Argyle Street is Robinson Street which is a major part of
the downtown business district but which also leads to the Old Court
House, American Can Company (the largest industry in Simcoe), and the
Norfolk County Hospital. To the east, Argyle Street runs past the
Lynnwood Arts Centre (Duncan Campbell's former Home), the Phoenix Club

and the Norfolk Golf and Country Club. Thus all of Simcoe's principle

structures are within walking distance of the centre of the downtown

core. The ultimate result is that few shoppers or visitors recognize

how much area the town truly occupies or the extent of its population.

This block system of development has permitted Simcoe to retain a

certain "quaintness" as an "old-fashioned", "rural" community where one

may walk down the main street and "never meet a stranger". (See Map II).

Yet despite the appearance of being only a few blocks in circum-

ference, the town covers 3½ square miles of territory and houses 14,189

people (Census Canada, 1971, 1976). If one proceeds past the nucleus

of the downtown core, one finds four large subdivisions of modern,

newly-built, single-family dwellings, three industrial parks, two small

shopping plazas, a large recreation centre and an extensively-used ice

surface. Few non-local people, however, travel through these areas

unless they are specifically visiting or lose their way about town. As

a result, the downtown business area with its historic sights dominates

the physical setting of the town. It presents the picture of Simcoe

that most people see. The picture, of course, is that of a "quiet",

"peaceful" community embedded in the memories of its historic past.

The geographical area around the town is relatively flat and

smooth. Aside from the River Lynn, Simcoe has no outstanding physical

structures. The most noticeable physical feature in the town is its

park system. If one enters the town from the north, for example, the

first site that one glimpses is Wellington Park. This park, placed at

the edge of the River Lynn, is a vast stretch of green landscape with

large maple trees and evergreens, and where ducks, swans and geese

Map II

Town of Simcoe

18
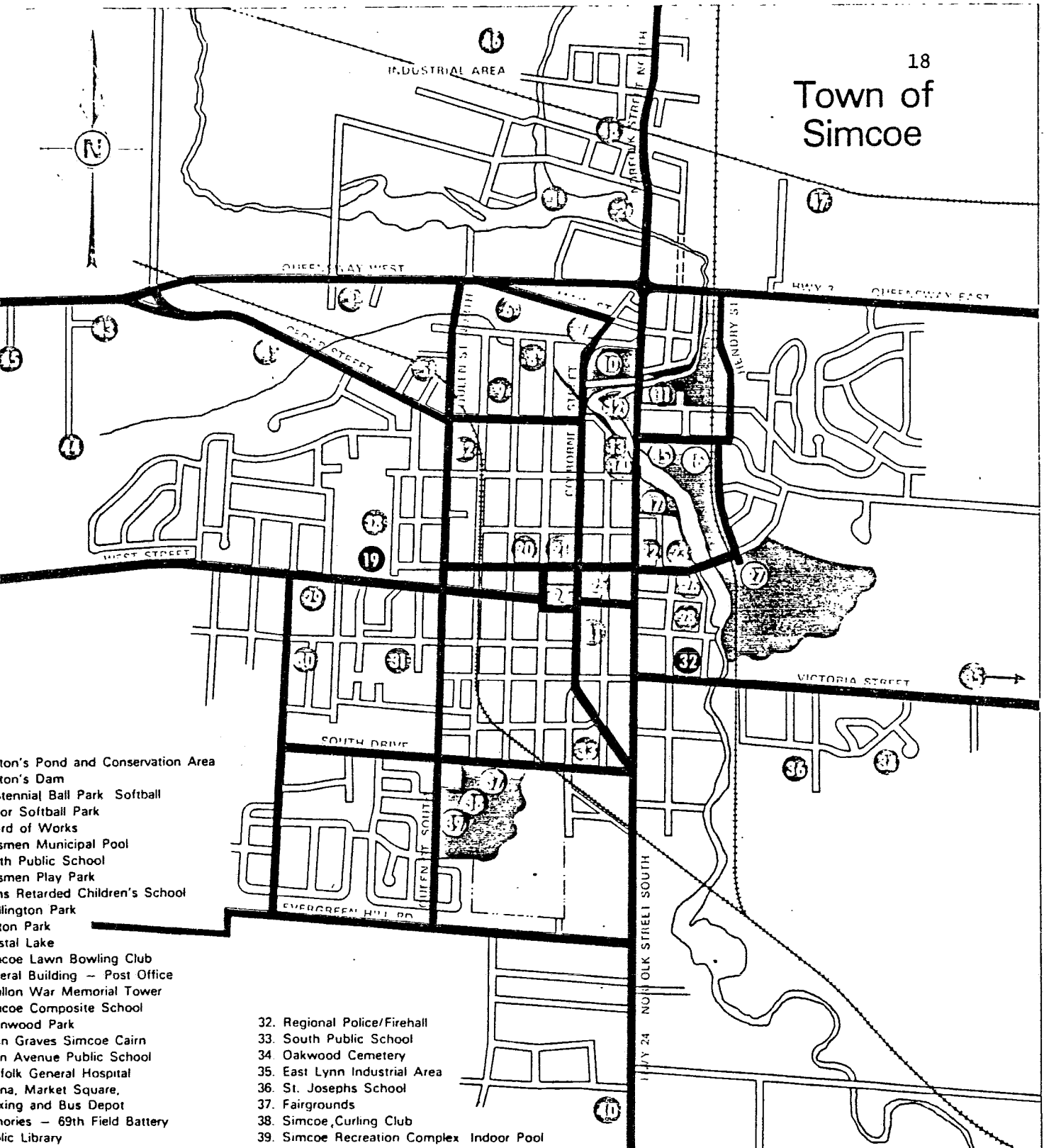
ton's Pond and Conservation Area
ton's Dam
tennial Ball Park Softball
or Softball Park
rd of Works
smen Municipal Pool
th Public School
smen Play Park
ns Retarded Children's School
llington Park
ton Park
stal Lake
coe Lawn Bowling Club
eral Building — Post Office
llon War Memorial Tower
coe Composite School
nwood Park
n Graves Simcoe Cairn
n Avenue Public School
folk General Hospital
na, Market Square,
xing and Bus Depot
nories — 69th Field Battery
lic Library
nwood Art Centre
l — Built in 1836
nicipal Offices
nicipal Parking, Public Washrooms,
 Government Liquor Store
folk Golf and Country Club Private
ernment Beer Store
mewood Park
coe Little Theatre — Green Rooms
terworks Park Minor Ball

32. Regional Police/Firehall
33. South Public School
34. Oakwood Cemetery
35. East Lynn Industrial Area
36. St. Josephs School
37. Fairgrounds
38. Simcoe Curling Club
39. Simcoe Recreation Complex Indoor Pool
40. West Lynn Public School
41. Simcoe Chamber of Commerce and
    Vehicle License Offices
42. St Mary's School
43. Norview Nursing Home
44. Judicial District of Norfolk — Courthouse
45. Regional Administration Offices
46. Wellington Industrial Area
47. Industrial Area
48. Canadian National Railway Depot

The heart of Simcoe is shown on the map above, especially our Downtown Core which has many fine shops to serve you. Our Downtown is planning for tomorrow with a large redevelopment programme for its citizens and visiting guests.

peacefully swim in the river. In the winter, this park is a major

tourist attraction as it is here that Simcoe conducts its Christmas

Panorama Festival of Lights. People come in busloads from Hamilton,

Toronto, London and Buffalo to see the nursery-rhyme figurines that line

the frozen waters of the lake and river. At the same time, many of

these tourists stop to shop in the downtown stores or tour the rest of

Simcoe's historic sites.

The citizens of Simcoe are dedicated to their parks. "It is

the heart and soul of the town"; "It is the town's principle attraction";

"It gives beauty and atmosphere to the small, rural community"

(Informants Number 13, 2, 9). Some of these parks are for recreational

purposes such as baseball or soccer while others are mainly aesthetic.

Still others, such as Wellington Park or the Norfolk Fairgrounds have

gained financial importance. At present, there are 28 parks scattered

throughout the town. Yet the people of Simcoe are continually looking

for more parkland to add to their holdings. The existing official

development plan, for example, "includes a standard of 3.0 acres per

thousand people for the provision of parks" or a total of 42 acres of

land to be set aside for the town's park system (Town of Simcoe District

Plan, 1980: 9). The people of Simcoe, however, do not find this amount

of parkland excessive. It is a standard that they have set and for

which they are willing to pay.

Simcoe's park programme is a continuation of a time-honoured

custom by which several of the community's former leaders donated park-

land to the town. It first began when Duncan Campbell set aside

property behind his home for a park area. This "copse was retained as

a preserve...with a forest that was allowed to grow in its natural state" but on the edge of which "were planted and cared for shrubs, flowering trees and flowers, not only of native growth but as opportunity offered, gathered from foreign countries" (Brown, 1929: 10). People would come "from miles around" to see "Duncan Campbell's copse" (Pond, 1979: 11). In 1902, Campbell's son presented this piece of land to the town as "Lynnwood Park". This gift of "two acres of natural parkland on each side of the Lynn River" was the inspiration for other prominent community members to donate sections of their property to the town upon their death "to add to the number of small parks and recreation grounds" (Brown, 1929: 58). It is a tradition which, today, is still honoured and respected.

Employment and Income

The community of Simcoe has profited greatly from its status as the "major trading centre" for the local district. For example, in 1971, Simcoe's retail stores reported net sales and receipts of $34,683 which was 48 percent of the total sales for the Norfolk area, 28 percent of the total sales receipts for the province of Ontario and 30 percent more than the national average for a town of its population size. This seems to be an extremely high rate of retail sales returns but it must be remembered that, at that time, Simcoe also serviced an outlying rural population of over 42,481 (Census Canada, 1971). Even if the people in Simcoe's district go to Brantford, London or Hamilton to shop, the downtown merchants are still likely to receive a fair proportion of their

patronage, as the distance to travel to Simcoe for minor items is far less than the distance necessary to travel to these other large shopping centres. It is this distance factor which through the years has enabled the downtown merchants to retain a viable business section.

Simcoe has an extra advantage because it is located in the centre of the richest section of tobacco country in Ontario. Tobacco sales, for example, bring an average of $250,000,000 per year to the farmers in the Norfolk district. Although most of the tobacco processing is completed about ten miles from Simcoe in the town of Delhi, the tobacco farmers do most of their shopping in Simcoe stores. As a result, "there are a lot of support service stores for them in town in the hardware business, the lumber supply business, pesticides, grain and feed" (Informant Number 24). There are also a lot of specialty shops which cater to the buying patterns of these farm people. The Chamber of Commerce Charter Member Roster of 1980, for instance, lists four hardware stores, four jewelry shops, seven men's clothing stores, eleven automobile outlets, six electrical companies, three print shops, four plumbing companies, and a profitable furrier's. In addition, the "small" community of Simcoe supports five banks, three trust companies, five insurance agencies and twenty-six real estate offices. Much of Simcoe's good fortune, therefore, depends upon the patronage of the tobacco farmers who frequent these establishments.

Simcoe's industry is also heavily linked to the agricultural sector. Of its 28 manufacturing companies, 9 are specifically concerned with processing agricultural goods or producing agricultural by-products. For example, American Can, the largest manufacturing plant in Simcoe,

Table I: Simcoe: Income by Retail Trade by Kind of Business Group, 1971

Type of Business Group	Number of Locations	Net Sales & Receipts($ 000)
Food Group	24	8,388
General merchandise group	5	3,507
Automotive part	28	9,823
Apparel & Accessories	27	3,674
Hardware & Home furnishings	26	3,021
Other retail stores	30	6,216
Total	140	34,683

(Source: Census Canada, 1971, Table 5, p. 65)

produces cans which are used for canning fruits and vegetables at
harvest-time. Most of these industries, however, are quite small and
employ a minimum of workers. The total number of people employed in
manufacturing in 1978 was 2,842 of which 644 or 22 percent were employed
at American Can (Municipal Profile, 1978). This limits the prospect of
future employment for young people who do not want to leave the area
but wish to seek industrial employment in town.

Because of this limited industrial employment and lack of work
for young people, the Simcoe Council and the Simcoe Chamber of Commerce
have begun an extensive advertising campaign designed to attract more
industrial development to its three industrial parks. The likelihood
of attracting much industry, though, is slight, as most labour-intensive
industries will be apt to consider moving to the larger industrial park
at Nanticoke. For example, during the period between 1973 and 1977
(inclusive), five new industrial plants were established in Simcoe and
one closed. The jobs that were lost by the closing of that one plant
were replaced by the jobs that were made available by the opening of
the other five. If a major employer such as American Can were to close
and move out of the area, Simcoe workers would be at risk. At present,
however, Simcoe's industrial base is a vital source of employment and
income for the community and there is little indication that this
situation will deteriorate in the near future (Municipal Profile, 1978).

Simcoe's small public service sector is as important to the
economic viability of the town as its manufacturing base. There is a
disproportionate number of white-collar jobs available. For example,
because Simcoe is the county seat of Norfolk, such government agencies

Table II: Number of People Employed in Simcoe Industries in 1980

Name of Company	Product	Number Employed Male	Female
1. American Can	Containers and metal cans	605	39
2. Beatrice Foods	Dairy products	43	11
3. Borg-Warner	Automotive and Industrial chains	75	35
4. C.F. Anderson Concrete	Concrete Building Blocks	8	1
5. Canada Wire & Cable	Magnet wire	250	45
6. Canadian Canners Limited	Canned foods and metal cans	240	210
7. Canvil Limited	Couplings and fittings	220	9
8. Canners Machinery	Food processing equipment	55	6
9. Cayuga Materials & Construction Company	Ready-mix concrete	6	0
10. Centralized Insurance	Printing	6	4
11. Dathos Limited	Tobacco Curing equipment		
12. Jax Mold & Machine Ltd.	Tire molds	110	15
13. J.B. Jackson Limited	Ice Cream products	60	40
14. Morris Printing Service	Printing	5	2
15. P.C. Silk Screening	Silk screening	4	5
16. Pearce Publishing Co. Ltd.	Publishing newspaper	40	9
17. Ranger Safety Products	Industrial & protective clothing	25	100
18. Ranssan Steel & Manufacturing		6	0
19. S.F. Tubing & Hose Couplings	Metal couplings and tubing	20	9
20. Second Avenue Printing	Printing	9	1
21. Shell Oil Company	Agricultural chemicals	10	10
22. Simcoe Leaf Tobacco Co.	Leaf tobacco processing	155	125
23. Tobac Curing Systems Ltd.	Tobacco curing equipment	35	15
24. Dundas Foundry Co. Ltd.	Agricultural fans	35	15
25. The Woodshed	Furniture	1	1
26. West Machinery Co. Ltd.	Boilers and pressure vessels	9	2
27. Bell Canada		54	19
28. Walker Sheet Metal Ltd.	Heating and welding suppliers	4	3
		2090	665

Total number of workers: 2755

Source: Simcoe's Industrial List, Chamber of Commerce, 1980.

Table III: Number of People Employed in White-Collar Jobs in Simcoe, 1971

Type of Employment	Male	Female
Wholesale Trade	345	65
Retail trade	570	450
Food stores	100	95
General merchandise stores	25	135
Finance industries	45	100
Insurance carriers	15	20
Insurance agencies & real estate industry	65	65
Education & related services	150	160
Elementary & secondary schools	135	135
Health & welfare services	125	425
Hospitals	75	340
Religious organizations	10	10
Amusement & recreation services	55	30
Services to business management	75	70
Personal services	65	125
Accommodation & food services	30	10
Miscellaneous services	30	10
Federal administration	70	40
Provincial administration	160	40
Local administration	95	30
Industry unspecified or defined	35	35
Total	2275	2390

Source: Census Canada, 1971 Table 12-29

as the Department of Agriculture and Food and the Department of National Defence have established branch offices in the community. The court house and regional offices also offer openings to professional, secretarial and clerical staff. The hospital, with its 215 beds, employs a considerable number of people. There are off-campus facilities for Fanshawe College, McMaster University and the University of Western Ontario as well as eight public schools and two schools for the mentally handicapped that require teaching and clerical staff. In addition, the banks, the trust companies, the real estate agencies, the religious organizations and the recreational centres all offer opportunities for white-collar, service sector employment. While these establishments do not individually hire many people, when one combines their employment one finds a significant number of workers with jobs in the white-collar sector. In 1971, 1200 workers or 25 percent of Simcoe's total labour force were working at these types of activities. Simcoe's economic base, therefore, is extended further by the fact that such openings are available to the people of the town (Census Canada, 1971).

In addition, Simcoe retains a large population of professionals who contribute significantly to the community in terms of taxable income, purchasing power and donations to the town's charitable works. For example, of the 31 doctors who work at the Norfolk County Hospital, 16 live in Simcoe. Of the 34 lawyers who practice in the Norfolk area, 23 live in the town. These numbers represent a ratio of 1 doctor per 608 people and 1 lawyer per 875 people. Though this high proportion of

professionals is primarily due to the fact that Simcoe services a population much greater than its own, these professionals maintain their residence in the community of Simcoe. As a result, the community receives all the economic and social benefits that such a large proportion of professionals implies.

It is this type of diversity in employment and income opportunities that protects the community from such adverse economic swings as those experienced by one-industry towns such as Sudbury or Windsor. In Simcoe, for instance, "if a factory closes it doesn't create a major problem...here if it happens maybe only 40 or 50 people lose their jobs and we can easily absorb them...not like 500" (Informant Number 20). If a store or business moves elsewhere there are others which may offer the same type of service to its customers thereby gaining the extra profit. If the tobacco crops are poor, the merchants will definitely suffer, but they are unlikely to go bankrupt as the factory and office workers will still buy many of their goods locally. It is this variation in its economic base that has insulated the community from many of the hardships that other communities have experienced. It is this variation that has also enabled Simcoe to project an image of continued success and prosperity as the "Model Town of Southern Ontario" (Brown, 1979: 5; Pearce, 1973: 3; Pond, 1979: viii). As one informant proudly states,

> ...Simcoe always got by somehow...Even in the
> depression, Simcoe was a viable town...and that
> was pre-tobacco days, too...It must have been the
> farming...everyone had something to eat...It also
> kept a lot of the industries going. (Informant
> Number 29)

Population Characteristics

The population of Simcoe is primarily White, Anglo-Saxon,
Protestant. In the 1971 Census, for example, 74.8 percent of the
Simcoe respondents claimed their racial origin as British, 72.9 percent
claimed their religion as Protestant and 96 percent claimed English as
their mother tongue. Fifteen percent of the respondents reported that
they had been born outside Canada but only two percent had been born
outside Canada between the periods 1961 and 1971. This population
uniformity is reflective of Simcoe's historic background as a United
Empire Loyalist settlement but it is also a pattern that is character-
istic of most small communities in Southern Ontario (Census Canada,
1971; Sinclair & Westhues, 1974; Armstrong, 1981). It is important to
note this homogenity of population in Simcoe, however, because it con-
tributes to the community's sense of solidarity. There is very little
racial tension or ethnic conflict in town because there is very little
ethnic or racial differentiation. This makes the community more
tightly-knit as most Simconians have the common perspective of their
British heritage and there is little argument over cultural ideals.
It also makes it much easier for all Simconians to adopt the historical
ideology of the town. As one informant states, "This area has a lot of
history and we should be interested in it because it is our history...
the history of Upper Canada..." (Informant Number 8). This, in effect,
is how most of the citizens that I talked to, whether newcomers or long-
term residents, thought about the community.

Community Satisfaction

The local residents seem to be very satisfied with the town, its facilities and physical features. In a study conducted by Wilfrid Laurier University in 1980, it was found that the residents of Simcoe perceive the town as friendly, clean, well-planned and possessing good community facilities (See Tables IV and V). Forty-one percent of the local respondents did their grocery shopping in Simcoe, 71.2 percent shopped in Simcoe for clothes and 56.1 percent used Simcoe facilities for their entertainment. The only complaint seemed to be from the middle-aged group and the higher income people who did not see Simcoe as exciting, and so tended to go elsewhere for their entertainment. There was some mixed feelings about job opportunities which were considered to be slight, but many were reassured by the prospect of future job openings at the industrial park at Nanticoke. There were also complaints that the town did not offer enough variety of shopping or adequate parking facilities in the downtown area. In general, though, the survey found that the local population have a "positive attitude" toward the town (McMullen, 1980).

Voluntary Associations

Voluntary associations are a vital part of Simcoe's community life. "Simcoe has every conceivable interest group for every conceivable interest" (Informant Number 2). For example, the small community of 14,000 people supports six service clubs, four social clubs, twelve fraternal societies and twelve "cultural organizations" such as the

Table IV: Market Analysis of Simcoe, 1980

Resident's Survey (p. 11)

195 individuals were surveyed, 55% over 35 years, 65% indicated that their household income exceeded $15,000 per year, 65% surveyed were female, 48% worked directly in Simcoe. A small number worked in the surrounding communities of Delhi, Waterford, Port Dover, Jarvis & Nanticoke. Others surveyed were farmers in the local area or housewives.

Facilities Most Frequently Used (p. 12)

Facility	%
Recreation Centre	21%
Arena	16%
Parks	25%
Tennis courts	9%
Baseball diamonds	9%
Golf course	8%
Conservation areas	6%
Other	6%

-parks will reappear as a dominant characteristic in responses by both residents and visitors to other questions.

Purchasing Habits of Residents   (p. 12)

Location	Food	Clothes	Entertainment
Simcoe	41.8%	71.2%	56.1%
Mall, Plaza	27.8%	0.5%	2.9%
Port Dover	24.7%	0.0%	1.7%
Delhi	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%
Tillsonburg	1.0%	0.5%	0.6%
Brantford	0.0%	8.2%	9.2%
Waterford	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Jarvis	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other	4.6%	19.6%	27.2%

Source: Market Analysis of Simcoe (School of Business & Economics, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario. Small Business Consulting Service, Scott Jolliffe, Rene Vanden Brand. Faculty Advisors: Dr. Raymond Adamson, Prof. Mike McMullen, August, 1980)

Table V: Community Satisfaction of Simcoe Residents, 1980

Perceptions of Residents

	Agree(%)	Undecided(%)	Disagree
Simcoe is an exciting town	50.3	14.4	34.9
People in Simcoe are friendly	83.9	9.3	6.7
Simcoe has a small town atmosphere	74.2	7.2	18.6
People have an interest in Simcoe	82.3	13.5	4.2
Simcoe is a slow-paced town	42.7	10.9	46.4
Simcoe has good tourist attractions	56.3	6.3	37.5
Simcoe has good shopping facilities	64.4	10.8	24.7
Simcoe offers adequate job opportun- ities	32.6	29.5	37.8
Simcoe downtown core needs improve- ment	56.2	9.8	34.0
Simcoe has a good school system	54.2	40.0	5.8
Simcoe is a clean town	94.2	1.6	4.2
Simcoe is a well planned town	73.3	13.6	13.1
Simcoe has good commercial facilities	83.2	10.8	6.8
Simcoe is a growing, thriving town	70.7	7.9	21.5
People like Simcoe	89.5	7.9	2.6
Regional Government has benefited Simcoe	12.0	30.7	56.8

- the middle aged do not see Simcoe as exciting. They tend to go elsewhere for entertainment. The higher income groups tend to go elsewhere more often.
- there are mixed feelings about job opportunities. These mixed feelings occur in each age category and within each income level. (p. 20)
- 80% of the respondents have lived in the area of Simcoe for over 10 years

Source: Market Analysis of Simcoe (School of Business & Economics, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario. Small Business Consulting Service, Scott Jolliffe, Rene Vanden Brand. Faculty Advisors: Dr. Raymond Adamson, Prof. Mike McMullen, August, 1980)

Little Theatre, the Horticultural Society or the Camera Club. There

is a Minor Hockey Association, a Minor Soccer Association, the Golden

Age Club, the Parachute Club and the Golden Order of Foresters. There

are church organizations, work associations, political organizations

and farm associations. "It is an over-organized town. If anyone wants

to do something, they start an organization to do it" (Informant No. 24).

This vast number of diverse interest groups is not an idiosyn-

cratic tendency on the part of Simconians. It is primarily a product

of the town's past position of isolation. As the largest urban community

in a vast area of farm country, the people of Simcoe had to develop their

own forms of entertainment and community assistance programmes. Much of

this was achieved through the auspices of the voluntary associations.

To quote one informant who so concisely summarizes the situation,

> People in Simcoe always had to do it on their own...
> Okay...so people say it's only one hour from Hamilton,
> an hour and a half from Toronto or London...But, just
> think...30, 40, 50 years ago...that was a major ex-
> cursion. It might take all day just to get there!
> So, Simcoe was isolated. It couldn't rely on those
> centres. Simcoe was the centre. So, they made their
> own fun and helped each other, too...So, I guess all
> these associations, clubs, fairs, dances, volunteer
> services...I guess, they're still a hangover.
> (Informant Number 21)

This tendency to form "an interest group for every conceivable

interest" promotes the town's image as a 'friendly', 'warm', 'open'

community. "Anyone who desires to join an organization is welcomed with

open arms...especially if he is willing to work for the particular cause

of that particular organization" (Informant Number 19). For example,

when I asked the question, "What would you suggest a new resident of

Simcoe do in order to meet people in Simcoe?", every respondent

immediately answered, "Join a club. Get involved". It was a statement of fact, beyond any doubt, clear and simple. For these respondents this was the only realistic answer given the importance that the community of Simcoe places on these voluntary associations. All respondents assumed that if the person joined an organization, he would make new acquaintances, get involved in the organization's interests and, thereby, be accepted as a participating member of the community.

These voluntary associations are, in fact, a very important aspect of Simcoe's social structure. They are an integral part of most Simconians' lives as there are few forms of entertainment or recreation in town other than that provided by local clubs.

Yet, Simcoe's organizations are very instrumental in orientation. Although most of these organizations provide some form of recreational activity and companionship for its members, most have a specific community goal which its members are interested in achieving. The Newcomer's Club, for instance, was formed to "make new residents of Simcoe aware of the many facilities that are available in town as well as allow new people to meet other people in the same situation" (Informent Number 7). The Simcoe Art Club, though mainly a workshop for local artists, also promotes the 'awareness' of local art and culture. The Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee (LACAC) is dedicated to the "preservation and restoration of Simcoe's old historic buildings and monuments" (Informant Number 16). The voluntary associations in Simcoe are therefore highly instrumental as well as recreational.

It is the pervasiveness of these instrumental types of voluntary

associations which permits the ethos of community involvement to

persist as strongly as it does in the town. As one respondent states,

> People come from the city and say there isn't anything
> to do here. I can't understand it. If you get into
> the organizations there is certainly a lot you can do.
> There is always somebody who needs some help and some-
> thing you can volunteer for. There's Meals on Wheels,
> the United Way, etc....But they all want to be paid.
> They want to go to the show, bars and lots of enter-
> tainment. If that's what they want, Simcoe doesn't
> have it. (Informant Number 9)

According to another,

> It really boils down to if you're a community-minded
> person...if you...people have different ways...
> hobbies, recreations and things they get involved with
> and most of those are related to an activity like the
> golf club etc.... but it's also a community function...
> And, I really think it's important because I think it's
> commitment and...if you just belong to your job, then
> maybe things don't seem like much...but these organi-
> zations let you be involved in your community.
> (Informant Number 33)

Such statements are indicative of the attitude in Simcoe that

membership in these organizations serves a more important purpose than

mere recreation. It serves the public interest of the community. By

participating in these organizations, people are able to show that they

have accepted their role as a community member of Simcoe - that they

are interested in their community and its fellow-members, that they are

community-minded and publically-spirited. "It's a question of how you

behave as a human being in the community. If you are friendly, warm,

outgoing, interested in getting involved you become accepted very

quickly" (Informant Number 8). For, in Simcoe,

> It is very important to belong to community organi-
> zations. It helps to broaden your relationships and
> contributes to your community. The groups and organi-
> zations that individuals join are a part of the

community and an expression of it...As an individual,
you develop your personality and character by working
with other people in your community.
(Informant Number 4)

Conclusion

This chapter introduces the town of Simcoe as a relevant form

of social organization in modern industrial life. It is important to

examine the concept of community as it exists in today's society

because it is the community that forms one of the primary links between

man and his social world. It is in one's community, for example, that

the individual "confronts society's institutions, its manners of

religious expression, its ways of regulating behaviour, its ways of

family living, its ways of socializing the young, its ways of providing

sustenance" (Warren, 1978: 21). It is also in one's community that

the individual comes "to terms with beings and fellow-men belonging to

the same situation" and, as a result, gains a "sense of identity and

unity with his group and a feeling of involvement and wholeness"

(Schutz, 1971: 252; Poplin, 1979: 5). It is within the social struc-

ture of one's community that one defines the necessities that he

requires to fulfill both his physical and his physchical needs.

The town of Simcoe is such a community. Although it has the

legal definition of "community", that is, it has municipal boundaries,

a town council, a mandate to collect taxes, build roads, implement

social policy, this is not the main reason that Simcoe is a matter of

prime concern to us. We are interested in the "community" as a social

phenomenon defined by the actions of men. The people of Simcoe do not

see the town as a mere pattern of streets, shops, industries and houses
linked together like a patchwork quilt that has evolved over the genera-
tions. The people of Simcoe see the town as a "community", as a place
where they earn their living, raise their children, entertain themselves,
make friendships and, generally, "live out the days of their lives".
The social conditions of community are dependent upon how people unite
to cope with such problems. It represents a form of social co-operation
between men as they exist and co-exist in the physical world. This
study is concerned with how Simconians have learned to cope with such
problems.

CHAPTER II - INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PRESSURES FOR CHANGE:

THE THREATS TO COMMUNITY STABILITY

Simcoe is unique in that it is one of the last communities of
its size in Southern Ontario that is able to sustain itself as an
independent unit free from the economic shadow of such larger urban
centres as London or Toronto which tend to engulf their smaller
neighbours. Other communities such as Milton, Georgetown, Thorold or
Ancaster have the same population size as Simcoe, were established at
approximately the same period of time as Simcoe and, like Simcoe, have
a long and distinguished history of growth and development. (Census
Canada, 1976; Weaver, 1913) Yet, each of these communities has suc-
cumbed to the dominance of the larger urban centre which is located in
its immediate area. Milton, for example, has lost the vitality of its
downtown business section to Hamilton and Toronto competition.
(Hamilton Spectator, June 27, 1981) Thorold is governed by its proximity
to St. Catharines and the Welland Canal. Georgetown has turned into a
"bedroom" community for Toronto workers; while Ancaster has been engulfed
by the Hamilton-Wentworth Region. (Informants Number 15, 21; Hamilton
Spectator, 1981) In contrast, Simcoe's relative isolation from such
overpowering metropolitan centres has allowed it to maintain an inde-
pendent economic stability and community identity.

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Change in the Past

Change is not unprecedented in Simcoe. The town, like all communities, has had to learn to sway with the times and bend to the demands of change. In Simcoe's past, however, change has generally meant economic success, independence and continued growth for the town. It has meant a renewal of the town's autonomy rather than a decline. In the past,

> Simcoe was always independent. There was jealousy that it was a money town. It always had something - timber, grain, cash crops, the county seat - always financial - lawyers, bankers, engineers - always wealth in great proportion to a small town...We had wholesalers, hospitals, lawyers, banks...political, financial, cultural control. (Informant Number 11)

The town of Simcoe has marked four growth periods which have each lasted over a span of approximately fifteen years. The first of these began in 1836-37 when the town was designated the "Talbot County Seat". There was some controversy over the decision at first because Simcoe was chosen over the community of Vittoria which had been the site of the previous "Courts of the Quarter Session". The decision was irrevocable however so it was Simcoe not Vittoria which enjoyed the profitable expansion that such government patronage entailed. Besides the new court house, the county jail and the municipal buildings that were erected, the town of Simcoe was able to build the "Kent Survey" to provide homes for the many new residents who were drawn to the community by these new government services. (Brown, 1929; Yeager, 1974)

Simcoe's second growth period began in 1872 with the building of the Airline Division of the Grand Trunk Railway. This new strip of

railroad brought with it railway and construction workers. But, more importantly, the railway entrenched Simcoe's position as the main trading centre in the Norfolk area. Now that the town had the best transportation route in the district, farmers who had previously 'neglected' to bring their produce to Simcoe were encouraged to do so. The prospect of access to larger markets was too great an attraction. More agricultural business, in turn, meant more shops, businesses and service population for the town. (Brown, 1929; Pearce, 1974)

The third period of growth started around 1905 when many of the town's small manufacturing firms became more industrialized. For example, the Simcoe Canning Company, which had been established in 1881, installed automatic can-making machinery in 1906. As a result of this action, the company made a remarkable transition from, "the early days when cans were made by hand and three or four hundred cans was considered a good day's work for a can-maker" to an "out-put" that was now "counted by millions". (Brown, 1929:83) Increased production, of course, meant an increased profit for the company, more jobs for industrial workers and more growth and prosperity for the community of Simcoe. (Brown, 1929; Pearce, 1974)

Simcoe's fourth period of growth came with the introduction of tobacco farming. The process began slowly in the mid-twenties after two American tourists came to the area, saw the sandy soil around Delhi and Simcoe and suggested that tobacco be grown in what had been previously considered "useless" farmland. The consequences of the introduction of tobacco farming in the Norfolk district cannot be over-emphasized. "Fifty years ago, Norfolk was a very poor agricultural

county. The introduction of tobacco...brought both prosperity and

substantial European immigration, an economic and social transformation".

(Ontario. Dept. of Municipal Affairs, 1972: 48) .The consequences

for Simcoe were also substantial,

> It brought a lot of affluence here. It brought in a
> lot of people from the South because we didn't know
> anything about tobacco and how to grow it. And,
> then, we got a lot of ethnic people in the area to
> work in the fields...And, then, a lot of very success-
> ful businessmen came from the South with tobacco...and
> they settled in Simcoe. They came up as share-growers
> ...they are very rich today. (Informant Number 32)

These four periods comprise Simcoe's past pattern of growth as

a viable community. Each period is characterized by a rather smooth

transition of development which has been eagerly welcomed by the

community as an additional increase to its financial well-being and

community autonomy. Today, the community of Simcoe is experiencing its

fifth period of intensive growth. This period is a consequence of the

industrial development at Nanticoke. In the past, growth has been

welcomed by the townspeople of Simcoe because it has generally signi-

fied economic security and independence for the community. However,

the Nanticoke project has brought a different type of growth to the

area. This chapter discusses the citizens' reactions to the industrial

development that is expected to transform the primarily agricultural

district of Haldimand-Norfolk into a highly industrialized area. It

examines Simconians' thoughts about the provincial government's plans

to erect a new town that will 'house' the expected influx of large

numbers of urban-industrial workers and their families. It describes

the process of regionalization and the general attitude in Simcoe that

the community has lost its autonomy by becoming annexed to the other communities in the Haldimand-Norfolk area. These extra-community influences have exposed the people of Simcoe to a number of radical changes in their immediate environment which could have drastic effects on the social structure of the community. This chapter describes how the people of Simcoe view the new changes that have occurred as a result of the Nanticoke project.

The Industrial Development at Nanticoke

The period of industrialization in the Haldimand-Norfolk area began in 1968 when the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco) completed its secret purchase of 6,600 acres of land on the shores of Lake Erie near the small town of Nanticoke. The firm immediately announced its plans to build a new steel-making operation and an industrial park on their recently-acquired property. Soon after, the Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario began to build a new thermal generating station a mile away from Stelco's landsite. Within two years of Stelco's purchase, the Dominion Foundries and Steel Company (Dofasco) bought land 40 miles west of Nanticoke for the purpose of future expansion. Shortly after Dofasco's announcement of its land purchase, Texaco reported its plans to build a large oil refinery next to the Ontario Hydro plant. The ultimate result of each of these individual company's decisions was the development of a large industrial complex in the centre of what had formerly been a prime agricultural district.

Each company has given what they consider to be reasonable

explanations for their decision to choose the Nanticoke site as an area
for industrial expansion. Some of these are: "good transportation
routes to markets", "by building in a rural area they wouldn't be adding
to the pollution problems of an already industrialized area", "avail-
ability of labour", "easy access to fuel supplies", "cheap marginal
farmland for industrial use" and, the fact that "it allows us to start
building from scratch which gives the engineers and designers a chance
to incorporate all the latest techniques into the overall system".
(Hamilton Spectator, September 16, 1980)

Many of the local residents are resentful of such explanations.
There is great anger that no one considered their wishes or consulted
their opinion about the matter until the industrial land had already
been assembled. Some local citizens view the industrial development as
an intrusion into their peaceful rural existence. They worry about the
pollution problem from industrial wastes. Nanticoke citizens in partic-
ular resent the presence of a "huge" industry in their "backyard" and
have petitioned Stelco to buy their property. Many of these local
people are displeased because they think that the industrial site was
forced upon them by means of trickery and deceit. (Hamilton Spectator,
1980, 1981) Much of this displeasure is a reaction to the way in which
the rapid industrialization of the area was conducted. For example,
there is a great deal of hostility and bitterness that most of the land
was bought in secret or, as in the case of Ontario Hydro, expropriated.
These people were totally unaware of what was to happen to them until
Stelco made its official announcement. They were cheated of a chance
to have any input into a decision which affects their future lives.

As one farmer states,

> They (the land buyers) wouldn't tell us what was
> going to happen. We heard they might be storing
> PCBs down here, that they were building an airport
> here, we just didn't know. But they kept telling
> us that we wouldn't want to live here after they
> got the land, so we sold. (Hamilton Spectator,
> Sept. 17, 1980)

The people of Simcoe, however, have not experienced such "treachery". As a result, they have a more positive attitude toward this new industrial development. Stelco, Hydro and Texaco are considered to be "good corporate citizens" as they are willing to donate to many of Simcoe's community projects and local charities. (Simcoe Reformer, Dec. 21, 1979) The industries at Nanticoke are also seen to "have had an influence in keeping the younger people in town and keeping them well-employed". (Informant Number 20) Many of the executives of the new industries have moved to Simcoe thereby adding to the community's prestige as "the only town in the area with all the amenities and facilities to please the requirements that such executive-type people need". (Informant Number 22) Stelco's policy of hiring "local talent" and buying "local products" for construction, trucking, plumbing and electrical work has made several Simcoe firms quite prosperous. (Informants Number 33, 19) But, more importantly, Simconians do not seem to mind the industrial development at Nanticoke because it is "at Nanticoke".

> We are 17 miles to the west of it and we have westerly
> winds here and we live on the right side of the steel
> plant so the town generally has a good feeling about
> the plant being here because it is out there...and the
> town feels that commercially, economically and whatever
> way you want to look at it...financially...the town
> will benefit from it. (Informant Number 33)

WEST PORTION HALDIMAND-NORFOLK REGION

N

To Sarnia & Windsor, Detroit

To Brantford

HWY. 24

(Bathing)
Waterford

Delhi

To Hamilton & Toronto

Simcoe

Jarvis

HWY. NO. 3

HWY. NO. 6

Nanticoke Industrial Area

Port Dover

Beach

Port Ryerse

(Boating)

HWY. NO. 59

HWY. NO. 24

Normandale

Turkey Point

Long Point Bay

St. Williams

Booth's Harbour

(Boating)

Deephole Point

Port Rowan

Inner Bay

(Duck Hunting)

Houghton Sand Hills

Coletta Bay

Thoroughfare Point

Pottahawk Point

Sturgeon Bay

Long Point Beach

Long Point Provincial Park

Lake Erie

RECREATION AREAS

- Long Point Provincial
- Turkey Point Provincial
- Provincial Forestry Station
- Waterford Conservation Area
- Backus Conservation Area
- Hay Creek Conservation Area
- Vittoria Conservation Area
- Deer Creek Conservation Area

HISTORIC SITES

Memorial Cross on Brant Hill, Port Dover, commemorating visit of French priests, first white men to touch Lake Erie north shore.

Cairn on Black Creek, north of Port Dover, marking wintering site of French priests, 1669-70.

Cairn in Powell Park, Port Dover, where Sir Isaac Brock assembled his Canadian Army for expedition against Detroit in War of 1812-14.

Cairn on Turkey Point Hill, marking site of Fort Norfolk where British Regulars were stationed to repulse American raids in 1814.

Monument in Oakwood Cemetery, Simcoe, marking grave of Abigail Becker, the heroine of Long Point. Erected by Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

Abigail Becker's heroic feat is commemorated by a suitable plaque in the park adjacent to the Cenotaph, Port Rowan.

Carillon Tower of 23 bells at Simcoe, erected in 1925 to commemorate Norfolk County heroes who fell in the First Great War.

Norfolk Museum of Art and Antiques at Simcoe, one of the finest county collections of historical relics and paintings in Ontario.

Backus Mill north of Port Rowan. This mill is 160 years old and remains in its original state. The mill and 30 acres adjoining property now forms a public park.

Cairn in Lynnwood Park, Simcoe, where John Graves Simcoe, first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada camped for the night in 1795. Simcoe, the County town bears his honoured name.

- Abigail Becker Conservation Area
- Norfolk Conservation Area
- Simcoe Parks Area
- Powell Park, Port Dover
- Sand Hills, Houghton
- Shore Acres, Port Dover
- Little Creek Conservation Area
- Brook Conservation Area
- Fisher Wildlife Management Area
- Port Royal Wildlife Management Area (Lee Browns)

Townsend and Population Growth

There are approximately 10,000 acres of land set aside for industrial development in the Nanticoke area. The Nanticoke industrial complex consists of four elements. These are: the Texaco oil refinery, the Ontario generating station, the Stelco steel plant and its attached industrial park. It was projected that the construction of the Ontario Hydro and Texaco facilities would be completed in 1977 or 1978, while Stelco construction was to be carried out in three separate stages spanning a period of twenty to twenty-five years. However, only the Texaco plant was able to begin operations according to schedule. A fire in its new generating station plus lengthy shutdowns due to design and manufacturing problems in both the boiler systems and power generators, delayed Ontario Hydro's opening until the spring of 1980. Stelco, in turn, suffered labour and union disputes which delayed the official opening of its first plant until September of 1980. The official opening of these two industries "capped a period of 12 years of planning and construction at the Nanticoke industrial complex that had been eagerly awaited by all those concerned". (Ontario. Ministry of Treasury & Economics, 1976: 73-76; Hamilton Spectator, September 17, 1980; Simcoe Reformer, Sept. 17, 1980)

One of the more celebrated areas of planning was the study of population mobility. Some of the original reports made by Stelco and Ontario government research agencies, for example, predicted that by the year 2000 the population of the Haldimand-Norfolk area could "easily rise from its present 83,000 to 300,000". (Ontario. Ministry

of Treasury & Economics, 1976: 73) It was thought that Stelco would

employ 60,000 to 70,000 of this number while the remainder would be

employees of service industries and supply firms attracted to the area

by the promise of Stelco patronage. (Ontario. Ministry of Treasury &

Economics, 1972: 3-4, 1976)

The main cause of concern was the rapidity with which this

population increase was to take place. There were estimates that the

population of the Haldimand-Norfolk area would grow at an annual rate

of 5% with a shift from a rural population of 60% to one that was 80%

urban. Government researchers predicted that by 1981, 31,000 new

housing units would be needed to accommodate these people, 28 new

elementary schools would be needed to educate their children and there

would be an extensive "overload" of existing transportation, recreation

and social service facilities. As these experts saw it,

> The problem is not the volume of growth, which could
> be absorbed by a large urban area with little
> difficulty, but the scale of this growth compared to
> the present size and growth rate of the area's ex-
> isting urban centres...The central planning problem
> in Haldimand-Norfolk is to accommodate a new urban
> population of about 250,000 by the end of the
> century. (Ontario. Ministry of Treasury & Economics,
> 1972: 4-5)

Government officials thought that it would not be feasible for

the existing towns and villages in the Haldimand-Norfolk area to absorb

this population increase as "they will experience difficulties in

balancing their small tax bases against the financial burden of providing

services to their new inhabitants". (Ontario. Ministry of Treasury &

Economics, 1976: 4) Thus, it was proposed that the provincial govern-

ment of Ontario build a "new" town in which to "house" these workers.

This town, named Townsend, was to be situated four kilometres north of the Nanticoke industrial complex. The government bought 14,000 acres for the construction of Townsend which is to become "a major centre... (which) will provide housing, commercial and community activity in accordance with its role as a major centre and...will reduce the growth pressures on other existing communities". (Townsend Community, 1971: 10)

The residents of the Haldimand-Norfolk area have mixed reactions to the proposal of this new townsite. At first, many believed that it was a necessary precaution against an over-growth of their existing communities by the massive numbers of new residents which would be moving into the area. But, now, most local people are disillusioned and angry with the government's plans. Delays in the construction of the Nanticoke complex have lowered the proposed number of 100,000 new residents to a more realistic one of approximately 40,000. Many subsidiary industries, for example, have not moved into the industrial park at Nanticoke as they were uncertain of the success of the Stelco project. There have also been fewer people hired as modern automation in the new Nanticoke plants has eliminated many jobs rather than establishing them. The recent 2001 employment forecast for the steel mill, for instance, is only about one-half the size of the original estimate made in 1968. (See Table 2: 1) In addition, high interest rates have deterred people from investing in new homes at Townsend. To date, only 35 homes have been purchased at the townsite. Most of the workers transferred from Hamilton are commuting rather than moving to the Nanticoke district. As a result, the Townsend project is

Table 2: 1

EMPLOYMENT AND POPULATION ESTIMATES FOR THE STELCO AND THE ASSOCIATED INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS, HALDIMAND-NORFOLK, 1986 AND 2001

ITEMS	HALDIMAND STUDY[1]		BECHTEL REPORT[2]		FIRST STELCO SUBMISSION[3]		SECOND STELCO SUBMISSION[4] (PROCTOR REDFERN)		IBI/PMP[5]		WOODS GORDON[6]		REGIONAL PLANNING BRANCH[7] ASSUMPTION "X"		ASSUMPTION "Y"	
	1986	2001	1986	2001	1986	2001	1984	2001	1981	2001	1986	2001	1986	2001	1986	2001
STELCO STEEL MILL	9,000	19,500	14,900		9,000	19,900	4,000	10,000	3,500		4,200		4,200	10,000	4,200	10,000
STELCO INDUSTRIAL PARK	2,800	8,300	7,200				2,500-4,000	15,000-20,000	2,000L 2,400M 2,900H		5,800		5,400	14,100	4,400	13,200
OTHER INDUSTRIES[8]							900	900	700		700		700	700	700	700
TOTAL BASIC[9,10] EMPLOYMENT	11,800	27,800	22,100				7,400-8,900	25,900-30,900	5,200L 5,600M 6,100H		10,700		10,300	24,800	9,300	23,900
BASIC/NON-BASIC EMPLOYMENT RATIO	1:1.20	1:1.85	1:1.46	NOT AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE	1:1.56	1:1.56	1:0.80	NOT AVAILABLE	1:0.8	NOT AVAILABLE	1:0.8	1:1.2	1:0.8	1:1.2
NON-BASIC EMPLOYMENT	14,160	51,500	32,300				11,500-13,900	40,400-48,200	3,600L 4,100M 4,600H		18,600		8,240	29,760	7,440	28,600
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT[11]	25,960	79,300	54,400				18,900-22,800	66,300-79,100	8,800L 9,700M 10,700H		19,300		18,540	54,560	16,740	52,500
POPULATION/ EMPLOYMENT MULTIPLIER	2.74	2.60	2.80				2.80	2.80	2.50		2.50		2.12	1.94	2.12	1.94
TOTAL POPULATION	71,130	206,200	152,300				52,900-63,800	185,600-221,500	22,000L 24,300M 26,800H		48,300		39,300	105,900	35,500	102,000

NOTES:

1 Derived from Threshold of change No. 1, Haldimand-Norfolk Study, Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, 1971.

2 Derived from An Evaluation of Urban System, Haldimand-Norfolk, Vol. I, Bechtel Ltd., 1970.

3 Dated 1973

4 Dated 1974

5 Derived from the Housing Policy Study for The Region of Haldimand-Norfolk, Peat, Marwick and Partners and IBI Group, 1975.

6 Derived from the Basic Conceptual Alternatives, A Development Strategy for the Regional Municipality of Haldimand-Norfolk, Woods Gordon & Co., 1975

7 Assumption "X" is based on the premise that the density in the industrial park will increase from 3.25 persons/acre to 8 persons/acre in 10 years with an average rate of development of 100 acres per year up to a maximum of 1,800 acres.

Assumption "Y" differs from Assumption "X" only in the rate of density change which will change from 3.25 persons/acre to 5.7 persons/acre in 10 years and reaching a maximum of 8 persons/acre. For futher details see Appendixes K and L.

8 Texaco and Hydro projects.

9 "Basic" employment refers to the activities which produce goods and services for export to firms and individuals outside the defined area. "Non-basic" employment refers to goods and services which support the "basic" activities.

10 Operating employees only. As mentioned in the text, the number of construction workers would number between 1,000 and 2,000 for the steel mill, but the development implications (e.g., housing) for these construction workers differ fairly markedly from those of the permanent employees.

11 The population growth induced by the STELCO and the associated industrial projects only. The ultimate employment in the steel mill and the industrial park is estimated at about 11,000 and 14,400, respectively.

Source: Ontario. Ministry of Treasury & Economics, 1972, p. 75.

generally viewed as a failure which "should be allocated to the rear
burner till a warming trend is again realized" (Simcoe Reformer, May 1,
1980). (Ontario. Ministry of Treasury & Economics, 1972, 1976;
Hamilton Spectator, 1979, 1980, 1981; Simcoe Reformer, 1979, 1980, 1981;
May 1, 1980)

The attitude of Simconians toward Townsend is representative of
most residents of the Haldimand-Norfolk area. Now that fewer people are
moving into the district than was first expected, most Simconians view
the project as "ill-timed, ill-advised and ill-fated because of the
economic climate". (Simcoe Reformer, May 15, 1980) It is thought that
Simcoe and the other communities of Haldimand-Norfolk should be able to
absorb the population increase in their area without the benefit of a
new city. The Haldimand-Norfolk Homebuilder's Association, for example,
estimates that there are 1,100 unsold lots scattered throughout the
region which would not be sold if Townsend were built. (Simcoe Reformer,
May 5, 1981) There is resentment that the government has designated
specific growth areas and that Simcoe is to be allowed a mere population
growth of 22,000 by the end of the century. As a result, many Simconians
see the town's future potential being "stunted" by the government's
efforts to "favour their dream city". (Simcoe Reformer, Dec. 21, 1979)
They think that their taxes are being "siphoned off" to pay for the
development of Townsend, that new development projects are being
allocated to the Townsend area rather than Simcoe, and, that, "money
spent on Townsend should be spent to upgrade services in established
communities such as Waterford, Simcoe, Delhi and Jarvis". (Hamilton
Spectator, June 13, 1981)

Regional Government

The third and probably most dramatic change that Simcoe has experienced in the past ten years is the implementation of regional government. Since many government officials believed that the "mass" industrialization and urbanization caused by Nanticoke would eventually make the area "the possible focal point of the emerging 'megalopolitan' structure of northeastern North America" (Ontario. Ministry of Treasury & Economics, 1971: 5), it was decided that the two separate counties of Haldimand and Norfolk be united into one region. In this way, it was hypothesized that it would be much easier for the provincial government to manage decisions concerning growth and development of the Nanticoke area as it would then be dealing with one large corporate body rather than twenty-eight diverse and separate municipalities (Ontario. Ministry of Treasury & Economics, 1971).

Yet, the regionalization of Haldimand-Norfolk is a continuation of a programme that the provincial government of Ontario began when it created the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto in 1953. Prior to this first regionalization project, the framework for municipal government in Ontario had not been substantially changed since it had been first laid down in the Baldwin Act of 1849. The province, however, recognized that this Act was "not adequate to meet the vastly more complex needs of the much more numerous, highly mobile, urbanized, industrialized population of the end of the twentieth-century" since it had been originally created to "meet the relatively simple needs of a nineteenth-century, scattered, rather isolated, rural and small-town

population" (Ontario. Dept. of Municipal Affairs, 1971: 2-3). The
province therefore proposed that a slow process of regionalization take
place in the more heavily populated areas of the province. Since the
counties of Haldimand and Norfolk are primarily rural districts, it was
not until the Nanticoke project evolved that the government of Ontario
thought it necessary to establish a regional municipality in this area.

In the process of regionalization, the province changes the
structure of municipal government from a one-tier to a two-tier level
of representation. (See Chart 2:1) In a one-tier government, the
responsibility for all municipal functions such as health services,
public work programmes and urban planning resides in the power of the
local municipal council. A two-tier system of government, however,
divides municipal functions between a regional council and local muni-
cipal councils. In this way, expensive facilities such as sewage
treatment plants, road repairs and suburban development which often
cross over municipal boundaries can be co-ordinated in a more equitable
fashion with costs divided among a larger number.

The regionalization of Haldimand-Norfolk was suggested as a
more comprehensive way for the small municipal councils of these counties
to cope with the rapid changes that the industrialization and urbani-
zation of their district would necessarily demand. (Ontario. Dept. of
Municipal Affairs, 1971, Ministry of Treasury & Economics, 1972) Rather
than seeing regionalization as a matter of efficiency, however, the
local citizens see it as a loss of political autonomy whereby political
control has been taken out of the hands of the local people and placed
in the hands of the provincial government (Simcoe Reformer, Dec. 4, 1979).
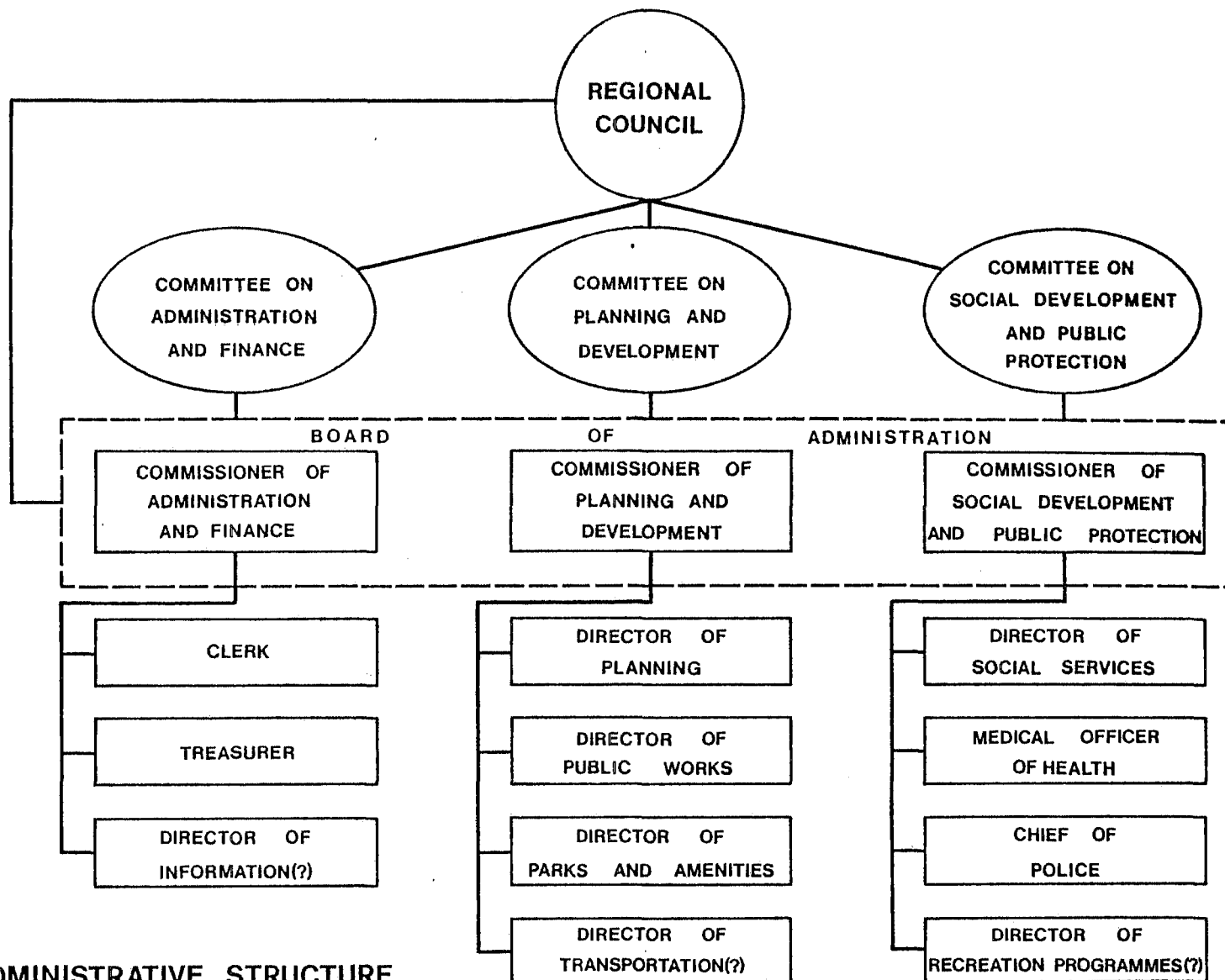
BASIC ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE
BOARD OF ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM
(Stage 2)

FIGURE No 2
HALDIMAND NORFOLK STUDY
MINISTRY OF TREASURY, ECONOMICS
AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
SEPTEMBER 1972

The people of Haldimand-Norfolk do not favour the regionalization of their two counties. They see it as a "shotgun marriage" imposed on them by the provincial government. (Simcoe Reformer, Dec. 31, 1979) The two districts are very dissimilar and there have been various disputes and jealousies between them in the past. Each has a different economic base, historical background and social structure. Haldimand, for instance, is predominantly rural with a few small towns spread out among vast areas of farmland. It has no large urban centre which it can designate as its main market area. The economy is based on mixed farming but the people "take a cautious approach" to any change in agricultural technology as the risks involved may be high. There has been little in-migration to the area so the population is quite stable, predominantly Anglo-Saxon and has long-established roots in the area. The people of Haldimand county, therefore, are quite conservative in nature and hesitant about any type of social change. (Earl Berger Ltd., 1971: 4-7)

In contrast to Haldimand, Norfolk focuses on Simcoe as its prime urban centre and market area. The sandy soil of Norfolk county has made tobacco the main crop although there are fruit, dairy and vegetable operations which are quite successful. The excessive richness of tobacco, however, has made the farmers quite innovative and accepting of change in agricultural techniques as greater crop production has a dramatic increase on their profit. The introduction of tobacco has also brought a considerable in-migration of Europeans which has altered the stable pattern of Anglo-Saxon culture that had formerly pre-dominated in the area. This has made Norfolk more accepting of change as it has

experienced more changes than Haldimand.

This obvious dislike of being closely linked to a district with which one has no apparent interest is exacerbated by the inefficiency of the new regional system. The residents of Haldimand-Norfolk constantly complain that instead of being economical and effective, the regional system is confusing, vague and disorganized. For them, regionalization has merely put another full-scale level of government bureaucracy between the local people and their provincial representatives. What little that has been gained by the introduction of regional government has been quickly lost in its confusion of red tape and bureaucratic regulations. The new regional police force, sanitation service and fire protection agency are, each, cited as specific areas where services have deteriorated rather than improved. It is also claimed that regional assessments have raised tax bills significantly to pay for projects that no one needs and from which few benefit. Though regional government was implemented in Haldimand-Norfolk on January 1, 1974,

> There are many people who still abhor regional
> government and would turn it out in a moment if
> given the chance. They complain about their tax
> bill, utility bills and the extra level of bureau-
> cracy they find only slows down development and
> other plans. While this may or may not be true,
> only personal involvement in a project which mean
> meeting with the bureaucrats can give one a true
> picture. (Simcoe Reformer, Feb. 8, 1980)

In Simcoe most people seem to recognize that the "old county system" of government was outdated and inefficient. They also realize that some form of municipal amalgamation is necessary if the area is to deal with mass industrialization and urbanization. (Earl Berger Ltd., 1971) But, the industrial growth and urban development of Haldimand-

Local Councils Prior to Re-organization		Present Local (Area) Councils	
County of Haldimand:	No. of Members	**City**	
		Nanticoke	13
Towns:			
Caledonia	7	Towns:	
Dunnville	9	Dunnville	10
		Haldimand	18
Villages:		Simcoe	10
Cayuga	5		
Hagersville	5	Townships:	
Jarvis	5	Delhi	12
		Norfolk	9
Townships:			
Canborough	5		
Dunn	5	Total:	72
Moulton	5		
North Cayuga	5		
Oneida	5		
Rainham	5		
Seneca	5		
Sherbrooke	5		
South Cayuga	5		
Walpole	5		
County of Norfolk:			
		Source: Ontario. Ministry of Treasury & Economics, Local Government Organization Branch, 1974, p. 53.	
Towns:			
Delhi	9		
Port Dover	7		
Simcoe	9		
Waterford	7		
Village:			
Port Rowan	5		
Townships:			
Charlotteville	5		
Houghton	5		
Middleton	5		
North Walshingham	5		
South Walshingham	5		
Townsend	5		
Windham	5		
Woodhouse	5		
Total:	158		

55

Table 2: 3

Composition of Area Municipalities

1. <u>City of Nanticoke</u>: An amalgamation of the Village of Jarvis and
the Towns of Port Dover and Waterford, with
portions of the Townships of Rainham, Townsend,
Walpole and Woodhouse.

2. <u>Town of Dunnville</u>: An amalgamation of the Town of Dunnville and
the Townships of Dunn, Moulton, Sherbrooke and
Canborough.

3. <u>Town of Haldimand</u>: An amalgamation of the Town of Caledonia, the
Villages of Cayuga and Hagersville and the
Townships of Oneida, South Cayuga and North
Cayuga, with portions of the Townships of
Rainham and Walpole annexed.

4. <u>Town of Simcoe</u>: Consists of the Town of Simcoe, with portions of
the Townships of Townsend, Windham, Woodhouse and
Charlotteville.

5. <u>Township of Delhi</u>: Consists of the Town of Delhi, with portions of
the Townships of Windham, Middleton, Charlotteville
and South Walsingham.

6. <u>Township of Norfolk</u>: An amalgamation of the Village of Port Rowan and
the Townships of Houghton and North Walsingham,
with portions of the Townships of Middleton and
South Walsingham.

(Ontario. Ministry of Treasury & Economics. Local Government Organization
Branch, 1974: 50)

Norfolk has been much slower than expected. So, many Simconians do not

see the need for regionalization at this period of time. They are

angry at the way in which the province established the regional system.

"The problem is that regional government was shoved smack down our necks.

We voted we didn't want it but they implemented it anyway". (Informant

Number 6) They think that they have been deceived and misled by their

provincial officials.

> You see, Darcy McKeough Minister of Finance painted
> this beautiful picture...So, some people wanted the
> region...But, then, he asked the local people to go
> out and do some planning and get ready for this thing
> ...And, a lot of the local people did spend a lot of
> good valuable time going out and getting facts and
> they were just ignored. I think the plans were already
> on the board regardless of what anyone said or did or
> found out. (Informant Number 3)

They also think that regionalization has brought little change for

Simcoe that has been productive.

> ...there is not one single thing that regional govern-
> ment has done for Simcoe, and certainly nothing that
> is visible enough that the people can walk down the
> street and say, "this is what regional government has
> done for us." There is nothing the people have now
> that was not available before 1974 with the exception
> of much higher costs for all the services that now
> come under regional jurisdiction. (Simcoe Reformer,
> Feb. 8, 1980)

Of prime concern to most Simconians is the effect that regional

government is having on the town's autonomy. In the past, Simcoe has

experienced a great deal of independence and control in the decision-

making process. In fact, as most Simconians see it, "Simcoe has always

been a leader and shown the way, paid its share on the way, and has been

a great influence in what is right for others". (Simcoe Reformer,

Dec. 21, 1979) It has been the largest urban centre, the county town,

the guide which all other communities in the area tended to follow.
But, with the implementation of regionalization, Simcoe has lost its
favoured position. It has been "removed by provincial authority from
being a full municipal entity with a county system of government to
that of being a lesser entity within the Regional Municipality of
Haldimand-Norfolk". (Simcoe Reformer, Dec. 4, 1979) Its local authority
has been reduced considerably in such areas as financing, police,
planning and development, water and sewer service. It is no longer
considered the county town as the new town of Townsend is expected to
hold that title after it is constructed. Already meetings of the new
regional council are presently held in Cayuga rather than Simcoe. The
town, therefore, has lost its former status of first-place. It has
become a "single vote among many" (Informant Number 3).
Simcoe's future is now very dependent on the goodwill and 'mercy' of
regional council rather than the desires of the people of Simcoe, for,

> ...the town is now at the threshold of going forward,
> or standing still, and much of the outcome will be
> determined right in Cayuga at regional council meetings.
> It has already been shown that decisions made by the
> majority at Simcoe Council, can be overruled at the
> regional level, and not always by elected officials.
> (Simcoe Reformer, Jan. 4, 1980)

Simconians resent the town's new status on regional council as
it represents a major loss in the town's autonomy. They now have only
two representatives on regional council who may plead their cause to the
other area council members. The town has "lost control over its own
destiny in terms of roads, sewage and planning. Even for projects that
require major services most entrepreneurs will approach the municipality".
(Informant Number 4) The regionalization of Haldimand-Norfolk, therefore,

has placed the town in a position of dependency on what the people of

Simcoe consider to be "lesser communities". That position often means

compromise for the community of Simcoe.

> The regional experiment is fine on paper. But the
> problem is personalities. You see, the regional
> councillors do not yet realize that this is the region
> and not individual parts. We're still playing county
> politics at the regional level. For example, if
> Simcoe says that they want something Dunnville will
> probably vote for it because Dunnville will **want**
> something and Simcoe will vote for it. But we're not
> looking at the overall good...Regional government
> would be fine if everybody would be fair..but they
> aren't...they look at their own short-term politics.
> (Informant Number 24)

Most Simconians, however, see this compromise situation as a detriment

to the future of the town.

> The problem is that others are helping to make
> decisions by the weight of numbers of what is happening
> in Simcoe. There is still regional jealousy here...
> Very often an issue is shot down just because it comes
> from the town of Simcoe. The mayor has lost power just
> because he is the mayor of Simcoe. He has to go and
> beg the rest of regional council to take his side...
> That's not the way to run a town. On council you have
> to bargain for what you want. You vote with me this
> time and I'll vote with you the next. Regional govern-
> ment has been a disaster for Simcoe as far as I'm con-
> cerned. And, you can quote me on that. (Informant
> Number 1)

As one Simcoe informant so concisely summarizes the situation:

> Simcoe was well-managed before the region was formed
> and now it seems to be going to pot...But that's because
> the region doesn't care about us. And, what does someone
> in Dunnville know about what is needed in Simcoe?...Like
> how can I go to Dunnville and tell them how to run their
> town when I don't know anything about what is really
> needed there. It's ludicrous! (Informant Number 29)

Conclusion

Every useful community study is a study of transition, as every
community is continually adapting to the external and internal economic,
political and social pressures that the members of the community en-
counter. The citizens of a community, therefore, must learn to adopt
various social patterns which will help them cope with the new social
structures that community change generates. In the past twelve years,
the people of Simcoe have been exposed to a number of serious changes in
their social environment. These changes have been primarily produced by
the introduction of large-scale industrialization, urbanization and
bureaucratization. The bureaucratization of the town's political struc-
ture due to the formation of regional government, the possible alteration
of the town's economic structure due to the erection of the industrial
complex at Nanticoke and the projected mass urbanization of the Haldimand-
Norfolk district have, each, in its own way, had a major impact on the
people who live in Simcoe. It is something that the community cannot
ignore or eliminate. In order to maintain its equanimity, the community
of Simcoe must contend with the changes that Nanticoke, Townsend and
regional government present. A study of the town of Simcoe, therefore,
enables us to examine the formation of new social structures that are
developed to cope with the social pressures that such rapid industriali-
zation, urbanization and bureaucratization evoke.

This chapter describes some of the experiences that the community
of Simcoe has encountered due to the introduction of social change. In
the past new changes have usually meant a renewal of the town's autonomy.

It has meant growth and development for the town rather than a decline. But, the changes of the past few years have been a different type of change for Simcoe. The presence of Nanticoke, Townsend and regional government have had the effect of limiting rather than increasing the town's independence. The implementation of regional government means that such important municipal decisions as planning can no longer be decided by the local town council but must be approved by the regional council. Simcoe's population has been limited to a maximum of 22,000 with all major urban growth to be allocated to Townsend. The introduction of industry at the Nanticoke complex has made industry the prime source of employment for young Simconians rather than farming or agricultural work. These are changes which most of the people of Simcoe have never truly experienced before. In the remaining chapters we will examine the reactions and attitudes that Simcoe elites express about these changes and the new extra-community influences of Townsend, Nanticoke and regional government. In this way, we will be able to perceive some of the effects that these influences have had on the social structure of the town.

CHAPTER III - SIMCOE ELITES, SOCIAL NETWORKS

AND THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Introduction

The first two chapters of this study discussed the town of Simcoe
as a community experiencing social change due to the immediate prospect
of rapid industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization. It was
noted, that the town has a firm economic base, a legally-defined terri-
torial boundary, a strong historical background and a common ideology
that supports the ethos of community leadership, community autonomy and
community responsibility. Yet, these two chapters did not consider the
relevance of Simcoe as a model of social change. In order to do so, the
events that are now occurring in the town must be examined in terms of
their relation to the findings of previous community research on
community power structures. This chapter examines some of the areas of
community social research that pertain to the analysis of social change
and the elite structure in Simcoe. In addition, it introduces the con-
cept of the social network as a viable approach to the analysis of
community solidarity and social change in modern technological society.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into five sections.
The first section, entitled "The Importance of Social Ties of Community",
discusses the theoretical assumption that modern man has lost his sense
of community because modern technology has produced a society in which
the only social connections between men are weakly-linked, vague and

inexpressive. The new period of modernization in Simcoe makes the

community an appropriate model for testing the relevance of this theory

for the social organization of community life in the modern Western

world. The second section examines the community power literature and

the research studies on community elites in order to determine how such

structural changes as those presented by such extra-community influences

as Nanticoke, regionalization and Townsend affect the control and use of

power resources in the community setting. This section is called

"Community Elites, Loss of Autonomy and the Control of Power Resources".

The third section is titled "The Social Network as an Approach to the

Study of Community". It suggests that with the benefit of this new

approach to the study of community social structure, it is possible to

examine and establish the existence of social ties of community and to

examine the re-organization of these ties when structural change occurs.

It is also possible to trace the flow of power resources between

community elites via an examination of their social connections. As a

result, this method can be used to analyze any change in the community

power structure due to the availability of new power resources in the

community. The type of power resources that are likely to be controlled

by community elites is examined in the fourth section, "Cosmopolitan and

Localite Influentials and their Extra-Community Orientation". The con-

cluding section discusses the way in which all of this theoretical

material applies to the social changes that are presently occurring in

the community of Simcoe.

I: The Importance of Social Ties of Community

There are three ways in which the term "community" is used in sociology. One way that it is used is to refer to such social units as social groups, neighbourhoods and total institutions. This definition is exemplified in the study of religious communities, work associations or neighbourhood organizations whose members all express some common identification that binds them into a social group. A second use of the term "community" is to refer to a social-psychological state in which people share meaningful relationships with one another such as feelings of camaraderie, intellectual exchange or fraternal companionship. In the community study literature, the term "community" is used in a third way. It is used primarily as a "generic term to encompass those units of social and territorial organization that, depending on their size, may also be called hamlets, villages, towns, cities or metropolitan areas" (Poplin, 1979: 3). This third definition recognizes that the community is a form of social interaction in which common bonds of mutual co-operation are established among members who live in the same territorial locale. It is in this sense, for example, that the town of Simcoe was described in the first two chapters of this study. The people of Simcoe live, work, raise their children, go to church, socially interact with their friends and neighbours and, in general, pass their daily existence within the confines of the territorial boundary of the town.

It is this third definition that has become a topic of considerable dispute among social scientists who are interested in the relevance of the community as a unit of social organization in modern technological society

(Bernard, 1973: 4). Some social scientists, for instance, claim that the importance of the locale component of the definition has been greatly diminished since modern transportation and communication systems have now made it possible for people to "transcend" the physical barriers that territorial designates and form new patterns of social organization (Wellman, 1979; Wellman & Leighton, 1979; Martindale, 1966). According to these social scientists, people are no longer tightly-bound to their small community area as the main source of their social association. They may now establish and maintain close social contacts with people who physically reside elsewhere even when vast distances separate the two because such technological innovations as the telephone, the telegraph, the airplane and the automobile have made the issue of distance irrelevant if one seriously desires to retain intimate contact with someone who no longer lives nearby. For these social scientists, modern technology has "freed" mankind to experiment with different approaches to the organization of his social world.

Other social scientists (Stein, 1960; Nisbet, 1962; Wirth, 1966) suggest that although man has been "freed" from the territorial constraints of his ancestors, the high rate of mobility expressed by the demands of modern technological society have destroyed the security and intimacy that comes with the close continuous contact that was characteristic of the past. Today, people move from one community setting to another only to try to construct similar patterns of social organization in which they try to re-establish the same type of social contacts that were left behind. This tendency toward reproduction is combined with the tendency for modern communication systems and transportation devices to quickly

transport new ideas and cultural perceptions across vast distances. The result is that the construction of one's social patterns of organization drifts toward the 'lowest common denominator' in which all men 'feel' comfortable. This produces a "mass" culture in which "all communities begin to look like so many variations on a single theme" (Stein, 1960: 296). In this view, the modern community has become a mere "territorial" designation for persons "caught in a fruitless quest" for the sense of community that they have traded for the expediencies of modern techno-logical life (Nisbet, 1962).

Both of these approaches recognize that the small rural community is no longer an isolated entity but has become an integral part of the larger social order. Louis Wirth (1966), for example, has noted that as rapid transportation, mass communication and industrial growth expand, the differences between rural and urban life become indistinct. The city "spills over" into the countryside with each community slowly becoming urbanite in ideological perspective and social action. Sinclair and Westhues (1974) found that this factor of national integration and the acceptance of urban values by the members of a small rural community located on the "fringe" of a large urban centre produced a conflict situation in which newcomers and oldtimers fought over the future develop-ment of the town. The cause of this conflict situation was the apparent difference in urban-rural values expressed in the lack of integration of the newcomers to the community.

The influx of new ideas and cultural perceptions into the smaller community setting from the larger urban centres cannot be denied. In fact, many aspects of community life such as legal sanctions, labour codes

and public opinion are greatly influenced or totally instilled into the community by external forces. Roland Warren (1966) describes this process in terms of vertical and horizontal integration. He suggests that the community follows two patterns of social organization. A community's vertical pattern is "the set of relationships of various community units to social systems outside of the community" (Warren, 1966: 194). This vertical pattern is determined by the ties that various parts of the community have to organizations outside of the local community social structure. Many local churches, voluntary associations and businesses, for example, have their head offices in larger national centres. It is these head offices that determine the policies for the community's local branch organization. In these units of the community's social structure, the external "mass" society regulates the social patterns of the community. The more units of the community's social structure that are controlled by outside organizations, the more integrated is the community as a part of the larger social order and the weaker the community's autonomy.

The community's horizontal pattern is defined as "those relationships of community units to each other" (Warren, 1966: 194). Small local businesses, community clubs or local organizations originate within the community and are controlled by local members of the community rather than by outside forces. Each community therefore also has a set of inter-community units which affect and limit the social actions of its members. The stronger this horizontal pattern, the more autonomous and cohesive is the community's social structure and the less likely it is to be an exact replica of every other small local community. Thus, according to Warren,

> ...communities vary, in the extent to which they are
> merely "junctions" for regional and national networks
> of goods, services, and institutional behaviour patterns
> and control, with little locally initiated and locally
> determined action, on the one hand; or, on the other
> hand, the extent to which they are strong locality groups
> with the bulk of their activities, though following
> regional and national culture patterns in varying degrees,
> nevertheless initiated, determined and directed from
> within the community itself. (Warren, 1966: 222)

Warren's model provides a link between these two approaches for

it assumes that some communities can be so vertically-oriented that they

have indeed been "eclipsed" of their original character and have become

conventional reproductions of the status quo. It also asserts that some

communities may find methods of adapting to this tendency to be enveloped

by the larger social order that permit them to establish a unique communi-

ty identity and allows them to retain a great deal of their independence

and local character.

However, one of the prime areas of dispute between these two

approaches to the study of community is their view of the social organi-

zation of community ties. Social theorists such as Stein (1966), Wirth

(1966) and Nisbet (1962) claim that the growth of industrial corporations,

governmental agencies, large-scale labour and bureaucratic social organi-

zations have given rise to a "society in which the individual lacks secure

individual and group ties and relates in a tangential and segmental

manner" (Halebsky, 1976: 38). For these theorists, the organization of

social life is based on the superficial consensus that is formed by the

similarity of interests of the massive bodies that control power in

society, rather than the agreement of small community organizations (Wirth,

1964: 76). They argue that the basis of social life has become

characterized by secondary contacts which are impersonal, superficial, unstable, transitory and segmental. Social control, social consensus and social communication grow out of people's struggle for existence on the impersonal level of convenience rather than a sense of personal identity and unity with one's social group (Park, 1966). As a result, man has lost control of the social connections that organize his social world. He has become detached, withdrawn, apathetic, atomized and alienated from his own identity. He has lost the means of communicating and co-operating with his social group. He has lost his "sense" of community.

Other community theorists such as Gans (1962, 1967), Suttles (1972) and Albert Hunter (1974) suggest that the attributes of technological life have permitted man to develop new strategies of social organization in which the common ties of community have merely been re-arranged as man has adapted to the contingencies of modern life. Unlike the previous approach, this argument is based on a great deal of empirical research which has been conducted in various rural and urban settings in an attempt to demonstrate that networks of interpersonal ties do in fact exist in modern social life and that community has not been "lost" but merely "transformed". Herbert Gans (1967) outlined a complex pattern of social organization in the community of Levittown which resulted from the attempts of the inhabitants to establish a community structure from the previously uninhabited suburb. Gerald Suttles (1972) discovered that most people make some "psychological" identification with their territorial designation of neighbourhood, block or street district and form group solidarities on that basis. Sinclair and Westhues (1974: 121) concluded from their study of the urbanization of Fringetown, Southern

Ontario that the people of the community did not perceive themselves as alienated or isolated and that integration into the national network does not necessarily mean separation of community ties. Such useful documentation of empirical evidence has allowed the proponents of this approach to assert that there is a continued vitality of those primary ties that such theorists as Michael Stein and Robert Nisbet claim to be "lost".

The contention that people in modern technological society share social ties of community therefore needs close examination. If it can be demonstrated that there is a unit of social organization known as "community" with which people identify and from which they gain a sense of security and belonging, then, it might be possible to dispel some of the pessimistic theories that claim that people in the twentieth century are "manipulated" by external forces over which they have little or no control (Kornhauser, 1959: 5; Halebsky, 1976: 38; Nisbet, 1962: 112). On the other hand, if it is not possible to demonstrate that such a unit of social organization exists in modern Western society, then the concept of "community" should be abandoned as a viable approach to the analysis of social life.

II: Community Elites, Loss of Autonomy and the Control of Power Resources

One area that has been extensively examined in the community study literature is the community power structure (Bernard, 1973: 73). The concept of power is of great significance to the study of community organization for it is the decisions of those who hold power in the

community that often determine both the physical and social environment

in which the other members of that community must subsist. Yet, power

is one of the most difficult concepts to define and analyze within the

community context. This is primarily due to the fact that power is an

intangible substance and is therefore deceptive, elusive and difficult

to assess. In consequence, power is often defined in the community

study literature as "a word that will be used to describe the acts of

men going about the business of moving other men to act in relation to

themselves or in relation to organic or inorganic things" (Hunter,

1953: 2). Power structure is defined as "the characteristic pattern

within a social organization whereby resources are mobilized and sanc-

tions employed in ways that affect the organization as a whole (Walton,

1974: 363). A resource is anything that can be used to sway the

specific choices or the strategies of an individual or whatever may be

used as an inducement (Dahl, 1974: 100). It can be access

to a job, money, education, social connections and so forth. In this

way, power is examined in terms of its effects rather than its material

properties. It is analyzed in terms of the processes of interaction in

which decisions are seen to be made in the community and, the results of

such decisions can be observed by other community members.

There are two ways in which power has been studied in the social

science literature. The first of these approaches focuses on the

institutional bases of power and influence, that is, on certain corporate

bodies such as labour unions, religious organizations, social classes or

political parties which are seen to exert control over certain power

resources in the community. These resources may be financial

assets, political patronage, scarce land resources, administrative

influence or any valuable that can be exchanged between corporate bodies

when and if it is required. In this model, individuals are viewed in

terms of the position of power that they hold in the corporate body, for

it is these positions which are thought to designate the amount of control

that the individual has over these power resources. As soon as the

individual loses his "title of office", however, he also loses most of

his power and influence since it is vested in the position that he holds

rather than in his personal qualities (Mills, 1951: 289-350; 1967: 1-17;

Porter, 1965: xii-xiv, 3-29; Hawley & Wirt, 1974: 3-6).

The second approach to the analysis of power views power as the

result of interpersonal relationships between two or more people and the

interaction process whereby a person can achieve control over others. In

this approach, "potential power is relatively unimportant until it is

translated into interpersonal transaction to achieve compliance" (Hawley

& Wirt, 1974: 3). In this model, then, it is more important to study

the qualities of the individual who holds power rather than his possession

of or lack of a power position. From this perspective, the focus of

analysis is on the interaction patterns between individuals, as this type

of analysis is more likely to reveal the requisites necessary for these

individuals to attain and maintain their power and influence in the

community (Warner, 1964: 22-77; Lynd & Lynd, 1974: 41-51; Vidich &

Bensman, 1968: 258-282).

Both of these approaches have greatly influenced the organization

and direction of research on community power structures. Followers of

the first approach generally believe in pluralism, that is, the ability

of several, loosely-knit interest groups to direct and control the power

process. For pluralists, "the basis of effective democracy is to be

found in the contention and countervailing influences of these several

elites" who must continually exchange their power resources as they

compete to maintain their powerful positions. Thus, the community power

structure is seen to rest on a delicate balance of power which tends to

shift a bit in every transaction but which also eliminates the possibility

of monopoly by elites in the decision-making process. (Hawley & Wirt,

1974: 4).

The second approach to community power is based on the assumption

that "in all time, in all societies, and in all subgroups of society,

decision-making power is in the hands of a cohesive and persisting

minority group" (Forcese, 1978: 303). This power group, which usually

consists of people who are similar in social background, economic interest,

education, residence patterns and socialization, forms a tightly-knit,

unified power block in which different members may be seen to take part

in individual projects or community decisions but in which the ultimate

decision is compatible with the authority group as a whole. Researchers

who follow this model (elite) focus on the personal traits and interests

of those people who form this compact group of power and concentrate on

the motivations by which these people make their decisions (Hawley & Wirt,

1974: 4; Forcese, 1978: 303-304; Bernard, 1973: 75).

However, when the researcher transfers his perspective from the

analysis of power in the abstract, to the analysis of the structure of

power relationships, he finds that these two models of power are merely

ideal types which are rarely found in their perfect state (Presthus,

1964: 429-433; Bernard, 1973: 89). Most communities can be placed on an elitist-pluralist continuum based on the extent of power that can be seen to be exerted by external bodies of corporate control or unified community elites. On one end of the continuum there are communities that are primarily dominated by "elite rule", that is, rule in which "the key decisions in the community are dominated by a few whose interests are relatively cohesive and who enjoy substantial autonomy from potential claimants on their power" (Hawley & Wirt, 1974: 3). On the other end of the continuum, there are communities that are dominated by several elite factions (pluralism) in which the "distribution of power is somewhat dispersed and class lines are not the assumed determinants of that distribution" (Hawley & Wirt, 1974: 4). In this system, the balance of power tends to "adjust to new levels of equilibrium in response to demands from those who seek a greater share of the rewards that power brings" (Hawley & Wirt, 1974: 4). Community power structures may therefore vary from ones in which the elites have a total monopolistic power arrangement, that is, a single, cohesive leadership group, to ones in which the elites are very competitive and pluralism dominates the disposal of power resources (Presthus, 1964: 412; Walton, 1974: 357-370).

The variable that is most indicative of a community's position on this elitist-pluralist continuum tends to be "structural characteristics of the communities (mainly demographic and economic)" rather than the method, the discipline or the ideology of the researcher (Bernard, 1973: 79). Small communities have a smaller population from which to choose their community leaders and, as a result, often develop an elite power structure in which the duties of the community influentials overlap in

many areas. Thus, the same group of people come to control the power

resources that are available in the community and monopolize the decision-

making process. Larger communities tend to have more resources to exchange

and more people with leadership potential, so they tend to produce plura-

list power structures in which there are several elites competing for the

means of power control (Bernard, 1973: 86; Presthus, 1964: 408).

Economic stability and internal ownership of the community's economic

resources tends to produce elite power structures, while economic diver-

sity and non-local ownership tend to produce a pluralist system of power

(Bernard, 1973: 86; Presthus, 1964: 411). There is no such thing as a

single form of community power structure. "The structure of power, where

any exists, varies from a monolithic pyramidal structure to an amorphorous

congeries of separate power structures, depending on the nature of the

community itself" (Bernard, 1973: 89).

The community power structure can also be greatly affected by

extra-community influences for, there is an unrelenting trend toward

increasing control by extracommunity systems in which "many aspects of

community living are determined in whole or part by decisions made outside

the community by policies and procedures of state and national economy"

(Warren, 1966: 221). The structure of power in the local community

therefore is not independent of such interference. Any change in the

amount of or source of extracommunity stimuli may greatly affect the way

in which the structure of power is arranged and the amount of power

resources that are available in the community.

Robert Presthus (1964: 432) suggests that this tendency for

higher levels of government and industry to set down the major conditions

of decision-making for the local community severely restricts local autonomy and interferes in the overall pattern of public participation in community issues. He found in his study of the communities of Riverview and Edgewood, U.S.A. that local elites and community members would tend to become more involved in decisions "where a good proportion of the resources were of local origin" such as issues involving the local hospital board, the schools and new industry (Presthus, 1964: 432). However, there was little public concern or elite involvement in decisions that had an "external" source, such as flood control and housing policy. This finding led Presthus to conclude that "participation both within the power structure and the community tends to be positively related to the degree to which decisions involve the use (as well as the rhetoric) of essentially local rather than 'external' resources" (Presthus, 1964: 432). If Presthus' observations are transferred into Warren's terms of horizontal and vertical orientation, we can consistently examine the effects that the community's vertical and horizontal patterns have on the local community power structure. The more decisions and issues that originate at the horizontal level (local decisions and issues), the stronger the community power structure. The more decisions that originate at the vertical level (extra-community oriented), the weaker the community power structure. An examination of the community's vertical and horizontal patterns therefore will also demonstrate the effects on the community's autonomy and the strength of its power structure.

In a review of the community power literature and previous research findings on community power structures, John Walton (1974) found that as "extra-community" (vertical) forces such as government agencies and

international organizations take more and more control of the local community's political, economic and social institutions, the power structure in the local community tends to become less monopolistic and more pluralist. Walton (1974: 369) hypothesizes that this is because the introduction of new institutions and influences of "national-urban culture" tends to produce "a 'fragmentation of local normative order' or a disruption of consensual expectations concerning the norms prescribed by existing power arrangements". The resultant effect is that as "expectations are altered and interests differentiated, new resources are exploited for the creation of competing power groups" (Walton, 1974: 369). Monopolistic power depends on a consensus of social norms which are agreeable to the exclusive control of power resources by a particular group of elites. The availability of new power resources, however, makes new opportunities available for other elites to gain access to power resources and affect the structure of power in the community. This causes a disruption in the normative values in the community which have always supported the monopolistic control of the original power structure.

In their study, Small Town in Mass Society, Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman (1968) suggest that small communities that express a very strong value system and community ethic tend to change very slowly and with great deliberation. This, in turn, helps to support the monopolistic position of the original elites who use this ideology to retain their control of power and influence in the community. Any changes that are to be totally accepted in the community must therefore also be legitimated in terms of the prevailing ideology of the community members. Based on his findings in a Canadian study, Cohen argues that any elites who

support new changes must combat this prevailing ideology by using their new power resources to create legitimacy for their new ideas and projects (Cohen, 1978: 6). Thus new power resources often produce an ideological differentiation which contributes to the factionalism of elites, the breakdown of the original tightly-knit elite network and the pluralistic tendency that Walton describes.

However, since most of the original elites will usually support the ideology that sustains their monopoly on power and their exclusive position in the community power structure, the individuals who support change are likely to be those who have not always agreed with the ideas of the original elites, those who have not readily been accepted into the elite structure or those who will directly benefit from the changes that are occurring in the community (Cohen, 1978; Sinclair & Westhues, 1974). Also, since the original elites already have a strong control of the local power resources, these new power resources are apt to be induced by extra-community influences. These extra-community resources are therefore available to any elite member who has access to and the ability to gain control of the new resources. This often produces a factional system in the community in which "competing cliques, each bound by particularistic ties of friendship and favouritism, struggle for power" (Sinclair & Westhues, 1974: 83). This factional system is based on informal, personal ties between community members which, if necessary, can be easily organized into a group structure by politically-active leaders. Since total allegiance to the faction is never required, faction-al membership is often "fluid" and interchangeable with a considerable "drift among the factions according to where personal gain can be

maximized" (Sinclair & Westhues, 1974: 81). Leaders of these "competing cliques" will therefore frequently focus on a conflict situation in the community as a way to advocate their social norms and ideology and thereby obtain the loyalty of these factions. The more factions that these leaders align, the more powerful their position in the community. The more diverse and competitive the various cliques, the more pluralistic the community power structure.

Studies on community power structures reveal that the use and control of power resources can form complex patterns of power relations which affect the overall structure of power in the community (Bernard, 1973: 73-89). The system of factionalism and the growth of "competing cliques" that tends to appear as a result of structural change is therefore also likely to be greatly affected by the way in which power is diffused throughout the community. In Middletown, U.S.A., the Lynds (1923) found that because the "X" family owned the largest industry in the community, it had gained access to most of the community's other power resources. This eliminated the possibility of other major power figures to emerge in the community. Though other community leaders held significant positions in Middletown and contributed to the decision-making process, the "X" family dominated the procedure. There was a member of the "X" family on the local school board, the local hospital board and the board of directors of the local bank. The family donated large funds to all church building projects, recreation facilities and community organization. It held a controlling interest in the local newspaper, the local department store and donated heavily to the local and federal Republican Party. Such examples led the Lynds to conclude

that,

>...the lines of leadership and the related controls are
>heavily concentrated today in Middletown...so long as
>the owners of such vast personal resources exhibit a
>public-spirited willingness to help with local problems,
>leadership and control tend to be forced upon them by
>circumstances and their patterns tend to become the
>official guiding patterns. (Lynd & Lynd, 1974: 50)

The relations of power in Middletown were therefore very closely-knit and

mediated by the authoritative position held by the members of the "X"

family. Such control made a factional system virtually impossible.

Floyd Hunter (1953) found that there were "pyramids of power" in

the community of Regional City, U.S.A. These pyramids consisted of

different interest groups which controlled various power resources. How-

ever, these groups were all linked together into a total pattern of power

that formed one cohesive community power structure. The structure con-

sisted of a "top level" of powerful community leaders who generally had

the same economic and social interests and who, therefore, tended to act

together for the "common good" when decisions were made for the community.

The projects and decisions that were made by the power leaders in Regional

City, were often introduced to the general community by means of a fluid

committee structure in which committee meetings were held and responsi-

bilities delegated to community members who held positions of less

authority than the major power leaders. The more powerful leaders in

Regional City would therefore act through the use of intermediaries who

were seen to be responsible members of the community and also loyal to

the interests of the top leaders. In this way, the more powerful leaders

are able to devote their time to the more serious planning and decision-

making duties that are required of their high position.

Thus, Hunter presents a more complex pattern of power and the use of power resources than the one found by the Lynds in their study of Middletown. Where the "X" family had several family members who were able to maintain dominant positions in the leading community organizations and institutions and thereby maintained personal access to and control of the various power resources available in Middletown, Hunter found several 'unrelated' power figures who were closely united by their common interests and who maintained control of the power resources in the community through the use of their various community contacts. There was a "chain of command" of power in Regional City which flowed down from the top power leaders who made policy, to the intermediary leaders who enact policy to "second and third-rate men" who "carry the project into its action stages" (Hunter, 1953: 107). Occasionally the top leaders would take a position on an important project in order to give it prestige or overt support and some of the younger leaders were given positions in the top associations as 'training assignments' in which they were able to prove their leadership capabilities but generally the intermediary leaders would take these responsibilities. Thus, the power structure in Regional City operated on several levels in which power resources were transferred from one leader to the next depending upon the individual's position in the power structure and his relative status in the community (Hunter, 1953: 61-111). "Common interests, mutual obligation, money, habit, delegated responsibilities and, in some cases, force or coercion tend to hold the structure intact" (Hunter, 1953: 111).

Hunter's and the Lynds' findings both exemplify elite models of community power. In Regional City, the model is less obvious because

there are several leaders who can be identified as power figures in the

community. However, power resources are tightly-controlled in this

structure and the use and manipulation of these resources is carefully

considered. Hunter, for instance, observes that,

> The 'little fellows' are continually moved to perform
> their proper tasks by those above them. The roles
> defined for the under-structure of power personnel
> are carefully defined in keeping with the larger
> interests. Their movements are carefully stimulated
> and watched at all times to see that their various
> functions are properly performed. (Hunter, 1953:
> 108-109)

Such carefully controlled and conscientiously observed delegation of

power makes it fairly impossible for a factional system to develop. "The

omnipresent threat of power sanctions used against recalcitrant underlings

is recognized by the lower echelons of power, and they generally go along

with most decisions, grumbling in private" (Hunter, 1953: 110). It

would necessitate extra-community change, the availability of new power

resources and the development of a new ideology promoting such changes to

produce a strong faction capable of challenging such a powerful system of

control by this type of power structure.

Robert Presthus (1964) found a similar pattern of power in his

study of the communities of Riverview and Edgewood, U.S.A. Both communi-

ties had developed a power structure in which leadership "was quite con-

centrated in terms of the small proportion of all community adults who

are involved and in terms of the substantial 'overlapping' among decisions

by those in the power structure" (Presthus, 1964: 136). Decision-making

was not specialized but seemed to be based on the general demand for

several common but different kinds of skills such as fund-raising, legal

knowledge, control or possession of financial resources and command of the mass media. The overall result was a power structure based on a division of labour between "generalist leaders who control and direct various types of decisions and specialized 'second-level' leaders who are drawn into various types of decisions as the need for their peculiar skills arises" (Presthus, 1964: 136). The generalists tend to control the "vital initial stage" of decision-making while the second-level leaders act as "leg-men" who perform the necessary functions required to make the decision successful (Presthus, 1964: 137). The generalists may therefore maintain a low profile and protect their powerful position from the adversities that occur when decisions are enacted.

Yet, although Presthus found structures of power similar to that found by Hunter in Regional City, he acknowledges that the two power structures vary considerably in terms of their pluralistic tendencies. Presthus suggests that the effectiveness of the power structure is closely related to the socio-economic structure of the community. "Such community resources as wealth, industrial strength, skill, energy and value consensus tend to determine both the composition and the effectiveness of its leadership elite" (Presthus, 1964: 175). For example, since Edgewood had been able to maintain a more diversified economy it was also able to attract leaders who possessed "the education, ambition, technical skill and civic interest that make leadership possible" (Presthus, 1964: 175). In such communities, the top men in the community power structure must continually encounter other community elites that frequently demonstrate different interests and demands from themselves. These leaders therefore learn to regularly adjust their demands to accommodate those

expressed by others. Because these two communities had more loosely-knit power structures, they already expressed a less obvious factional system of power allocation. The top men in such structures were therefore more responsive to extra-community change and had a more positive reaction which made it easier for them to adapt and thereby maintain control of the community power structure.

The structure of community power and the dispersal of power resources is a very intricate and highly complex matter. The research conducted by the Lynds, Floyd Hunter and Robert Presthus demonstrate the differences and similarities that can be found in the basic structure of community power, the allocation and directional flow of power resources and the various social contacts that exist between community leaders. The structure of power in a community is therefore not static but ever-changing at various rates depending upon such factors as the economic stability of the community, the size of the community, the acceptance of the dominant ideology that supports the elite structure and the skills and interests that are expressed by the leaders in the community. Exposure to extra-community influences merely serves to further complicate the situation. The more vertically integrated that the community is socially and politically, however, the less controversy and sharp conflict on basic values are likely to occur within the community when it is exposed to more extra-community change (Presthus, 1964: 431). However, the more horizontally-integrated the community, the more likely there is to be factional conflict arising (Walton, 1974: 369).

III: The Social Network as an Approach to the Study of Community

A relatively new technique of analysis introduced in the study of community social structure is the social network. Although the social network has been extensively used by social psychologists in the formation of sociograms or in tracing the path of communication by which rumours or information are diffused among a certain group of people, it was not until 1954 that the social anthropologist, J.A. Barnes adapted the concept as a means of interpreting social behaviour in a community setting. Barnes found that he was unable to classify the behaviour of the parishioners of Bremmes, Norway using the usual sociological categories of class, group, age cohort or kinship. He needed a category of classification that required no boundaries as the people of the community formed social bonds which crossed over the usual categories of social structure. This new category was the social network. By focusing on the relationships of the linkages in the social networks of the parishioners in this community, Barnes found that he was able to interpret the social organization of Bremmes in a more comprehensive and coherent fashion.

Barnes defined the social network as "a set of points some of which are joined by lines. The points of the image are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with one another" (Barnes, 1954: 43). Little use was made of this definition, until 1957 when the English social anthropologist Elizabeth Bott adopted the concept of the social network as a framework of analysis for her research on family structure and conjugal roles. In her investigation of family social networks, Bott discovered that the identification of the

social network to which a person belongs may also provide insight into
the extent and types of social control exerted on that individual, his
role expectations and certain patterns of behaviour that he may exhibit.
People who are members of a "close-knit" social network of friends and
associates are more restrained in the boundaries of their role expecta-
tions and norms of acceptable behaviour. This is primarily due to the
fact that "when many people a person knows interact with one another...
the members of his network tend to reach consensus on norms and exert
consistent informal pressure on one another to conform to the norms, to
keep in touch with one another, and, if need be, to help one another"
(Bott, 1971: 60). On the other hand, people who belong to a "loose-
knit" social network do not have as much social interaction with the
members of the network, so social control and mutual assistance are less
apparent. Proper adaptation to the expectations of the social network
to which a person belongs, therefore, may indicate the extent to which he
/she is accepted and integrated into that particular social network. The
extent that a person thinks that he has been integrated into a particular
social network may also reflect his sense of allegiance to that network
and the expectations that he will have as to mutual aid and assistance.
This sense of allegiance, in turn, may have a profound effect on his
social behaviour, social values and community affiliation.

As a result of Bott's research findings, the social network was
gradually accepted by other researchers as a valid technique of social
research. Mayer (1961, 1962, 1964) and Paul (1963), for example, used
Bott's idea of the effect of social networks on role expectations in
their studies of the behaviour of different types of migrants to the

town of East London in South Africa on the Cape of Good Hope. Gold (1975) used the social network to trace the emergence of a new entrepreneurial elite in the small community of St. Pascal, Quebec. Herbert Gans (1967) used it to outline the pattern of social organization of a group of neighbours in the isolated suburbs of Levittown, U.S.A. Such examples of effective research soon made it quite clear that the social network approach could be used to interpret behaviour in a wide variety of social settings and was not limited to the study of conjugal roles alone.

In the past ten years, the social network approach has been adopted by many community theorists as an approach to the analysis of the question of the existence of social ties of community. Unlike the 'decline of community' theorists who believe that the vast complexity and increased mobility of modern social life has produced a situation in which "the turnover in group membership generally is rapid...and the task of holding organizations together and maintaining and promoting intimate and lasting acquaintanceship between the members is difficult", the proponents of the network approach view "personal bonds as the consequences of structured choices" which are consciously selected by individuals "from the options provided by their society and their immediate milieus" (Wirth, 1966: 50; Fischer et.al., 1977: 3). The selection process by which these intimate and personal bonds are formed is founded on the basis of a mutual "exchange of resources" and the "costs and rewards" that are thought to be available to the individuals who maintain the social relationship(s) (Fischer et.al., 1977: 4; Wellman, 1979: 1207).

Fischer et al. have suggested that this "choice-constraint" model of social change and the construction of social ties permits the

researcher to view "human behaviour, including the formation and mainten-
ance of social relations, as choices made with limited alternatives and
limited resources" rather than the powerless reaction to the omnipotent
pressures of modern technological society (Fischer et.al., 1977: 2).
With the choice-constraint model, the individual is viewed as a conscious
actor who builds his social network within the limits of his social
environment. As he makes various social contacts, he consciously picks
and chooses to form social bonds which are both meaningful and useful to
his social and physical existence. These social relationships are based
on the significant exchange of basic resources such as goods, services
and emotional support rather than a vague, impermanent interconnection
based on accidental consolidation. The choice-constraint model therefore
depicts the individual as an "actor" and in this way permits the re-
searcher to place the "impetus of social action within a perceiving and
choosing individual and to interpret social causes as structural limita-
tions on individual choice and behaviour" (Fischer et.al., 1977: 5).
The social network approach which focuses on the interconnections and
linkages between individuals is therefore a valuable tool of analysis in
the community setting where it is often extremely difficult to sort out
the various social affiliations that individuals create from their many
different social contacts.

   The choice-constraint model assumes that people join and remain
members of social networks because it is in their self-interest to do so.
However, people are always limited in their choice of social relation-
ships by social pressures such as "space, time, energy, material require-
ments, social norms and values, ignorance, existing social commitments

and so on" (Fischer et.al., 1977: 12). This means that the individual

is constrained in the construction of his social network because he is

limited to only a tiny proportion of society from which he can choose and

develop social relations. Network theorists therefore argue that even

though the individual is exposed to a myriad of social activities, social

experiences and the opportunity of forming many various social connections,

he is also constrained in his choice of activity and choice of social

affiliation by the limitations of his social environment. A person who

lives in the slums of the city and who has had little opportunity for

advanced education or cultural stimulation, for example, is very unlikely

to form a close social bond with the high-ranking president of an

industrial business. The individual is, however, able to form close

social bonds with others who are in a similar social circumstance and

with whom he frequently interacts. The constraint that is placed on the

individual by the limitations of his social environment, permits the

individual an opportunity to form more meaningful and durable social

bonds than the decline of community theorists believe possible. These

social bonds often involve intense social obligations that may later

continue even though vast distance and long periods of time may separate

network members. Thus, Fischer et.al. propose that,

> A different reality appears from a network perspective.
> Social structure is composed of sets of interpersonal
> networks, variously based on kinship, common residence,
> work, recreational activities or friendship...Since
> networks and not institutional units are considered the
> bases of social structure in both small and large
> settlements, the relative absence of visible corporate
> groups in urban areas need not signify social disorgani-
> zation. Society is organized in terms of these networks
> whether they overlap or not. (Fischer et.al., 1977: 32)

However, since the social network approach is merely a method of analysis rather than a general theory of social life, there have been various adaptations in the use and scope of network research. Research involving the social network approach generally flows in two directions. Community theorists such as Barry Wellman (1979), Barry Leighton (1979) and Charles Tilly (1978) tend to focus on the structural aspects of the social network. This type of research concentrates on the structural characteristics of the social network in order to obtain an empirical indication of the flow of necessary resources and the types of restraints that are placed on individuals who either have or do not have access to these resources. This approach therefore concentrates on the pattern that is formed by the linkages between network members, the degree of interconnectedness (density) of network links and the direction and flow of resources among network members. By concentrating on the network links that exist between individuals (or corporate groups) and the resultant network formation, the researcher is able to follow a pattern of network ties that demonstrate the way in which individuals become socially bonded to one another.

In contrast, other community researchers such as Fischer (1977), Jones (1978) and Bott (1971) have concentrated on the relational content of the social network, that is, "the actual exchanges or degree of intimacy" that is involved in the links that exist between network members (Jackson, 1977: 41). Unlike the structural approach which emphasizes the formal qualities of a social relation such as the number of people connected in a network (range), the relational content approach assumes that "when people decide to interact with others, to cultivate a bond or

let it lapse, they decide on the basis of the relation's content, not its formal structure" (Jackson, 1977: 44). People do not choose to form social bonds on the basis of such abstract characteristics as range or density but on the basis of the concrete features of the social relationship such as "Do I enjoy this person's company?". The number of relations in a given link between two network members (multiplicity), for example, is more often a result of the relational content of the bond between the network members rather than because the structural link had been formed. This perspective, therefore, views an analysis of the structural aspects of the network as secondary to the examination of its relational content.

Both of these perspectives view network change as a result of an alteration in the rewards, costs and contexts that are involved in retaining the viability of a network link. Once new resources are made available to network members or old resources are eliminated, the network pattern will tend to shift as the network member(s) attempt(s) to gain access to a more rewarding social situation. This shift may be gradual or abrupt depending upon the context of social change. For example, a network member who finds that a social relationship with a new social contact is more stimulating than one that has been sustained with an old network member, may slowly disengage himself from the old relationship and form strong ties with the new contact. The new contact has now become strongly-linked to this person's social network and the old contact has become more weakly-linked. The network pattern will therefore have likely changed to a more multiplex connection with the two new contacts and the old contact entirely eliminated or on the pheriphery of the original network.

However, if the network pattern is based on the consistent flow of a particular resource between several network members, such as financial payments or intellectual exchange, and this flow is for some reason eliminated, the entire social network may be greatly affected. It may become a very weakly-linked social arrangement or may, in some cases, completely disappear. Thus,

> Over time, people constantly choose whether to begin, continue, or cease exchanging with other people. And, these choices, too, are weighed on the basis of reward and cost, according to "bounded rationality"...Networks change as a consequence of changes in the factors of..., rewards, costs and contexts. What the individual finds rewarding may change as a function of, for example, movement through the life-cycle. Costs may change: others may demand more in exchange...social contexts may open up or close down. Throughout such changes, we assume that individuals seek to sustain a network structure that provides relatively rewarding relations at relatively low costs. (Fischer et.al., 1977: 43)

Most community studies that have used the network approach have concentrated on the social organization of friendship ties, the close social ties that produce neighbourhood cohesion and community power structures. The work that has been completed on the study of friendship networks is the most extensive because it has evolved from the techniques of sociometry and is fairly easy information to obtain. Thus, such researchers as Norman Shulman (1976), Barry Wellman and Barry Leighton (1979) and Louis Verbrugge (1977) used the network approach to analyze the structure of adult friendship choices in order to examine the existence of close ties of mutual accord and support in the large urban environment. Shulman and Wellman, for example, were able to discern specific social network patterns in the city of North York, Ontario in which,

> Most respondents reported having a set of close relation-
> ships which included kin, friends, and some meighbours.
> Relationships in the network tended to be continuing ones
> based on enjoyment and usually involved regular visits.
> A number of relationships, however, involved only rare
> occasions of direct contact suggesting that while face to
> face contact may be crucial for the establishing of close
> relationships, it is not crucial for sustaining them.
> (Shulman, 1976:   320)

Other community researchers such as Gans (1962) and Liebow (1967)

found that a pattern of close social ties existed between neighbours in a

closely-condensed block area of large urban centres. These social ties

had gradually evolved into strong neighbourhood solidarities in which

mutual support and social assistance were readily available to the people

who lived in the area and were members of the neighbourhood solidarity.

Neighbours therefore formed clusters of network ties which had grown out

of the constant social interaction that came as a result of their close

physical proximity. These clusters, in turn, served as "important sources

of assistance in mediating with formal bureaucratic structures and in

coping with contingencies" (Wellman, 1979: 1205).

Community researchers who have focused on the community power

structure have also used the social network approach to demonstrate the

close connections that exist between members of the power structure and

to follow the flow of power resources between such members. Nicholas

Mullins (1972) used the approach in his analysis of the structure of elite

personnel in the U.S. Public Health Service. Laumann and Marsden (1979)

used it to analyze the oppositional structures of political elites and

the development of factional groups. Floyd Hunter (1953) outlined a

pattern of close social connections between community elites in Regional

City, U.S.A. which permitted him a visual demonstration of the existence

of the various power pyramids that he found and the interlocking pattern

by which these small power pyramids united to form one large pyramid of

power (Hunter, 1953: 61-147). Gerald Gold (1975) found that a social

network approach allowed him to distinguish an entrepreneurial clique in

the town of St. Pascal, Quebec. This entrepreneurial clique formed a

tightly-knit social network which was closed in the extent of its member-

ship and in the acceptance of new elite members. The members of this

entrepreneurial clique, however, also formed a large number of individual

social connections (bridge ties) with various other community members who

did not belong to the entrepreneurial clique. In this way, the powerful

entrepreneurial network members were able to "share information of great

value and have some control over its dissemination" (Gold, 1975: 142).

The existence of a power elite may therefore be measured in terms of the

relative closeness of the community leaders to one another as compared

with their separate ties to other community members. "The complexity of

the urban setting assures that new and distinct issues constantly arise

and that coalitions are thus always in flux" (Fischer et.al., 1977: 32).

Thus, the social network approach has several advantages in the

analysis of the question of the existence of social ties of community in

modern technological life. It also has several advantages for the study

of community life and community organization. First, it provides a more

complete view of the social environment of the community member because

the network approach draws relationships from any number of structural

categories such as neighbourhood, kin or occupational group. Secondly,

since the people who comprise an individual's social network may not know

one another, network analysis avoids many of the sociological assumptions

that are involved in examining more unified groups. Thirdly, the network

approach provides a structure of analysis that can cope with a category

of persons who are "drawn from various structural categories or institu-

tional settings for particular dyadic relationships" (Shulman, 1976: 309).

Fourthly, network analysis allows the researcher to ignore physical

boundaries that have previously confined his area of research to a specific

pre-determined territorial base such as a block or neighbourhood. Finally,

it offers a model for social change and the retention and alteration of

social bonds of community in modern industrial life. Thus, by using the

social network approach, the researcher is able to outline a more compre-

hensive structure of community organization that is more relevant to the

analysis of the complex web of social life as it appears in modern tech-

nological society.

IV: Local-Cosmopolitan Influentials

The structure of power in a community is greatly affected by the

amount of power resources that are available in the community, the type

of elites who have access to these power resources and the manner in which

these elites must unite in order to make use of and to control these

various power resources (Bernard, 1973: 86; Walton, 1974: 357-370).

Robert Merton (1966) distinguishes two types of community influentials

whom he has classified in terms of their extra-community orientation.

These are the "localites" and the "cosmopolitans". The localite in-

fluential is "parochial, devoting little thought or energy to the Great

Society, he is preoccupied with local problems to the virtual exclusion

of the national and international sense" (Merton, 1966: 251). In contrast, although the cosmopolitan influential "lives in the community and maintains a certain amount of influence there, he is oriented significantly to the world outside and regards himself as an integral part of that world" (Merton, 1966: 252). Every community power structure should therefore consist of at least one representative of these extra-community orientations. The extent to which one orientation dominates over the other should also demonstrate the amount of solidarity or factionalism that is characteristic of that particular community power structure.

Yet, people are able to integrate more easily into new social situations if they express similar normative values and customary outlooks. In this way, they generate a commonality of interest which makes the connection between them more natural and simplistic. Unlike the structure of small social networks which often form tightly-knit social solidarities, a community's population is quite diversified and can be separated into many social network patterns which may serve various purposes and maintain diverse standards of behaviour. Robert Merton claims that the dividing line between localite and cosmopolitan influentials "seems to stem from their difference in basic orientation" (Merton, 1966: 253). This difference in orientation is bound up with a variety of other differences that include the structures of the social relations in which each type of influential is implicated, the way in which they have achieved their status position, the use of their status position to achieve certain influence in the community and their communication behaviour (To be discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV). If these two types of influentials are discussed in terms of Warren's

definition of horizontal and vertical integration, however, we should

also find that the cosmopolitan influential is more strongly-oriented

vertically in community participation, while the localite is more

strongly-oriented horizontally (Bell & Newby, 1974: 51). For both types

of influentials, 'the structures of social relations' (social networks)

should therefore be constructed on the basis of their more dominant

vertical-horizontal orientation with their authority and their communi-

cation patterns being more horizontally or vertically regulated according

to their local or cosmopolitan identification (Merton, 1966: 251-265;

Gouldner, 1957: 281-306, 444-480).

This difference in extra-community orientation may cause conflict

situations over specific issues in the community. Sinclair and Westhues

(1974) found that newcomers to the village of Fringetown, Southern

Ontario had great difficulty integrating into the community because they

shared few common interests with the original population. The newcomers

therefore turned to other newcomers to the community who "shared similar-

ities with respect to age, social class, and a variety of occupational

and attitudinal patterns" as a source of social contact (Sinclair &

Westhues., 1974: 107). This non-involvement in the traditional structure

of the community by the newcomer population made it more possible for

rancorous conflict to occur over the oldtimers' plans for the future

development of the town.

Gerald Gold (1975) found that "with large movements of people in

and out of the region and the continual integration of the small service

centre into national networks" new organizational forms "filtered" into

the community of Saint-Pascal at a rate which was more rapid than normal

(Gold, 1975: 70). This led to a situation in which the incoming groups

gradually superceded the old elites in positions of authority. This was

because the new elite generally held control of the new power resources

and were considered strong leadership potential. However, these new

leaders had great difficulty integrating into the original community

because "social prestige or even social acceptance is difficult to achieve

for townsmen who were not born or raised in Saint-Pascal" (Gold, 1975:

69). As a result, the community power structure consisted of both local-

ite and cosmopolitan leaders who could be placed on a continuum based on

their extra-community orientation and extra-community ties.

> At one extreme, the traditional merchants with the cogs
> of their enterprise and social life interlinked and
> meshed completely into the local community...At the
> other extreme, the entrepreneurial group is linked to a
> myriad of both regional and national networks...(Gold,
> 1975: 124-125)

The presence of these two extreme orientations could be the possible

source of factionalism in the power structure if the community experiences

any more structural change.

Similar results were discovered by Laumann and Pappi (1977) who

traced the social networks of community elites in the town of Altneustadt,

West Germany. These researchers found that the Neuburger (newcomers) to

Altneustadt had status characteristics that were very different from those

of the Altburger (oldtimers) who were members of the original community

population. The Neuburger were for the most part university-educated,

highly-paid administrative employees, often of urban origin, Protestant

and demonstrate strong cosmopolitan values and perspectives. In contrast,

the Altburger were accustomed to a small rural community environment, were

usually self-employed local merchants and businessmen, were predominantly

Roman Catholic and were more localite in their extra-community orientation.

Pappi and Laumann also noted that,

> These basic differences in world views and life styles
> have led to many conflicts and tensions related to ac-
> commodating (if not assimilating) the newcomers. These
> conflicts have resulted in clearly delineated and per-
> ceived coalitions and interest structures (in the
> community)... (Laumann & Pappi, 1977: 449)

The apparent lack of connecting ties between the two types of elites

supported Pappi and Laumann's observations. This led the researchers to

conclude that the examination of interconnecting network ties among

community elites may be of great assistance for "identifying community

issues and tracing their impact on the formation of opposing factions

and coalitions" in one's analysis of the apparent traits and flows of

resources between members of the community power structure (Laumann &

Pappi, 1977: 463).

Such results as those found by Sinclair and Westhues (1974),

Gerald Gold (1975) and Laumann and Pappi (1977) demonstrate that extra-

community orientation is a significant variable in the study of community

power structures. The number of localite and cosmopolitan influentials

who make up the community power structure may, for instance, determine

whether the community will be open to new extra-community influences or

whether it will have difficulty adapting to such stimuli (Gold, 1975).

The types of interconnections between localite and cosmopolitan elites

may determine the type of coalitions or factions which occur over specific

community issues (Laumann & Pappi, 1977). The lack of integration of

cosmopolitan elites may cause social tension and periodic community dis-

ruptions as the new community elites try to gain an acceptable position of

power in the community (Sinclair & Westhues, 1974; Laumann & Pappi, 1977).

An examination of the extra-community orientation expressed by community

influentials is therefore an essential component in the analysis of a

community power structure for it ultimately gives the researcher a more

comprehensive understanding about the way in which power is used in the

community.

Conclusion

There is a considerable amount of debate in the community study

literature as to the effects of mass industrialization, urbanization and

industrialization on the social ties of community and the organization of

community life. Recently community researchers have examined the social

network as a useful tool of analysis for the study of community life and

community organization. Though the use of community is varied in sociology

and the definition of community is at times inconsistent, these researchers

have noticed that all uses of community tend to include the element of

"networks of interpersonal ties" (Wellman & Leighton, 1979: 365). It is

this key sociological concept which has made it relatively simple to

adopt the concept of social network for the analysis of social structure

and social change within any community population.

The researcher who undertakes the study of community from a

network approach takes as his starting point "the search for social

linkages and flows of resources" (Wellman & Leighton, 1979: 365). He

then proceeds to "enquire into the spatial distribution and solidary

sentiments associated with the observed linkages" (Wellman & Leighton,

1979: 365). Social change is viewed as the historical development of the large-scale social processes of industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization and the effects that these large-scale social divisions of labour have on the organization and content of primary ties. An examination of the resultant data gives the researcher the basic components of community organization. It is in this way that network analysis provides a bridge between the macroscopic processes of industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization and the microscopic process of community interaction, and thereby provides an analysis of the effects that these extra-community forces may have on the social organization of community life.

The community of Simcoe is at present experiencing the dramatic effects of mass industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization. In the second chapter of this study, it was noted that the new extra-community influences of Nanticoke, Townsend and regional government had seriously affected the town's autonomy, its pride and prestige in its position as the largest urban centre in the Haldimand-Norfolk region and its agricultural-economic orientation. The community of Simcoe therefore presents a unique model of social change in modern society. It offers the researcher an opportunity to examine the effects that all three of these large-scale extra-community influences have on the social organization of community life. It also gives the researcher an opportunity to use the social network approach to demonstrate the existence of social ties of community in modern technological life. An examination of the social network(s) that form the patterns of interaction between the members of the community of Simcoe, for example, should demonstrate the actual

viability of the argument that the large-scale extra-community influences

of industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization weakens and

severs social ties of community in modern society.

One area that has been extensively discussed in the community study

literature is the community power structure. Since the town of Simcoe has

a long history of strong leadership, this study focuses on the examination

of the community power structure in Simcoe and the social network(s) of

its elites. It has been found that small communities like Simcoe tend to

produce monopolistic elite power structures which control most of the

power resources in the community and, in consequence, dominate the

decision-making process (Bernard, 1973: 86; Presthus, 1964: 408). How-

ever, the new influences of the Nanticoke industrial complex, the proposed

development of Townsend and the enforced implementation of regional govern-

ment have decreased the local autonomy of the community and the amount of

power that this elite network can exert in the decision-making process.

These extra-community influences have also presented the community with

new power resources which may or may not be used by Simcoe elites. This

threat to the former elites' exclusive position of power should produce

some significant changes in the interaction patterns of the elites in

Simcoe, and in the structure of the elite network(s). It is likely that

elite members will rearrange their social ties in order to avail them-

selves of the new power resources in the community or to try to strengthen

their original position of power over the community's previous power

resources (Walton, 1974: 369). Any significant changes in the community

power structure of Simcoe will, in turn, have important consequences for

the social organization of the community as a whole because these elites

are the leaders that most community members respect and look to for

guidance in the decision-making process. An examination of the power

structure in Simcoe is therefore relevant to the study of social change

in the community due to the effects of the extra-community influences of

Townsend, Nanticoke and regional government.

One of the most notable influences of Nanticoke, Townsend and

regional government is the arrival of a prominent number of newcomers

into the community (Simcoe Reformer, 1980). Many of these newcomers are

the managers, business personnel and public relations officers of govern-

ment and industry, that is, the elites of the new extra-community in-

fluences of modern technology and bureaucracy. Government reports

predict that the newcomers moving into the Haldimand-Norfolk district due

to the industrialization of Nanticoke are likely to be quite different

from the original population in the area in terms of social background,

age, education and occupational status (Earl Berger Ltd., 1971: 44-45;

Ontario. Ministry of Treasury & Economics, 1972: 36; 1976: 54).

Previous studies on newcomer-oldtimer integration indicate that it is

unlikely the newcomer population in Simcoe will be able to integrate with

the original Simcoe population (Sinclair & Westhues, 1974: 107; Laumann

& Pappi, 1977: 448-449; Gold, 1975: 69). This is likely to lead to a

situation in the community that is conducive to factionalism and conflict

over specific issues that concern the community (Sinclair & Westhues,

1974: 108).

One of the reasons for the lack of integration between old and

new community members is an obvious difference in social values and extra-

community orientation (Laumann & Pappi, 1977: 448). Newcomers are more

likely to be cosmopolitan and oldtimers are likely to be localite (Gold,

1975: 69-70). Robert Merton has attributed both of these extra-

community orientations to particular types of community influentials

(Merton, 1966: 251-265). The localite influential is oriented primarily

to the local community and local community issues. The cosmopolitan

elite, on the other hand, is likely to be concerned with local community

issues because he lives within the territorial boundaries of the

community but, he is mainly oriented to the world outside those community

boundaries. He realizes that his social world consists of much more than

the local community and that his life is also intertwined with extra-

community forces.

If one were to use Warren's definition of vertical and horizontal

integration and apply it to the characteristics of localite and cosmo-

politan influentials, one would expect that the localite influential is

integrated more horizontally, while the cosmopolitan is integrated more

vertically (Bell & Newby, 1974: 51). Since the new influences of

Townsend, Nanticoke and regional government are extra-community influences

and therefore vertical, one would also expect that the cosmopolitan

influentials in Simcoe will be less negative about the effects that these

new changes will have on the community. The cosmopolitan influential is

therefore more likely to support and adapt to the new changes that

Townsend, Nanticoke and regionalization demand. This difference in

orientation between localite and cosmopolitan influentials may further

the possibility of conflict between community elites in Simcoe because it

may cause a division between those elites who favour and therefore promote

the new changes, and those elites who are more concerned with retaining

local control. The difference in vertical and horizontal orientation

among Simcoe elites is therefore an important aspect to consider when one

examines the way in which the community views and adapts to the vertical

changes that are occurring.

The addition of a large number of new influentials in the

community is also a very important variable because it is very likely

that these new elites will be cosmopolitan influentials (Sinclair &

Westhues, 1974: 106-108; Laumann & Pappi, 1977: 448-449). This factor,

plus the fact that most of these newcomers work for and support the new

components of change in Simcoe, may have serious consequences for the

community power structure. The addition of new power resources and the

addition of new people who control these power resources may tip the

balance of power in the community. If these new influentials integrate

into the original cosmopolitan elite network, for example, the localite

influentials may lose almost total control in the decision-making process

in Simcoe. However, if these cosmopolitan influentials form an elite

network of their own, there could be a possible situation for conflict

over specific community issues and a further factionalism of the

community power structure. Thus, the integration or lack of integration

of the newcomer elites may radically alter the direction of future issues

in the community, and has serious implications for the way in which the

town adapts to the new changes that are occurring in their area.

An examination of the elite population in Simcoe therefore offers

several areas of study. It presents the researcher with a model of

structural change which, with the use of the social network approach,

offers the opportunity to examine the development of new social structures.

It gives the researcher the chance to test the hypothesis that during transitional periods in which power becomes more or less diffused, the normative order in the community becomes confused and conflict situations frequently occur (Walton, 1974: 364). It also lets the researcher analyze power structure of a particular community, the integration of new elites into that power structure and the possible results that such integration and the addition of new power resources has on the balance of power in the community. The community therefore provides an excellent study of the effects that mass industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization have on the structure of modern technological life.

CHAPTER IV - METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES RELATED TO THE STUDY

OF SIMCOE ELITE STRUCTURE

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methodological techniques that are

related to the study of community elites in Simcoe and the community

power structure. The chapter is divided into four sections with each

section addressing a specific part of the research design as well as

former research conducted in this area. The first section entitled

"Community Power Structure Studies" describes research completed on

community power structures in the past and some of the findings that

relate specifically to the study of the elite structure in Simcoe.

The second section is called "Research Techniques Used in the Analysis

of Community Power Structures". This section describes the usual

techniques used in the study of community power and the techniques that

have been adopted for this study. The third section examines the

methodological issues concerning the study of social networks and the

approach that has been adopted for the study of elite network(s) in

Simcoe. This section is titled "The Social Network Approach". The last

section is called "Local-Cosmopolitan Influentials". It describes the

key variables that we expect to find separating the two types of influen-

tials thereby contributing to the growth of two separate elite networks

and resulting factionalism over community issues. These variables have

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been sub-divided into socio-economic variables, attitudes toward extra-community influences, and local-cosmopolitan orientation. The concluding section generally summarizes the methodological approach taken in this chapter and the findings that are to be described in the following four chapters.

I: Community Power Structure Studies

Early studies on community power structures and leadership emphasize the close alignment of social class and social stratification as major components of power relationships. These earlier studies frequently employed a social anthropological technique of research methodology in which participant observation, open interviews and in-depth studies of documented material were closely examined. Two of the most prominent studies of this type were the 'Yankee City' series by Lloyd Warner, and the reports on 'Middletown' by the Lynds. Warner found a monopolistic power structure in which the tightly-knit personal associa-tions of members of the upper strata greatly influenced the exercise of political power in Yankee City. However, Warner failed to analyze the importance of this status of upper-class membership to the distribution of power in the community. He was basically concerned with integration and community stability in North American society rather than the examin-ation of any possible conflict areas which might cause dissension. Warner therefore emphasized the "integrative noblesse oblige norms of the upper-upper classes and their expected, taken-for-granted, concern for the working class" (Bernard, 1973: 74). He viewed this as integral to

the consensus and harmony of social life. The monopolistic power

structure in Yankee City merely reaffirmed many of Warner's theories of

social control and social consensus in North American society.

In contrast, the Lynds showed how those individuals occupying

certain positions in the social-class structure of Middletown, U.S.A.

were able to manipulate and control their position of power to influence

the decision-making process in the community. These people of power

were also members of the upper strata who had the advantages of money,

education and social position. The famous "X" family, for instance, was

so influential in Middletown that it controlled most of the major

banking, industrial and retail establishments. There was a member of

the family on the local school board, on the Republican National

Committee for the state and on all the major charity and social organi-

zations. In addition, the family's philanthropies had greatly enriched

the social services in the town as they were always willing to make

large contributions to local charity projects such as parks, playgrounds

and welfare programmes. Such obvious centralization of power and

influence in the community led the Lynds to conclude that,

> If one views the Middletown pattern as simply concen-
> trating and personalizing the type of control which
> control of capital gives the business group in culture,
> the Middletown situation may be viewed as epitomizing
> the American business-class control system. It may
> even foreshadow a pattern which may become increasingly
> prevalent in the future as the American propertied
> class strives to preserve its controls. (Lynd & Lynd,
> 1974: 44)

The Lynds had linked the study of economic class to the distribution of

power in American society. Previous to this, no other research had

completed such a comprehensive analysis of the two "seemingly" diverse

concepts (Bernard, 1973: 73-74).

Informative community studies such as the ones conducted by the Lynds and Lloyd Warner prompted Floyd Hunter to conduct a community study which focused directly on the community power structure rather than analyzing the structure as a mere adjunct to the rest of the community study. Hunter (1953) outlined a unique pattern of power in the community of Regional City, U.S.A. This power structure consisted of one large pyramid composed of several small sub-pyramids linked together into a total structure of power. This large pyramid had a small group of "men of independent decision" at the top who structured action. The leaders at the top were able to protect themselves from too many demands by "channeling policy execution" through the men in the understructure who had "a multiplicity of individual roles within the totality of the community structure which can be set in motion by the men of decision" (Hunter, 1953: 66). In this way, Hunter suggested that stability was maintained in the system by the single, tightly-knit, small group of leaders at the top, and flexibility generated by the several levels of men in the understructure whose numbers could run into the hundreds (Hunter, 1953: 66-111).

One of Hunter's major contributions to the community power literature was his methodological technique of choosing the names for his study. He had obtained his sample by taking a list of 175 names which frequently appeared on various lists of leading civic, professional and fraternal organizations, governmental bodies, business profiles and society figures. He then asked fourteen pre-selected "judges" to pick out those names that they considered to belong to the forty most

powerful people in the city. Next, Hunter conducted in-depth, personal interviews with the forty people who were selected. From his interview data, Hunter was then able to draw his concise view of the pattern of community power in Regional City.

Hunter's "reputational" method of locating members of the "power structure pyramid" stimulated a great deal of research intent on either replicating or disproving the results that he had found in his community study. One of Hunter's most well-known critics was Robert Dahl, who conducted a study of the power structure in the community of New Haven, U.S.A. (Dahl, 1961). Dahl rejected Hunter's view of a single, cohesive, well defined power elite who made most of the major decisions in the community. He also rejected Hunter's methodology which he thought "fostered" the very results that Hunter had obtained. For Dahl, there is "some point in the process of forming opinions at which the one group will be seen to initiate and veto, while the rest merely respond. And we can only discover these points by an examination of a series of concrete cases where key decisions are made" (Dahl, 1974: 216). Dahl therefore developed the decision-making technique of methodology for his research on the community power structure in New Haven.

With the use of historical documents and statistical data, Dahl was able to trace recurring patterns of disagreement over the key political issues in the community. From his examination of this pattern, Dahl traced a history of decision-making in New Haven in which power had been slowly transferred from the hands of a select elite who had at first ruled the community due to their income, property and social status. This system was replaced by a pluralistic elite in which several sets of

leaders controlled various power resources such as access to the public media, deliverance of large numbers of political votes or technical knowledge that they used to support the views of their particular power faction. Dahl concluded from his examination that though there was no longer a tightly-knit cohesive elite in New Haven, neither was there democratic equality. He had found a system of control based on "the unequal distribution and actual use of the political resources represented by social standing; access to cash, credit, and wealth; access to the legal powers of public office; popularity; and control over information" (Bernard, 1973: 77). The decision-making process in New Haven had ultimately produced a pattern of several loosely-knit competitive power groups that would, if necessary, unite into a tightly-knit cohesive body in order to attain specific goals but that would then return to their former loosely-knit structure of community power.

The studies just mentioned are relevant to our study because they are classic examples of research that has been completed on community power. Dahl's and Hunter's studies are especially important because they are examples of the contrasting research methods and interpretive ideologies of the elite-pluralist disagreement that exists in the social science literature. This difference in theoretical orientation has led to an accumulation of research findings that often contradict and dispute one another. As a result, it has been suggested that the method used for research often elicits results consistent with the researcher's theoretical premise. For example, an analysis of thirty-three studies on power structures revealed that "the reputational method tends to identify pyramidal hierarchical structures, while

decision-making and combined methods reflect factional, coalitional and amorphous types" (Walton, 1966: 435). It has also been suggested that the power structure found is related to the kind of community selected for study. Sociologists tend to select communities that elicit an elite model of community power, while political scientists select those which are more pluralist. This may be in part due to the fact that sociologists tend to look for small communities that can be studied as total units and the 'overlapping of elites' tends to be inversely associated with size (Presthus, 1964: 420). A careful examination of the methodological techniques employed in a community study is therefore just as necessary as a close examination of a community's social characteristics.

II: Research Techniques Used in the Analysis of Community Power Structure

In general most elite research uses a variant of one or more of three methods in their study of community power structures. These are the decision-making method, the reputational method and the positional method. The decision-making method focuses on decisions made in either public or private spheres in which one is able to "perceive some persons compelling others to compliance" (Hawley & Wirt, 1974: 3). This method claims not to rely on 'reputations' or 'suspicions' in the identification of influential elites but to "analyze the real execution of power by demonstrating who really made specific decisions" (Forcese, 1978: 308). By focusing on overt examples of power, however, the researcher tends to ignore many of the more "subtle manifestations of community power" that exist outside the realm of direct decision-making (Presthus, 1964: 42).

In contrast, the reputational method relies on a number of "key" informants who compile a list of people who are most influential in the community, whether they hold an office or not. The initial interviews then "lead the researcher in snow-balling fashion to additional interviewees until a reputational consensus becomes apparent" (Forcese, 1978: 307). In this way, the researcher obtains a list of names of the people in the community who have a reputation for determining the results of important decisions. Yet, it is also in this way that the researcher eliminates the possibility of interviewing a section of the community which may be unknown to the researcher's original informants or to his interviewees but who may play a role in the allocation and dispersal of power resources. It is doubtful, however, that in the small community setting in which this technique is most often used that many elites would be overlooked. However, the possibility of this occurring is cited as the main reason why most researchers who use the reputational method usually find a small structure of tightly-knit power elites in the community studied.

The third method most often used is the positional method. This method depends on the examination of people who hold positions of significant power in the community. This method can be exemplified in C. Wright Mills' analysis of the power elite in American society. In this study, Mills (1956) claimed that those individuals who occupied positions of power such as the presidency, the military chief of staff or the chairman of the board of a huge national corporation controlled the decision-making process through their "title of office". Once one lost his title of office, however, he automatically lost his power. Thus, if one

desires to analyze power, one merely has to identify the 'control-positions' in the community and analyze the interaction between those individuals who occupy these positions. This method also has difficulties. Like the reputational method it tends to identify a small core of tightly-knit elites who control power, and like the decision-making method it tends to ignore many of the subtleties that are inherent in the control and use of power.

In order to avoid the loss of significant data and the methodological bias apparent in each of these three methodological techniques, researchers on community power structure have attempted to integrate a combination of these three methods into their research methodology. Robert Presthus (1964) is a classic example. He used both the reputational and the decisional methods in his analysis of power in the communities of Edgewood and Riverview, U.S.A. As a result, he found that the use of both methods was a "mutually supportive means of ascertaining power" for each provided "useful checks against the characteristic inadequacies of the other" (Presthus, 1964: 59, 62). These results led him to conclude that each method is a necessary tool in the study of power for, though individually each left gaps in the overall examination of power, together "each method became a foil against which the evidence provided by the other could be tested and modified" (Presthus, 1964: 59).

In his study, Presthus defines three types of community leaders (Presthus, 1964: 49). These are: the "decision-makers", that is, "those who proved to be directly involved in vital community decisions", "influentials", those who were "nominated as powerful using the

reputational method" and "organizational leaders" who were those who "comprised a sample of presidents, chairmen, etc., of voluntary organizations in the community" (Presthus, 1964: 49). Presthus identified the decision-makers as those individuals who were considered to possess "overt" power and the influentials as those who were considered to possess "potential" power. The "organizational leaders" were those who, by virtue of their position, were sometimes able to gain the consensus of their organization to support or reject the projects initiated by either the decision-makers or the influentials. In this way, Presthus tried to envelop most of the areas in which community leaders might be active and express their power and influence in the community.

In order to ascertain as concise a picture as possible of the community power structure in Simcoe, this study adopts much of Presthus' methodological techniques. It uses the reputational method to elicit the names of those people in the community who were considered to possess 'potential power', the decision-making method to elicit the names of those who possessed direct power by possessing control of the decision-making apparatus and the positional method to elicit the names of those people who lead the community organizations. This technique produced several names of community leaders in Simcoe of which 35 of the most frequently mentioned persons were interviewed.

The first four names to be chosen for interviews were the names of four people who had been deeply involved in a debate over the erection of a shopping mall in the community. Because the issue of the mall had become a strong issue in the community and these individual's names had repeatedly appeared in the <u>Hamilton Spectator</u> and the <u>Brantford Expositor</u>,

as well as in the local newspaper, it was assumed that the four

individuals frequently mentioned in the newspaper reports were either

representatives of the power elite, that is, secondary members of the

understructure (Hunter, 1953: 66) or powerful community influentials

in their own right. These four individuals were therefore contacted for

interviews and all four accepted. With the use of an open-interview

questionnaire during the interview process, several more names of

community influentials were given to the researcher. The most frequently

named individuals who were described by these informants to be powerful

community elites were then interviewed. This process continued until

35 people were interviewed. By then, the names had become so repetitive

and all of the people who had been described as the "strongest community

leaders" had been interviewed so the interviewing stage was considered

to be completed.

This study of Simcoe also incorporates several of the techniques

that Presthus used in his research for Men at the Top, 1964. This

consisted of the combination of the three techniques of identification

for community elites. These three techniques elicited names of various

elites rather than focusing on one type of community influential. As a

result, five of the questions that Presthus used in his questionnaire

for the study of power in the communities of Riverview and Edgewood,

U.S.A. have been included in this study of Simcoe (See Appendix A,

Questions 27(b), 30, 32, 79, 80). Question No. 27 (b), for example, asks,

> Suppose a major project were before the community, one
> that required decision by a group of leaders whom nearly
> everyone would accept. Which persons would you choose
> to make up this group - regardless of whether or not you
> know them personally? (Presthus, 1964: 57)

This question has also been adopted by Presthus from Hunter's research study on Regional City, U.S.A. and is designed to identify those individuals in the community who are considered to be influentials, that is, those who possess potential power because they have the reputation of strong leadership in the community. Any person who was named in response to this question by at least three respondents was considered to have a reputation for influence in the community of Simcoe and was considered for interview. However, it soon became apparent as the interviews proceeded that the same names were continually given and the list varied little after the first six to eight names had been obtained.

Question No. 30 and Question No. 32 are constructed in an attempt to identify the decision-makers in the community. The respondent is asked in Question No. 30, "In your opinion, what have been the most important issues or problems that Simcoe has faced in the past five years? Why do you think that these issues are important?" Then, the respondent is asked in Question No. 32, "Did you personally participate in any of these issues? If yes, in what capacity did you participate?" These two questions identify those individuals in the community who have expressed overt power by becoming consciously active in the decision-making process and expressing their opinion (either for or against) the action that was to be taken in the community.

Question No. 79 considers the respondent's opinion on the way in which power is structured in Simcoe. It states,

> Some studies of other communities have shown that a small group of people fairly well runs local offices and most of the important decisions in the community. Do you think that this is true of Simcoe?

Respondents were allowed as much time as possible to consider this question carefully and, as with the other questions, were not pushed to give either a negative or positive response in order that the results should be as bias-free as possible. If the respondent answered "yes" to this question, he was asked in Question No. 80 to give the names of those individuals in the community that he considered to <u>control power</u> in Simcoe. It is interesting to note that several of the respondents replied that "They used to...but that's changing now". If the respondent replied in this manner, he was asked to explain what his statement meant and to name the individuals who "used to control". In this way, the researcher was also able to obtain a historical pattern of the <u>structure of power</u> in Simcoe and the changes that had taken place in that structure. This came as a spontaneous result of the open-interview process that greatly enriched the data collection in this study.

The respondent's opinions and attitudes toward leadership and the control and use of power in Simcoe were probed in Question No. 27(a) when he/she was asked to "define the term 'community leader'. In general, this question was answered in terms which were very supportive of the common ideology that supports community involvement and community-mindedness (As was discussed in Chapter I). Quotes such as, "Someone who willingly donates time and money for the community...on a volunteer basis and won't expect to get paid for it" and "...people that are active and get involved in the community" are typical responses (Informant No. 29, 32). In addition, several of the respondents split the categories of community influentials and decision-makers in their explanation of leadership. One respondent (a town councillor)

exemplifies this split when he states,

> The community leader...he's giving of his time after
> hours. That's what I think personally. Other people
> might say the councillors or the mayor...now they make
> a lot of decisions but they don't give really as much
> to the community as the other people...These people do
> a lot for the community and they give it freely. These
> are people that are believed in and these people provide
> their services and they are more important than the
> people who make a living from...whose occupation is
> working for the community. (Informant Number 33)

Question No. 28 tries to draw an image of the recruitment process

into the community power structure. It asks, "Suppose a person wanted

to become a leader in this community. Could you give me your ideas about

what he/she would have to do and the qualifications he/she would need?

This question asks for information about the characteristics necessary

for leadership, the 'ladders' required for acceptance into the elite and

the way in which the circulation of elites may be extended. "Among the

criteria here is the latent expectation that recruits in each leadership

group will personify the value perspective of their predecessors"

(Presthus, 1964: 51). Every informant that responded to this question,

for example, noted that the aspiring community leader in Simcoe must show

that he/she is community-minded or publically-spirited and willing to

devote his/her time for the good of the community. This is very support-

ive of the common ideology in Simcoe that Simconians are involved and

dedicated to their community and willing to participate in its projects

and community issues. (This will be discussed further in Chapter V.)

Question No. 29, however, did not support our original expec-

tations. This question asks, "Do you think that there are any leaders

among the new people moving into Simcoe?" Though 24 respondents answered

"Yes" to this question, only 15 could directly name a "newcomer leader".

Only two of the individuals named had lived in Simcoe for less than

five years and one of these was a council member who maintained a high

profile in the community due to her position on council. Two respondents

gave the names of original Simconians as newcomer leaders because these

individuals worked for the new industries and were relatively young

(28 and 30 years old). Since these two respondents were uncertain about

the status of these two people, they identified them as newcomers because

of their affiliation with the new developments. These results led the

researcher to conclude that it took a great deal of time to be accepted

in Simcoe as a leader in the community. As one respondent stated, "You

have to move slowly if you want to 'earn your spurs' and prove yourself

capable of the job" (Informant Number 19). It would seem then that it

would be very difficult to form a separate factional elite in Simcoe

which consisted only of newcomer leaders and which would be respected

and supported by the rest of the community members. We will, however,

discuss the implications of this in further detail in the following

chapters.

As was explained earlier, the first four names acquired for this

study were chosen from the local newspaper which mentioned the names of

these four respondents and their involvement in a conflict over the

construction of a shopping mall in the downtown core of Simcoe. These

respondents, in turn, gave the researcher names in answer to questions

27(b), 28, 30, 32 and 80. In total, 132 names were given in response to

the interview. Of these, 55 percent (71) were mentioned only once and,

most frequently mentioned as best friends or relatives (44 percent).

Only 33 percent (44) of the names were mentioned more than three times

and of these 44 names, 35 were interviewed. In the process, the re-

searcher interviewed seven members of town council, two representatives

of the new industries at Nanticoke, two presidents of Simcoe industries

and the presidents of five of the 'leading' voluntary associations in

the community. The respondents that were interviewed were very receptive

to the questions asked and considered their answers carefully and with

great deliberation in an attempt to help the researcher understand the

situation in Simcoe (as they saw it). The answers to all of the questions

were very complete and revealed considerable information as to the names

of people who were considered to leaders in the community, as well as

the respondents' attitudes on the dispersal of power resources and the

structure of power in the town. There was no attempt that I could dis-

cern on the part of any respondent to try to mislead or hide the truth.

There were a few personal questions such as the question "Do you have

partners in your business or property ownership?" which three respondents

asked to keep confidential, but these did not affect the data collection

or research hypothesis in any way. Two female respondents refused inter-

views because "they did not want to gossip about their friends or the

community" and one male respondent "forgot" his interview and was unable

to arrange another. These three respondents were considered by the

others to be on the periphery of the power structure as they were "merely

social elites" and therefore their elimination from the research is

probably of little consequence (Informants Number 12, 21).

Since, after the first few interviews, the names that were given

in answer to my questions became very repetitive and new names were

rarely given by future respondents, I considered it highly unlikely that I would learn any additional names, and concluded my research. This assumption was supported by the fact that even though I had tapped three different areas of power by my questions, that is, the decision-making area, the influential area and the positional control of power resources in the community of Simcoe, I continually encountered the same names. In addition, many of these names were frequently mentioned in general conversation before the questionnaire interview began, or in the process of asking unrelated questions or probing into questions such as "How has your life changed since you moved to Simcoe?" or "What do you like best about living in Simcoe?". This repetition of names of elites in Simcoe may be due to the incorporation of the sociological research bias that is inherent in the pre-selection of a small community as a unit of analysis in which, as one respondent suggests, "I have to be a leader because I keep getting asked to do things. After all, in a town this size there are relatively few people that one can choose who has leadership capabilities" (Informant Number 19).

Thus, this study can be criticized for its incorporation of the sociological research bias that comes with selecting a community that is relatively small in size. However, it is assumed that there will be a tendency for the community power structure in Simcoe to be a tightly-knit network of elites. In fact, many of the theoretical assumptions in this study such as Walton's theory of factionalism among community elites are based on this very premise (Walton, 1974: 365). Therefore, although this study admits to the research bias that is apparent in many other sociological studies on community power structure, it is considered to

be an advantage here for it permits the close examination of the
attitudes and behaviour patterns of elites who are experiencing a
dramatic period of transition in their community and a probable loss of
their former monopolistic control of the community power structure.

III: The Social Network Approach

In our analysis of the community power structure of Simcoe, we
have also chosen to examine the social network(s) of the community
elites interviewed for this study. The study of power entails the
examination of the flow of resources between people and the pattern of
social interaction whereby resources are mobilized and sanctions are
employed in ways that affect the organization as a whole. The social
network approach offers a method of analyzing the existence of such
connections between people who hold or control power and the direction
of flows of power resources. It focuses on the links between community
members and flows of resources through those links. It also examines
the possibility that secondary linkages between network links may assist
in the flow of resources. If, for example, person A knows person B who
is linked to person C, then person A may have access to person C's
resources through his relationship with person B. This access is
possible regardless of whether person A knows about the existence of
person C or not. The flow of resources between people is therefore a
complex mechanism. The social network approach gives us a form to which
such observations may be directly applied. It acknowledges the possi-
bility that a person who knows or is linked to one particular person may

also gain access to other resources through that other person's network links even though the first person may not know the people in the second person's social network. The use of the network approach therefore gives us a unit of analysis that goes beyond the regular examination of the community power structure.for it analyzes the existence of flows of power resources between and among all community members which may ultimately rest with the elites who form the obvious structure of power in the community.

Because of the specific emphasis on the social ties that exist between network members and the need to gain as much information as possible about such ties, the social network approach involves its own methodological characteristics. The intensive study of the existence of network ties goes beyond the normal realm of strict categorical analysis. It requires considerable probing and numerous questions about all of the informant's social contacts, his work ties, his friendship ties, his kinship ties and so forth. In this respect, the social network approach uses techniques that are quite similar to the reputational method used in community power research (See section earlier). The researcher asks the subject to name specific social contacts and then interviews the individuals named by the subject until in 'snowball' fashion the researcher has accumulated the names of those people who belong to the same social network. However, with the network approach, the subject is no longer treated as a unit of analysis with particular social attributes that can be abstracted and collectively analyzed. The social network approach transforms the unit of analysis into,

> ...a relation, for example, the kinship relation among
> persons, the communication links among officers of an
> organization, the friendship structure within a small
> group. The interesting feature of a relation is its
> pattern: it has neither age, sex, religion, nor
> income, nor attitudes; although these may be attributes
> of the individuals among who the relation exists.
> These fundamental definitions prevent structuralists
> from adopting measurement techniques and methodologies
> available to other sociologists (for example, you cannot
> interview a friendship). (Levine and Mullins, 1978: 17)

Researchers who use the network approach therefore tend to concentrate
on the pattern of social interaction that can be constructed from an
examination of the way in which the interlocking of social ties between
individuals places them in particular positions whereby they may gain
access to and transfer resources of power.

One technique that is frequently used to characterize the
pattern that is formed from the interlocking of various social ties
between network members is the network matrix. The network matrix
consists of stars or nodes (the subjects who form the social network)
which are linked together by lines that are drawn from one node to
another depending upon the type of social ties that exists between the
network members. This joining of nodes by lines forms a sociometric
pattern by which all the connections between network members can be
diagrammatically demonstrated. (See Chapter VI for further discussion.)
However, the interconnections between network members and the social
ties that network members hold may be multiplex and multi-faceted.
The network member usually maintains several different types of social
relationships and has generally developed various social ties which may
be connected to entirely different social networks. The researcher must
therefore specify which links he is interested in before he begins to

conduct his research. If not, he may obtain a great deal of information
which, though interesting, may have little relevance for his research.
This abundance of information about extra social ties may confuse his/
her data analysis because it is difficult to untangle the various social
ties that the subject reports to have achieved. Thus, "since everyone
is ultimately related, directly or indirectly, to everyone else, we must
"specify" which links we are interested in for any given network
analysis" (Fischer et.al., 1977: 33).

The social organization of elite network(s) in Simcoe is
researched from the perspective of the choice-constraint model outlined
by Fischer et.al. (1977) in the book Network and Places. This model
views the individual as a rational decision-maker who actively partici-
pates in the construction of his own particular social network when he
chooses to form specific social bonds from the many alternative social
relations available in his social environment. It is the social environ-
ment, however, that determines the relative rewards and costs that come
from choosing to form certain linkages rather than others. The individual
must therefore "continually choose among behavioural alternatives, each
of which promises certain rewards but also involves certain costs
(rewards and costs as subjectively assessed by each person)" (Fischer
et.al., 1977: 42). Network change develops when the individual alters
his assessment of the relative value of certain costs and rewards or when
the social environment alters thereby increasing or decreasing the
availability of alternative network linkages. The individual's rational
choice in the assessment of his social environment and in the construc-
tion of his social bonds, however, is "bounded" by the fact that the

individual rarely has a complete knowledge of all of the alternatives
available to him and therefore may be incorrect in his decision as to
the relative utility of the choice that he has made. This is particu-
larly true in periods of transition in the social environment in which
normative values and customary rules become vague and indistinct.

The community of Simcoe is at present experiencing a radical
period of social transition in which the organization of its social
environment is in a state of flux. This means that the choices and
alternatives of relative rewards and values in the community are also
uncertain. In fact, in cases such as regionalization, these rewards
and costs have been transposed into a completely different form. Such
deviations in the customary rules and normative values are likely to
alter the elite network(s) in the town as certain individuals transfer
their social bonds in order to take better advantage of the new forms
of rewards and costs that have become available to them. An examination
of the elite network(s) in Simcoe may reveal the changes that are taking
place in the community's power structure.

The gathering of precise data for the analysis of a social net-
work is difficult because social networks have several characteristics
as well as several members to be investigated. As a result, researchers
generally concentrate on either the morphological criteria of the social
network, that is, the basic structural characteristics of the network
such as its anchorage, density, reachability and range or, they concen-
trate on the interactional criteria, such as the content, directedness,
durability, intensity and frequency of interaction between network
members (For a review, see Mitchell, 1969:   29-38). This difference in

concentration is highly dependent upon the researcher's orientation and the objectives of his research goals. However, it is our thinking that "when people decide to...cultivate a bond or let it lapse, they decide on the basis of the relation's content, not its formal structure... (that is) on the basis of the concrete features of the relation" (Fischer et.al., 1977: 44). People usually form and maintain social ties because these ties have some meaning for them rather than because it fits into the context of the network structure. Thus, the content of the relation generally precedes the form and has more impact on the social network than does the relation's more formal properties. Thus, since it is the objective of this study to examine network change that has been precipated by the possible transition of normative values and cultural rules, our research concentrates primarily on the interactional criteria of the social network(s) of the local-cosmopolitan influentials in Simcoe rather than the exact configuration of the social network matrix.

The content of the relationship between network members is also one of the most important components of the network structure because it signifies the basic meaning behind the links that connect network members. Norman Shulman (1976: 313) suggests that content be measured in three different ways in terms of three separate structural features of the social network. First, one must measure the setting from which the relationship is recruited, such as the occupational or kinship setting. Secondly, one must measure the basis on which the relationship rests. This is the reason for the relationship's continuity or discontinuity during periods of transition. For example, if the basis of the

network ties is emotional, the network link is unlikely to alter

significantly but, if the basis is financial or political, it might

disintegrate as new rewards and costs appear in the social environment.

The third measure of content is behavioural exchange. This can be inter-

preted in either symbolic or material terms. Examples of behavioural

exchange are companionship, service, emotional support or economic

assistance. Such ties are usually substantial and rarely alter unless

the social environment radically changes because the network members

have generally become very dependent on such exchanges as they fulfill

deep needs of both network members.

Two other important features of the social network which have

significant effects on the content and meaning of social ties are the

frequency of contact between network members and the durability or

stability of the links between them. Durability is measured by asking

the respondent how long he has known the other member of his social

network. It is generally assumed that the longer that a respondent has

known the other network member, the more tightly-knit the network link.

Frequency of contact implies the same result. The more that a respon-

dent reports contact with the other network member, the more it is

assumed that their network link is tightly-knit. In contrast, the less

amount of time that the respondent reports knowing or contacting the

network member, the more loosely-knit is the link between them.

One of the most commonly studied characteristic of social net-

works is network density (Shulman, 1976: 314). The density of the

network is measured by the extent to which the people in the network are

directly linked to one another. If the members of the network are

linked primarily to only one network member (Ego) and not to each other,
then, the network is considered to be loosely-knit as the structure of
the network depends mainly on the network Ego to link the network members
together. However, if most or all of the network members know one
another and maintain direct contact with one another, the social network
is considered to be tightly-knit. Measurement of the density of the
social network therefore depends heavily on the content, durability and
composition of the network links (Shulman, 1976: 315).

These are the basic elements of the social network that are
studied in the examination of the elite social network(s) in Simcoe.
The collection of data was devised in a deliberate attempt to elicit
this type of information from the informant. For instance, whenever a
respondent mentioned the name of another Simconian, the interviewer
immediately asked how the informant knew this person, what type of
association the informant had with this person, how often he would see
this person and under what circumstances he was likely to meet this
person. In addition, specific questions were asked about network ties
such as "Who are your closest friends", "Do you have any relatives
living in Simcoe" and "Do you personally know any of the leaders
mentioned?" (See Appendix A, Question Nos. 18, 19, 24, 27, 29, 38, 69,
70, 72, 80). Respondents were very open to these questions and very
generous in their replies. In this way, it was quickly possible to
construct a pattern of network structure among the elites in the
community (See Chapter VI).

However, the data collection was not entirely informal or spon-
taneous. The fieldwork for the collection of data on social networks

usually involves the use of questionnaires, participant observation, non-participant observation or the use of interview techniques. Each of these fieldwork techniques has certain disadvantages for the study of social networks. Interviews are disadvantageous because the field-worker becomes aware of the network only from the point of view of the respondent. Questionnaires which are often used only for sociograms gather mainly personal information and personal opinions which lead to very little data about the network as a whole. Direct observation is better because the observer may over a given period of time be able to make his own assessment of the interactions of the individuals involved in the network and record these characteristics. However, if the observer becomes a participant in the social network, he may influence the situation at hand and bias the results obtained. Thus, it is perhaps best to employ a combination of all three techniques, that is, interview, questionnaire and observation when one is collecting data on social networks (Mitchell, 1969: 30-32).

Due to the cost and time limitations on this study, it was decided that an open-interview questionnaire (See Appendix A) would be a more efficient and consistent method of data collection. This technique has certain disadvantages because it relies almost totally on the ability of the interviewer to obtain as much information as possible in a short period of time, and depends upon the willingness of the informants to be open and truthful about their social connections. It also eliminates the possibility of the interviewer checking by direct observation whether such social ties do exist between the informants or whether the informant may be 'exaggerating' his position in the

community. However, the open-interview questionnaire does guarantee reliability of results by the fact that it consistently asks each informant the same questions and few of these answers varied from the information that had been obtained from other informants. The interviewer also spent about 30 to 45 minutes before the formal interview questionnaire began informally discussing the informant's views about the community, his/her interests, the interview's research and so forth. The format of the questionnaire also left considerable opportunity for the interviewer to probe further or digress if the informant mentioned a topic of interest to the research. This led to a fairly lengthy interview which often lasted over two hours. All of the informants were friendly and open to the idea of the research and seemed willing and eager to help as much as possible. There was little indication that any of them were avoiding particular issues or deliberately misleading in their responses.

The information obtained was cross-checked with my data found from an examination of club membership lists, newspaper reports and historical documents that could contradict or give additional support to the respondent's replies. In addition, the interviewer visited all of the historical sites in town, the local parks, the downtown shopping section, the local shopping centres and attended both of the town's main yearly functions, the Norfolk Fair and the Friendship Weekend. This gave the interviewer an opportunity to speak informally with other members of the community and to observe some of the town dignitaries in their official roles. This helped substantiate the results of the interviews as many of the townspeople made remarks that were consistent with the various statements that were given in the interview setting. For

example, one woman who struck up a conversation told me that she wasn't actually a Simconian because she wasn't born in Simcoe, but that she felt like she should be able to call herself a Simconian because she had lived in the community for over 38 years. Another man mentioned the name of one of the informants and stated "He's new but he's very public-spirited and community minded. He's always doing something for the town. He's trying to fit in." Such comments led us to conclude that the uniformity of responses gained in the interview setting were quite valid.

IV: Local-Cosmopolitan Influentials

As we explained earlier in Chapter III, much of the network analysis in this study focuses on the community elites in Simcoe and the composition of the community power structure. We have hypothesized that there are two distinct types of elites in the community that can be distinguished by their extra-community orientation. These are the localites and the cosmopolitans. We have also hypothesized that the new vertical influences of Nanticoke, Townsend and regionalization will greatly upset the balance of power in the community and thereby affect the way in which these influentials interact as well as disrupt the structure of their social networks. Much of this is due to the fact that these new extra-community influences also bring with them new resources of power which may be used to gain or maintain further influence in the community. An analysis of the localite and cosmopolitan elite network(s) permits a more extensive examination of such changes.

The research literature on localite-cosmopolitan influentials suggests that there are several key variables that affect the relationship between the two types and the divisions that exist between them. (Merton, 1966: 251-265; Sinclair & Westhues, 1974: 80-109; Laumann & Pappi, 1977: 447-463). Consequently, a considerable proportion of our data analysis involves an examination of these variables. The following pages describe the variables that we think differ between the two types of influentials. They consist of socio-economic variables, attitudes toward change, and local-cosmopolitan identification.

A. Socio-Economic Variables

1) Age: Merton (1966) reports that one difference between localites and cosmopolitans is that the localite influentials tend to be the older, more stable, more secure members of the community. The Earl Berger Report (1971) suggests that those community members who are more conducive to change are younger and probably have just moved into the area. In addition, my own information suggests that many of the younger generation of the original community of Simcoe have left town for better opportunities. It is very likely then that those elites who are significantly attached to the retention of the structure of the town as it existed before the implementation of regional government, Nanticoke and Townsend are the older, more established members of the community. Thus, it is suggested that there is a significant age difference in the extra-community orientation exhibited by the influentials in Simcoe who view change as favourable (cosmopolitans) and those who view it with disfavour (localites), with the localites being considerably older than

the cosmopolitans.

2) <u>Education</u>: Earl Berger Ltd. (1971, Vol. 1: 45) states that those who support change in the Haldimand-Norfolk district "have a secondary or post-secondary education" while those who oppose change are more likely to "have an elementary or secondary school education". Often the influence of more educational training exposes the individual to new ideas and new stimula which he has never before encountered in his small community environment. He can become more aware of other ideas, other opportunities and other methods of living. This, in turn, can make him realize that his small community environment does not necessarily have to be the extent of his social world. If this environment changes, he may not view it as a personal threat. Differences in levels of education should therefore be a factor between local and cosmopolitan orientation with the cosmopolitan influentials having more education and being more vertically-oriented.

3) <u>Ethnicity</u>: The local population of Simcoe is primarily Anglo-Saxon in origin. This common origin gives the town its traditional historic background and cultural ideology. It also means that most of the original Simcoe influentials are likely to be Anglo-Saxon. If any new or aspiring influentials are different in ethnic background, they might have difficulty integrating into the tightly-knit localite social network. Therefore, it is more likely that they will align themselves with the cosmopolitan network which will be more loosely-knit and more accepting of such ethnic differences. Thus, we should examine the issue of ethnicity as a possible source of integration or factionalism between influential elites.

4) <u>Occupations</u>: Since Simcoe is primarily a service centre for farmers and is also the largest urban community in the Haldimand-Norfolk district, it is very probable that many of the influentials have established themselves in occupations that cater directly to the needs of the local population such as businesses that supply farmers with agricultural equipment, mercantile operations that sell food and clothing or professions such as medicine which are indispensible to the requisites of community life. This dependency on the local population for one's livelihood, also makes one aware of many of the local problems and opportunities. It also makes the influential distrustful of any changes in his community which may appear to disrupt or threaten the stability of the local population and, hence, the stability of his income. Influentials who hold such occupations should therefore be more localite in orientation and opposed to any change or development which threatens the local community environment.

On the other hand, influentials who do not have to rely on local patronage for their livelihood such as government employees, industrial personnel or financial managers will be less concerned with the impact of social change as it is unlikely to threaten their occupational position. In some cases, such as those influentials who own and operate construction firms or finance companies, growth and development may be viewed as an opportunity to increase their control of community power resources. These influentials therefore are more apt to be cosmopolitan in that they are very aware of the process of outside business interests and the obvious advantages that extra-community influences can bring. We should, therefore, find that one of the divisions between the localite

and cosmopolitan social networks will be this difference in occupation

and the extra-community orientation that it involves.

5) <u>Residence Patterns</u>: Merton (1966) suggests that many of the

cosmopolitan influentials have entered the community from outside and

then re-established themselves within the new community setting. Earl

Berger Ltd. (1971) also implies that the people who support change in

Haldimand-Norfolk (and thus Simcoe) are also apt to have just moved into

the area. Thus, we should find that one of the differences between the

localite-cosmopolitan social networks is that while the localite members

have, in general, lived most of their lives within the community of

Simcoe, the cosmopolitan members have moved fairly extensively before

coming to live in the town.

6) <u>Voluntary Associations</u>: Voluntary associations are a very

important part of social life in Simcoe. They support the common ideol-

ogy of the town and the traditional ethos of community involvement and

community consciousness. They are also a logical instrument for community

elites to gain support for their views and new members for their particu-

lar projects and ideas. ˙However, since the community of Simcoe is not

extensive, there is only one Rotary Club, one Legion, one Kiwanis and so

on. Thus, it is probable that both localite and cosmopolitan influentials

will belong to these particular associations. They will both meet in

these establishments, interact, voice their opinions on issues that con-

cern their interests and lobby for more support for their individual

causes. Newcomers wishing to integrate into the community are also

likely to join these associations and, in this way, come into contact

with members of each of the localite and cosmopolitan social networks.

It is quite probable then that the newcomer elite will be able to
integrate into the localite or the cosmopolitan elite network depending
upon the extra-community orientation that he expresses. In this way,
voluntary associations become the testing-ground for new ideas, new
projects and new patterns of community interaction.

B. Local-Cosmopolitan Attitudes

7) Attitudes Toward Big Government: In their study of Fringetown,
Southern Ontario, Sinclair & Westhues (1974: 103) found that "oldtimers
are significantly more critical of big government and more in favour of
the retention of power at the local level than are newcomers". They
also found that "oldtimers" were more locally-oriented therefore they
felt more comfortable dealing with issues and power groups that were
rooted in the community setting. Newcomers, however, tended to be more
"trans-local in their outlook", felt more uncomfortable dealing with
local power groups and were the least opposed to power lying beyond the
local level (Sinclair & Westhues, 1974: 103, 106). These findings are
consistent with those of Martindale and Hansen (1969: 60) who discovered
that in the community of Small Town, U.S.A., "one group, locals, would
tend to press the community in a direction of self-sufficiency (and) the
other group, cosmopolitans, would tend to orient life to the centres of
outside power".

In Simcoe, we should find that both localite and cosmopolitan
influentials are very concerned about the fact that regionalization is
affecting Simcoe's autonomy as a viable community. However, if Martin-
dale and Hanson are correct, it is likely that the cosmopolitan

influentials are more supportive of the implementation of regionalization
as they are more vertically-oriented. Yet, given the common ideology of
self-sufficiency and independence that appears to be prevalent in the
community at this time, if the cosmopolitan influentials are seen to be
too supportive of the process of regionalization they will not be
accepted by the rest of the population who will refuse to consider the
cosmopolitan influentials as a vital part of Simcoe but merely "residents
of the town" living in the community "principally in a physical sense"
(Sinclair & Westhues, 1974: 106).

8) Attitudes Toward Industrial Expansion: There should be an
apparent difference between the localites and the cosmopolitans in their
attitude toward industrial expansion and the industrial development of
the Nanticoke complex. Since the localites are interested in the re-
tention of Simcoe's unique identity as a community, its small-town
atmosphere and its local autonomy, they will show negative attitudes
toward industrial growth and its environmental side effects such as
pollution, increase in population and loss of good farmland. Cosmo-
politans, however, will be less Simcoe oriented and will see this
development as a means of increasing the amenities and facilities avail-
able in the Simcoe area.

C. Vertical-Horizontal Ties

9) Economic Ties: Merton (1966: 258) reports that the cosmo-
politan influential is usually "imported" from outside the community to
perform an executive or administrative job and therefore his economic
ties are more vertically-oriented than the localite's who has worked out

his career pattern within the confines of his local community setting.

If this is true of Simcoe, then, the localities will be much more

interested than the cosmopolitans in retaining the original economic

structure of the town. Any threat to that structure will therefore be

interpreted as a threat to the power position of the localite who

controls these economic resources. In contrast, the cosmopolitans are

less likely to be dependent upon Simcoe industry and sales for their

livelihood and may even see economic change as a viable means of gaining

access to new power resources which will increase their power position

in the community.

10) _Social Ties_: Merton (1966: 259) found that the cosmopolitan

influential is often a newcomer who enters the community "fully equipped

with the prestige and skills associated with his business or profession

and his 'worldly experience'". As a result, he enters the community

with a certain level of security that his position of authority will be

accepted by the other members of the community. In contrast, the local-

ite influential must often establish and prove himself within the context

of his local community environment. In consequence, the localite makes

many contacts in the community as he "works his way up" to his successful

position. This contributes to his local orientation and concern for

community issues.

The cosmopolitan, however, usually has not had to make these

contacts in the community as he generally does not have to rely on

community approval to maintain his livelihood or his status position.

He can, therefore, 'afford' to be more vertically-oriented than the

localite so his contacts in the community are generally less extensive

and more discriminating. The cosmopolitan influential also has various

contacts outside the community that he may use if he needs to maintain

influence. He can use his educational expertise, his professional

colleagues, his family network system and other influential contacts

that he had established in the communities that he lived in before

moving to Simcoe. The cosmopolitan influential therefore has a much

larger resource pool that he can tap if necessary. "He has the aura of

a man familiar with the outside world affairs...His influence rests on

an imputed expertness rather than upon a sympathetic understanding of

others" as the localite (Merton, 1966: 262). Unlike the localite, it

is not necessary for him to establish any more local contacts than he

desires if he wishes to maintain his influence in the community.

11) <u>Orientation and Sense of Power</u>: If cosmopolitans are more

vertically-oriented then they should be less inclined to think of Simcoe

as their "world" (Sinclair & Westhues, 1974: 88). Therefore, in their

dealings with Simcoe people and the events in Simcoe, they should have

difficulty accepting many of the cultural norms and values that form the

ideology of the community. As a result, they may feel more inexperienced

and uncomfortable working within the local context. This will make the

cosmopolitan more inclined to accept the extra-community change which he

will view as "bringing Simcoe into the twentieth century" (Informant

Number 11).

Localites, however, should have little difficulty dealing with

events and problems that occur in the local community environment. They

have already accepted and integrated the normative values and customary

outlooks of the Simcoe community. They feel comfortable within the

context of Simcoe. But, now, they see the new influences of Townsend, Nanticoke and regional government threatening their customary way of life. It is in danger of being disrupted and possibly destroyed. If this happens, the localites will likely lose their power in the community. These people therefore are apt to disprove of these extra-community influences and defend more strongly the horizontal ties which they have developed in the town.

These are the general characteristics in which the localite and cosmopolitan influentials in Simcoe are expected to differ. For the purposes of this research, the localite has been defined as "any individual who was born in Simcoe or came to Simcoe as a child". This is because an individual born in Simcoe is unlikely to have many experiences outside the community unless he has moved away from the town and returned later (which is unlikely). The child who enters the community is apt to have few pre-conceptions of the community before he moves to it and will most likely form many of the social ties and adopt most of the values and norms of the community in which most of his formative years have been spent. He will therefore be apt to identify himself as an old "Simconian" rather than a newcomer.

In contrast, the cosmopolitan is defined as "any individual who has moved to Simcoe as an adult". Individuals who enter the community after they have formed many of their adult values and social norms are not apt to have the same normative values and customary outlooks of the Simcoe community. They have been exposed to other influences and other perspectives. They are, therefore, expected to differ greatly from the localite influentials and will have great difficulty integrating into

the localite network(s).

Conclusion

This study adopts Robert Presthus' (1964) methodological technique of combining both the reputational and decision-making methods in the selection and analysis of members of the community power structure in Simcoe. With this method, the researcher found thirty-five influentials in the community who were carefully interviewed with the use of an open-ended questionnaire. Each respondent was asked questions about such socio-economic variables as age, educational background, occupational status, residence patterns and religious affiliation. Later a statistical comparison of this data was ascertained and examined in order that a clear representation of the social attributes of both the localite and cosmopolitan influentials could be analyzed. In addition, each respondent was asked to name those individuals in the community who they considered to be leaders as well as their own personal attitudes and ideas about the structure of power in the community. The questionnaire also contained questions on the network ties of these respondents in order that we could establish a pattern of social ties between these elites and those influentials who were considered to control power in the community. In this way, we attempted to collect as much information as possible about the respondents and the social ties that connected them to the resources of power in the community.

This information revealed that there were indeed two distinct elite networks in Simcoe which had different opinions as to the way

in which the town had changed and the way in which it should develop in the future. This information is discussed in the remaining chapters of this study. Chapter V discusses the role of the leader in Simcoe, the way in which the respondents see this role changing due to the new influences in the area and the rise of a new elite group which is conducive to the new influences of Nanticoke, Townsend and regionalization. Chapter VI examines the differences between the localite and cosmopolitan influentials in Simcoe and the localite-cosmopolitan elite social network(s). Chapter VII describes two important issues in the town, the point of view taken by the localite and cosmopolitan elites, the outcomes of these issues and the significance that these issues have for the control of power resource in the town and the rearrangement of the community power structure. Chapter VIII is the concluding chapter. It examines the more significant aspects of the research completed in Simcoe and the results obtained here. It compares these findings with the findings in other community power studies, and makes suggestions about the way in which this particular study has contributed to that body of literature.

CHAPTER V - LEADERSHIP IN SIMCOE: THE "GROUP THAT RUNS THE TOWN"

AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Introduction

In Chapter IV, we hypothesized that there would be two types of
elites in Simcoe which are divided in terms of their localite-cosmopoli-
tan orientation. This localite-cosmopolitan orientation is greatly in-
fluenced by the elite's education, income, occupation and extra-community
experiences. This difference in elite orientation should, in turn,
influence the elite's social network connections and his/her general
attitude toward the extra-community changes that are influencing Simcoe.
It was further hypothesized that these differences in localite-cosmopoli-
tan orientation would cause conflict over the way in which the elites in
Simcoe think that the recent changes affecting their community should be
handled. This would cause factionalism among the elites and a reorgani-
zation of the community power structure.

This chapter examines the validity of these hypotheses and the
implications that they have for our analysis of Simcoe elites. In this
chapter we will describe the socio-economic characteristics of the elites
interviewed for this study, their attitudes toward elite participation
in the community and the role that each respondent thinks that he/she
should play in the recent changes that are occurring in Simcoe. In the
process, it examines the importance of the role of community leader in
Simcoe and the way in which the extra-community influences of Townsend,

regional government and the industrial process at Nanticoke have been
seen to affect that role. Changes in the role expectations of community
leader have, in turn, affected the community participation of particular
elites and, in consequence, altered the community power structure of the
town.

The people who were interviewed for this study are quite similar
to the types of elites found in other studies on community power struc-
ture, in that they represent "individuals who possess the education,
ambition, technical skill and civic interest that make leadership
possible" (Presthus, 1964: 175). The sample has been divided into two
groups. The first group entitled "Oldtimers" consists of 18 (51%)
people who have either been born and raised in Simcoe or came to the
community as a child. Of this group, 6 (17%) are members of the
Establishment, that is, individuals who are members of the original
families who at one time owned the major shops, businesses and industries
in the community. The second group entitled "Newcomers" consists of 17
people (49%) who have moved to the community as adults. These people
have all become deeply involved in the community and have been identified
as Simcoe community leaders. A comparison of the two groups in terms of
socio-economic characteristics and attitudes toward the current changes
in Simcoe reveal that there is little difference between the two groups.
There is also no indication that Newcomer and Oldtimer elites have
polarized into two distinct and separate elite factions. It is more
likely that any alteration of the community power structure is a result
of the differences in the localite-cosmopolitan orientation expressed
by individual respondents.

The Issue of Leadership

The issue of leadership is important to the study of any

community because "leadership provides a way in which the major areas

of community activity are given a semblance of order and integration...

that extends into the major institutional areas of community life"

(Vidich & Bensman, 1968: 285). The individual who adopts the role of

community leader adopts the responsibilities of command and adminis-

tration. He/she gains access to the decision-making process and to the

power resources that are necessary for the supervision of his responsi-

bilities. It is with this idea in mind, for instance, that Floyd Hunter

suggests that "the difference between (the) leaders and other men lies

in the fact that social groupings have apparently given definite social

functions over to certain persons and not to others. The functions

suggested are those related to power" (Hunter, 1953: 2). The issue of

leadership is therefore vital to the understanding of the structure of

power and to the formation of the social links by which power resources

are delegated.

Floyd Hunter describes the leaders in his study of Regional City,

U.S.A. as "persons of power status...the persons of dominance, prestige

and influence...the decision-makers for the total community" (Hunter,

1953: 24). He notes that not all leaders command the same amount of

influence in the community and that few rarely become involved in every

sector of the community organization or in every community issue. There

are different types of community leaders who concern themselves primarily

with specific areas of interest. There is the political leader who is

involved directly in the decision-making process, the social leader who

interests himself/herself primarily in community projects and charity

works and the business leader who is concerned with the economic sector

(Hunter, 1953: 27-112). Each leader can be described in terms of the

type and amount of resources that he commands and in terms of his/her

particular interests and community concerns (Dahl, 1974: 95). Often,

one leadership role will greatly influence the other. The economic

leader may, for example, become involved in political issues if such

issues affect his/her business ventures. The extent that leadership

roles overlap one another or are occupied by the same sets of persons

demonstrates the cohesiveness of the community power structure and the

limited accessibility to various power resources. The extent that the

roles of leaders and aspiring leaders are not co-ordinated will, in

turn, often produce situations in which innovation, diversity and change

may be expressed (Vidich & Bensman, 1968: 258).

Floyd Hunter and Vidich and Bensman have also found that popular

support for one's position of leadership is highly dependent upon the

way in which the leader is able to demonstrate that he/she conforms to

the norms of the group that he leads (Hunter, 1953: 193; Vidich &

Bensman, 1968: 264-265). A leader who is seen violating the normative

values and customary rules of his/her followers soon loses support for

his/her leadership position. If a leader can be shown to be manipulating

his/her leadership position for reasons other than the overall betterment

of the community such as personal financial gain, he/she will lose his/

her credibility as an unselfish and devoted community member. He/she can

often sustain his position of leadership through the use of force or

coercion, but any support that he/she gains in this fashion will be given grudgingly and is unlikely to last. The successful community leader must therefore maintain a delicate balance between his/her own personal interests and the interests of his/her fellow community members. If not, he/she may lose access to the various power resources that come with the leadership role and the gratuities that this role often elicits. This may at times be very difficult since the leader's personal interests frequently overlap those of the community at large.

The issue of leadership is essential to the study of Simcoe because leadership is an integral part of the community's ideology and historical tradition. It is therefore vital to the understanding of the community power structure in Simcoe and the formation of elite networks. In Simcoe, the leaders are described as "community-minded", "community-involved", "publically-spirited" and "highly responsible to their community and its members". These words also describe the most cherished values in the town. (See Chapter I) The person who desires to attain the status of leader in Simcoe (and the power that it brings) must project this image. When asked to define the term "community leader" all of the respondents' definitions included at least one reference to one or more of these characteristics. A community leader was defined as,

> ...someone who is willing to participate and make con-
> tributions to the community...who does it because he is
> emotionally involved with the issues...with an inside
> feeling that makes you act on behalf of what you think
> is good for the community. (Informant Number 17)

and,

> A community leader would have to be community-spirited...
> by that, I mean, he'd have to give time to the community

> ...willingly and freely...I think that it is important
> to put back something into the community if you live
> here and enjoy the benefits of the community.
> (Informant Number 29)

and,

> A community leader would be defined as some individual
> who is active in community affairs and activities, etc.,
> and attempts to further the betterment of his community
> in some way. (Informant Number 19)

The person who is accepted as a leader in Simcoe must therefore show

that he has fully adopted the normative values of "community-mindedness"

and "public-spiritedness" that are so important to the customary

ideology of the town. If he/she does not, he/she is unlikely to be

recognized as a contributing member of the community who has earned and

deserves the position of leadership.

The importance of these characteristics can be exemplified

further by the distinction that is made in Simcoe between "political"

and "social" leaders. When asked to define the term community leader,

eight (23%) of the informants distinctly separated these two types of

leaders into different categories. The difference between the two types

of leaders seems to be based primarily on the grounds of dedication to

the community. One informant, for example, states that,

> Leadership depends on what the person wants to do. If
> he wants to be mayor that's one leader or president of
> the Rotary, that's another. The difference is that one's
> political and one's social...Social leaders are interested
> in helping the community. Political leaders are
> interested in the power of their position. (Informant
> Number 15)

Political leaders are held in less esteem in the community

because they are viewed as being less interested in the overall better-

ment of the community than in their use and control of the resources

that their political position brings. Politicians are not seen to fully

express the motives of public-spiritedness and community-mindedness that

are of such importance to the ideology of the town. It is with this

idea in mind, that one informant carefully explains the difference

between the social and the political leader.

> Councillors aren't leaders from the fact that they are
> elected and anybody can be elected, all you need is a
> high profile. You conduct a campaign, advertise, meet
> people and people get to know your name...But, that
> doesn't mean that you are considered a leader...To be
> a leader, you have to have some sense of responsibility
> or sense of wanting to give of your time and efforts in
> that endeavour...and, you have to be a little unselfish
> ...(Informant Number 18)

The political leader does not have as much status in Simcoe because

"anyone" can attain that position if he/she "campaigns" hard enough but

the community leader must "prove" himself/herself through hard work,

industry and dedication to the community.

Yet, political involvement and political issues have always been

an important element of Simcoe community life. Nineteen (54%) of the

respondents have either held a political office in the past or currently

hold a political position in the town (See Table 5-1). In fact, it is

claimed that, in the past, the ultimate leader in the community was

considered to be the mayor because it was the town council (under the

mayor's guidance) that made the decisions that affected the vitality of

the town (Informants Number 2 and Number 3). However, with the trans-

ition to regional government, the mayor and town council have lost their

autonomous control of the decision-making process. Most decisions that

are now made in town council must be ratified by the regional council

before they can be put into effect. In consequence, the political

leader is losing some of the respect and influence he formerly had in the community. Where, in the past, the political leader was viewed as a person who held an unqualified interest in his community, he is seen today as a person who is manipulated by the regional council. He has less contact with the members of his community and the issues that are important to the local population because he must tend to the affairs of the other municipalities. In order to maintain any access to the resources of political power he must frequently align himself with the politicians of other communities who are not concerned about the general welfare of Simcoe. Thus, he has less opportunity to be seen directly helping his community become better and stronger. In many cases, the political leader is totally helpless to direct decisions in favour of Simcoe. Three of the town councillors interviewed openly stated that they felt powerless and incapable of affecting many of the political decisions that are made for their community (Informants Number 32, 28, 18). This loss of direct control due to the process of regionalization has seriously affected the politician's former image as a significant leader in the local community.

This has produced a situation in which many of the "more capable and dedicated leaders are less willing to run for political office" (Informant Number 8). As one informant explains,

> In the old days when the mayor could get involved in politics first by serving on the council, then as a reeve and then as a mayor...you worked yourself up and you got respect. You could work hard, do your thing and then get off and retire in favour. If you were lucky you were able to complete a project or so and make a mark on the town. Today, to be the mayor automatically means you are a member of regional council...It takes the pride out of it. I'd love to

> be mayor of this town...and, I'd do a good job too.
> But, driving to Cayuga once a week, 25 miles, hassel-
> ling over some problem 20 miles west of here...that
> doesn't interest me. So, I've decided to go the other
> route and become a community leader instead.
> (Informant Number 2)

Another respondent explained that it is precisely this loss of status

which, in combination with the lack of concern that has been expressed

by the regional council over Simcoe, prompted him to refuse to run for

the position of mayor in the last election even though he had been

assured an easy victory. For this respondent,

> Being mayor of Simcoe now is not an efficient use of
> time for me. Regional government has emasculated the
> town council to the point that the only decisions that
> are under the control of the municipality is garbage
> collection and keeping care of the parks...All council
> members do now is take flack for others who make the
> real decisions. Simcoe has lost all of its autonomy.
> People who don't even care about Simcoe are making
> decisions for Simcoe. So, why should I be mayor?
> I can make better use of my time elsewhere...in my
> community...with my family. (Informant Number 13)

Thus, with the implementation of regional government the power and

prestige of the political leader within the community of Simcoe has been

diluted. The political leader may still maintain access to particular

power resources and still affects the decision-making process to a

certain extent but he must do so within the context of the regional

system where his status as a "Simconian leader" and the norms of

community-mindedness and community-selflessness are not as relevant.

(See Table 5-2) This has caused a conflict situation in the community

power structure since 7 (20%) of the Oldtimers who still believe in the

ideology of community participation and strong political leadership hold

the position of town council member in a period of time when this role

Table 5-1: Respondents Who Have Taken the Role of Political Leader

	Held Political Position in the Past	Currently Holds Political Position	Never Held Political Position
Oldtimers	5	7	6
Newcomers	5	2	10
Total	10	9	16

Table 5-2: "The Regional Council has Diminished the Importance of the Political Leader"

	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	Total
Oldtimers	7	8	3	18
Newcomers	8	7	2	17
Total	15	15	5	35

has become less important and other elites consider it to be ineffectual
(See Tables 5-1, 5-2).

The Simcoe Sample

In accordance with the research methodology employed for this
study and the "leadership" questions that were asked in the interviews,
the respondents in this sample were identified as community leaders by
at least (and often more than) one of the leadership questions (See
Table 5-3, 5-4, 5-5). Several of the respondent's names were also
mentioned frequently within the context of the interview as specific
examples of someone who possessed the qualities of leadership or someone
who was able to implement the decision-making process. This identifi-
cation of members of the sample as leaders often occurred freely as the
informant tried to explain his/her attitude toward the extra-community
changes in Simcoe or discussed the issues and events that he/she con-
sidered to be important to the community. For instance, very early in
the interview 12 (34%) of the respondents discussed the control that one
particular group - the Establishment - had formerly had in the town, and
the present fear of these individuals that the recent changes in Simcoe
would entirely divest them of their power in the community. Questions
No. 79 and 80 were therefore partially discussed long before they were
asked. Similarily, 12 (34%) of the respondents openly identified them-
selves as community leaders who were frequently called upon to assist in
community projects and 20 (57%) of the respondents claimed that they had
personally participated in at least one of the community issues mentioned

Table 5-3: <u>Method By Which Respondent Identified As Leader</u>

Name	Reputation	Involved in Decision	Involved in Issue	"Runs" Town	Self-Ident.	Position	Newcomer Leader
1. Brown	x	x	x	x	x	x	
2. Green	x	x	x	x	x	x	
3. Wilson	x	x	x	x	x		
4. Pine	x	x	x	x	x		
5. Woods	x	x	x	x	x		
6. Jones	x	x	x	x			
7. Grey	x	x	x		x		
8. Black	x	x	x		x		x
9. Rivers	x	x	x		x	x	x
10. Hunter	x	x	x		x	x	x
11. Hazell	x	x	x		x	x	
12. West	x	x	x	x	x	x	
13. North	x	x	x		x	x	x
14. Park	x	x	x	x	x	x	
15. Potter	x	x	x			x	x
16. Miller		x	x		x	x	
17. Baker		x	x			x	
18. Minor		x	x		x	x	x
19. Farmer		x	x			x	
20. Birch	x	x	x				
21. Fisher		x	x			x	
22. Robbins	x	x	x				
23. South	x						x
24. Vine		x	x				
25. Gold	x						
26. Mr. A	x						
27. Mr. B	x	x				x	
28. Mr. C	x						
29. Mr. D						x	
30. Mr. E						x	
31. Mr. F						x	
32. Mr. G						x	
33. Mr. H						x	
34. Mr. I						x	
35. Mr. J						x	

Table 5-4: Question No. 29: "Can you name any person that you think is a Newcomer Leader?"

Name Mention	Frequency and Sequence in Which Name Mentioned					Number of Years Lived In Simcoe
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Total	
Rivers	1	1	0	0	2	10
Potter	7	1	1	0	9	4
North	1	1	0	0	2	12
Hunter	3	4	0	0	7	15
South	1		1	0	2	4
Manners	1	0	0	0	1	12
Minor	1	0	0	1	2	born in Simcoe
Richards	0	1	0	0	1	15
Slate	0	0	1	0	1	9
TOTAL	15	8	3	1	27	

NB: The two with the most mentions are council members and have a high profile due to their political position in town.

REPUTATIONAL IDENTIFICATION

Table 5-5: Question No. 27: Which person would you choose to make up a group of leaders for a Project, regardless of whether you know them or not? (No. of respondents = 35)

Name Selected	Sequence in Which Name Mentioned							
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Total Mention
Brown	12	8	3				1	24
Green	2	4		1	2			9
Park	1	5	1	1	1			9
Town Council	7	2						9
Jones	2	1	1	2			1	7
Wilson		2		5				7
Major	3	1	2					6
Pine	2		4					6
Grey	1		2		1	1		5
Rivers		1	3		1			5
Martin		1	1		1	1		4
Hazell	1	1		1				3
West			2	1				3
Gold		1	1			1		3
Manners			1	2				3
TOTAL	31	27	21	13	6	3	2	103

NB: Six of the fifteen names mentioned are "old-family" establishment.

in response to the question "What are the most important issues that have occurred in Simcoe during the past five years?" Many of the respondents had therefore identified themselves and their social contacts as part of the community power structure with little prodding from the interviewer. This additional verification reinforces the answers given in response to the open-ended questionnaire interview section. The respondents had clearly been identified by themselves and others as part of the elite who serve as leaders for the community and, in effect, control the community power structure.

The informants in this study who were not mentioned as specific leaders were those individuals who had been selected for the sample because they held a particular position in the community such as president of a community organization or ran an official administrative office. For example, though 6 (17%) of the informants suggested that if someone were to plan a project in the community, he should approach the Kinsman, Lions and Rotary clubs for their support, not one of these six informants mentioned the name of the current president of any of these clubs as a specific community leader. In fact, when asked the name of the president of the organization(s) mentioned, not one of these informants could recall his/her name without careful deliberation and only 4 (10%) could recall only the name of one such person. The club president is therefore not identified as a community leader merely by virtue of his position of office. Part of the reason for this is that the position of club president is usually changed every year, with a new person taking command of the organization's executive. An executive position in a community organization is therefore not an indication that

one is considered to be a leader in the community. Leadership requires a much more permanent type of arrangement in which the members of the community know that they can rely on that particular individual to always be available to assist in or take a stance on community issues.

These respondents have, however, been included in the Simcoe sample and in the statistics that have been calculated for this study. The main reason for this is that these people occupy positions of power which give them access to specific community resources. The community organization, for example, consists of conscientious community members which, if necessary, can be called upon to carry out the operations required in a community project once a decision has been made by the leaders (Informants Number 8, 10). The president of the community organization must therefore be approached and his/her support elicited before his/her organization becomes officially involved in a leader's project. People who occupy administrative positions must also be convinced to support a leader's decision and make their particular power resources available. The people who occupy such positions of power are therefore important individuals in the community power structure because of the power resources that they control and manipulate. Even though that individual may only occupy that position for a short period of time, or can be removed or fired from that position, the effective community leader must acknowledge his/her role in the community power structure. For, as one informant explains,

> You may not seem to have power but you do...You can
> really affect a decision, if you want...like Mr. ___,
> he would never say no but it can get damn hard to do
> something if he doesn't want it to be done because of
> the position he's in. For example, one can say

> "Gentlemen, it's up to you...it's your decision...but,
> if you have eliminated all the options before you pro-
> pose the decision to them...well, in a way, you have
> made the decision for them. (Informant Number 24)

Six people in the sample hold such positions. Four are the presidents of the four organizations that have been identified as the most "prestigious" organizations in the town, and two hold administrative positions in the town. However, 14 (40%) of the other respondents stated that they had also held these positions at one time in the past. This type of involvement in administrative and organizational duties is there-fore quite relevant to the issue of leadership in Simcoe. Vidich and Bensman suggest in their study of Springdale, U.S.A., that most community leaders "are forced to submit to pressures to become involved in unwanted and alien activities because, if they do not accept such secondary positions, they are likely to be thought of as selfish power grabbers who want only to take and not to give" (Vidich & Bensman, 1968: 262) (Informants Number 15, 24). Hunter also found that "aspiring" elites often take such positions because they see it as a means of proving that they have the capacities for leadership, while others take them merely because they like being close to the people who retain actual power (Hunter, 1953: 107). Many, however, take the position because of the "psychological importance of the activity for the self-image" (Vidich & Bensman, 1968: 262). This is especially true of the leaders in Simcoe where obligation, unselfishness and responsibility are deemed to be prime values in the community. As one informant states,

> I have always taken an active part in the operations
> of Simcoe. I did a stint on town council for a while
> and I'm on the executive of things so, I have taken
> more than a passive interest in the town and I do my

damnedest to do a good job. That goes much further than
lining my pockets because I'm doing my share. Sometimes,
I guess people say it doesn't hurt me any or my business
either but I don't look at it that way. It's just that
when I belong I like to do my share and then some. I
didn't enjoy being on Council but I did it. It was my
turn to do my stint for the town and I did it.
(Informant Number 2)

Another explains his involvement in this way,

I have joined and become involved in these issues and
organizations because I think it is important for all
of us to serve our town and community...If we have
talents we should use these talents to the best of our
ability...If you are working with the local people at
the local level you can see things happen and see it
grow. I have my satisfaction right here. (Informant
Number 10)

Oldtimer-Newcomer Elites

The people who were interviewed for this study are representative

of the elites found in other community studies in that they clearly

possess the elite characteristics of "high class status, high income and

high education" (Presthus, 1964: 174). Twelve of the informants (34%)

report a gross income of over $50,000 for the year 1979, 34 (97%) own

their own home and 15 (43%) own other property in town. Fourteen (40%)

of the informants are self-employed and 8 (23%) are administrative

personnel. Fifteen (42%) have graduated from university and 4 (12%) have

completed some post-graduate work. Fifteen of these university graduates

(79%) attended the top five universities in Canada. The people of this

sample obviously have at their disposal many of the prerequisites of

leadership, that is, economic security, social position and good

education.

One of the original assumptions of this study is that there is a significant difference in the socio-economic status of the elites who have just moved to Simcoe, and the elites who have lived in the community for most of their lives (See Chapter IV). It was hypothesized that this difference will produce contrary attitudes between the two types of elites, thereby negating the integration of newcomer elites into oldtimer elite network(s). In order to test this hypothesis, the Simcoe sample has been divided into two groups based on length of residence in Simcoe. The "Oldtimers" consists of those informants who were born and raised in Simcoe or moved to the community as a child. The "Newcomers" are those informants who moved to the community as adults. An examination of the socio-economic variables and the attitudes of these two groups should demonstrate whether Newcomer and Oldtimer elites are so different in social characteristics that they form separate elite factions that are competing for control of the community power structure.

The results of research on the socio-economic variables of the respondents in this study indicate that the Newcomer and Oldtimer elites share many similar traits. The largest age category in both groups consisting of 6 (35%) of the Newcomers and 6 (33%) of the Oldtimers was 41 to 50 years of age. An examination of ethnic descent revealed that 15 (49%) of the Newcomers and 15 (43%) of the Oldtimers were Anglo Saxon. In addition, 17 (100%) of the Newcomers and 17 (98%) of the Oldtimers report owning their own home while, 7 (41%) of the Newcomers and 8 (44%) of the Oldtimers reported owning other property in town. Both groups also stated that they preferred to belong to local organizations and thought that local organizations were more capable of handling Simcoe

community problems than regional organizations. On average, both groups
read the same number of national magazines, although the Oldtimers read
more local magazines (2) and the Newcomers read more professional
journals (8). However, the type and number of daily newspapers read was
similar, and both groups generally agreed that they preferred to shop in
Simcoe if possible. Newcomer and Oldtimer influentials are therefore in
many ways quite similar in socio-economic status and interest. This
could tend to have an integrating effect on the two types of elites,
thereby negating factionalism between the two groups. (See Tables 5-6,
5-7, 5-8, 5-9, 5-10, 5-11, 5-12).

Yet when the variables of education and employment are examined
it is apparent that there is a substantial difference between the two
types of elites. Sixteen (94%) of the Newcomers have received some
college or university education and 13 (76%) have received post-graduate
training. Only 10 (56%) of the Oldtimers have received some university
or college while 9 (50%) have received post-graduate training. These
data help support the hypothesis that Newcomers have been exposed to
more opportunities of accepting diverse ideas and stimuli from their
educational background. It also helps to explain some of the apparent
difference in employment patterns between the two types of elites in
which 8 (44%) of the Oldtimers own their own businesses and 4 (22%) are
employees, while 6 (35%) of the Newcomers are administrative personnel
and 2 (12%) are employees. Since Oldtimers have been given the opportun-
ity to join the family businesses or start their practices when the town
was much smaller, they are not as likely to acquire as many educational
skills as those who perform administrative functions for national

Socio-economic Differences Between Oldtimers and Newcomers

Table 5-6: Age (Question No. 5)

	20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61+	Total
Oldtimers	2	3	6	3	4	18
	11%	17%	33%	17%	22%	100%
Newcomers	0	5	6	6	0	17
	0	28%	35%	35%	0	100%
Total Sample	2	8	12	9	4	35
	6%	23%	34%	26%	11%	100%

Table 5-7: Ethnicity (Question No. 8)

	Eng.	Scot.	Irish	All 3	Other	Total
Oldtimers	6	5	1	3	3	18
	33%	28%	6%	17%	17%	100%
Newcomers	6	5	1	3	2	17
	33%	28%	6%	17%	16%	100%
Total Sample	12	10	2	6	5	35
	34%	29%	6%	17%	14%	100%

Table 5-8: Property Ownership (Question No. 20 & Question No. 21)

	Owns Own Home			Owns Other Property		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Oldtimers	17	1	18	8	10	18
	98%	2%	100%	44%	56%	100%
Newcomers	17	0	17	7	10	17
	100%	0	100%	41%	59%	100%
Total Sample	34%	1	35	15	20	35
	97%	3%	100%	43%	57%	100%

Differences in Preference Between Local and National Variables

Table 5-9:   Preference for Local or National Organizations
             (Question No. 78)

	Local	National	Both	None	Total
Oldtimers	11	2	5	0	18
	61%	11%	28%	0	100%
Newcomers	10	2	4	1	17
	59%	12%	24%	6%	100%
Total Sample	21	4	9	1	35
	60%	11%	26%	3%	100%

Table 5-10:   Level Most Capable of Handling Simcoe Problems
              (Question No. 84)

	Regional	Local	Depends on Problem	Total
Oldtimers	0	13	5	18
	0	72%	28%	100%
Newcomers	1	12	5	17
	6%	65%	29%	100%
Total Sample	1	25	10	35
	3%	71%	29%	100%

Table 5-11:   Type of Magazine and Journals Read   (Question No. 75)

	Local	National	Professional	Total No. of Magazines
Oldtimers	2	13	2	17
	11%	76%	11%	100%
Newcomers	0	14	8	22
	0	82%	18%	100%

Table 5-12:   Type of Newspaper Read   (Question No. 74)

	Simcoe Reformer	Brantford Expositor	Hamilton Spectator	Globe & Mail	Toronto Star	Total Newspapers Read
Oldtimers	17	4	3	12	5	41
% of Sample N=18	98%	22%	17%	70%	28%	
Newcomers	15	6	5	12	4	42
% of Sample N=17	85%	35%	29%	68%	24%	

corporations (See Tables 5-13, 5-14, 5-15).

However, even though more Oldtimers are self-employed than New-
comers, Newcomer elites report a greater income level for the year of
1979. Seven (41%) of the Newcomers report a gross income of $50,000 or
more while only 5 (28%) of the Oldtimers report this sum. Yet 5 (28%)
of the Oldtimers report a gross income between $20-24,000 while, only
1 (6%) of the Newcomers report earning this sum. The difference between
the income levels of these two groups is likely due to the fact that
many of the Newcomers are professionals and management personnel who
have a fixed income. Their salary is commensurate with their skills and
education. A clear picture of the income structure of the Oldtimers is
difficult. Two (11%) of the self-employed merchants and business elite
report that they are able to give only an approximate guess as to their
yearly income. They claim that much of their yearly profit is put back
into their business interests and investments. Similarily, 2 (11%) of
the Oldtimers who reported an income between $20-24,000 were retired and
living on the interests of their investments. Income is therefore a
misleading factor of comparison between the two elites and it would be
fair to assume that, due to his business concerns and long-term economic
stability in the community, the Oldtimer influential commands just as
many (and most likely more) economic resources than the Newcomer (See
Table 5-16). It is apparent from this analysis of the socio-economic
variables examined in this study that the Newcomer-Oldtimer elites in
this sample are very similar in this respect.

There is also little apparent difference between the two groups
in their attitudes toward the community or the changes that are

Table 5-13: Education of Elites (Question No. 9)

	Grade 8 or less	Some high school	Graduated high school	Some college or university	Graduated college	Some post-graduate	Post-graduate	Total
Oldtimers	1	1	6	2	7	1	0	18
	6%	6%	33%	11%	39%	6%	0	100%
Newcomers	0	0	1	5	8	2	1	17
	0	0	6%	29%	47%	12%	6%	100%
Total Sample	1	1	7	7	15	3	1	35
	3%	3%	20%	20%	42%	9%	3%	100%

Table 5-14: Type of Post-Secondary Certificate (Question No. 10)

	Ph.D.	M.D.	Law	M.A.	B.A.	Other	None	Total
Oldtimers	0	0	0	1	5	3	9	18
	0	0	0	6%	28%	16%	50%	100%
Newcomers	1	2	1	1	5	3	4	17
	6%	11%	6%	6%	30%	17%	24%	100%
Total Sample	1	2	1	2	10	6	13	35
	3%	6%	3%	6%	29%	16%	37%	100%

Table 5-15: Type of Employment (Question No. 11)

	Self-employed Professional	Self-employed Business	Administrative Personnel	Employee	Retired	Total
Oldtimers	0	8	2	4	4	18
	0	44%	11%	22%	22%	100%
Newcomers	2	4	6	2	3	17
	12%	24%	35%	12%	18%	100%
Total Sample	2	12	8	6	7	35
	6%	34%	23%	17%	20%	100%

Table 5-16: Gross Income for 1979 (Question No. 83)

	$5,000-9,999	$15,000-19,999	$20,000-24,999	$25,000-29,999	$30,000-34,999	$35,000-39,999	$40,000-49,999	$50,000 or more	Total
Oldtimers	0	2	5	2	2	1	1	5	18
	0	11%	28%	11%	11%	6%	6%	28%	100%
Newcomers	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	7	17
	6%	6%	6%	18%	12%	6%	6%	41%	100%
Total Sample	1	3	6	5	4	2	2	12	35
	3%	9%	17%	14%	11%	6%	6%	34%	100%

occurring in town. For example, when asked "Would you ever like to leave Simcoe?", 10 (59%) of the Newcomers replied "No", 6 (35%) replied "Do not know" and only 1 (6%) replied "Yes". Twelve of the Newcomer elites (71%) stated that they considered themselves to be "Long-term" residents and 6 (35%) replied that there was "Nothing" that they liked least about living in Simcoe. In addition, 9 (53%) of the Newcomers replied that they had become personally involved in the current community issues and considered themselves to be active members of the community. In comparison, 14 (82%) of the Oldtimers stated that they never wanted to leave Simcoe, 4 (22%) said that there was "Nothing" that they did not like about living in the town and 11 (65%) had personally participated in the current community issues. (See Tables 5-17, 5-18, 5-19). This demonstrates that although the Newcomers may have entered the community as adults, they view Simcoe as their community too. As one informant explains,

> I'm not a native but I feel that I'm doing a lot of
> worthwhile things here. I don't know if I'd like to
> live elsewhere. All I can tell you is that I'm here
> and I'm having a great time. Now, I can't think of
> anything that I don't like about Simcoe. I honestly
> feel that way. I just hope that it lasts. But, as
> long as I'm doing my job and getting things done...
> I'm content. I get a lot of fun out of seeing things
> happen in town and being a part of it...(Informant
> Number 1)

One of the respondents suggests that this attachment to Simcoe may have grown out of the Newcomer's previous lifestyle in which he has moved from one community to another in the fast-paced sequence that has been necessary in order to further his professional career. When he moves to Simcoe, he finds that he is able to "get off the treadmill".

Table 5-17: <u>Desire to Leave Simcoe</u> (Question No. 61)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Don't Know	<u>Total</u>
<u>Oldtimers</u>	2 11%	14 78%	2 11%	18 100%
<u>Newcomers</u>	1 6%	10 59%	6 35%	17 100%
<u>Total Sample</u>	3 9%	24 71%	8 20%	35 100%

Table 5-18: <u>Personally Participated in Community Issues</u>
<u>(Question No. 32)</u>

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Oldtimers</u>	11 61%	7 39%	18 100%
<u>Newcomers</u>	9 53%	8 47%	17 100%
<u>Total Sample</u>	20 59%	14 41%	35 100%

Table 5-19: <u>Length of Time Required to Become a Long-term Resident</u>
<u>(Oldtimer).</u> (Question No. 55)

	6-11 <u>mths.</u>	1-5 <u>yrs.</u>	6-10 <u>yrs.</u>	11-20 <u>yrs.</u>	over 20 <u>yrs.</u>	Born <u>here</u>	Don't <u>know</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Oldtimers</u>	0 0	3 17%	4 22%	4 22%	2 11%	4 22%	1 6%	18 100%
<u>Newcomers</u>	1 6%	0 0	3 18%	3 18%	3 18%	3 18%	4 24%	17 100%
<u>Total Sample</u>	1 3%	3 9%	7 20%	7 20%	5 14%	7 20%	5 14%	35 100%

The town is slow-paced. It has a small-town atmosphere. He is accepted into its organizations and can get involved and gain a "sense of community and community identity". And, since the town is not far from London or Toronto, he can also maintain easy access to any cultural events or services that Simcoe is unable to provide (Informant Number 12). For such people,

> The major change in my life since I moved to Simcoe is
> that I have settled down. I came to Simcoe after all
> this travelling and I decided to stay and I have never
> left...Because of all the positive things...it's an
> attractive town and it's a friendly town and there are
> many outlets for people's talents and interests...sports,
> the arts, photography...whatever it may be...it's all
> here for you. And, it's a good town. We found that when
> we first came here that everybody was very warm and we
> had no problem settling into the fabric of the community
> at all. (Informant Number 10)

Simcoe's dominant ideology of community involvement and community service has enabled many of the Newcomers to become heavily involved in the community's organizations and events and "feel" that they are active members of community life. According to one informant, "As long as you are a warm body and are willing to show that you are ready and able to work, you are eagerly accepted by the native Simconian" (Informant Number 19). This ready acceptance of new people into the organizational life combined with the town's slow-paced, friendly, small-town atmosphere has stimulated the Newcomer elite to identify more fully with the normative values and customary rules of the community. The apparent similarity in socio-economic status and elite characteristics that these Newcomers have to the Oldtimers has furthered their integration into the Oldtimer elite network. The Newcomer elite that were interviewed for this sample have clearly adopted the common ideology of community

responsibility, community service and obligation to one's fellow
community members. They have, in effect, become Oldtimers in attitude
and community involvement.

The Group that "Runs" the Town

When the informants were asked the question, "Some studies of
other communities have shown that a small group of people fairly well
runs local offices and most of the important decisions in the community,
do you think that this is true of Simcoe?", 15 (43%) of the informants
replied "Yes", 12 (34%) replied that they "Used to", 5 (14%) replied
"No" and 2 (6%) replied "Do not know". When asked to give the names of
the people who belonged to this group, only 2 (6%) of the informants
stated that it was the town council. The others mentioned members of
the "old-established" families and their close friends and associates
(See Table 5-20). When asked to give specific names of people whom the
respondent considered to belong to this group, the response was invari-
ably something like,

> There has been a bit of a change at this stage in time
> from what it was...say about twenty-five or thirty
> years ago or longer. At that time, the town was con-
> trolled by very few families and I think now it has
> changed...But I'd say five or six families pretty much
> controlled the economy of this town because they used
> to own the businesses, therefore, as a result of
> controlling the economy, they really controlled the
> life of the town to a large extent. They did the
> hiring and the firing. They ran for council...things
> like that...Now, the council, for example, is today a
> pretty broad cross-section of the whole community...
> Before, there was the elite in this town that had the
> education and the money and they just naturally ran
> things. But, today, the average guy is more knowledge-
> able and he is in just as good a position to run for
> this type of office. (Informant Number 20)

Table 5-20: <u>Does a Small Group Run the Town?</u> (<u>Question No. 79</u>)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Used To	Don't Know	<u>Total</u>
<u>Oldtimers</u>	6	3	8	1	18
	33%	17%	44%	6%	100%
<u>Newcomers</u>	9	2	5	1	17
	53%	12%	30%	6%	100%
<u>Total Sample</u>	15	5	13	2	35
	43%	15%	37%	6%	100%

There is little animosity over the fact that this small group of families "used to run the town". As one informant states,

> Without any doubt the old families in Simcoe...these people had tremendous control...because they controlled a lot of lives in the town through their industries... But, mind you,...perhaps that was not all bad because in order for those people to run those businesses and run them successfully they had to have some knowledge of what was good for the town, good for the area and good for the people. (Informant Number 27)

Another explains it in this fashion,

> Let's face it, Simcoe was controlled by a half dozen families in the old days. But they did a great job of settling the town and getting it off the ground. They should go down in history books...And, I don't think that the people resented this control. I think that in the old days you had the rich and the poor. And the poor depended on leadership...creating a place to work, etc. And, they did that. Let's face it, these families had factories and businesses and they employed people. And, I think only the rich could afford to take time to get involved in things, the common man was working 10 hours a day to put food on the table and he was too tired to join or help. You needed someone who had the time to spend in these areas...and they were certainly always there. (Informant Number 32)

When a member of one of these families was asked about her involvement in the town, she replied,

> Of course we ran the town. Who else was qualified? We saw something that had to be done and we did it. We got the hospital started and worked on charities and ran the council. It was necessary and we did it. People say we profited from it too but then wasn't it our money that was going into these donations? We put our profit back into the town because it was good for everyone. (Informant Number 31)

The old families' control was generally acknowledged and accepted in the past. But, today, many of the new generation resent their "Divine Right of Kings attitude" and their "natural assumption that everything in town should go their way" (Informant Number 11). As one informant states,

> The major pocket of influence in town is still a...in
> Simcoe historically there were four or five families
> that controlled the town and in those days it was they
> who ran the major industries in the community. In
> that time when it came to a vote and people were asked
> to vote for mayor etc., they usually voted the way that
> one of these guys told them to because they controlled
> the jobs and you didn't want to go against them. That
> segment has stayed together and though the new genera-
> tion has broken down that control...mainly because they
> no longer control the economic base of Simcoe...they
> still form a major pressure group and try to get people
> to do what they want. (Informant Number 22)

At least 22 (62%) of these informants claim that these old

families and their supporters still maintain a great deal of influence

in the community. However their power has been greatly reduced over the

years. Increased educational opportunities have given others the abili-

ties and skills to refute their authority, new generations have replaced

the old "patriarchs" and most of the family businesses have been sold to

national and international corporations which have less interest in the

affairs of the town. Yet, the fact is that these old families are still

viewed as the major power group in the community. Five (15%) of the

informants, for example, unequivocally stated that if the members of

these old families and their friends "joined together" to get something

done in the community, it would still be almost impossible to stop them.

Thus, one informant answers,

> Sure, there is a power group in town...the establishment
> ...the old families...but they do not have the same
> degree of influence that they once had...There's too
> many people here now that are just not going to stand
> for that...But there are still certain things that they
> can do...And, I don't mean that in a negative way. It's
> just a fact of life. (Informant Number 15)

Another asserts that,

> If there are any issues in this town that they want to

> back, then, you can't really fight them...They may
> appear single and broken up and not show combined
> leadership but they do. If they wanted, they could
> easily band together and get things done. If it
> mattered to them. But, now, usually they become
> involved in a single issue in which they are emotion-
> ally involved...and they still usually succeed.
> (Informant Number 17)

And, another gives the example,

> We had this bandstand in the park that everybody
> decided to tear down...Well, it was really old...
> Well, all hell broke loose...the Historical Society,
> the Lynnwood Arts Centre, the old families...they
> all got upset. So, two of them came directly to
> council to protest...Well, everybody immediately
> snapped into line...And, they got permission...and
> money to restore the whole thing. That's the type
> of thing they can still get people to listen and
> change their minds for them. (Informant Number 12)

Twenty (57%) of the respondents also stated that they considered

the new changes in Simcoe as the final force that will ultimately destroy

any vestige of power that the Establishment still maintains in the

community. It is thought that there will be too many new people moving

into the town who do not know of these elites or of their powerful

reputation and therefore will not be as quick to accept their leadership

or back their decisions without question. Stelco and the other indus-

tries at Nanticoke are thought to be too big and too powerful to be

concerned with trying to please these old family elites or support their

position of leadership in the community. Regional government is seen to

have "robbed" them of their exclusive power to "directly control and

influence" elected officials. Councillors from Jarvis and Cayuga, for

instance, are unlikely to concern themselves about the demands of Simcoe

leaders. Many of the respondents see a change in the status position of

these elites and the amount of power that they will be seen to exert in

Simcoe in the future. The recent changes of the extra-community

influences of Stelco, regional government and Townsend have provided

an opportunity for others to see weaknesses in the old social order and

contest the monopolistic control that the Establishment has had on the

community power structure.

The elite in Simcoe consists of the local businessmen and down-

town merchants, the various professionals such as the doctors and

lawyers, the "old-established families", the highly successful fruit and

vegetable farmers and the new management personnel at Nanticoke. This

elite frequently becomes involved in most of the major issues in the

community. Twenty-five (71%) of the respondents replied that they would

approach a member of at least one of these groups if he/she were in-

terested in obtaining positive leadership support for a community project.

The elite with the highest profile in the community consists of the down-

town merchants and local businessmen. Twenty (57%) of the respondents

mentioned this group as the most active and more vocal of all the major

sectors in the community because,

> Most people only care about the five feet of sidewalk
> in front of their own home. They'll complain about
> the downtown but they don't get involved. And, any
> good businessman will take an interest in any issue
> especially if it affects the downtown core because it
> will affect his business. He seems to be a lot more
> concerned and a lot of the issues that we are concerned
> about concern him too. Now, the regular townsperson
> may be concerned but he can live with it in terms of
> his business - his livelihood. (Informant Number 33)

It has been a tradition that at least one downtown merchant run

for a position on town council in order that this group's views be con-

sidered when issues are raised in council that may affect the downtown

core and their business interests (Informant Number 2). Of the 39

mayors previously elected to Simcoe Council, for example, 18 (46%) have

been downtown businessmen. The downtown business people therefore

represent an important sector of the Simcoe elite. In the past, they

have been involved deeply in many of the changes that have occurred in

the community. Little happens in Simcoe of which they are unaware or of

which they do not state a definite opinion.

The most prominent group in Simcoe is the "old-established

families". These people have a history of residence in the community

that extends back at least four or five generations. These people are

the sons and daughters of the men and women who at one time owned the

original shops and major industries in the town. Many of them have

inherited their parents' shops and businesses or have entered long-

established family law and medical practices. Of the 256 members of the

Simcoe Chamber of Commerce in 1980, 26 (10%) of the companies, firms and

businesses have been in the community since the early 1900s and are owned

and operated by descendants of the original owners.

Of the 35 respondents interviewed for this study, 6 (17%) identi-

fied themselves as members of the Establishment, that is, one of the sons

or daughters of the people who "helped to settle this town" (Informant

Number 18). These people believe that it is their 'duty' to be active in

community events. They owe it to their forefathers, to their children

who will one day inherit their position in the community, and to the

community which has always 'benefited' from their family's participation.

For such members, "Somebody has to take leadership and since we are

responsible and have an interest in the town and care about what happens

here...it is our obligation...our responsibility" (Informant Number 31).

The members of the Establishment have a great deal of influence

in the community due to their stable economic position, their traditional

background and their historical family name. As one informant states,

> It can often happen that people will support a plan or
> project just because one of these individuals says it
> should be done. The support of a member of the
> Establishment can greatly affect the result of a com-
> munity project in Simcoe. (Informant Number 35)

When asked whether the person was accepted because of his name or because

he was a good leader, the informant replied,

> A bit of both, I think....He has got his position in the
> community because of his family background...but then
> he has to show that he can make it and do it on his own
> ...but then he might have never been given the chance
> if he hadn't been from that family...So it's a bit of
> both... (Informant Number 35)

Another informant observes that,

> There are a few sons who didn't make it...just didn't
> have it I guess...they generally live off their father's
> reputation and their parent's money. Like, one I know
> went into business for himself but failed miserably.
> These types, however, do not get that involved in the
> community...they form more of a social elite...
> (Informant Number 15.)

Thus, although these people are highly respected in the community

because they are the direct descendants of the "Founding Fathers of

Simcoe" and are generally given social status because of their historical

background, they must also prove their capabilities of leadership to the

rest of the community.

Yet, the Establishment's influence and interference in community

affairs is frequently resented. Though 18 (51%) of the respondents

stated that they appreciated the concern shown by these people, are

thankful for their involvement and support in community projects and

value their leadership capabilities, 14 (40%) stated that they think

that the Establishment may have had too much influence in the decision-

making process in the past. The Establishment has a reputation of

"fighting any kind of change that is good for the community unless it is

also good for them" (Informant Number 24). There is a rumour that in

the late 1950s an industry that was planning to build a plant in Simcoe

was discouraged by various members of council because it might provide

too much competition for the industries owned by the Establishment

(Informant Numbers 27, 20). These informants are apprehensive about the

members of the Establishment, and therefore think that the 'new changes'

in Simcoe positively at least to the extent that they will weaken the

economic control of this group, bring new leaders into the community in

the form of managerial staff, and offer new opportunities and new ideas

for the future development of the town. For these informants,

> The old-families aren't mean people but they're getting
> scared because their world is crumbling ever since Stelco.
> ...You see they always had the power base. They always
> controlled the factories and employment. American Can
> was the only outside company. It came in about 1930,
> when the guard was down. They tried to keep the factories
> out. And, people were afraid to cross them because they
> might lose everything...But, with Stelco, they have a
> whle new breed...Stelco's used to money. It doesn't
> mean anything. (Informant Number 11)

> There has been a bit of a change at this stage in time
> from what it was twenty-five or thirty years ago or
> longer. At that time, about five or six families pretty
> much controlled the economy of this town because they
> owned the businesses. Therefore, as a result of con-
> trolling the economy, they really controlled the life of
> the town to a large extent. They did the hiring and the
> firing. They ran for council...things like that. But
> now, many of their industries have been sold to corpor-
> ations...new people have moved in...people are more

educated and have more time to participate...It's a
different time...The town council for example is today
a broad cross-section of the whole community. They
aren't elitist like the old families once were.
(Informant Number 20)

The Establishment generally aligns itself with the downtown

merchants and professional businessmen because many of them are members

of both groups and their interests are similar in nature. According to

one informant,

If you want to be successful...to be a leader here...
you'd certainly have to be a part of the Establishment
...socially accepted by those people and perceived as
someone who would be a guardian of their interests...
i.e. the downtown core. (Informant Number 15)

It is the Establishment, then, that appears to be the major power group

in the town.

There is no evidence from our research that there is any other

tightly-knit, cohesive interest group in the community that becomes so

actively involved in the issues and events that concern the town.

Although the community earns a great deal of money from the local farm

community, there is no indication that the farmers form a significant

elite network. In fact, the farm community rarely participates in

Simcoe community life. This is primarily due to the fact that most of

the farmers live outside the official boundaries of the town and do not

identify themselves as Simconians. The farmers generally view Simcoe as

a service centre where they come to shop, see the doctor, do their

banking or attend a show (Informant Numbers 33, 24). They vote, run for

council and join the local organizations of Delhi, Nanticoke and Tillson-

berg rather than Simcoe.

The small number of farmers who have holdings within the town's

limits and who are considered "rich enough and established enough to be a part of the elite" concern themselves mainly with the Norfolk Fair which is held every year in Simcoe (Informant Numbers 21, 19). This event however is considered to be a county event rather than a Simcoe community event, and concerns most of the farmers in the Norfolk district. The Simcoe farmers who participate in this event do so primarily because of the rural, farm-orientation of the Fair rather than because they identify themselves as Simconians. The farmers are "not seen to form a group that is focused enough to have a particular leader or a particular viewpoint" in Simcoe (Informant Number 21).

The town council forms the major decision-making body in the community but, it too, does not appear to form a cohesive elite faction. This is partly due to the fact that council membership can change with every election, and new people can be given the opportunity to obtain office. The town council is also in a state of transition at this time because the mayor of 17 years and the chief administrative officer have retired. This has produced a situation in which there are a large number of new people concerned with council and no strong leadership. As noted previously, the formation of regional council has also served to weaken Simcoe council's authority and its position as a power resource that the elites can control and manipulate.

There is also little evidence to indicate that the new professionals and managers who have moved to Simcoe in connection with the Nanticoke complex have yet formed a distinct elite faction. According to one Stelco representative,

There was a conscious decision on the part of Stelco way

> back in 1973...we decided that there were enough local
> people in the area to handle things and we were not
> going to get ourselves involved in local issues and
> events...We did not want the local communities like
> Simcoe to become company towns. (Informant Number 19)

The respondents also do not think of these people as a unique and distinct interest group. "There really hasn't been any dramatic change. They just come in and it isn't noticed...They have joined the clubs and churches...but it's a gradual, undramatic thing" (Informant Number 28). And indication of this is that although 24 (69%) of the respondents stated that they thought there were several newcomer leaders in Simcoe, not one suggested that these leaders were representative of any particular group (to be discussed later in this chapter).

There is an interest group in the community which _is_ gaining more prominence in community affairs. This is the local sports association. Sports is an important aspect of the social life in Simcoe and one of the prime areas of entertainment. Though the members of this association are not considered "elite", many of the sports people have achieved prominence in the community due to their proficiency in athletics. In addition, a large number of the new professionals and the managers at Nanticoke have become very involved in the sports association because of their children's interests. It is also an easy way for these people to meet other people in the community. The sports association therefore has a few identifiable leaders who are able to command the loyalty of a large sector of the Simcoe population. Three of the new councillors elected in the past election have stated that the high profile that they gained through their sports achievements helped them become elected (Informant Numbers 20, 28, 33). It was also the leaders

of the sports community who raised $212,000 for a second ice surface in

Simcoe, despite the fact that the social elite refused to support their

cause. Such examples merely reveal the latent power that the leaders of

this group have in the community but that has not been fully implemented.

Recruitment of New Leaders

One of the reasons that the Establishment has been able to main-

tain the dominant role of leadership in Simcoe is that the recruitment

of new leaders is highly dependent upon a demonstration of public service

and community devotion. When respondents were asked the question, "If a

person wanted to become a leader in Simcoe, what would he/she have to

do?", 13 (13%) of the replies indicated that the person should get in-

volved in community projects, 20 (19%) replied that the person should

show that he/she was community-minded and publically-spirited and 28

(24%) replied that the person should join a club in which he/she could

be seen to volunteer his/her services to other members of the community.

Only 5 (5%) of the respondents suggested political involvement and 2 (6%)

stated that one must know certain elites (See Table 5-21). Acceptance as

a leader in Simcoe is therefore still dependent upon projecting the

proper image, that is, one which parallels the community ideology of self-

sacrifice and personal devotion. This is the case for both the political

and social leader for, as Floyd Hunter and Robert Presthus have suggested,

in a town with a population the size of Simcoe's, leadership roles

frequently overlap and role expectations are generally consistent for all

types of leaders in the community. In consequence, a person may get

Table 5-21: (Question No. 28): What Must a Person Do in Simcoe in Order to
Be Accepted As A Community Leader

	Response	No. of First Responses	No. of Second Responses	No. of Third Responses	No. of Fourth Responses	Total Responses	%
1.	Join a Club	8	8	10	2	28	28%
2.	Join a Church	1	0	3	2	6	6%
3.	Volunteer Services	5	13	6	0	24	24%
4.	Know Elites	2	2	0	1	5	5%
5.	Get Politically Involved	2	1	2	0	5	5%
6.	Show you are Publically-spirited	8	5	5	2	20	19%
7.	Must Be Born Here	1	0	0	0	1	1%
8.	Get Involved	8	3	2	0	13	12%
	TOTAL	35	32	28	7	102	100%

elected in Simcoe because he/she has campaigned hard and has gained

public recognition through that campaign but, in order to maintain that

leadership position, the person must adhere to the normative values of

leadership. In Simcoe,

> Leadership depends more on the kind of person you are.
> And, the image that you personally project rather than
> what you do...To be a leader, you have to show that
> you are the kind of fellow who is not all talk but some
> action...you get things done. A leader has objectives
> and knows how to carry them out. He is able to get
> people to work with him successfully. Once he has
> proved that he can do this, he is accepted.
> (Informant Number 10)

But, "proving" one's leadership capabilities in Simcoe is a slow

and definite process. One must "earn his spurs...by not being too pushy,

being responsible in your actions, by involving yourself but not dominating

the situation" (Informant Number 19). A person who wants to become a

leader in this community must "put some effort into it...put their name

before a committee and offer to help...the members of the committee will

know you are producing and next time they have a job to be done they will

call on you" (Informant Number 21). In this way, "if you're honest and

show that you care about the community, they will accept you and soon turn

to you for help with things" (Informant Number 29). The title of "leader"

in this community is an honour that must be earned by one's devotion and

hard work. It is therefore designated to those few who have proven them-

selves worthy over long periods of time.

The people who were interviewed for this study exemplify this

fact. Of the 35 people interviewed, 17 (49%) had lived in the community

all their lives, 4 (11%) had moved to the town as children and only 14

(40%) had entered the community as adults. Of these 14 respondents,

9 (26%) had lived in Simcoe for at least 20 years. Twelve of the

respondents (34%) were between the ages 41 to 50 and 13 (37%) were over

the age of fifty years. Only 4 (12%) were under the age of 35. Two of

these younger newcomers were chosen because of their position in a

community organization. (See Table 5-22). It is a rare instance that a

person is able to enter the community and instantly achieve the position

of leader. One may "get his foot in the door" but, after that, he/she

must prove themselves by their future actions.

Yet, "devotion" to the community may not gain one access to the

community power structure. The above statements give the impression

that in Simcoe all that one must do to become a leader is to join an

organization, become involved in its activities and slowly prove one's

leadership capabilities. This is not entirely true. There is a class

system in Simcoe as there is a class system in all communities.

Although the membership of an organization may be representative of all

sectors of the community, social class still divides the membership into

small groups. For instance,

> It doesn't matter what you do during the day if your
> interests are such you would be invited to join the
> organization, but once you leave that...like once
> you get out of the Little Theatre...they don't invite
> you to their home because you don't have common
> interests...only in the theatre. But, you always
> invite your social group. (Informant Number 11)

In Simcoe, as elsewhere, one's "interests" are generally defined in terms

of socio-economic status. Another informant explains that,

> The people in the group are divided in terms of what
> the people in the group regard as their social status
> and, of course, in order to be successful in the one
> group you would have to have a certain income...I
> would say that it depends on where you work to a

Table 5-22:   (Question No. 80):   People Identified as Those Who "Run" the Town

Name	When Mentioned and How Often									
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Total	(%)
1. Brown	6	3	3	1	3				16	(14%)
2. Green	2	2	4	3					11	(10%)
3. Park	2	1		1	1	1			6	(6%)
4. Jones	3	1	1	1		1	1		8	(8%)
5. Wilson	1	6	2	4		2		1	16	(14%)
6. Mayor	1	1	1				1	1	5	(5%)
7. Pine		1	6	1					8	(8%)
8. Town Council	2		1						3	(3%)
9. Grey						1			1	(1%)
10. Rivers								1	1	(1%)
11. Martin			1	1	1	1			4	(4%)
12. Hazell	1				1				2	(2%)
13. Woods		2	1		1				4	(4%)
14. Old-family (other than those listed above)	8	3	2	5		1	3		21	(20%)
Total	26	20	22	17	8	6	5	3	106	(100%)

certain extent. And what you do there. I suppose if
you're at the top end of the scale where you work you
may be more highly regarded than the person who sweeps
the floors. Like if you're a manager at American Can
you'll be more accepted than if you work on the pro-
duction line...mainly because you make more money.
(Informant Number 27)

People may therefore state that "anyone" can become a leader but,

...you can have open and "open"...like anyone can join
but not everyone can be on the executive...sometimes
it's a product of the past. For example, the stores in
Simcoe traditionally closed on Wednesday. Now, the
Golf and Country Club is complaining that they can't get
anybody on the executive...but they hold their executive
meetings on Wednesday afternoon. That was okay when it
was open during the time that the local merchants ran
the town...because they were always available to come in
on Wednesday for the meetings because their business was
closed. It also kept other people out because not too
many workers could take Wednesday afternoon off to go to
a meeting...So, these old guys complain that they have
to do all the work and nobody wants to help...But, how
does the common person join? He can't participate...he
can join but he is forced by these types of rules to let
these people take over. So, like I say, it's open but
it's closed. (Informant Number 22)

Whether it is intentional or not, the duties of leadership are

the perogative of the elite sector in Simcoe. Although anyone is able

to join almost any organization in the community and is readily accepted

as a contributing member of that organization, new leaders must also

have an upper-middle or upper class standing which allows them the free-

dom to take time from work to attend meetings in the middle of the day,

or devote great amounts of personal time to community projects. Another

reason for this requirement is that "leadership costs money. You have

responsibilities that must be fulfilled that require free time, donations

etc., and that takes money" (Informant Number 15). Leadership also

requires a demonstration of talents which may be difficult to develop if

not given the assets that higher education and training bring such as
public-speaking, self-confidence and the ability to instill confidence in
your supporters. "Leadership types are seen as 'doers' and being success-
ful in one's business or artistic field demonstrates to others that they
are able to do things and, often that is defined financially" (Informant
Number 8). This general prerequisite of leadership characteristics is
consistent with the findings of other community researchers such as
Hunter (1953), Warner (1964), Vidich and Bensman (1968) and Presthus
(1964) in which "most of those in the power structure possess larger
amounts of the resources that are highly valued in our culture including
high class status, high income and high education achievement" (Presthus,
1964: 176). In Simcoe, this has resulted in a duplication of the same
individuals in various leadership positions, thereby causing a situation
in which only a small minority have access to the community power struc-
ture.

> There is a cross-section of the people in town who are
> most often concerned and involved in what's going on
> because it affects them economically. Then, you've
> got the old families...and the managers of the major
> industries...these are the main people who become in-
> volved in what's going on in town...You talk about the
> Norfolk Fair...you find a guy like Mr. _____ is on the
> Board of Directors. You find when you get into the
> Simcoe Chamber of Commerce, you find the same man there
> ...You get into the Friendship Weekend...these kinds of
> functions...the Festival of Lights at Christmas...again,
> with the United Appeal and you'll find the same people
> repeating themselves. And, of all these, yours truly
> happens to be there too... (Informant Number 19)

One of the main problems with the original assumption that New-
comer and Oldtimer elites would form two separate elite factions, each
with an opposing view as to the future development of Simcoe is that very

few of the Newcomer respondents that were interviewed are relatively new

to the community. Eleven (64%) of the Newcomers have lived in Simcoe for

over 15 years but only 2 (6%) of the respondents had lived in the com-

munity for less than five years. This has produced a situation in Simcoe

in which one finds that there are,

> ...two kinds of Oldtimers. Those who have been here
> more than 15 years and moved to Simcoe before any concept
> of change and the industry and growth. And, there are
> those who are here from generations back. Those who came
> before any concept of growth have more or less assimilated
> with the old family group. But, in Simcoe, it's still
> more an attitude than time. To be accepted, you have to
> feel personally that you are a part of Simcoe and you have
> to personally like the town and want to become involved in
> the community. (Informant Number 21)

This has produced an interesting situation in which there is very

little clear distinction between the Newcomer and Oldtimer elite networks.

For instance, when asked the question "What is the length of time required

before one is considered to be a long-term resident in Simcoe?", "Does a

small group run the town?", "Who would you pick to lead a community

project?" or "What should a newcomer do if he desires to become a leader

in this community?". (See Tables 5-20, 5-21, 5-4, 5-22). The answers

were similar for both groups. Fourteen (82%) of the Newcomers have formed

close friendships with the Oldtimer elites, both types belong to the same

clubs and organizations in the community, most attend the same social

events and community functions and most generally adhere to the customary

rules and normative values that form the common ideology of leadership.

There is, as a result, a common area of interaction and exchange of ideas

between the two types of influentials which permits the elites to air and

resolve many disagreements before conflict situations occur.

> People in Simcoe are not used to open-conflict or strike
> situations...things like that. But that's not what the
> town is accustomed to...If you had a situation like
> Hamilton where you're a steel city and it's rough and
> tough and you play for keeps...but that's not what they
> are used to around here...It's an easy-going farm
> community. You sit down over a coffee and you try to
> solve your problems. It's a consensus community, by and
> large...I don't know how you explain power in a town like
> this because I think that a lot of what's done in Simcoe
> is probably done over cocktails. You know, people get
> together and discuss a project and then maybe they per-
> suade other people that the project is viable...This is
> the way I perceive it...You've got to do some lobbying.
> And, you've got to have the converted before you go and
> try to get a vote on it. (Informant Number 24)

As a result, the Establishment has been able until now to keep a fairly

tight control of the community power structure because they have also

been supported by the Newcomers who have adopted their value system.

Social Change and the Rise of New Elites

Vidich and Bensman claim that although the "overlapping of leader-

ship roles tends to channel community policy into relatively few hands,

and results, at the level of the personalities of the leaders, in some

degree of community co-ordination", it also produces a situation in the

community in which "the overwhelming occupancy of so many important

positions by so few men places stresses on other potential leadership

groups" (Vidich & Bensman, 1968: 258, 262). The few new leaders who are

permitted to slowly prove their leadership capabilities in minor leader-

ship positions must in some way be approved by the established elites

before these elites will "open the way" and allow them access to the

various leadership positions in the community. This patronage situation

in which the old leaders must sanction the "new" leaders results in a

gradual change in the community power structure in which one generation
of leaders slowly replaces the next with each, in its own way, perpetua-
ting the common ideology that maintains their leadership position.

This explains why, for example, only 24 (69%) of the informants
answered "yes" to the question, "Do you think that there are any leaders
among the new people moving into Simcoe?" and, why, only 20 (57%) could
give the names of anyone that they considered to be newcomer leaders. Of
the names given for newcomer leaders, it is also interesting to note that
6 out of 12 had lived in the community for at least 15 years (See Table
5-23). Only 2 (6%) of the respondents had lived in the community for
less than five years. Of these two, it is said that one of them was able
to gain access to a leadership position because he became a friend of one
of the more influential professionals and received this person's public
support in his quest for leadership (Informant Numbers 11, 12, 24). The
other person owns a business in the community which gives him a great
deal of financial status. But, although he has been given small positions
of authority such as membership on one of the town's Board of Directors
and the responsibility of directing a small community project, he has not
yet obtained a high profile in the community and is not considered to be
a strong leader at this time. In addition, three of the managerial
personnel who have lived in the community for a great deal longer than
these two, readily acknowledge that they had "a leading edge because I
was one of the new executive types coming into the area...and I entered
town already with the status and the appearance of money connections"
(Informant Number 12). One must therefore be able to display some of
the required elite characteristics of high class status, high income and

Table 5-23: <u>Length of Time Lived in Simcoe</u> (Question No. 34)

	1-5 yrs.	6-10 yrs.	11-20 yrs.	Over 20	Came as child	Born here	Total
<u>Oldtimers</u>	0	0	0	0	4	14	18
	0	0	0	0	22%	78%	100%
<u>Newcomers</u>	3	2	7	5	0	0	17
	18%	12%	41%	29%	0	0	100%
<u>Total Sample</u>	3	2	7	5	4	14	35
	8%	6%	20%	14%	11%	40%	100%

high educational achievement if, as these examples imply, one is to be among the few individuals to be accepted into the elite network. Since the Establishment generally control most of the leadership positions in Simcoe, acceptance as an effective leader requires acceptance by this group. One must adopt the normative values and be seen to protect the dominant interests of this group before one can gain their approval (Informant Numbers 11, 12, 15).

Vidich and Bensman suggest that it takes a radical change in the social structure of a community to disrupt the power structure so that there will be greater chance of access by aspiring elites (Vidich & Bensman, 1968: 283-284). The transition stage that has occurred in Simcoe due to the extra-community influences of Nanticoke, Townsend and regional government presents aspiring elites with such an opportunity. Because the Establishment sees regional government usurping the power of town council, only one of their members ran for a council position in the last election. This permitted three new people to gain access to council and the privileges that council membership entails. Many of the new people in the community are also volunteering their assistance in community organizations and community projects because they see their participation as a means of integrating into the community (Informant Numbers 21, 22, 33). This numerous body of new volunteers has tended to encroach into areas which the Establishment formerly occupied or used as "secondary" sources of leadership identity. Many of the old elite are "happy" to let the newcomers do this because they have lost interest in these areas, or are too busy fulfilling their other leadership functions (Informant Numbers 25, 28). However, in doing so, they are losing access to a major

source of support and re-enforcement for their primary leadership roles. If the Establishment continues to allow more newcomers to take these positions they may lose a major source of support and re-enforcement for their primary leadership positions which, when needed will have been quietly overtaken. At present,

> The town is in a state of transition. A lot of new things are happening...For example, I was asked to be Chairman of a Committee and, the people who were helping and getting things done tended to be the new people. The old people are not getting involved... But, if you had a really important project, I think you would still have to go deep into the Oldtimer group to get people. (Informant Number 15)

And,

> We are getting more and more of the newer people involved in things and as they do they draw on other members of the new community...So, I wouldn't say that many newcomers are leaders yet, but I would say that they are on their way. You see, Oldtimers have their established friendships. That's natural. I wouldn't say they were cliques but it would be natural not to get close friends with the new people. Why should they when they already have friends? So they are hesitant to hand the reins over to newcomers. It's natural. It's their town. (Informant Number 21)

Statements such as these indicate that if the Establishment were to falter in any way, they may likely lose their strong control of the community power structure. This places them in a defensive position in which they are now fighting to maintain leadership. A ready accessibility to the new power resources provided by Stelco, Townsend and regionalization plus the influx of a new population which, as yet has not settled in, but may prove in the future to be contentious of the established order have made the Established elites wary of any change which may affect their position in the community.

Conclusion

The concept of strong leadership is extremely vital to the
ideology of the community of Simcoe. Though most Simconians adhere to
the social norms of community-mindedness and public-spiritedness,
positions of leadership are generally occupied by the elite. In the past,
these positions were controlled by the old family elites who owned most
of the local shops and industries in town. Through the generations,
leadership has been slowly transferred to those who have displayed
similar values and similar social characteristics of these old elites.
This has made it difficult for those aspiring elites who do not conform
to the expectations of the Establishment to gain access to the community
power structure.

However, the new changes produced in Simcoe due to the extra-
community influences of Nanticoke, Townsend and regionalization have
provided a period of transition in the community in which there are new
opportunities for other elites to achieve the resources of power. Any
aspiring elites are now able to compete more easily for the leadership
positions in Simcoe and the power that such positions retain. The next
two chapters discuss the social networks of these two elite groups
(the Establishment and the Aspiring Elite) and the issues that they are
using to test their control in the town.

CHAPTER VI - LOCALITE-COSMOPOLITAN ELITE SOCIAL NETWORKS

Introduction

In the preceding chapters we discussed how the extra-community

influences of Townsend, Nanticoke and regional government are likely to

place such pressure on the social structure of Simcoe that the normative

values and customary rules will be seriously challenged. Furthermore,

as we explained in Chapter V, these changes are in the process of

creating a "transition" in the community's leadership. The former

leaders of the town who adhere to the old values of community leadership

and independence are likely to contest the new changes which are

threatening their position in the community power structure. There is

now a new opportunity for aspiring elites to gain access to leadership

positions and test their leadership potential.

It was hypothesized in Chapters III and IV that one of the main

features that distinguishes community elites is the extent of their

extra-community orientation. The localite influential who has generally

maintained a monopolistic control of the community power structure is

likely to be a member of the old family establishment, born and raised

in the community, and has a strong local orientation. The cosmopolitan

elite is more likely to have moved to the community as an adult, been

exposed to more extra-community stimuli, and views the community as only

a partial fragment rather than a totality of his social world. In

Chapter V, we demonstrated that there was little significant difference

in socio-economic characteristic or attitude between the Oldtimer and

Newcomer elites interviewed for this study. In fact, the Newcomer elites

seem to have cut across this oldtimer-newcomer dimension and success-

fully integrated into the community, thereby adopting the same attitudes

toward leadership, community responsibility and public service. This

chapter examines the proposition that there is an evident and significant

difference between those elites in this sample that express a localite

orientation and those that express a cosmopolitan one. It examines the

socio-economic variables of these elites, their attitudes toward the

changes that are occurring in their community and their social network

ties. In this way, we will be able to ascertain whether any apparent

differences between the localite and cosmopolitan influentials causes a

factional situation in which there is a competition for control of the

community power structure.

This chapter has been divided into four sections. The first

section entitled "Localite-Cosmopolitan Orientation" examines the

apparent differences that are expected to exist between the informants

of this sample because of their contrasting extra-community orientations.

The variables that are used to establish this difference such as occu-

pation, residential mobility and education have been described fully in

Chapter IV. The second section of this chapter is titled "Local-Cosmo-

politan Elite Social Networks". This section examines the elite social

networks that exist in Simcoe. The two major networks that were found

to exist among those elites interviewed appear to be Ego-centric networks

that are linked together primarily because of the network member's attach-

ment to specific community leaders. One of these leaders is cosmopolitan

in orientation, while the other is localite. These networks are
analyzed in terms of the network member's friendship ties, business ties,
political affiliation and old-family connections. It is by examining
the social network patterns of the elites in this sample that we obtain
the most obvious illustration that two discrete elite factions exist in
the community. The examination of these network ties appears in the
third section, "Network Ties and Access to Various Community Power
Resources". The fourth and concluding section of this chapter examines
the relevance of these two elite networks for the continued monopolistic
control of the community power structure by the old Simcoe Establishment.

I. Localite-Cosmopolitan Orientation

In Chapter IV, it was hypothesized that we should find at least
two distinct elite factions in Simcoe that have aligned themselves
primarily on the basis of the differences of their localite-cosmopolitan
orientation. The research literature on localite-cosmopolitan influen-
tials suggests that there are several key variables that affect the
relationships between the two types of elites and the divisions that
exist between them (Merton, 1966: 251-256; Sinclair & Westhues, 1974:
80-109; Laumann & Pappi, 1977: 447-463). People with localite orienta-
tions are likely to have been locally born, have lower education, work
in locally owned businesses and marry locally born individuals. The
people with cosmopolitan orientations are likely to have the opposite
characteristics. They are likely to be born outside the community, work
in businesses or industries that are owned by extra-community agents and

marry individuals who are not from the area (See _Chapter IV_ for further
discussion).

In the preceding chapter we divided the Simcoe sample into two
separate groups on the basis of birth place. Those respondents who had
been born in the town or came to the town as children were defined as
Oldtimers. Those who had moved to the community as adults were defined
as Newcomers. A close examination of the socio-economic characteristics
and the attitudes expressed by these two types of influentials revealed
that there was little significant difference between the two groups
(See _Chapter V_). Unlike the findings of other researchers such as
Sinclair and Westhues (1974) and Laumann and Pappi (1977) in which the
Newcomer and Oldtimer population were found to form two distinct dis-
senting elite factions, the Newcomer elites in Simcoe have adopted the
common ideology of the town, been able to integrate into the community
and have obtained important leadership positions.

Since it is highly unlikely that all native-born Simconians will
have localite characteristics and all newcomers will have cosmopolitan
characteristics, this section divides the elites in this study on the
basis of their extra-community orientation. It is assumed that the
localite elite is oriented primarily to local community issues, has more
local community ties, is more likely to attend community functions,
listens to local news broadcasts and supports local businesses. The
cosmopolitan influential is just the opposite. He/she supports extra-
community issues, has few local ties, reads national and international
journals and newspapers, belongs to national organizations and supports
extra-community enterprises. By dividing the elites in this study on

the basis of localite-cosmopolitan orientation, we should be able to determine any significant differences that may affect the dynamics of power in the town.

When we examine the answers given to the questions in the localite-cosmopolitan section of the open-interview questionnaire, however, we find that there is little significant difference in the responses of the informants in this sample (See Appendix A, Nos. 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 83, 84). Thirty (86%) of the informants state that they think it is more rewarding to belong to a local community organization than to a large nation-wide organization, 32 (91%) think that outside shops and businesses coming into Simcoe is good for the community, 34 (97%) think that Simcoe is a "great place to raise kids" and 27 (77%) listen to national news broadcasts. In addition, 25 (71%) prefer to shop in Simcoe for their basic necessities, 26 (74%) prefer to read the Globe and Mail and 31 (89%) read national magazines (See Tables 5-11, 5-12). The small margin of disagreement given by the respondents in reply to these questions has made it virtually impossible to use these criteria as a method of clearly identifying localite-cosmopolitan differences. The distinction is confused further by the fact that frequently a respondent would give a "cosmopolitan" response to one question and a "localite" response to the next. The findings however concur with the results of Chapter V which demonstrate that Newcomer elites have been able to integrate into the elite community.

One variable that demonstrates an obvious distinction among the elites in this study is the amount of community ties that are possessed by certain respondents. Fourteen (49%) of the respondents report that

they have at least one other member of their family other than persons
who are members of their household that also reside in Simcoe while, 11
(31%) report that their spouse has at least one other member of his/her
family residing in town. Thirteen (37%) of the respondents also report
that they have married local people. Upon further examination, however,
it has been found that of the 13 (37%) respondents with other family
members living in Simcoe, 9 (26%) of the respondents with spouses'
relatives living in Simcoe and 12 (34%) of the respondents who reported
marrying local people are Oldtimer elites (See Table 6-1).

The same results are true for the answers to the question on
residential mobility (See Appendix A, No. 14). An examination of the
informants' residence patterns reveals that 6 (33%) of the Oldtimers have
never lived outside of Simcoe for longer than a year, but 14 (82%) of the
Newcomers have lived in at least four other places for longer than a
year (See Table 6-2). Although this would indicate that Newcomer elites
are likely to be more cosmopolitan in orientation than Oldtimer elites
because of their contacts and experiences outside of the Simcoe setting,
the attitudinal statements and socio-economic variables that we have
previously examined indicate that there is little distinction between the
two groups.

The data in this study therefore gives little indication that the
elite influentials in Simcoe can be clearly divided into separate elite
factions on the basis of localite-cosmopolitan orientation. Differences
in age, ethnicity, religion, education, type of employment and income
are either negligible or significantly related to Oldtimer-Newcomer
characteristics (See Tables 5-7, 5-8, 5-14, 5-15, 5-16, 5-17). Since the

Table 6-1: Other Members of Family Living in Simcoe

	Own		Spouse		Total Number of
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Family Members
Oldtimer	14	4	9	9	62
Newcomer	2	15	2	15	4
Total	16	19	11	24	66

Table 6-2: Residence Patterns Outside of Simcoe

	Number of Places Lived in Besides Simcoe							Simcoe Only	Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)		
Oldtimers	8	2	1	1	0	0	0	6	18
	44%	11%	6%	6%	0	0	0	33%	100%
Newcomers	1	2	6	2	2	2	2	0	17
	6%	12%	35%	12%	12%	12%	12%	0	100%
Total	9	4	7	3	2	2	2	6	35
	26%	11%	15%	9%	4%	4%	4%	17%	100%

Newcomer elites appear to have adopted the common ideology and normative

values of the Simcoe community, they have managed to integrate into the

pre-existing elite network(s). As a result, the localite-cosmopolitan

variables that have been employed by other researchers in this area

such as Merton (1966), Sinclair and Westhues (1974) and Laumann and

Pappi (1977) are ineffective for an analysis of Simcoe elites. According

to this analysis the informants in this sample are fairly consistent in

their localite-cosmopolitan characteristics.

Yet the research data indicates that there is serious disagree-

ment in the Simcoe community over the future development of the town

(Simcoe Reformer, 1979, 1980; Hamilton Spectator, 1979, 1980; Informant

Numbers 1-35). Since it is highly unlikely that there would be conflict

in the community if there is consistent agreement among the leaders in

the community power structure, we would also expect some factional con-

flict to exist among the Simcoe elites. The concluding section of

Chapter V also leads us to believe that there may be an "aspiring" elite

in Simcoe that is interested in gaining access to the resources of power.

The next section of this chapter examines this theory by tracing the

social network(s) of the elites and the content of their social ties.

In this way, we should be able to trace the development of any new elite

networks and the basis of their existence.

The social network approach is of great import to a study of this

type because it does not insist that specific group characteristics

impinge on the analysis of network members and the pattern of their

social ties. Network research identifies the way in which community

members unite into various patterns of social interaction on the basis of

their conscious decision to form these social connections, rather than

on the basis of some pre-determined social attribute such as income or

education. People are therefore not necessarily categorized or grouped

together because of their Oldtimer-Newcomer characteristics or on local-

ite-cosmopolitan orientation, but on the basis of "the options provided

by their society and their immediate milieus" (Fischer et.al., 1977: 3).

According to the social network choice-constraint model that has been

adopted for this study,

> ...people construct social relations as a series of
> exchanges with others; these exchanges arise out of
> interaction in a shared social context; and the de-
> velopment or dissolution of a relation depends on the
> rewards and costs it brings to the individuals involved.
> People confront different opportunities for forming
> social relations and have varying resources with which
> to pursue those ties, depending on the individual's
> locations in the social structure. (Fischer et.al.,
> 1977: 57)

An analysis of the network patterns that exist among the respondents in

this study should therefore bridge the gaps that exist in the examination

of localite-cosmopolitan and Newcomer-Oldtimer differences.

II. Localite-Cosmopolitan Elite Social Networks

The information that has been used to document the network ties

that exist among members of the Simcoe sample was taken from the network

questions in the open-interview questionnaire and any additional informal

information that was given by the respondent during the interview (See

Appendix A, Questions No. 17, 19, 27, 29, 69, 70, 72, 80; for a more

elaborate description see Chapter IV). The repetition of the same names

in answer to such questions as "Who are your closest friends living in

Simcoe?", "Are there people that you frequently invite into your home
for a social occasion?", "Who would YOU select to head a project, as a
newcomer leader or as a member of the group that you think 'runs' the
town?" and the replies to the constantly repeated question "How closely
do you know the person that you just named?", was taken as evidence that
network patterns existed. When we examine the social ties that were
reported by these elite respondents, we can clearly draw two elite net-
works. (See Chart 6-A)

The best way to describe the networks of these two elite factions
is by the personal or Ego-centric network approach. This is because all
of the respondents report close connection to either one network or the
other on the basis of their relationship to one of two community leaders.
The personal or Ego-centric network approach is a common method used to
present network information and analyze network ties. This approach uses
a particular individual in the social network as the focal point or
anchorage of the network and then proceeds to plot a pattern of network
ties based on a set of persons who are seen to be (or claim to be)
directly connected to this one particular individual (Ego). For the
purpose of concise research analysis, the Ego-centric network method does
not examine all the social connections that are claimed by the respondents.
It focuses on all of the connections existing among people who occupy a
pre-defined social domain such as work, politics or leisure. For example,
the sum of the persons who are directly connected to Ego because of his/
her work activities, political activities or leisure activities would be
considered to be a part of the same social network and would be noted for
research examination (For further information see Shulman, 1976: 307-323;

CHART 6-A: Establishment Elite
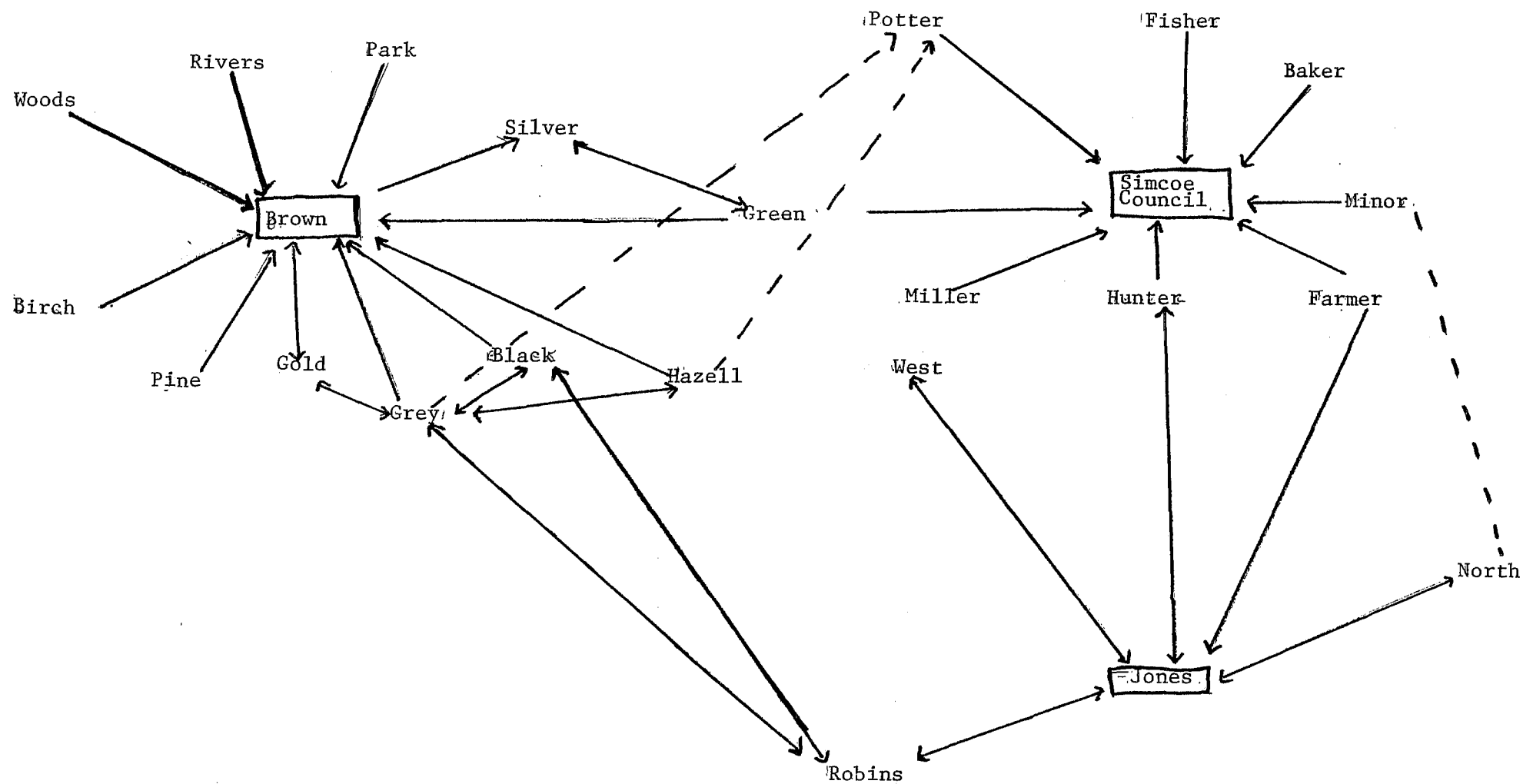
Aspiring Elite

N.B. Club presidents and administrative personnel are not included in this chart.

Fischer et.al., 1977: 34-35).

The network ties in the Ego-centric network are also distinguished in terms of the way in which the person is connected to Ego. Some people are directly connected to Ego and to each other. These people could be work associates, close friends or relatives. These people are considered to be people of the first order of the social network. Other people are connected to Ego through some intermediary person(s) since each person who is directly connected to Ego has friends, work associates or family contacts that are either only slightly known by Ego or not known by Ego at all. If Ego knows person "X" and person "X" knows person "Y", then, if necessary, Ego can gain contact with person "Y" through his contact with person "X" (and vice versa). Person "Y" is therefore indirectly connected to Ego and is considered to be a person of the second order of Ego's social network. The persons of the first order and the persons of the second order compose the social network of that particular domain (For further discussion see Shulman, 1976: 307-323).

By examining the Ego-centric networks that are formed by the friendship, business, old-family and political ties of the two community leaders that have been reported to be the most influential leaders in the community, we discover that there is a large, closely-knit old-family Establishment elite in Simcoe and a small, loosely-knit 'aspiring' elite. The first network is centred around Mr. Brown. He is considered to be one of the old-family elites. He has also been identified most often as the first person that would be selected to head a community project, as the first person named in answer to the question "Who runs the town" and as "one of my closest friends living in Simcoe" (See Tables 5-6, 5-4).

He is also generally seen as the leader of the Establishment elite who "tend to fight any change in the community" (Informant Numbers 17, 22). His name is also frequently mentioned when a respondent wished to give an example of a person who was "community-minded", "publically-spirited or a "fine and upstanding member of the community".

In contrast, the other leader, Mr. Jones is much less in the public eye and is mentioned less frequently than Mr. Brown. He was only selected 7% of the time as a person that would be considered to "lead a community project". Four percent of these selections were in terms of financial backing rather than in terms of personal participation (See Table 5-6). One of the main reasons for this is that he attends few public community functions, joins few community organizations and declines to publically lead community projects. He is generally considered to be a "loner" by the other respondents. He reports few close social ties in the community except his family and two "old and dear friends". Unlike Mr. Brown who is considered to be a strong social, political and financial leader clearly concerned "with the overall betterment and welfare of Simcoe as a community" (Informant Numbers 31, 17), Jones appears to be an enigma. He has been described as "The financial leader in Simcoe", a "political and financial entrepreneur", "an operator", "a wheeler-dealer" who is "motivated solely for the purpose of amassing more money" (Informant Numbers 12, 15, 8, 33). It has even been reported that many people in town are afraid of him because he has too much power now because of his financial and political contacts (Informant Number 17). Yet, he is also described as "highly-educated, articulate and totally honest", a "genuine human being who is considerate of other people" and "not

vindictive in any way toward anybody" (Informant Numbers 13, 30, 12).

Unlike Mr. Brown who is generally respected for his good works and public

participation in community affairs, Mr. Jones is either liked or disliked

according to the informant's contact with him. As one informant explains,

> Mr. Jones is another kind of leader. He could never be
> put on a committee or back a project outright. Because
> if he is seen publically, his presence might stir up a
> lot of opposition against the project. But, behind the
> scenes, he's a good person to have backing you. He's
> seen to be an operator but he's not. But, I know that
> there is a lot of antagonism toward him in town. I
> think it's because of the business he's in. But he's
> important. He's the guy that puts a lot of stuff to-
> gether in Simcoe. (Informant Number 13)

Another states that,

> He's very important in town...He doesn't like to...I
> mean, he's not always out in public but he has a lot of
> background say...like he's not afraid to let people
> know what he thinks on something...But, anything big
> that happens in town...like any development...the
> developers automatically go to him and he handles the
> whole thing...He's got the reputation and he's got
> connections in Toronto who give him the referral.
> (Informant Number 30)

Brown, on the other hand,

> ...has a lot of power to get done whatever he wants
> once he sets his mind to it...But, unless you get
> him emotionally involved in an issue he won't do
> anything...He is considered a winner. He always makes
> all the right moves all the time. He has been involved
> in a lot of things in town and he has great credibility
> with the people. (Informant Number 17)

These two men are extremely important Simcoe influentials because

they both exert a large amount of power in the community. They also

typify different positions with respect to localite-cosmopolitan ideals

and values. Brown is a local downtown merchant whose family has been in-

fluential in the town for years. He expresses a localite orientation to

the community and the changes that are occurring in town. He would like

to see the "community change in a quality way, that is, in an orderly

fashion of slow and steady growth". He is deeply involved in several

community issues and community organizations because it is his "duty" to

try to use his talents and his position to try to "better" his community.

He sees the new development at Townsend as "a good thing because it has

saved Simcoe by placing a ceiling on its growth so it won't become so

large that it loses its unique qualities". He welcomes Stelco because

it offers employment and opportunities for Simcoe youth to stay in the

area. Regional government is viewed negatively because "it has hacked

away at Simcoe's command of its own destiny and deteriorated a number of

its services".

Mr. Brown has strong local community ties. He went to school in

Simcoe and has always lived in the community. Although he inherited his

father's business, he has had to work and prove himself as a genuine

community leader who could perform on his own (Informant Numbers 3, 31).

He has done this by becoming involved in community issues, volunteering

to help in community projects, supporting community programmes and

attending community functions. His social network is tightly-knit and

consists of members of the old-family elite, the professionals and the

newcomer elites who "are interested in retaining the old structure of the

town" (Informant Number 32). His best friends are "those people that I

grew up with and went to school with". He longs to live in a "society

that I think harks back to the living values of North America twenty to

thirty years ago" and frequently mentions how the community "has changed

from the time my father was a community leader".

In contrast, Jones is more cosmopolitan. Although he has lived

in Simcoe since he was a child, he definitely does not consider himself

as an old family member. He left town to go to university and worked in

various parts of Canada and the United States before returning to Simcoe

to work at his business. He has therefore been exposed to diverse ideas

and various extra-community stimuli. He sees regional government,

Townsend and the industrial development at Nanticoke as "harkening the

end of an era" in which the "Establishment" has little control. These

changes mean that Simcoe can no longer ignore the real world but must now

"join the twentieth century". For Jones, Simcoe is progressing and

progress means growth, development and competition. Simcoe must learn to

take advantage of the new opportunities that are offered before it loses

its position as the "number one community in the area".

Jones' social network is much more loosely-knit than Brown's.

Unlike the members of Brown's network who claim social connections with

other members of the network, the members of Jones' network appear to be

connected primarily because of their association with Jones (See network

charts). It consists of members of his family, old friends (who are not

a direct part of the Simcoe Establishment), those elites who generally

support growth and development for the town, and the new managerial

personnel at Stelco and Ontario Hydro. His social network is much more

diversified and heterogeneous than Brown's.

III. Network Ties and Access to Various Community Power Resources

   a) Organizational Affiliation: It is difficult to assess the

effect that organizational affiliation and social events have on the control and manipulation of power resources in Simcoe. This is primarily because most of the elites belong to the same associations and attend the same social functions (See Table 6-8; Informant Numbers 12, 22). Since Simcoe elites meet frequently "either once a week at the Rotary or informally at the Golf and Country Club for lunch", social interaction between most Simcoe elites is very common and "almost unavoidable" (Informant Number 26). This keeps the line of communication open between elites and promotes the image of elite unanimity. One informant, for example, reports that she plays squash with another informant at least once a week even though she does not consider this informant to be a close friend and does not agree with this person's political activity in the community (Informant Number 25). Another reports that he meets and talks with Brown every week at the Rotary meeting even though he and Brown do not consider themselves to be "close" (Informant Number 26). This frequent informal contact between Simcoe elites, however, means that elites have easy access to one another if they should ever wish to discuss their opinion on a particular issue or try to gain support for a particular community project. "There is a lot of lobbying that goes on informally behind the scenes before any project is placed before the public domain". This generally ensures leadership success because the leaders in Simcoe are highly unlikely to support a project publically if they suspect that the other elites in the community will disapprove.

An example of this occurred several years ago in Simcoe when the community decided to build a second ice surface beside the Recreation Centre at the edge of town. The people who led the project are not

Table 6-3: Organization Ties

Respondent	Rotary	Chamber of Commerce	Golf & Country	Lynnwood Arts	Historical Society	Lions	Sports
Brown	*	*	*	*	*		
Green	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Black	*	*	*	*	*		
Hazell	*	*		*	*		
Gold	*	*	*	*			
Rivers	*		*	*	*		
Grey		*	*	*	*		
South	*	*	*	*			
Woods	*				*		
West	*	*	*	*			*
Wilson	*	*	*	*	*		
Pine		*	*	*	*	*	*
Hunter		*				*	
Robbins				*	*		
Potter				*			*
Minor							*
Miller							*
Fisher					*	*	
Jones	*	*		*			

considered to be community leaders by the other respondents. For

instance, West is the only one of the six people who was involved in the

project that had his name mentioned in response to the "project" question,

and none have had their name mentioned in response to the "group that runs

the town question" (See Table 5-6). These people had great difficulty

raising public support for their project. In fact, they had to conduct a

"door-to-door campaign in order to raise the final amount of money needed

for the completion of the ice surface. This had never happened before in

Simcoe (Informant Numbers 25 and 28). According to one of the respondents

involved in the project,

> If we had someone like Brown backing the project we might
> have had a better chance...But, that section of the
> society said that we didn't need it and made a real task
> of putting the project together because they decided that
> they needed a new theatre instead...So, we couldn't get
> that group to donate the money for the ice surface...
> Brown, for example, wouldn't donate...even though he
> helped with the planning and the building...but when it
> came to the public fund-raising, he backed out...Jones
> ...gave us a donation...in the name of the company...for
> $500...when he gave $5000 to Brown's Rec Centre project.
> But, none of these people...like the Greens, the Silvers,
> the social elite...the professionals...would support us.
> It was a classic example of the Little Theatre group not
> wanting to help other members of society. (Informant
> Number 22)

It is also a classic example of Brown's and Jones' astute judgement. One

of the main reasons that they have been able to maintain their strong

position of leadership is that they know which projects will be success-

ful. It is said, for example, that Brown is respected because "he has a

reputation of being a winner because he always makes all the right moves

at the right time" (Informant Number 17). Part of knowing what moves to

make as a leader is being aware of what is acceptable to the other people

in the community who control such resources as money, status and position.

The people who control these resources are the other Simcoe elites. If a project is unlikely to be supported by this sector of the population, there will also be great difficulty gaining support from the less influential members of the community. Such information can be gained through informal social contact at organization meetings and club activities.

It is this overlapping of organizational membership and social events that has also facilitated the significant integration of Newcomer elites. The fact that four of the clubs that were most frequently cited as "the most prestigeous organizations in Simcoe" are national organizations is important because it permits Newcomer elites to "transfer" their membership to the Simcoe branch, thereby entering the important organizations in the community more quickly than if they had to wait to be invited. Oldtimer and Newcomer elites are therefore able to meet more informally and "assess" each other without any commitment. The elites in Simcoe generally consider these organizations to be "locally-oriented" and "community-activated" rather than national bodies of social support. The only national requirements that these organizations appear to follow are those requirements regulated by the organization's national charter. The way in which the organization is operated and the projects that it chooses to support are "moulded" to the community's needs. Since, in the past, acceptance into leadership roles has meant a general acceptance of the normative rules and values of community-mindedness, community responsibility and community selflessness, it is generally a Newcomer who demonstrates these characteristics that is gradually given opportunities to prove his dedication to the community and his capabilities of

leadership. In Simcoe, then,

> Generally speaking, you will find in the service clubs
> the nucleus of leaders. They are fostering organizations
> for people who are capable of developing leadership
> qualities and reputations...For example, when Lynnwood
> started they wanted to have a board of directors so they
> said "Let's ask representatives from the Rotary, the
> Lions, the Kinsmen, etc." Once they get started it
> keeps going. It becomes a tradition to have one member
> from each...so each time they change the Board or have
> to fill a vacancy, they fill it with the same kind of
> member...So, if you join the Lions...the Church, the
> Curling Club...you meet people faster and get involved
> faster and you can prove yourself much faster.
> (Informant Number 18)

This is consistent with the findings of Roland Warren in Dairyville,

U.S.A. in which he found that,

> ...while the larger organization had nominal formal
> control over this or that aspect of the local unit,
> actually the local would often simply disregard this
> and go ahead with its own program, if there should be
> a difference in point of view...considerable modifica-
> tion of these controls in informal practice was observed.
> (Warren, 1966: 226)

Because of this frequency of interaction between elites at

organizational and club functions, Simcoe elites do not entertain at home

frequently (Informant Numbers 21, 25). For example, when the respondents

were asked "Are there people that you frequently invite into your home

for a social occasion?", 10 (29%) of the respondents replied "No", 14

(40%) replied "Close friends and relatives only" and 11 (31%) replied

"Yes". As one respondent explained "We are so busy with our community

activities that we like to keep our home as a refuge" (Informant Number

12). All of the Newcomer informants, however, stated that they had

attended at least one social function at an Oldtimer's home, but these

were generally large parties at which most of the other elite attended

(Informant Number 21). A Newcomer explains that,

> I have met most of the Oldtimers socially...mostly
> through Rotary and the Church...I've been invited to
> the homes of the Oldtimers...It's not that we don't
> associate with those people, it's just that they are
> not our close friends. We might see them socially
> once or twice a year at a cocktail party or something
> ...And, I have invited them all back to my home with
> about the same frequency and under the same conditions.
> (Informant Number 19)

Another states that,

> I have been invited to an Oldtimer's home for cocktail
> parties...something like that...And, I have invited
> them back in about the same way...That's generally the
> way that the elites socialize...at big cocktail parties
> or social gatherings at the Golf Club, etc...Most of my
> close friends that I invite to my home are Newcomers...
> simply because I know more new people than old. Old-
> timers have their established friendships. That's
> natural. I wouldn't say they were cliques but it would
> be natural not to get close friends with the new people.
> Why should they bother when they already have friends?
> (Informant Number 21)

Newcomer elites may, therefore, be "accepted" as leaders because
they are slowly proving themselves or have demonstrated that they adhere
to the common ideology of leadership, but they have not been fully
accepted into the tightly-knit elite network. It takes a long time for
Oldtimers to develop such close relationships with people who have lived
in the community for a relatively short period. This is consistent with
the findings in Chapter V which indicate that "Newcomer" leaders have
lived in the community for an average of at least 20 years. It takes
that long for the "original", native-born Simconian to accept them and
for the Newcomer to fully demonstrate that he/she has truly adopted the
common ideology and normative values of the Simcoe elite.

b) <u>Friendship Ties</u>: If we look at the friendship ties that are reported by the respondents and the construction of Brown's friendship network, we find that Brown has identified three close friends who, in turn, identify him as a close friend (See Chart 6-B). These three individuals form the centre core of Brown's friendship network. They are Woods, Wilson and Gold. Woods is an older member of the community who, in the past, held a "very strong position of leadership in Simcoe" (Informant Numbers 2, 3, 29). He is rarely involved in social events or community issues at present because of his age, but he still maintains a great deal of influence with the older members of the community who remember his involvement "in the old days" and still "respect his opinion highly" (Informant Number 31). Wilson is a member of one of the old established families who at one time owned one of the larger industries in Simcoe. He and Brown have been friends since childhood and are still very close (Informant Number 31). He is a downtown businessman and part of the business elite. Gold is a Newcomer. He has, however, lived in the community for fourteen years. During this time he has gained a reputation because of his professional skills and his influence in the community has grown greatly. He has many contacts with the other professionals in Simcoe and is considered to be one of the social elite (Informant Number 17). He and Brown have worked on at least four community projects together and have established a close bond through their mutual interests. Thus, in addition to Brown's own personal connections and influence in the community, he is able to tap the resources of his three closest friends if he ever needs any help or support in his endeavours. With just these three contacts, Brown is able

CHART 6-B: Brown's Friendship Network - "Closest Friends Living in Simcoe"

Potter (Newcomer leader)

Hazell

Clark

Park

Grey

Brown

Green

old family members

Gold

Rivers

Wilson

old family members

Woods

Social
elite
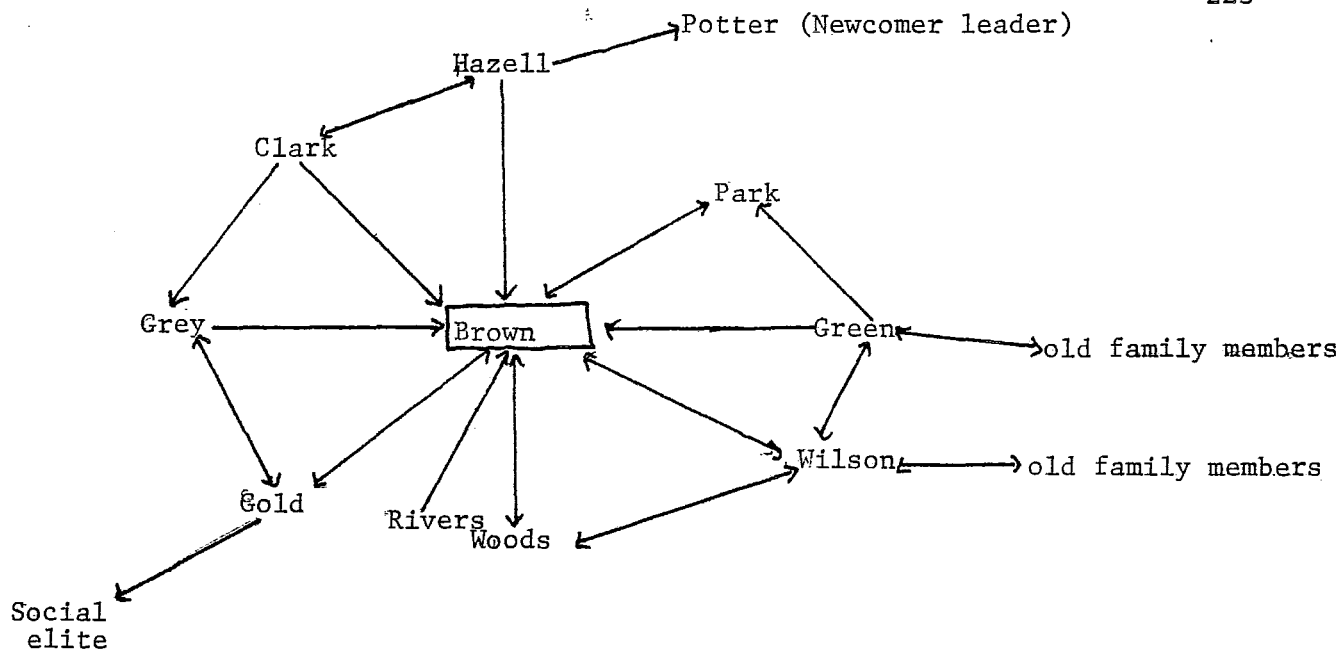
CHART 6-C: Jones' Friendship Network - "Closest Friends Living in Simcoe"

Grey

Birch

Robbins

Jones
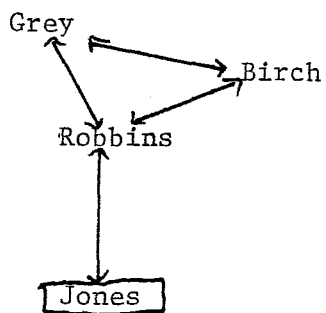
N.B.: Arrows point in direction of respondent's personal identification

to maintain connections with three other prominent elite sectors in the community. Gold keeps him tied to the professional and social elite, Wilson helps him maintain ties with the old-family and financial-business elite and Woods helps him maintain ties with the old elite sector.

In addition, there are other elite respondents who have identified Brown as one of _their_ "closest friends living in Simcoe". These are Rivers, Grey, Black, Hazell and Green. All but Green are Newcomers. Green, however, is a member of the Establishment who is "so busy with (his) political and business interests that (he) has little time for establishing strong contacts with other community members outside of (his) family". He identifies Brown as a close friend because "we have known each other since we were boys and grew up together". His close identification with Brown indicates the strength of Oldtimer ties. The Establishment see themselves as a unique group who will stand by each other if needed (Informant Number 1). Green's identification with Brown gives Brown a strong connection with the political elite in Simcoe and gives Green a connection with the social issues that may arise in the community of which he may have an interest. Their common bond of family and historical tradition have made them empathetic to one another's interests, and they are highly likely to be supportive of one another's causes.

The other people who mention close friendship ties with Brown are Newcomers who have lived in Simcoe for over fifteen years. These are "the johnny-come-latelies...who have no real roots here...but all of a sudden, they act like they were here forever and fight any change going" (Informant Number 32). These respondents form a significant part of the Newcomer sector that has adopted the normative values and common ideology

of the town. According to Brown,

> These are the people that came to live in Simcoe by
> choice...They settled here because they like what they
> see here. They tend to get involved in Simcoe. They
> are probably more important than me because they were
> motivated to live in Simcoe and they should be madder
> if somebody tried to screw up the town because they
> came here because of what they saw in Simcoe not because
> of what it would be like.

Thus, even though these people are not part of the Establishment, they

have been accepted by the Establishment because they promote the same

interests of community autonomy and historical continuity that are sup-

ported by the Oldtimers.

Grey is a typical example of this type of Newcomer. He is a very

strong professional, business person who has been involved in many

community projects. He has been a member of town council, of regional

council, and has been instrumental in promoting campaigns to "save and

preserve" Simcoe's historical buildings. Black is a close friend of

Grey. He is a member of the social elite, but he has also been a member

of council and has personally become involved in several community

projects. Black and Grey are very good friends of Hazell who is a town

administrator. Although Hazell is unable to involve himself in community

issues because of his position in the community, these three persons

interact frequently. All of these individuals have been cited as "impor-

tant community elites" who provide strong leadership and important

community contacts. Their close identification with Brown enables him

to count on their support and through them the support of their secondary

contacts. As a result, Brown dominates a very tightly-knit, locally-

oriented, friendship network which is so intertwined that it gives him a

firm base of influence in the community.

Jones, on the other hand, reports few friendship ties within Simcoe and few of the respondents report close ties with him (See Chart 6-C). He identifies his family as the most important connection in his life. His closest friendship tie in Simcoe is with Robbins who is a member of the social elite and who accompanies him to various community functions. She maintains a low profile in the community and rarely becomes involved in Simcoe issues. Jones also maintains contact with a group of "close" friends who have formed a private group that meets every month at each other's house for an evening's entertainment. These people are members of the social elite who "try to keep away from such conflicts that go on in the community" (Informant No. 16). Because Jones' friends are less conspicuous to the rest of the community, he is generally described as a "loner" who "keeps a low profile" but is "friendly, open and warm to everyone" (Informant Nos. 24, 12, 30). The general impression that informants give when they speak of Jones usually follows this description,

> It's hard to figure him out. I haven't really met
> anyone who says that they know him well except for
> people who work for him...I can think of a couple of
> friends of his but other than people who do business
> with him or work with him in a volunteer capacity, I
> can't think of any names...I would find it very hard
> to define him...(Informant Number 21)

Except for Robbins, the informants in this study do not claim close friendships with Jones. This has led to a great deal of speculation and supposition as to his motives and actions in local community issues. The respondents acknowledge that Jones is "powerful because of his business interest" and that he is "the most successful businessman in town" but, their definition of the man and his motives depends greatly on the stance that each takes on the issue of development and the changes that

have taken place in Simcoe over the new influences of Nanticoke, Townsend and regionalization. Some define him as "ruthless" while others define him as "pleasant, friendly and not vindictive in any way" (Informant Nos. 17, 12). It seems in this case that one's attachment to and support of Jones and his projects has little to do with close bonds of friendship.

   c) <u>Business Ties</u>: When we examine the reported business ties of these two Simcoe elites, we are able to see where Jones' community power lies. Brown is an independent businessman who does not necessarily need to closely align himself to any other business ventures in order to maintain his financial status. But, since his business is located in a prime area of the downtown core, he is heavily involved in the local Chamber of Commerce and the Simcoe Business Improvement Association. He has, therefore, formed many close business ties with the other downtown merchants (Informant Nos. 1, 31). He concerns himself with local business issues and concentrates his efforts in the improvement of downtown Simcoe (See Chart 6-F).

   Unlike Brown who can afford to be more locally-oriented, if Jones wants his business to thrive he "must know all the commercial and industrial things that are going on in the area because they go through his company" (Informant No. 21). Jones' strength as a leader comes through the financial gains and the prestige that he obtains from his business dealings with extra-community organizations. This requires that he maintain contacts with business associates that are not based in Simcoe and may have little interest in the community (See Chart 6-G). This has led more than one informant to comment on the fact that,

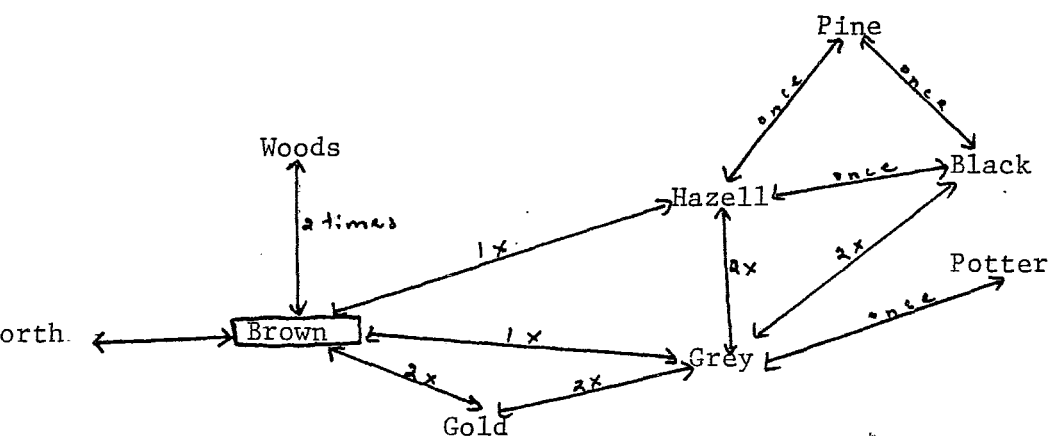CHART 6-D: Brown's Network - "Worked Together on a Community Project"

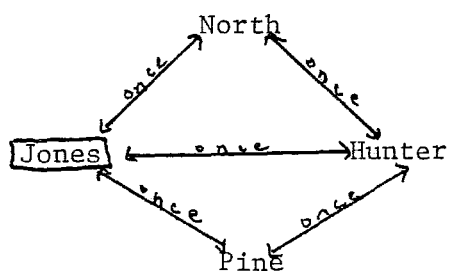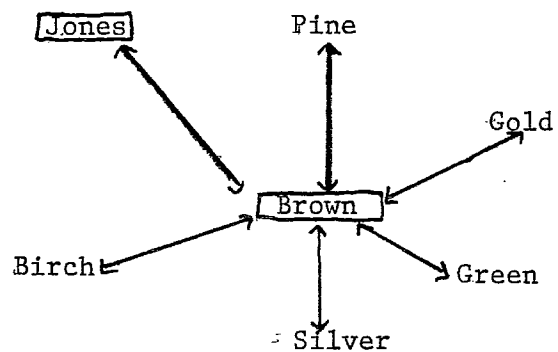CHART 6-E: Jones' Network - "Worked Together on a Community Project"

CHART 6-F: Brown's Network of Business Ties (As Members of Downtown Core)

CHART 6-G: Jones' Business Connections (In connection with the new
Development at Nanticoke and Regional growth)
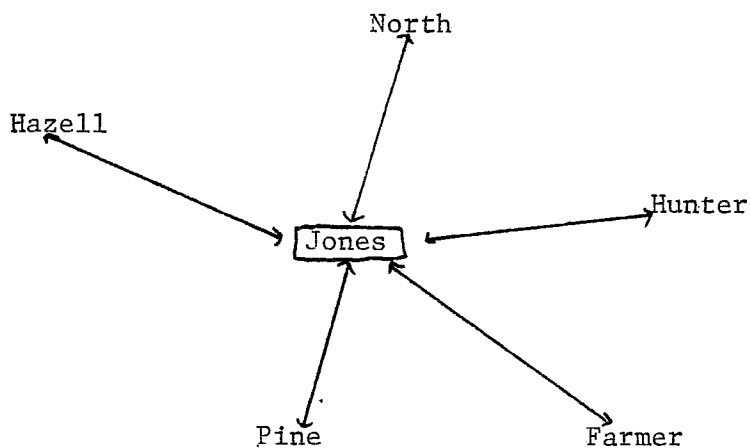
> ...if anybody's coming or going through town, they go
> through Jones. Like, if you want to start a store in
> Simcoe, you go see Jones. Now, where the reputation
> is coming from, I don't know. He owns a lot of property
> and if it's going to happen he can probably make it
> happen. He's a very, very powerful individual at the
> centre of finance. (Informant Number 12)

In fact, Jones' prominent business position has led one of the represent-

atives of the Nanticoke development to complain that,

> ...we've been accused of favourites...but you can't
> help it. He owns so much of the town and he knows
> everybody and everything that's going on...Like, when
> one person owns 90 percent of the commodity you want
> and all the other firms own the other 10 percent ...
> how can you avoid it? You run into the name everywhere
> ...So, he becomes the main contact for the industries
> and the main recipient of their business. (Informant
> Number 19)

This close business connection with the new industries at

Nanticoke has, in turn, enabled Jones to become closely-linked with the

representatives who have moved to Simcoe. Since he is often the first

Simcoe contact that many of these management personnel make, he often

"takes it upon himself to help them get acquainted with the town"

(Informant No. 11). He has, for example, invited North and his wife to

one of his "monthly gatherings" as special guests (Informant No. 19).

He has also helped Hunter gain contacts in the community which have

helped him with his political ambitions. One newcomer who was interviewed

described his conceptions of the social and political happenings in

Simcoe. Although his descriptions did not agree with the impressions of

most of the other informants, they matched quite well with the comments

and opinions that Jones had presented in his interview. Jones' business

connections have enabled him to develop other ties with the new business

elite and industrial management that are moving into the community.

Although he was sometimes reported to have a reputation in the local community as a "wheeler-dealer" or "an operator taking advantage of the changes going on in Simcoe", he is highly respected by these new people for his business expertise, his social connections and his progressive attitude (Informant Nos. 8, 22, 19). Such comments indicate that Jones has gained his prominence and authority in Simcoe through his extra-community connections and his cosmopolitan outlook, rather than through his overt adherence to the customary rules of personal participation and community dedication.

d) <u>Old-Family Ties</u>: Jones also has no apparent close ties with the old-family elite or Establishment. He moved to Simcoe as a child and and since his family settled in the country at first they are generally viewed as rural rather than urban Simconians (Informant No. 11). As Jones states,

> When I came back to town, there were a lot of doors
> closed in my face that had been open to me before.
> They (the Establishment) felt threatened by me...
> They were afraid of my education and my experience.
> And, they saw me and my family as "movers"...
> ambitious...and only they could be that way...like
> we were supposed to know our place and stay there.

As a result, although Jones knows and associates with many of the old-family elite through his business transactions and organization affiliations, he has never been considered a part of that close-knit network.

This lack of connection with the old-family network may be an asset to Jones in his business dealings. According to him, "I can see both sides because most forget that I wasn't born here. Sometimes I'm accused of being a traitor but then they remember that I wasn't born here and they understand". Jones is therefore able to make occasional

trespasses against the customary values of the community because he has never fully identified himself as one of the Oldtimers. People such as Green, Wilson and Brown who are members of the Establishment are unlikely to be permitted such deviances because their close ties to the history and traditions of Simcoe and the expectations that these ties entail prohibit them from making the types of decisions that Jones must frequently make in his business (To be discussed further in Chapter VII).

In contrast, Brown is very closely connected to the old-family elite (See Chart 6-H). He is close friends with Green and Wilson who are descendents of people who at one time owned Simcoe industries. He, himself is identified as the son of "one of the more outstanding citizens of Simcoe" (Informant No. 3). Brown is, therefore, able to command both the primary and secondary contacts that this elite maintain in the community and manipulate the local power resources that they control. He also has the money, the personality, the name and enough good sense to handle community issues with great tact and sincerity (Informant No. 12). He is seen to be conscientious and dedicated to the community. His clear identification with the old-family elite, however, does limit him in his projects for, in order to maintain his integrity as a leader, he must be seen to positively adhere to the normative values and common ideology of the town. If not, it is likely that he will lose their support in his ventures.

e) Political Ties: It has been suggested that one of the reasons that Jones has been able to gain such a powerful position in Simcoe is because he has strong political connections at the higher levels of government (Informant Nos. 8, 21). Jones, himself, states that one of

CHART 6-H: <u>Old Family Connections</u>
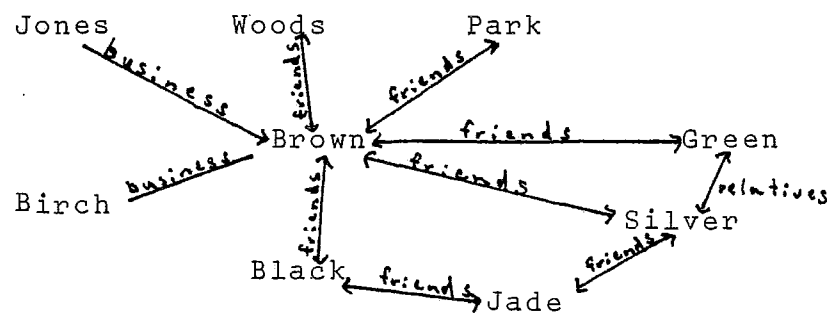
Chart 6-1: <u>Political Connections</u>
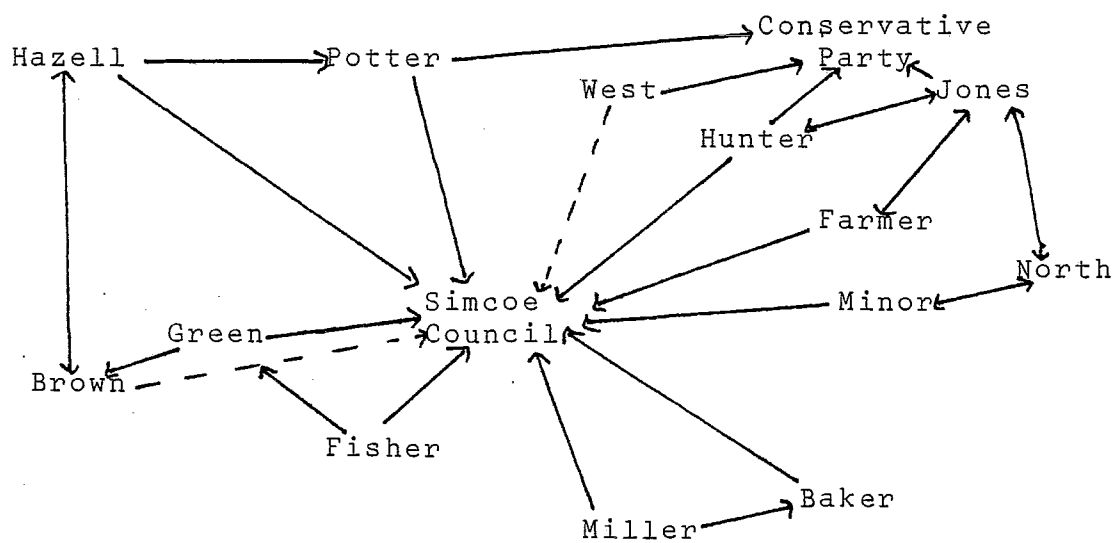
his closest friends is an important administrative official in the

government. One informant complains that,

> Regional government is a farce...We spend millions of
> dollars on a study to decide where to build a new town
> and in less than three weeks without any discussion
> they decide on land owned by Jones. Then, we pay a
> British firm (friends of Bette Stephensen) millions of
> dollars for another study when we have top people in
> the area and in another three weeks Jones comes up with
> the plans. Regional government has shown itself to be
> impotent. (Informant Number 17)

Another comments on the fact that,

> I don't know where Jones gets the power. I have been
> wondering about that for years. But he has a tremen-
> dous impact on what happens in Simcoe. He is able to
> contact and make friends of the top people like Stelco,
> Hydro, government officials and he has made friends
> with them and as a result he has tremendous power and
> he can use this power to manipulate...(Informant
> Number 4)

A representative of the Nanticoke industries explains that,

> He has a lot of power. I don't know what. But, I know
> he has. When I first met him my boss introduced him
> and said "do what he wants" and the way he said it was
> "Do it!". No questions...So, I know he must be powerful.
> (Informant Number 12)

Jones has lately also been able to gain more access to local

information through his new political connections on town council. At

present, the town council and the administrative system in Simcoe are in

a state of flux and uncertainty. Not only have many of its previous

powers and privileges been usurped by regionalization, but two of the

town's principal political leaders have left the political scene. The

town's chief administrative officer has just retired after a twenty-five

year term in office, and the former mayor of Simcoe has had to "step

aside for health reasons" after maintaining control of his mayorality for

over sixteen years (Simcoe Reformer, January 4, 1980). These two people's

long terms in office had created a situation in which,

> The administrator became a father figure to most of the
> councillors. And, he had a very firm hand on the tiller.
> He would never say no...but it got damn hard to do it if
> he didn't want it done. He was astute enough to realize
> that he was the administrator and the politicians made
> the decision. But, you can say, "Gentlemen, it's up to
> you. It's your decision". But, if you narrow the
> options then you're really making the decision. And,
> that's often what he did. So, he ran this town...conserv-
> atively, cautiously, with an excellent rating from the
> OMB as to its financial strength. There was never a risk
> taken...And, then, you combine that with the mayor who had
> been in office for 17 years...If you've been in office for
> that long you find that you can reach back and say, "We
> had this happen 5 or 6 years ago"...And, you are able to
> throw your opposition offside...Fortunately for Simcoe,
> it was a good combination...all things considered...from
> a personality point of view, they didn't always agree...
> but they worked well together for the town.
> (Informant Number 24)

The retirement of these two leading political figures combined

with the "reticence" of many of the Establishment to become involved in

a council "that doesn't have power or represent Simcoe's interests"

(Informant No. 13) has created an opportunity for many of the "aspiring"

new elite to try to gain access to political power through their council

membership. Jones has formed close ties with many of these elite through

his business connections. Although he does not publically support these

candidates, he frequently gives them paternal advice. Jones describes an

example of the type of involvement that he maintains with these people,

> There's this guy in town...a likeable, nice guy. But,
> he's a mover to the Establishment because he doesn't
> know his place. Well, he's been here for years and,
> then, suddenly, he gets a call and an invitation to
> lunch at Brown's. So he comes and talks to me about it.
> So, I say, "Look, you'll have lunch and conversation and
> then Brown will tell you that he thinks that you are

> moving a little too fast and that you should step aside
> and wait for a few years..." But, I tell him to go and
> have some good wine, a nice meal and then, "When the
> subject is brought up, tell him you won't step aside and
> that you intend to run for the election. Then, they'll
> take notice because all they respect is power. And,
> they'll respect you because you aren't afraid of them".
> So, he did, and he won...and, he will probably get
> elected for the job the next time...

Jones would appear to have taken on the task of counselling the aspiring

elites who have been generally thought to be unacceptable by the Estab-

lishment. As a result, he is establishing a strong connection to new

council members who at present may not be strong community leaders but

who are still important contacts because of the political position they

hold.

Brown, on the other hand, appears to be losing his links to

council and the political resources that these members have access to.

Many of the old-family elite and their followers are deciding to "stay

out of politics because with regionalization town council is powerless"

(Informant No. 13). The only reliable contact Brown maintains

with council is Green. As a result, both Brown and Jones have weak links

to the power resources that are likely to be supported by council member-

ship. However, given the apparent state of upheaval of the town council

and the loss of power due to regionalization, it is difficult at this

time to determine what this will mean for the future. If council is

given control of any power resources, Jones may be at an advantage

because he appears to be cultivating more new contacts with council than

Brown.

Conclusion

Although the data in this study indicate that the Oldtimer-
Newcomer respondents differ in such socio-economic traits as education,
occupation and residence patterns, it is difficult to trace the existence
of two separate elite factions based on localite-cosmopolitan orientation.
One of the reasons for this is that most of the elite meet frequently at
social gatherings and organizational events and can be "lobbied" to
support or disapprove of particular issues or projects in the community.
Another reason is that it takes a fair amount of time to prove one's
leadership capabilities in Simcoe. This time element has resulted in a
situation in which most of the cosmopolitan influentials have generally
adopted the common ideology of community service and self-sacrifice and
have been integrated into the old-family community power structure.

Yet, if we examine the ego-centric network patterns of two
leading Simcoe elites (Brown and Jones), we can trace at least two elite
factions in the community. The locally-oriented leader, Brown, has
formed direct connections with the old-family elites, the long-term
"Newcomers" and established town council members. Because of his tightly-
knit social connections with other influential community leaders, Brown
is able to gain the loyalty and assistance of their social contacts and
tap their power resources for his projects. Jones, on the other hand, is
not readily accepted by the Establishment. He has therefore taken oppor-
tunity of the transition that has been produced in Simcoe's social
structure by the extra-community influences of Townsend, regional govern-
ment and Nanticoke, to use his extra-community contacts and their power

resources to attain a position of great influence in the town. Because

he is seen as a "mover" by the Establishment, he is not fully expected to

adhere to the old norms and values of community leadership. He is,

therefore, attractive to the aspiring elite who have been unacceptable by

the Establishment network because they either do not support the Estab-

lishment's locally-oriented, conservative perspective or they have not

identified with the Establishment's goals. Jones, has, therefore,

produced a very loosely-knit social network that consists of individuals

who vary greatly and who are primarily linked to one another through

their association with Jones and his projects. Chapter VII discusses

these two networks in action and their effectiveness in establishing

control of the Simcoe power structure.

CHAPTER VII - SIMCOE ELITES COMMUNITY ISSUES AND FACTIONALISM

IN THE COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

Introduction

     There are two major issues in Simcoe that have caused great

dissension among the townspeople in the past two years. One concerns the

erection of a new shopping mall in the immediate area of the downtown

core. The other concerns the outcome of the last municipal election.

Both of these issues have been mentioned as major concerns of the Simcoe

community by the respondents that were interviewed for this study. Not

all of them have agreed as to the way in which these issues should be

resolved. An examination of the events that concern these issues and the

respondents' opinions of these events should, therefore, reveal a source

of factionalism in the Simcoe community power structure.

     This chapter describes the major events surrounding the dispute

over the erection of the Westcourt shopping mall and the election campaign

of November, 1980. It uses documentation from the local newspapers as

well as information obtained from the respondents' interviews to examine

the stance taken by the Simcoe elites. The municipal election is impor-

tant because the town council is in a period of transition due to the

retirement of the former mayor and the town's chief administrative officer

(Informant Nos. 12, 22). This factor is exacerbated by the fact that many

of the more prominent established leaders in Simcoe no longer desire to

participate in municipal politics now that regionalization has significantly

diminished local political power (Informant Nos. 2, 13). The Westcourt

Mall is a contentious issue because the success or failure of the project

may greatly affect the future economic viability of the downtown business

sector (Simcoe Reformer, December 18, 1979). It also means that 34 older

Simcoe homes will be destroyed to make room for the mall. For some of

the respondents, this means that "the local character of Simcoe will go

with it" (Informant No. 8). The outcome of these two issues will likely

have a serious impact on the dynamics of power in Simcoe depending upon

who supports which cause and who is successful in obtaining his/her goal.

A. The Westcourt Mall

The Westcourt Mall issue centres on the proposed development of a

six million dollar shopping centre five blocks west of the downtown core

on the land bounded by West, Talbot, Chapel and Metcalfe Streets (See

Map II). This project was first conceived when the Norfolk Fruit Grower's

Association decided to move its facilities to a more modern and more

easily accessible building on the outskirts of town. When the Company

tried to sell their downtown property, a Toronto development company

offered to purchase the land and the surrounding two blocks (7.5 acres)

for the purpose of building a modern shopping centre in Simcoe. The major

problem with the erection of this centre results from the fact that the

designated area is primarily residential and, in order to construct the

mall, the developer must purchase and tear down 34 residential homes. He

must also obtain permission from the town council to change the zoning

by-law for the area from industrial-residential to commercial. The time

that it has taken for the developer to get the by-law changed and to

obtain options on the homes in this area has permitted the opponents to

to the mall to submit formal objections to the proposed development.

The chief objectors to the mall are the downtown merchants and

certain members of the local arts society. The merchants view the mall

proposal with great misgivings because it provides strong competition

for their own business interests. They note that other communities have

had their downtown section "gutted" because malls tend to provide large-

scale competition that small shop-owners cannot rival (Simcoe Reformer,

December 18, 1979). They state that Simcoe does not have enough business

to support this type of enterprise and that two malls which have already

been built on the edge of town have been unsuccessful (Simcoe Reformer,

May 1, 1980). They also complain that the proposed area for the mall is

too far from the downtown core for people to easily walk from one shopping

area to the other even if they did want to compare goods and prices with

Simcoe stores (Simcoe Reformer, December 3, 1980; Hamilton Spectator,

February 27, 1980). These merchants therefore suggest that "rehabilita-

tion rather than redevelopment would be better, and that a new mall...

would mean a glut of retail space in Simcoe" thereby destroying the econ-

omic viability of the Simcoe business district (Simcoe Reformer, February

27, 1980).

The other people that oppose the mall are people who are primar-

ily "concerned about the destruction of Simcoe's heritage" (Informant No.

8). These people consider the destruction of the 34 homes at the proposed

mall site to be the destruction of one of the older more picturesque

residential areas in town (Informant No. 3). They state that, although

these houses are "not prime property", their destruction will mean that

" of the more affordable, medium-income homes that usually attract young starting families will be lost and never replaced, thereby freezing the young people out of town" (Informant No. 5). Others fear that Simcoe will be stuck with an ugly white elephant which cannot be hidden or easily removed if the mall is unsuccessful and the developer leaves town (Informant No. 17). These people are fighting the mall because they see it as a basic threat to the physical structure of their community.

Both interests have united in a citizen group that is organicationally separate from the local merchants. Calling themselves "Concerned Citizens for a Better Simcoe", they have launched a formal campaign consisting of petitions, newsletters and paid newspaper advertising aimed at informing the public about the possible repercussions of this development (Informant No. 23). They have had little response from the public, who "seem to want the mall because it will provide more modern shopping outlets within easy accessibility" (Informant No. 26). As a result, this group has only been able to raise the support of 34 people who live in the immediate vicinity of the proposed mall site, and who do not relish the idea of a large shopping centre in their "backyard" (Informant No. 3).

The main group that appears to be publically supporting the erection of the Westcourt Mall is the town council. They agree that Simcoe needs more varied shopping and the stronger tax base which this development will provide. The developer has also promised to provide a 350 car parking lot on the mall site which will be bought back by the town with the revenue gained from its parking charges. Likewise, the developer has promised to pay for new sewage lines in the area as part of the cost of building the mall. The members of town council have,

therefore, been offered a package that tends to solve many of their local demands, with little inconvenience or extra cost to the local citizenry (Informant Nos. 20, 21). As a result, the town council has raised little objection to the proposed development and passed the re-zoning by-law to give the developer permission to erect the mall.

The Citizens coalition and the downtown merchants appealed this decision to regional council. However, the regional council also agreed to the developer's terms, and passed the re-zoning by-law. The coalition and merchants took a petition to the Ontario Municipal Board asking that the regional decision be revoked. By this time, however, the opposition group had almost disintegrated. It had only obtained a total membership of 34 people in five months. The original leader withdrew his leadership because "without a true community opposition, it came down to appearing like me against the mall" (Simcoe Reformer, May 1, 1980). His successor (Black) was believed to have close connections to many of the established elites and this made it difficult to gain further support for the cause (Informant No. 12).

The downtown merchants hired a Toronto lawyer and placed a petition of their own against the development (Simcoe Reformer, November 17, 1980) but they too were unable to gain much sympathy from the general public (Informant No. 17). The people who opposed the mall had come to be viewed as a mere handful of eccentric citizens and avaricious merchants who were trying to fight the inevitable course of progress "just like they always fought any change in the past that they never approved of" (Informant No. 11). The general impression is that these dissenters are fighting the inevitable and must learn to adjust to the demands of progress.

To quote one informant:

> The ordinary person wants the mall to come to town.
> They want better shopping and more variety. The
> merchants in town have always had too much say in
> Simcoe. Everything was always downtown. They think
> that they control but...they are hurting themselves in
> the long run because they won't let anything come in.
> They won't let this or that go through...but, they're
> losing their business anyway...people are going to the
> city to shop at these malls. But, if you have a good
> shop in Simcoe and you have the mall...sure, people are
> going to go and look but, they'll come back and buy at
> the quality shop...if the mall is _in_ Simcoe.
> (Informant Number 30)

Apparently the Ontario Municipal Board agreed with this point of view. When the case was heard, the motion against the Westcourt Mall was denied on the grounds that,

> ...the evidence convinces the Board that there will be
> an adequate market for the proposed mall and the exist-
> ing retail facilities, that the location in the downtown
> area is suitable and desirable, and that the control in
> the possession of the municipality will enable the de-
> velopment to take place with the minimum disruption to
> surrounding residents. (In addition)...since most of
> the local objectors were business people concerned about
> the effect of the mall on existing business, the case
> against the mall is not very sound. (Simcoe Reformer,
> November 17, 1980)

The Ontario Municipal Board, therefore, gave the developer permission to buy up his options on the houses at the proposed mall site and start excavating as soon as possible.

The Westcourt Mall as a Reaction to Social Change

The Westcourt Mall is more than an issue over whether or not a new shopping mall is to be built in the downtown core. It is an issue that concerns development and affects the way in which the future planning

of the town will evolve. As one member of the merchant elite put it,
"Is this the proper way to compete with the new influences of Townsend,
regional government and the Nanticoke industrial complex?" (Informant
No. 23). The "Concerned Citizens Coalition" and the downtown merchants
believe that the presence of this mall will lead to the death of the
downtown core and destroy Simcoe's unique social and economic character.
For these people, "the destruction of these houses is the destruction of
the main characteristic that makes the town outstanding, that is, its
continuity with the past" (Informant No. 8). They think that the only
way to fight the new changes that are occurring in their town is to "build
and enhance the things that gave us our character in the first place as a
community" (Informant No. 23). This means the retention of Simcoe's his-
torical buildings, its small-town atmosphere and its downtown business
district. The mall is a threat to all three. The people who oppose the
mall propose that,

> The only way to save Simcoe is by redevelopment not new
> development. That is the only way to keep a town like
> ours viable. We must retain Simcoe's character. The
> link to the past is there and we must retain our heritage.
> Growth for growth's sake is not a positive step forward.
> This mall will destroy not build. And, it can be found
> anywhere. Our downtown can't. And,...a mall can come to
> any community. It will bring jobs, tax assessments, etc.
> ...but what will it bring to the fibre or the heart of
> the community? Who's the chairman of the Heart Fund or
> the town council, in the Little Theatre, on the school
> boards? Members of the community are attending to the
> everyday aspects of the community...not these artificial
> managers. (Informant Number 23)

Such statements reaffirm the customary rules and normative values
of leadership and community spirit in Simcoe. The mall is not being
opposed merely because it is huge and ugly in its architectural design

(Informant No. 17), or because it will destroy 34 medium-income homes, or even because it is a possible threat to the downtown business interests. It is also being opposed because it is a major threat to the localite ideology of historical continuity, public responsibility and community-mindedness. This is the ideology that, in the past, has sustained Simcoe in times of social strain. It is this type of thinking that began a public works programme in the depression that constructed a park on the edge of town and which employed local citizens who were out of work. It is this ideology that has "kept Simcoe in the position of number one community in the area and made it the Model Town of Southern Ontario" (Informant Nos. 3, 31). It is also the ideology that has maintained the old-family elite in their position of community leadership. As a consequence, the people who have openly opposed the erection of the Westcourt Mall are generally members of this group. For these respondents, the mall is a concrete, physical assault on their normative values and customary ways of life. It is a threat to their position in the community, and the values that support that position.

But the people who support the mall do not see the argument in this way. They think that the mall is necessary because it is the only way that Simcoe can fight the new influences of Nanticoke, Townsend and regional government. These people see that regional government has taken away much of the town's political power and its original position as county seat. In addition Nanticoke is threatening Simcoe's industrial base as new industries are now likely to settle at the industrial park at Nanticoke rather than the one in Simcoe (Informant Nos. 20, 28). Townsend is viewed as the "favoured community" by the provincial government which

is promoting it, and "services that should be going to Simcoe are being

transferred to Townsend" (Informant No. 13). The people who support the

mall think that the mall will permit the town to retain its reputation as

the major market centre in Haldimand-Norfolk. Thus Simcoe will be able

to maintain a certain position of dominance in the region. These people

are therefore willing to forgo the old symbols of historical continuity

and independent commercial ownership in order to maintain Simcoe's

position as the "finest community in the area" (Informant No. 17). Such

people argue that, if Simcoe is to survive, it must use the resources to

which it has access. For them, "the mall is the only way that Simcoe can

survive. It will prevent malls from going outside of the downtown and

kill Simcoe. And, it will draw shoppers into town who are leaving to go

shop at malls in other cities" (Informant No. 11).

The Issue of the Westcourt Mall and its Ramifications for the Established Elite

The conflict over the erection of the Westcourt Mall is of prime

import to this study because it demonstrates how the new changes in

Simcoe's social structure have affected the town's ideology and the

immediate influence of the Established elite. In this context, Jones is

significant because he is the leader who has the extra-community contacts

required to attract commercial developers with enough resources to invest

in a new shopping complex (Informant No. 11). Once the town council

supported the construction of the mall, he was once again able to fall

into the background and act as a "go-between" between the developer and

Council (Informant No. 13).

The main reason that the council gave for their support was that the project would make the town more economically viable by altering the high residential tax base thus providing a "relief of tax burden on the homeowner" (Simcoe Reformer, February 27, 1980). The council was relieved of the costs incurred in the building of parking facilities (something which is in high demand in downtown Simcoe) and any changes in existing sewage facilities (which were in need of extensive repair). It also required the mall to be designed so that it is complementary to the antique architecture of the nearby Court House and downtown business section (Simcoe Reformer, February 20, 1980, October 3, 1980). Thus, for Simcoe Council, the development offers a unique method of solving some of their financial difficulties.

But, the issue of the Westcourt Mall also means a renewal of status and prestige for Simcoe Council. In the past few years, it has lost much of its decision-making power to regional council. The concessions that the developer has had to make in order to get the mall proposal accepted have made the council members appear strong and decisive. The lack of community support for the coalition group has also increased the council members' confidence in their political mandate. The positive decision that council received against the appeals to regional council and the Ontario Municipal Board served to reaffirm their judgement. The issue of the Westcourt Mall has made council appear to be the powerful and creative force that it had been in the past. Thus, even though regionalization has usurped Simcoe council of much of its power, its members can now claim that they have been able to create a successful community

development which will "make the town competitive with Townsend and any other town in the area" (Informant No. 22).

It is the Establishment in the form of the merchants' opposition and the Citizen's Coalition who have lost in this exchange. These people have been seen to put their personal desires before the general welfare of the total community. As a result, they have directly contradicted the customary rules of community-mindedness and public service that they promote. Their obvious conflict of interest and the actions that they have taken to protect these interests, has cost them their credibility as dedicated, self-sacrificing community leaders (Informant Nos. 24, 26, 27). There is no doubt that they have encountered negative feelings and new doubts as to their capability as future leaders willing to give unqualified devotion and loyalty to the town. The issue of the Westcourt Mall has exposed their failings. Likewise, the negative results at the Ontario Municipal Board hearings have revealed their vulnerability in dealings with extra-community influences.

B. The Municipal Election

The municipal election held in Simcoe in November 1980 is important. In contrast to the Westcourt Mall issue, both the election campaign and the election results reaffirm the general philosophy of Simcoe and the power and influence of the Establishment. The main issue in the election was regionalization. The people in Simcoe are very hostile toward regional government. They think that it is too expensive, that it is too bureaucratic, and that it has confined the future growth and development

of their community. Although the respondents of this study generally
admit that some new form of government was necessary to balance the dif-
ferences between the smaller powers of the communities in Haldimand-
Norfolk with the larger powers of the major industries in the Nanticoke
complex, they also think that Simcoe has suffered from regionalization.
This issue affected the mayoralty race, the election of new members to
town council, and the overall presentation of the election campaign pro-
grammes. An examination of the events concerning the last municipal
election demonstrates many of the reactions that Simconians have toward
the new extra-community influences that have invaded their town.

The retirement of the incumbent mayor who held office for 17
consecutive years on Simcoe council also stimulated a greater interest in
the mayoralty race than in previous years when it was expected that doubt-
ful voters would rely on the old mayor as a safe, conservative choice.
The two candidates competing for the position of mayor in this election
were Miller and West. Both are original Simconians, both are local
businessmen, and both have had previous experience on town council. The
two men differ primarily in their extra-community orientation. Miller is
an older, more conservative politician who thinks that "the best place in
the world to live is Simcoe because it has everything to offer that anyone
would want". For him, political and social change should be gradual,
deliberate, and oriented to the total needs of the community as a whole.
West is much younger and generally supportive of change. He argues that
Simcoe must learn to adapt quickly to the new demands made on the community
by the extra-community influences of Nanticoke, regional government and
Townsend. He argues also that the community must learn to fight on this

new terrain and the sooner that Simconians learn to do so, the better the community will meet this new challenge. West, therefore, expresses a cosmopolitan orientation in which Simcoe "must finally enter the real world". In contrast, Miller expresses a localite view in which "Simcoe should handle its own problems".

These two orientations were expressed continually in the election campaign programmes. Miller "campaigned on the idea that what Simcoe really needed was a Simcoe mayor - not a regional council mayor but a Simcoe council mayor" while West "ran on the idea that the mayor of Simcoe must also be regionally-oriented because the mayor is automatically a part of regional council and must know how to deal with it" (Informant No. 33). During his campaign Miller made such locally-oriented comments as; "Council should be more of a catalyst rather than reacting to events"; "My candidacy is based on the hope that together we can build a better community" and "I am learning people's concerns in my personal door-to-door campaign" (Simcoe Reformer, September 24, 1980, October 8, 1980, November 6, 1980). West's campaign comments were basically concerned with furthering Simcoe's position within the regional system. He made such statements as; "No one individual can make major changes, it's a co-operative effort", "the heritage of Simcoe shouldn't suffer because of progress, but neither should progress suffer because of the heritage of Simcoe" and "there is no point in reviewing the regional government legislation until the area municipalities have their district plans in place" (Simcoe Reformer, November 5, 1980, November 6, 1980, October 9, 1980). The more locally-oriented, anti-regional population of Simcoe voted for the man who presented his loyalty to the community of Simcoe before all

else. That man was Miller.

Why West Lost the Mayoralty

The public reports claim that West lost the election primarily because of the positive stance that he took on the regional question (Simcoe Reformer, November 11, 1980). West, himself, admits that he was "obviously on the defensive during the campaign because of my pro-regional position and my downfall was a persistence to try and make the system work". Although this was a major factor that contributed greatly to West's loss, the respondents of this study give other reasons for West's defeat. One reason is that he ran a "big-town campaign", used "too much publicity" and "forgot his friends" in an attempt to gain more popularity with the electorate (Informant No. 33). Another reason is that he was too young for the responsibility of mayor and needed more experience (Informant No. 21). Yet, before the election, the respondents that were interviewed predicted that West would be assured of the mayoralty. He had presented a strong public image as an astute, conscientious, knowledgeable and efficient council member. He was young, capable and well-spoken. He had replaced the former mayor at regional council during the period of his illness and had done an excellent job (Informant Nos. 11, 13, 21).

But despite West's obvious political talents, these respondents also admitted that they were hesitant about giving him too much political power (Informant No. 2). The most common complaint from the respondents was that "he thinks too much like a politician and not enough like a

Simconian", that he "exemplifies politics at its worst because he will trade this decision for that one on regional council" and "his actions have led him to openly disapprove of Simcoe community projects" (Informant Nos. 23, 2, 6). For these respondents,

> The main thing against him was that he was too much of a politician. He would never say "Yes" or "No" ...just "Maybe". And, then he would wait until he saw which way the votes would fall. That kind of mayor could ruin the town. You can't trust them.
> (Informant Number 17)

One reason for West's early support was that at first no representative of the localite establishment appeared willing to venture into the mayoralty race. They were disillusioned and disinterested in the regional system (Informant Nos. 2, 13). However, when Miller announced his plans to run for the position of mayor, he gained a great deal of his support from the localite elite sector. As one informant explains,

> ...the Establishment put West out. They backed Miller ...I think that at the last minute, they decided that they didn't want West because he was for the mall... and, I think that some of the guys downtown got together and put the Liberal machine behind Miller and worked to get him elected...and that's the plain and simple truth...The Establishment didn't want West.
> (Informant Number 19)

Another respondent suggests that although,

> ...big time politics is not supposed to enter into local issues, they did this time...The Liberals were all out polling and working for Miller...They just turned their people loose to do the door-knocking and polling and talk to all sorts of people for Miller. And, there's nothing wrong with Miller being mayor, he's doing a good job...But, it didn't help West.
> (Informant Number 32)

The final blow against West came just five days before the election when the former mayor publically announced that he "endorsed

Coun. West to replace him as Simcoe's top elected official" (Simcoe

Reformer, November 5, 1980). This public endorsement by the former mayor

was generally interpreted by the community as an unfair and unprincipled

tactic and appears to have cost West further votes (Informant No. 32).

As one informant states,

> He should have known better as a politician that it
> would turn people off...this really killed West because
> people didn't think it was fair to pull out the big
> guns like that. (Informant Number 33)

It appears that West's political tactics were not enough to gain his

election as Simcoe mayor. Apparently he has broken some of the normative

values and customary rules that govern politics in the community of

Simcoe. Because of this he has been unable to convince the electorate

that he will make a successful mayor. At present the people of Simcoe

are in a state of transition and are hesitant about the direction that

their community will take under regional control. West is seen to have a

positive attitude toward the regional system and thus is not trusted to

support Simcoe at any cost. Miller, who has proven himself to be more

Simcoe-oriented, is a safer choice. The Established elites reported

support of Miller through the auspices of the Liberal party merely re-

affirms the public's doubts as to West's capabilities. In this instance,

the electorate took the lead of those people whom they have always been

able to trust and rely on in the past, and elected Miller as mayor.

Localite-Cosmopolitan Orientation and the Simcoe Community Power Structure

The fact that the Establishment elites were able to get "their

candidate" elected as mayor Simcoe indicates that they still maintain a

considerable amount of power in the community. Yet, that power is mediated by localite-cosmopolitan orientation and the fear that Simcoe will be lost in the struggle over access to the new power resources that are being offered by the extra-community influences of regionalization, Townsend and the industrialization of Nanticoke. Basically the citizens of Simcoe are very conservative and localite in their extra-community orientation. According to one respondent, they are very hesitant about community changes,

> We haven't had enough time in many cases to adequately
> think out and plan the changes that have been taking
> place because changes have been taking place very, very
> rapidly for a small community...Until 1970, we were a
> community that grew up at a relatively slow rate so
> things remained constant so it became almost an environ-
> mental situation with the people that you don't change
> without a great deal of thought...a lot of people aren't
> willing to accept a new idea if it drastically changes
> what had been going on in the past for many, many years.
> (Informant Number 4)

The new changes that have been taking place in Simcoe have left the citizens in a stage of transition in which they must learn to cope with new issues and often realign their former conceptions. When in serious doubt, they are very likely to turn to their traditional community leaders for further guidance.

Though opposed by the downtown merchants, the Westcourt Mall actually follows some of the values by which the town historically developed. It is not foreign to the norms or community values of the Simcoe population in that it adheres to the practice of merchantilism by which the town generally supports itself. It is, therefore, seen to be a way in which the community can maintain its former position of preference in the region. Since the mall is positively supported by the political

leaders of Simcoe who are seen to represent the predominant views of the community population, the Establishment is unable to fight the issue successfully. Instead, these elites have been criticized for placing their own interests before the interests of the community.

But the Establishment is able to use its power resources to fight the election of Miller as Simcoe mayor. The main reason is that West is too cosmopolitan for the community of Simcoe. The complaints that he "ran a big-town campaign", "forgot his local friends" and "supports regional control" are indicative of the fear that, if West is given the power that is attached to the position of mayor, he may use it in ways that may not be conducive to the community's interests and values. His credibility was suspect because he refused to demonstrate adherence to the norms of fighting for Simcoe's economic independence and political autonomy. Thus, when the Established elites supported Miller's election campaign, the doubtful citizenry followed their leadership and voted for the more locally-oriented, conservative candidate whom they think can be "trusted" to fight for Simcoe.

We should note that neither Jones nor Brown play major roles in either of these issues except as their formal positions required. This is consistent with the results of Warner (1949), Hunter (1953) and Vidich and Bensman (1968) who report that the more powerful leaders in the community usually employ secondary leaders to fulfill tasks that are too time-consuming or too risky for them to become involved. In this way, the stronger leaders are often able to protect their interests without threatening their overall position of leadership control. As one respondent explains,

> The minute that you find out that there is anything at
> all that might affect you personally then you are in
> trouble...If Brown had been seen to act in his own
> interests he would have become from then on ineffective
> as a leader...the fact that he was financially involved
> with the mall issue took him out of the running...He
> would have lost his integrity and his credibility as a
> leader. Which was the higher risk? He chose which one
> he wanted. (Informant Number 17)

Yet, if we examine the social networks of the leading actors who

participated in the mall issue and the election campaign, we find that

the leader of the Citizen's Coalition is a close friend to Brown and the

candidate West claims strong ties with Jones. In fact, all of West's

elite contacts are with the newcomer elite who are attached to the indus-

trial development at Nanticoke. These people do not have great access to

the community power structure in Simcoe. Their power resources are

primarily extra-community rather than local. They are, therefore, unable

to help West to be elected as mayor, even though most of them consider

him the one most able to deal with regional government (Informant Nos.

19, 15, 21). In contrast, even though Miller claims no close ties to

Brown or the Established elite, his localite orientation gained him their

support for his election campaign.

Conclusion

This chapter describes the major events surrounding the dispute

over the Westcourt Mall and the election campaign of November, 1980 in

which a new mayor was elected for the town of Simcoe. It examines the

stance taken by the localite Establishment and their success in achieving

their goals. It is important to note that the Establishment could not

control the results of the contention over the erection of the Westcourt

Mall which deals with non-local personnel and non-local power resources, but was able to use its local power resources to get their candidate elected as mayor. The control that the Establishment has over the community power structure is therefore still strong. However, it is mediated by the support and approval of the community population who are reacting to the new changes that have occurred in their community due to the extra-community influences of Townsend, regionalization and the industrial development of Nanticoke. The issue of the mall indicates that, should the Established elites not adjust to the requirements of this change, they are likely to lose the support of the general community population. This would open the way for aspiring elites such as those elites who are loosely-linked to Jones' network to gain access to the community power structure.

CHAPTER VIII - CONCLUSION: ESTABLISHMENT VERSUS ASPIRING ELITES

In the past few years the community of Simcoe has experienced the effects of mass industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization in the forms of the industrial complex at Nanticoke, the erection of the new community of Townsend and the implementation of regional government. These large-scale, extra-community influences have brought a new mode of production, a new urban population and a new form of political management to the Haldimand-Norfolk district in which Simcoe is situated. Such drastic changes in the immediate local environment have placed considerable stress on the social structure of the town. My study has examined the way in which the elite sector of Simcoe reacted to the recent changes that have taken place in their community.

The people of Simcoe generally consider their town to be the prime community in the Haldimand-Norfolk area. It has always been a stable community with a strong economic base supported by its position as the major service centre to the outlying farm district. Change in Simcoe has always been gradual. It has encouraged and sustained Simcoe's position of dominance in Haldimand-Norfolk. But the new influences of Nanticoke, Townsend and regional government threaten this position. Nanticoke is changing the economic base of Haldimand-Norfolk from agricultural to industrial. Townsend is being built as the major urban centre for the district. Regionalization has usurped the town council's decision-making functions. All of this has occurred within a short time span of

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approximately twelve years in which Simconians have had little opportunity to prepare or adjust.

Yet the community of Simcoe has also had a long history of strong leadership in which the elite sector has been able to guide the other members in times of social tension and structural strain. Community leaders are given great respect in Simcoe and their skills are highly valued. It is therefore expected that Simcoe elites will play a dominant role in the process of these recent changes. The leader's attitudes are likely to greatly influence the way in which other Simconians react to the pressures of these extra-community influences.

Other community studies reveal that structural change often produces factionalism among leaders due to conflicts over the way in which new power resources should be used, or the way specific community issues should be resolved (Walton, 1974; Sinclair & Westhues, 1974; Laumann & Pappi, 1977). These studies lead us to believe that the transitional period in Simcoe will be disruptive to Simcoe's power structure. Only the strength and solidarity of Simcoe's leadership is likely to mediate the extent to which the town will be disturbed.

Robert Merton describes two types of community influentials who are defined on the basis of their extra-community orientation (Merton, 1966: 251-252). The localite influential is oriented to the community in which he resides. His social interests, his social connections and his social concerns are specifically directed at the community level, with which he clearly identifies. In contrast, the cosmopolitan influential is primarily oriented to the world outside his local milieu and, although he is concerned with community affairs, he views local issues within the

context of the larger world of which he considers himself an integral part. Merton proposes that every community power structure consists of at least one representative of these extra-community orientations. The extent to which each type of influential dominates a community's power structure greatly affects the way in which that community accepts and adapts to the requirements of extra-community influence.

Sinclair and Westhues (1974) and Laumann and Pappi (1977) have also found that "oldtimer-newcomer" differences contribute to factionalism in a community. One of the reasons for this is that newcomers are unlikely to express the same normative values and customary outlooks as oldtimers. They are also likely to differ with the oldtimer population in terms of educational background, occupation, social class and mobility patterns. These differences between newcomers and oldtimers, in turn, heighten the tension within the community when major issues arise on which the entire population does not agree.

Our examination of the elites in Simcoe, however, leads to different conclusions from those formed by Robert Merton, Sinclair and Westhues, and Laumann and Pappi. Although we were able to find both localite and cosmopolitan influentials in Simcoe and, were also able to find both newcomer and oldtimer elites, we were unable to differentiate two separate elite factions that could be clearly drawn on the basis of localite-cosmopolitan orientation or oldtimer-newcomer differences. The respondents who were interviewed for this study do not differ greatly in terms of their socio-economic status, their social background or their attitude toward the community. They listen to the same radio station, read similar newspapers and magazines, shop in the same type of stores and belong to the same

organizations. Their value systems are not significantly different, and their attitudes toward the extra-community influences of Townsend, Nanticoke and regionalization are very much alike.

One of the major reasons for this uniformity of interest and social background is that elites occupy a priviledged sector of any population. They are, therefore, more likely to have similar opportunities to further their education, to travel extensively, to promote their individual interests and to expand their extra-community contacts. Simcoe oldtimers and localite influentials may, therefore, not be as limited in their knowledge of or concern with extra-community influences as Merton or Sinclair and Westhues suggest. This may contribute greatly to a "common ground" on which localites and cosmopolitans, newcomers and oldtimers, are able to communicate. This lessens the differences between these various elite types.

Another reason for the similarity of social characteristics and attitudes that exist among the Simcoe respondents in this study is that Simcoe has a relatively small population of approximately 15,000 people. It is therefore unable to support the interests of a large elite sector. There is only one golf club, one art centre, one Rotary club and one museum in the town. Elites must therefore constantly meet, interact and associate with one another at various social functions and community events. These constant encounters promote social cohesion and consensus among the elites and tend to repress any ill feelings which may lead to factional conflict.

A prime factor leading to the integration of localite-cosmopolitan influentials and to the breakdown of newcomer-oldtimer differences in

Simcoe is the definition of leadership. Since the community power

structure in Simcoe has been controlled by a small group of downtown

businessmen and descendants of the elite families that founded the town,

leadership positions have tended to be transferred to those individuals

who have displayed similar values and social characteristics to this

Establishment group. In consequence, the aspiring community leader must

conform to the expectations of the Establishment if he desires access to

the community power structure. The person who wishes to attain the

approval of this group must demonstrate that he adheres fully to the

common ideology and normative values of the town. This ideology supports

the ethos of self-sacrifice, community involvement and dedication to one's

fellow community members. It takes a long time before a person can be

seen to exhibit such characteristics. In Simcoe, one does not achieve

the role of leader easily or quickly. It is a slow and lengthy process

in which the person is constantly tested as to his ability to manifest

such altruistic qualities. For this reason, it is difficult to divide

the respondents of this study on the basis of their attitudes or their

extra-community orientation. The "newcomer" respondents who have

achieved positions of leadership have been in the community so long that

they have fully adopted the normative values and ideology of the town.

It is at this point that the social network approach is of

extreme value to our analysis of the organization of the community power

structure in Simcoe. Although our examination of the social character-

istics and attitudes expressed by the elite respondents in this study

would lead us to believe that the elites in Simcoe form a cohesive body

of unified citizens who share a common idology based on similar values

and normative expectations, it is difficult for us to conclude that all

Simcoe elites accept the apparent control of the Establishment or that

all elites react in similar fashion to the extra-community influences of

Nanticoke, Townsend and regionalization. When we plot the social network

patterns of the elites interviewed in this study, we find that two dis-

crete elite factions do exist in Simcoe. These factions can be traced

by the respondents' reported connections to one of two community leaders.

The first, a localite influential, is a member of the Establishment. He

has formed ties of friendship, business connections and political links

with old-family elites, long-term "Newcomers" and established town council

members. The other leader, a cosmopolitan influential, has formed network

ties with the new elites connected to the industrial projects at Nanticoke

and those aspiring Simcoe elites who have not yet proven themselves

acceptable to the Establishment.

When we examine two critical community issues, we are better able

to determine the way in which these two elite networks operate. In the

question of the erection of the Westcourt Mall, the Establishment network

is unable to command enough support to dissuade the positive public

opinion that favours the mall. The major reason for this is that these

elites have been seen to place their own personal interests before the

apparent needs of the community. They have discredited their image as

self-sacrificing community leaders who deserve support. In this instance,

the position of this elite network has been undermined by the recent

changes in Simcoe.

In the case of the municipal election, however, the Establishment

candidate was elected. The cosmopolitan candidate appeared to many to be

a questionable choice because he was seen to favour some of the less desirable changes that have recently occurred. In particular, he has supported regionalization which is negatively viewed by the majority of Simconians. The Establishment elites were therefore able to use their position of leadership to mobilize their power resources to support the more locally-oriented candidate.

These two examples illustrate the important role that strong normative values play in the definition of community leader. Simcoe elites are only able to maintain and use their powerful positions in the community power structure with the constant support and approval of the local population. They gain this support and approval by adhering to the common ideology of self-sacrifice, community dedication and the promotion of Simcoe's autonomy. The status of community leader is a priviledged position which is determined by a constant interaction between the elite influential and his fellow Simconians. Both the issue of the Westcourt Mall and the election campaign demonstrate that once a leader loses his credibility with the local community he also loses community support for his particular goals.

It is very likely that Simcoe's strong value system and common ideology act as a protective measure against the social turmoil that Nanticoke, Townsend and regional government evoke. Even though the social network approach indicates that there are two elite factions in Simcoe, the public image is still one of elite homogeneity, uniformity in elite characteristics, and a consensus of attitude. Nanticoke, Townsend and regional government are seen as the common enemy which must be fought if Simcoe is to maintain its autonomous position in Haldimand-Norfolk.

The major disagreement comes in the method by which the battle should be waged.

The relatively powerful position of the establishment elite network and the apparent weakness of the more loosely-linked aspiring elite network has not yet given rise to the identification of two strong elite factions struggling for control of the community power structure. This has given the community a sense of stability in the face of extra-community change. The dominance of a value system that promotes community-mindedness and self-sacrifice ensures that the people of Simcoe can trust their leaders to act in the best interests of their community. Simcoe has therefore been able to face the recent changes in its social structure with little discord and friction. Only time will tell, however, whether the aspiring elite who have access to the new power resources provided by the extra-community influences of industrialization, bureaucratization and urbanization will gain more control of the community power structure. If they do, it is still very likely that the requirements of acceptance into the leadership role will make this transition smooth for the people of Simcoe.

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Appendix A

Basic Data:

1. Name: _____

2. Address: _____

3. Sex: 1. Male _____   2. Female _____

4. Place of Birth: _____

5. How old were you on your last birthday?

 __ 1. 19 years or under

 __ 2. 20 to 30 years

 __ 3. 31 to 40 years

 __ 4. 41 to 50 years

 __ 5. 51 to 60 years

 __ 6. 61 and over

6. Marital Status:

 __ 1. Single

 __ 2. Married

 __ 3. Widowed

 __ 4. Separated or Divorced

 __ 5. Other

7. What is your religious affiliation? (do not mention categories)

 __ 1. Anglican

 __ 2. Methodist

 __ 3. Presbyterian

 __ 4. Baptist

 __ 5. Roman Catholic

 __ 6. Jewish

 __ 7. Other: _____

8. If people ask you your nationality or ethnic descent, how do you identify yourself? (code later)

   _____

9. How much formal education have you completed? (may collapse categories later)

    __ 1. Grade 8 or less

    __ 2. Some high school

    __ 3. Graduated high school

    __ 4. Some trade or business school

    __ 5. Graduated trade or business school

    __ 6. Some college or university

    __ 7. Graduated college or university

    __ 8. Some post-graduate or professional school

    __ 9. Completed post-graduate or professional school

10. (If respondent attended post-secondary institution) What institution(s) did you attend?

Name of Institution	Type of Certificate (e.g. B.A. training skill, M.D.)
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____

11. Can you tell me your present occupation in as precise terms as possible?

Job Description	Job Title	Employer (self or other)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

12. Have you ever worked at other types of jobs or for other
employers?

        1. Yes ___   2. No ___

13. (If yes) What types of jobs were they, who did you work for
and why did you leave? (work from the most recent job on back)

	Occupation	Employer	Date	Why Left
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				

Residence Patterns:

14. Where else have you previously lived for longer than one year?

	Name of Place	No. of Years	Why Left (eg. job transfer, education, did not like com.)
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

15. If you have had any other Simcoe addresses , would you please
    name them for me?

	Address	No. of Years	Why left (eg. to buy a house, to move closer to work)
1.	_____	___	_____
2.	_____	___	_____
3.	_____	___	_____
4.	_____	___	_____

16. Who else lives in your home with you?

	Name	Age	Relationship
1.	_____	___	_____
2.	_____	___	_____
3.	_____	___	_____
4.	_____	___	_____
5.	_____	___	_____

17. Do you have other members of your family living in Simcoe?

        1. Yes ____   2. No ____

18. (If yes) May I have their names and addresses?

	Name	Relationship	Frequency of Contact	Reason for Contact (social, business)	Occupatio
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

19. Do any of your spouse's relatives live in Simcoe?

       1. Yes ___   2. No ___

(If yes) May I have their names and addresses?

Name	Relationship	Frequency of Contact	Reason for Contact	Occupation
1. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____

20. Do you own or rent your present place of residence?

       1. Owns ____   2. Rents ___

21. Do you own   other property in Simcoe? (eg. land, rental, business)

       1. Yes __   2. No __

22. (If yes) would you please specify the type of property and the location?

Type of Property	Location
1.	
2.	
3.	

23. (if respondent owns other property) Do you own this property yourself or do you have business partner(s)?

       1. Owns ____   2. Partner ____

24. (If respondent has partner(s)) Would you please give me his/ her name and address?

Name	Address	Type of Partnership (eg. law firm, office)
1.		
2.		
3.		

25. (If respondent does not own home/ property in Simcoe) Do you

ever plan on buying a home/ property in Simcoe?

        1. Yes _____   2. No _____

26. (If no) Can you tell me why you do not plan to buy property

in Simcoe? (do not give categories)

__ 1. plans to move

__ 2. land and houses are too expensive in Simcoe

__ 3. Does not like the people

__ 4. Does not like the town

__ 5. Other   _____

_____

Influential-Elite Section:

27. Now I would like to get your opinions on how you think that the

community is organized? For example, suppose a major project were

being planned for Simcoe, one that required decision by a group

of leaders whom nearly everyone would accept. Which people from

Simcoe would you choose to make up this group - regardless of

whether or not you know them personally? On what basis did you

make you selection? (eg. community organization person, businessman)

Name	Occupation	Reason Chosen
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____
6. _____	_____	_____
7. _____	_____	_____

28. Suppose a man wanted to become a leader in this community. Could you give me your ideas about what he would have to do and the qualifications he would need? (eg. would he have to join a specific organization or become friends with particular people)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

29. Do you think that there are any leaders among the new people moving into Simcoe?

1. Yes ___   2. No ___   3. Don't know ___

(If no) Can you tell me why you think that there are no leaders among the new people?

_____

_____

_____

(If yes) Are they in addition to those you previously mentioned?

1. Yes ___   2. No ___

(If yes) Can I have their names, please?

	Name	Address	Occupation
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____

30. In your opinion, what have been the most important issues or
    problems that Simcoe has faced in the past few years? (if
    newcomer, ask "since you moved to Simcoe") Why do you think
    these issues are important?

    Issue   Reason Selected

1. _____   _____

2. _____   _____

3. _____   _____

4. _____   _____

5. _____   _____

31. What type of effect do you think these issues has had on the
    community of Simcoe and the people who live here.

    Issue No. (from above)   Effect on Community

    _____   _____

                              _____

    _____   _____

                              _____

    _____   _____

                              _____

    _____   _____

                              _____

    _____   _____

                              _____

32. Did you personally participate in any of these issues?

        1. Yes ___   2. No ___

33. (If yes) In what capacity did you participate?

Issue No.	Supported or Against	Type of Involvement (individual, as association member, at work)
___	___	_____
___	___	_____
___	___	_____
___	___	_____

Newcomer Section:

(N.B. Newcomer is defined as anyone who did not grow up in Simcoe)

34. How long have you lived in Simcoe?

    ___ 1. less than 6 months

    ___ 2. 6 months to 11 months

    ___ 3. 1 year to 5 years

    ___ 4. 6 to 10 years

    ___ 5. 11 to 20 years

    ___ 6. over 20 years

    ___ 7. all my life

    ___ 8. other (eg. lived here for a few years and moved away and returned) _____

35.

Did you move to Simcoe as an adult or did you move here as a child with your parents?

        1. Adult ___   2. Child ___

(If respondent moved to Simcoe as an adult ask questions #36 to
46. If not, skip to # 47.)

36. Why did you choose to move into this area? (do not give

categories)

__ 1. to be closer to work

__ 2. transferred

__ 3. I knew people in this area

__ 4. I thought that there would be better chances of employment

__ 5. Other _____

_____

37. Why did you choose to move to Simcoe rather than one of the

other communities in the area? (probe for specific reason)

__ 1. knew other people here

__ 2. liked the environment (eg. parks, old homes)

__ 3. had more facilities (eg. stores, schools, hospitals)

__ 4. closer to former community

__ 5. other _____

_____

38. If any individual influenced your decision to move to Simcoe,

may I have their names and addresses please?

Name	Address	Relationship (co-worker, relative)	Type of Influence (helped in move, found house)
1. _____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____

39. Before you moved to Simcoe, what did you think the community would be like? (do not give categories, make sure to get exact quote)

     __ 1. friendly

     __ 2. quiet

     __ 3. conservative

     __ 4. old-fashioned

     __ 5. a farm town

     __ 6. other _____

Comment: _____

_____

_____

40. Did you find the community to be the way you expected?

    1. Yes ___   2. No ___

Explain: _____

_____

_____

41. How often do you return to the community in which you formerly resided?

     __ 1. once a week

     __ 2. once a month

     __ 3. special occasions, only

     __ 4. never

     __ 5. other _____

42. (If respondent returns) What is the main reason for your return?
(do not give categories)

         __ 1. to visit relatives

         __ 2. to visit friends

         __ 3. business

         __ 4. recreation

         __ 5. shopping

         __ 6. other _____

(If comment) _____

_____

43. Have you noticed any change in the frequency of your return
visits?   1. Yes __   2. No __

(If yes), in what way?

         __ 1. more returns

         __ 2. less returns

         __ 3. stopped altogether

         __ 4. other _____

Why? _____

_____

44. Do you receive visits from people in your former community?

         1. Yes __   2. No __

(If yes) May I have the reason for their visits? (eg. business, family)

Name	Relationship	Frequency	Reason for Visits
1. _____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____

45. Have you noticed any change in the frequency of their visits?

             __ 1. more visits

             __ 2. less visits

             __ 3. the same

             __ 4. stopped altogether

(If visiting pattern has changed) Why do you think this change has taken

place? _____

_____

_____

46. What do you consider to be the major change that you have

experienced in your life since you moved to Simcoe? (probe and make

sure to get exact quote)

_____

_____

_____

_____

Community Identity Questions:

47. If someone were moving into this area would you suggest that

    they move to Simcoe?

        1. Yes _____   2. No _____

Why? _____

_____

_____

48. What would you suggest that a new resident of Simcoe do in order to

    meet people in Simcoe? (eg. join a club, get involved in politics)

_____

_____

_____

49. Explain why you think that this technique will help them.

_____

_____

50. If you had to define the term "Simcoe newcomer", how would you
define it? _____

_____

51. What is the major basis for this definition? (eg. length of
residence in Simcoe, age, organizational affiliation(s))

_____

52. If you had to define the term "Simconian" (i.e. long-term resident),
how would you define it? _____

_____

53. What is the major basis for this definition? (eg. family background,
area of residence, conservative outlook, occupation)

_____

54. Do you think of yourself as a newcomer or long-term resident of
Simcoe?

      1. Newcomer _____   2. Long-term resident _____

Why? (get quote) _____

_____

_____

55. How long do you think that a person has to live in Simcoe before
he/she is thought of as a long-term resident?

           __ 1. one to five years

           __ 2. five to ten years

           __ 3. ten to twenty years

           __ 4. over 20 years

           __ 5. must be born in Simcoe

56. What would you say are the things you like **best** about living in Simcoe? (do not give categories)

      __ 1. the people are friendly

      __ 2. I like the work that I am doing here

      __ 3. I like the small-town atmosphere

      __ 4. all my friends and family live nearby

      __ 5. people mind their own business

      __ 6. other _____

(Quote)_____

_____

57. What would you say are the things you like the **least** about living in Simcoe? (do not give categories)

      __ 1. no opportunity for children

      __ 2. no public transportation

      __ 3. poor medical system

      __ 4. cannot get work here

      __ 5. it's hard to make friends here

      __ 6. if you need something special you have to go out of town for it

      __ 7. other _____

(Quote) _____

_____

58. If you were talking to someone about Simcoe, what would you use as an example of Simcoe's principal attraction? (do not use category

      __ 1. strong community spirit

      __ 2. good recreation facilities

      __ 3. beautiful environment (eg. parks, no pollution)

      __ 4. other _____

(Quote) _____

59. Do you think that Simcoe has improved or declined in the past five years? (if new resident ask 'since you moved here')

        1. Improved ___   2. Declined ___   3. Do not know ___

Explain: _____

_____

_____

60. What do you think is the biggest difference between living in a community like Simcoe and living in a big city such as Hamilton or London?

        ___ 1. size

        ___ 2. people

        ___ 3. environment

        ___ 4. facilities

        ___ 5. other _____

Explain: _____

_____

_____

61. If you had to move from Simcoe, where do you think you would like to move? _____

Why?

        ___ 1. it's just like Simcoe

        ___ 2. it's in the Simcoe area

        ___ 3. it's near my friends and family

        ___ 4. other _____

(try to get exact quote) _____

_____

_____

Social Networks:

62. Would you please give me the names of any clubs or organizations that you belong to? (code later)

Organization	Local/ National	Length of Membership	How Often Hold Meetings	How Often Attend
1. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____

63. Do you hold any office(s) (or have you held any office(s) in the above organizations or of any other organizations? (eg. national)

Organization	Office Presently Held	Offices Held in Past	Local/ National
1. _____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____	_____

64. (If new to Simcoe) Have you joined any organizations since coming to Simcoe?

                    1. Yes ___   2. No ____

(If yes) Which ones? In what way do you think they have helped you to integrate into the community?

Organization	Integration (get quote)
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____

65. Do you think that it is important to belong to community

 organizations?

 1. Yes ___   2. No ___   3. Do not know ___

Why? _____

_____

_____

66. (If long-term resident) Do you think that new residents have had

 an effect on any of the organizations in Simcoe? (eg. taking over

 offices, making it more effective, makes membership too large)

 1. Yes ___   2. No ___   3. Do not know ___

Explain: _____

_____

_____

67. Can you give me any examples in which membership in an organization

 has helped you in any way? (do not give categories)

 ___ 1. business contacts

 ___ 2. job experience

 ___ 3. social status

 ___ 4. met friends there

 ___ 5. other _____

(Quote) _____

_____

68. What would you consider to be the most prestigeous organizations

 in Simcoe? Why have you chosen this particular organization?

Organization   Reason for Selection

1. _____   _____

2. _____   _____

3. _____   _____

4. _____   _____

5. _____   _____

69. Who are your closest friends living in Simcoe?

Name   Address

1. _____   _____

2. _____   _____

3. _____   _____

4. _____   _____

70. (If new resident) Have you ever been invited to the home of

   any long time resident of Simcoe? (N.B. reverse for long term)

        1. Yes _____   2. No _____

   (If yes) May I have his/her name and address?

Name   Address

1. _____   _____

2. _____   _____

3. _____   _____

4. _____   _____

71. For what reason was the invitation extended? (do not give

   categories)

                __ 1. social event (eg. party, supper)

                __ 2. business

                __ 3. community organization event

                __ 4. work-related event (eg. company party)

                __ 5. other

Host's no. (from #70)   Reason for Invitation (may designate
                                   no.from categories above)

    _____   _____

    _____   _____

    _____   _____

    _____   _____

72. Are there people that you frequently invite into your home for a social occasion?

                    1. Yes ___   2. No ___

(If yes) May I have the names of those whom you invite most often?

(If state the same names as previous list - "Would you invite anyone else?")

    Name   Address

1. _____   _____

2. _____   _____

3. _____   _____

4. _____   _____

Local - Cosmopolitan Orientation:

Now, if I may, I would like to ask you a few "opinion" questions about what you think about certain issues.

73. In what community would you prefer to shop? (do not give categories)

                    ___ 1. Simcoe

                    ___ 2. Brantford

                    ___ 3. Hamilton

                    ___ 4. London

                    ___ 5. other _____

For Clothing : _____

For Groceries: _____

For Furniture: _____

74. Do you regularly read a newspaper?

        1. Yes ___   2. No ___

(If yes) Which one(s)? (Do not give categories)

          __ 1. Simcoe Reformer

          __ 2. Brantford Expositor

          __ 3. Hamilton Spectator

          __ 4. Globe and Mail

          __ 5. Toronto Star

          __ 6. Other _____

75. Do you regularly read any magazines or journals?

        1. Yes ___   2. No ___

(If yes) Which ones?

Name of Magazine	Local/National
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

76. Do you think that outside shops and business coming into Simcoe is good or bad for the community?

        1. Good _____   2. Bad _____

Why? _____

_____

_____

77. If you were in great difficulty (eg. health, financial, legal) would you prefer a specialist to handle your case or a local practioner whom you have known for a long time?

        1. Specialist _____   2. Local _____

Why? _____

_____

78. Which do you think is more rewarding, to belong to a local community organization or to a large nation-wide organization?

      1. Local _____   2. National ___

Why? _____

_____

79. Some studies of other communities have shown that a small group of people fairly well runs local offices and most of the important decisions in the community. Do you think that this is true of Simcoe?

      1. Yes ___   2. No ___   3. Do not know ___

Explain: _____

_____

_____

80. (If yes) Can you give me the names of those you think belong to this special group? Why do you think he/she belong?

	Name	Address	Reason Chosen
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____	_____

81. If you had your choice would you rather listen to a local news broadcast or a national news broadcast?

        1. Local __   2. National __

Why? _____

_____

82. Many people have said to me that "Simcoe is a great town to raise kids in". Would you agree or disagree with this statement?

        1. Agree ___   2. Disagree ___

Why? _____

83. (Hand respondent card) Would you look at this card and tell me the letter that corresponds to your gross yearly income for 1979?

__ a. under $5,000   __ f. 25,000 to 29,999

__ b. 5,000 to 9,999   __ g. 30,000 to 34,999

__ c. 10,000 to 14,999   __ h. 35,000 to 39,999

__ d. 15,000 to 19,999   __ i. 40,000 to 49,999

__ e. 20,000 to 24,999   __ j. 50,000 or more

                                                 __ k. no answer

84. Which would you say is the most capable of handling community problems - regional government service agencies or Simcoe community organizations?

        1. regional ___   2. local ___

Why?_____

_____

85. What would you say is the major impact that the introduction of regional government has had on the community of Simcoe?

_____

_____

_____

86. Why do you think that the provincial government has instituted regional government in the Haldimand-Norfolk area? (N.B. if respondent is aware of the reasons that the government gave such as Townsend and Stelco industry)

_____

_____

_____

87. Would you please rank the following in order of importance to you?

My neighbourhood   ____

My town   ____

My count y   ____

My province   ____

My country   ____