

COMMUNITY GOAL-SETTING IN TIMES OF SCARCITY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A community's ability to establish and implement appropriate goals in times of scarcity will determine its quality of life in future years. Its goals are often the measure of a community's performance and appeal. While much has been written regarding community power and decision-making processes, little attention has centered on environmental scarcity and community goal-setting. Scarcity at the community level is exemplified by the loss of a school, lack of recreational facilities, absence of a senior citizens' center or shortage of public housing for low income residents. High prices, public funding cutbacks and underemployment are economic symptoms of scarcity. Scarcity has both social and economic consequences.

The goals of a community are not constant (although some may argue otherwise) and, thus, goal-setting should be studied as an essential and recurring problem in any community. The variety of issues (housing, streets, sewers, schools, recreation, etc.) facing community decision-makers demonstrates the complexity of the process. The community's goals define its desired relationship with its environment. As the community or its environment changes, the goals must be reevaluated (Thompson and McEwen, 1958).

This dynamic view of community goal-setting is appropriate to the study which follows. A middle-sized, midwestern community is analyzed in terms of its goal-setting process. Particular

attention is focused on two issues, public transportation and downtown redevelopment. Earlier research of Flora and Killacky (1973) is utilized to compare findings regarding the community power structure and resource networks with actual participants in the goal-setting process. A conflict theoretical approach regarding community resources, scarcity and social structure is adapted to community level goal-setting. The extent of outside influence is discussed as it relates to the dominant economic class' response to scarcity. Finally, the degree of participation and representation of the disadvantaged in the community goal-setting process is assessed in light of the impact of scarcity on this particular class.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The objective of this study is to examine the community goal-setting process in times of scarcity. Scarcity is evidenced by the lack of public transportation, the absence of a senior citizens' center, the inability of the community to add a public school facility in the western part of town, the sizeable waiting list for public housing, the relatively low salaries of university faculty members, and the shortage of recreational facilities for the community. Scarcity is viewed as a central theoretical concept in shaping structural change in the community. The economy of the community evidences abundance and scarcity along class lines.

Flora and Killacky (1973) identified ruling elites and interorganizational networks capable of wielding power in specific

situations. The dominant economic class attempts to administer the local economy, and seeks to mitigate recessionary trends and avoid overt class conflict. The minorities, low income persons, college students and elderly are not well-organized and hold little political power within the community. The historical solution to economic troubles within the community has been economic expansion and resource depletion.

Frederick H. Buttel (1976) identified the following tenets of the conflict theory of natural resources, scarcity, social structure and change:

- 1) The capitalist class and its state allies will continue to foster economic growth by whatever means necessary (e.g., imperialism, militarism and fiscal and monetary policy) so as to: (a) manage inflationary, recessionary, and overproduction tendencies in the economy; and (b) maintain the "liberal consensus" through continual provision and promise of a "constant share of an increasing economic pie" to the working class.

- 2) Continuing economic expansion will deplete the world's natural resource base faster than it can be renewed through natural or technological means, creating attenuated resource flows.

- 3) Attenuation of resource flows will increase the costs of producing exchange values and make industrial production less profitable. Employment and purchasing power will decrease. Workers will have less money to buy ever more expensive goods, and a crisis of "over-production" (vis-a'-vis consumer buying power) and economic stagnation will ensue.

- 4) Scarcity will most directly and dramatically affect the working class; declining real wages, unemployment, alienation, and heightened working class consciousness will follow increasingly severe economic crises.

- 5) The capitalist class will recognize the proletarian threat and will become ever more self-protective; repression and violent class conflicts will escalate.

- 6) Re-equilibrium of the economy and maintenance of ruling ideas become ever more problematic as advanced capitalist society's scramble for economic expansion encounters physical and social limits.

With minor modifications, this theoretical framework is adaptable to community studies. The extent to which the dominant economic class within the community and its allies foster economic expansion in the face of impending scarcity is an important inquiry for community research. The effects of scarcity (inflation, unemployment, discontinuity, etc.) are most directly felt by the disadvantaged. Thus, it is also appropriate to examine the extent of representation and participation of those persons in the community goal-setting process.

This study will seek to answer the following questions by examining two current issues in the community:

- 1) Do the dominant economic class and its allies resist the constraints of scarcity on economic expansion?
- 2) Do the disadvantaged participate in goal-setting in the community?

The answers to these questions will provide insight into the community and its goal-setting process. The impact of scarcity and the dominant economic class' reaction to it may shape the direction and future of the community. The extent of participation of the disadvantaged in the goal-setting process may determine the degree of their suffering in years to come. These inquiries should be useful not only to researchers interested in communities, but to decision-makers faced with important and difficult decisions regarding the allocation of scarce resources.

THE SETTING

Manhattan, Kansas, population estimated at 32,644 in the 1980 census, is the home of Kansas State University (KSU), a

state university which has an enrollment of approximately 19,000 students and 3,800 employees. The city is an agricultural marketing and service center for north central Kansas and Fort Riley, a United States Army installation with nearly 25,000 military and dependents, located ten miles west of Manhattan. The current combined city-university population is estimated to be 37,000. While the city population is projected to increase, KSU is expected to remain at the current level of enrollment or to decline in future years. In 1970, the census indicated that the elderly comprised 9.6 percent of the population. The minority population is relatively small (2.7%) and, like the elderly, is located predominantly in the southeast part of the city (Smith, 1980).

The city government of Manhattan is a commission form. There are five city commissioners who are elected in non-partisan elections. One city commissioner, selected by the commission, serves as mayor. A fulltime city manager is the top administrative official. He is assisted by staff members who provide engineering, planning, legal and other advice. The commission meets twice a month on Tuesday evenings in open session, and occasionally meets in closed session to consider certain matters designated by state law. The regular meetings of the city commission are televised locally and minutes of the regular meetings maintained by the city clerk are available to the public upon request.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODS

This author's interest in community goal-setting began during a term as a member of the Urban Area Planning Board in Manhattan, Kansas. The planning board, which is appointed by the city and county commissioners, has responsibility for zoning and land use decisions in the Manhattan urban area. It works directly with the planning staffs of the city and county. The board members adopt and revise the community's land use plan which sets goals regarding growth the development in the Manhattan area. Throughout this process, issues such as community expansion, industrial development, public transportation and revitalization of downtown are thoroughly discussed. In regular public meetings (the first Monday of every month), members of the community appear in support of or in opposition to various items before the board. Representatives of interest groups in the community occasionally speak for or against items on the board's agenda.

By participating as a planning board member, the author gained firsthand knowledge of one aspect of the community goal-setting process and had access to data gathered by and for the planning staff. Many discussions with city staff and commissioners occurred during the course of public debate and review of issues. Members of the community presented their respective viewpoints on a variety of questions.

Review of minutes of city commission meetings provided a fuller understanding of the decision-making process. Examination

of local newspaper articles and attendance at candidate forums during a recent city commission election campaign gave the author a broader perspective of public attitudes toward community goal-setting. This aspect of the research was particularly helpful in that the city commission race was hotly contested and downtown redevelopment was the central campaign issue. The relative lack of candidate discussion regarding public transportation was significant in itself. Candidate advertisements and brochures were collected to record general philosophies and positions on various issues.

Reports of consultants regarding downtown redevelopment and public transportation were reviewed in detail. Participants in the community goal-setting process, particularly as it relates to downtown redevelopment and public transportation, were identified by determining the membership of citizens' advisory committees and observing those directly involved in the community decision-making process (e.g., the chief planner, downtown redevelopment coordinator and city commissioners). Interviews with selected individuals provided insights regarding the interrelationship of downtown redevelopment, public transportation and scarcity.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Community Power Studies. This research is not intended to be a community power study, but its findings and conclusions are relevant to research regarding community organization and power structure. For this reason, the following review highlights community power research and refers to certain unpublished

community studies of Manhattan. There has been a great deal written about communities and their power structures. Various methodological approaches have evolved in the research and literature.

The positional approach identifies individuals occupying key economic and political roles in the community. These persons, who hold positions of power, are the key decision-makers in the community. By studying them one may better understand the community and its power structure. The Lynds (1929, 1937) and Mills (1946) are representative of the positional approach to community power studies. In Middletown in Transition (1937), the Lynds observed and interacted with the Middletown residents for a long period of time. They determined that the key leaders were those persons in the community in important business and economic positions. Mills (1946) discussed small business and white collar strata in middle-sized cities. He found that small business is aligned with large business and organized by the Chamber of Commerce. He further concluded that white collar workers do not have the political awareness or organization to increase their political power.

An unpublished study of Manhattan (Bellus et al.) was compiled by a KSU study group. Its methodology demonstrates some of the advantages and disadvantages of the positional approach to community power study. In the study, the group defined major positional categories (economic, political, social, religious and university) and subdivisions within the categories. The selection of such categories and subdivisions may affect the validity of the

research. For example, if categories or subdivisions are selected which have little real relationship to community power, then the results of the research will be misleading. The problem is the difficulty of obtaining the names of individuals in the various categories, either because of non-cooperation or inadequate sources of information. This problem may result in costly and time-consuming research or a lack of validity because of cost-cutting research methods. In spite of this, the positional approach provides a method of identifying key participants in community decision-making and can be well utilized as one part of a multi-faceted approach to community power study.

The reputational approach to community power study assumes that those persons who are reputed to have power in the community are powerful. The classic work utilizing this approach to community study is Hunter's Community Power Structure (1953). After deriving a list of leaders in Regional City, Hunter then polled a group of "knowledgeables" regarding the top reputational leaders within the community and determined that businessmen are the community leaders in Regional City. He suggested that the power of the community leadership may be exercised indirectly and that other members of the community, including professionals and government officials, answer to the desires of the top echelon of leadership. The reputational approach has been widely criticized for its narrow view of community power structure. The critics argue that the approach assumes a stable, unchanging power structure that fails to recognize shifting power as issues change. Furthermore, they argue that Hunter's approach depends

upon opinions (perceptions) of power rather than an analysis of power itself. Finally, some argue that the reputational approach measures status rather than power (Aiken and Mott, 1970).

Criticism of Hunter led to the pluralist approach to community power studies. This approach argues that there is not one stable, centralized power structure and that one must focus on specific issues to understand decision-making within a community. Robert Dahl's Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (1961) is the starting point for review of pluralist literature. He argues that no study of community power is meaningful without an examination of a series of issues. Dahl attempts to select important community issues in New Haven and analyze the decision-making process in terms of the issues. The behavior of the community leaders participating in decision-making is examined, and conclusions regarding community power are drawn from this examination. The selection of appropriate issues is critical to this methodological approach. Some researchers argue that the analysis is faulty because of its dependence upon selecting the "important" community issues and its failure to consider community "non-issues" (Aiken and Mott, 1970). Others point out that the pluralists concentrate on the study of individuals involved in the decision-making process, thus failing to assess the structural significance of community power relationships (Anton, 1963).

The ongoing debate between the elitists (positionalists and reputationalists) and the pluralists has resulted in a theoretical

and methodological approach which looks at interorganizational connections within communities. For example, in a reexamination of New Haven, G. William Domhoff (1970) criticizes the pluralist methodological and theoretical approaches of Dahl, Polsby (1960) and Wolfinger (1960). He rejects Dahl's conclusion that an elite no longer exists in New Haven. Instead, Domhoff argues that a distinctive upper class, which includes the most important business executives, bankers and corporate lawyers, rules New Haven. He states that the New Haven ruling class is connected with a nationwide ruling class and describes the corporate business community upon which this national ruling class is based. He concludes that community power studies should focus upon institutions and policy-influencing networks which link national and local power structure together. Another approach argues that resources relevant to the existence of power within the community are dispersed in interorganizational connections which may be mobilized in specific situations, particularly when dealing with the allocation of scarce values (Perucci and Pilusik, 1970). Recent studies of Galaskiewicz (1978) and Laumann and Marsden (1979) have developed rather sophisticated methodological approaches along these lines.

A study of organizational structure in Manhattan by Flora and Killacky (1973) focused on organized groups as the major unit of analysis. This research adopted a modified positional approach and examined two levels of organizational structure: 1) economic corporations and voluntary associations; and 2) resource networks--a series of organizations linked together by interlocking

directorates. The authors found that economic dominants and interorganizational resource networks exist within Manhattan and that the major locus of power is in the hands of organizations within several economic cliques in the community. The study provides a framework for further analysis of the community by identifying an interorganizational network of elites within the community capable of wielding power in specific situations. When a major community issue is defined, then a researcher can determine who the decision-makers are and check for correlation with the community elites and interorganizational networks identified by Flora and Killacky.

Scarcity. There is an emerging body of literature relating to the environmental shift from abundance to scarcity. Researchers recognize that there are social as well as economic consequences to resource scarcity. The following works are selected as representative of the literature addressing scarcity and its consequences.

Writers such as Potter (1954), Burke (1965) and Barraclough (1979) discuss the dichotomy between scarcity and abundance. People in times of abundance are viewed as optimistic and hopeful while in times of scarcity people are seen as pessimistic, untrusting and obedient. The impact of science and technology is examined, and post-industrial society is discussed. These authors suggest that the role of sociological investigation is to communicate the need for people in post-industrial society to live with less.

Several writers have recognized this responsibility and contributed to the literature regarding scarcity. Nelson and

Honnold (1976) point out that there is currently an orientation toward gratification through consumption of non-renewable assets. They reject frequently proposed solutions to resource depletion problems, and argue that conservation solutions are unlikely in political democracies which are built on short-term considerations (de Tocqueville, 1961). The authors also cite Harrington (1972) for the proposition that socialism is not possible without abundance because of the tendency toward competition in scarce times. They conclude that a systematic application of sanctions to promote conservation behavior is necessary in order to avoid the catastrophic consequences of a sudden curtailment of commodity consumption resulting from market failures.

Morrison (1976) discusses the interrelationships of economic growth, population growth, environmental and equity forces. He addresses the ideologies of developing and developed countries, and adopts Durkheim's (1951) theory that "opportunities are finite, expectations are infinite, and expectations tend to outrun opportunities." Morrison proposes the integration of growth, equity and environmental concerns to resolve class conflicts which exist in times of scarcity. While he recognizes that this is a long-term process, the author sees a basis for hope that research on scarcity will contribute to a better society by focusing on quality of life measured independently of the economic realm.

After highlighting recent works (Dahrendorf, 1975; Schumacher, 1975; Ehrlich, 1974; Heilbroner, 1974; Mayer, 1976; McDonald, 1974; Segal, 1974; Toffler, 1975; and Vacca, 1974), Pickens (1976) concludes that "infinite human desires of the past cannot

endure in the finite material world of the future." The author contends that social sciences and anti-formalism in social philosophy have given rise to the establishment of class as a permanent condition of the mind. The closing of the "frontier" has resulted in a mature economy--stationary capitalism--in which the assumption of expansion and economic growth are replaced by a fear of the failure of science and technology with a realization that resources are finite. Pickens states that the social structure must adjust to these realities.

A study of public officials and their attitudes regarding water problem severity in Florida (Thomas and Baker, 1976) and an examination of the "energy crisis" in its political context (Bartell, 1976) are examples of recent research on specific issues pertinent to the shift toward environmental scarcity. These studies analyze the basis for decision-making by public officials and suggest that the public lacks confidence in government and disbelieves the seriousness of the energy shortage.

The consequences of the impending shift from abundance to scarcity is summarized by Warren Johnson (1979) when he states:

Scarcity is the mechanism that is inexorably diverting industrial society from the path of sustained growth that has characterized the modern era. This scarcity will be reflected primarily in higher prices, and it will increasingly interfere with what we presently see as the orderly process of things. Our economy, our institutions, and our social values will all become less useful and will gradually be replaced by new ways that reflect the need to husband resources.

In Muddling toward Frugality, Johnson outlines a path for survival in times of scarcity and is generally optimistic about society's ability to adapt to a simpler life based upon frugality. He traces the historical development of industrial society

and identifies the classic problem of abundance as overproduction and falling prices. While recognizing that there are barriers to adaptation, Johnson suggests that efforts to continue expansionist programs will meet constraints. He believes that the new social and ecological situation will bring with it new ways of thinking and acting, and most importantly a revitalization of elements of the past which have been lost in recent years. Specifically, the author believes that sharing and cooperation are necessary if frugal life is to be a good and full life, and states that there will be fewer opportunities for self-centered exploitation in the future. While painting a hopeful outlook, Johnson recognizes the gravity of the situation and acknowledges that others (e.g., Heilbroner, 1959) are less optimistic.

In a perceptive analysis of the social science literature on environmental problems, Buttel (1976) points out that mainstream social scientists have been criticized by environmental social scientists for neglecting to integrate scarcity and survival base into theoretical formulations reflecting the reciprocal impacts of the physical environment on social structure. Nevertheless, Buttel effectively argues that the same types of paradigmatic disputes are involved in environmental problems research as in other social problems research. In a thorough discussion of order and conflict theoretical perspectives, the author demonstrates how these different approaches may be applied to environmental problems research.

CHAPTER III

THE ISSUES

Public Transportation. A Manhattan Transit Study Advisory Committee (MTSAC) was appointed in September, 1978, by the city commission. Members included a KSU professor, a Riley County commissioner, a KSU student government association representative, an assistant-executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, and two citizens-at-large, one a local savings and loan officer and the other a housewife. In late 1978, the commission authorized staff to negotiate a contract with a consulting firm for the Manhattan Transit Development program and authorized the mayor to execute an agreement with the Kansas Department of Transportation to accept a grant offer for the Urban Mass Transit Study. The combined total of the grant and match was limited to not more than \$25,000.00. The contract was executed in early 1979, and the consulting firm submitted its report of findings, conclusions and recommendations in December, 1979.

The energy crisis has...heightened the focus on public transportation. Transportation planners and concerned policy makers feel it is important to accelerate development of public transit systems as viable solutions to excessive fuel consumption by present modes of transportation. ...There is growing recognition that transit systems provide services essential to community well-being. Many cities have recognized the need to fund the deficits of public transportation service, accepting that transit is a city service, much the same as fire and police protection, libraries, parks, and other basic community services. Public transportation services the transportation disadvantaged-- the elderly, handicapped, and low income--who may have few, if any, transportation options. ...(Smith, 1980).

Results of a recent household survey in Manhattan demonstrated that over 86 percent of all respondents felt that

Manhattan should have a public transit system and almost 80 percent said they would ride it if it was available. Approximately fifty-one percent (51%) of the student respondents (in a separate questionnaire) indicated that they would ride a convenient public transit system if it were available (Smith, 1980). Based upon its investigation and study of Manhattan and the surrounding community, the consulting firm outlined a step-by-step Transit Development Program and recommended a route system. The Manhattan Transit Study Advisory Committee met, discussed and accepted the report, but took no further action. Neither the city commission nor the advisory committee has actively pursued implementation of a public transit system for the community. There has been no apparent push by any segment of the community to establish public transportation in Manhattan. In fact, when a candidate for the city commission was recently asked, "Do you favor a public transportation system for Manhattan?", he responded, "Well that's a question we haven't been asked." All candidates participating in the forum gave equivocal responses by saying that they generally supported public transportation but that they did not know how it could be funded. Not one candidate mentioned the findings or recommendations of the consulting firm's report. No candidate suggested that transportation is a basic community service which city revenues should help finance. Although the conclusions of the consulting firm's report suggest that public transportation is feasible and that residents desire it and would use it, mass transit has not been identified as a community goal.

Downtown Redevelopment. For several years, the issue of downtown redevelopment and revitalization has been widely discussed and debated in Manhattan. Community resistance to a major shopping mall on the western fringe of Manhattan was followed by strong measures by the city commission and its staff to redevelop the central business district. The Downtown Redevelopment Advisory Committee (DRAC) was formed in 1976 to discuss and pursue alternative methods of revitalizing downtown. The committee was composed of business leaders and others in the community. In September, 1978, the city commission added eight ad hoc members including a member of the Board of Education (recently elected to the city commission), a Riley County commissioner, a member of the Urban Area Planning Board (an unsuccessful candidate for the city commission), a City Environmental Board member, a representative of the League of Women Voters (subsequently a city commissioner), a KSU professor, a senior citizen representative, a minority representative (black), and a citizen-at-large (owner of the local radio station). In November, 1978, the city commission authorized the mayor and city clerk to execute a negotiated contract with a consulting firm to perform a downtown redevelopment study. The amount of the contract was not to exceed \$50,000.00. The consultant submitted its report of findings, conclusions and recommendations in June, 1979. The report, entitled Downtown Manhattan Yes!, concluded that "the redevelopment of downtown Manhattan is feasible, desirable and in many ways essential to the well-being of residents of the entire city" (Briscoe, 1979). The consultant

discussed alternative proposals, priority actions and the redevelopment process in its report.

In furtherance of the priorities identified in the consultant's study, the city commission entered into an agreement with Forest City Enterprises, Inc., a Cleveland, Ohio-based developer to plan redevelopment objectives in the core area of the city. The Downtown Redevelopment Advisory Committee was reorganized to include nine members: two downtown merchants (both active members of Downtown Manhattan, Inc., an organization of downtown businesspersons); dean of the KSU College of Architecture (also an OMNA member); a successful steel supplier, whose business is located near downtown; an insurance man whose family owns controlling interest in one of the two principal banks in the community; the chairman of the board of the other principal bank; a county commissioner; a certified public accountant, well-known for his political ties to the Democratic party; and an active member of the League of Women Voters and the Older Manhattan Neighborhood Association (OMNA). The mayor of the city also sits on DRAB. The chief planner for the city was designated as Coordinator for the downtown redevelopment project. The city commission approved a contract with a firm for financial consulting services for downtown redevelopment and authorized the staff to take steps to establish a tax increment financing district (a financing device by which increased property values can be utilized to assist developers in certain projects) for the downtown project area. A resolution of findings of fact regarding the blighted condition

of downtown Manhattan was approved by the city commission as a preliminary step toward establishing the central business district's eligibility for tax increment financing. The city applied for and received grants from the National Endowment for the Arts for a design arts program and a public art work in the downtown. The Urban Area Planning Board adopted major portions of the Downtown Manhattan Yes! report as part of the city's land use plan. The commission authorized the mayor and city clerk to contract with a consultant for financial services regarding downtown redevelopment. At the time of this writing, the city staff is preparing a grant application for submission to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for an Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) to help finance the downtown project.

The efforts of the city commission and staff continue. There have been public hearings regarding a proposed design for the redevelopment project, several commissioners and staff members have traveled to Washington, D. C., to "lobby" for federal assistance, and contacts have been made with the senators and representatives and their staffs.

Much debate exists regarding the proposed project. The recent city commission campaign focused on the desirability and feasibility (or lack thereof) of the downtown project. In the campaign, the downtown redevelopment project (as proposed) was endorsed unequivocally by two of the candidates and by such diverse community groups as the League of Women Voters, the Chamber of Commerce, Downtown Manhattan, Inc., OMNA, and Concerned Citizens for Manhattan (a group organized to respond to

alleged false criticisms of the project which were voiced in the primary campaign). The primary group in opposition to downtown redevelopment was the Westside Home-owners Association, which was formed by citizens who opposed a low income housing project in their neighborhood. This group actively supported three city commission candidates who opposed the downtown redevelopment project (as proposed). While the consensus of the community may not be clear, the question of downtown redevelopment is a popular topic for discussion, and most residents have opinions about it. For the present time, the revitalization of downtown Manhattan (in some manner) appears to be a community goal.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Scarcity and the Community. The shift from abundance to scarcity is evidenced by rising prices, high interest rates, employee layoffs, discontinuity and other social and economic woes. The twentieth century economic-cultural despair is characteristic of "stationary capitalism." This condition occurs in a capitalist state when there are too many people and too few resources. The closing of the frontier and the failure of science and technology to develop new vistas for economic growth signify the end of economic expansion as a solution to current social and economic problems. The optimism that abundance will provide economic growth for all is no longer apparent even among those who are hopeful about the future (Johnson, 1979). While government and business leaders still argue that once inflation is controlled, free trade and increased productivity will again solve economic and social problems (Volcker, 1981), there is little reason to trust these predictions. In the advanced stage of capitalism, economic stagnation presents problems which cannot be solved by increased productivity and economic growth.

The effect of the environmental shift toward scarcity is evident at the national, state and local levels of government. Recent federal budget proposals call for widespread cutbacks in funding of various programs. State governments expect less federal assistance in education, highway programs, community development and social programs. Only the defense budget is expected to receive substantial increases in federal funding.

Social programs, such as food stamps and job programs, are among the hardest hit by the proposed funding cutbacks. State governments, in turn, are confronted with the increasing costs of public services, such as education, recreation, highways and social programs. The choice between increasing taxes and cutting public services is a dilemma for legislators throughout the country. For example, the Kansas legislature and governor are currently debating the question of school financing and increased taxation. The Democratic governor has proposed a severance tax on oil and minerals as a means of raising revenues for school financing. Although the proposal passed the state House of Representatives, the Republican-controlled state Senate has killed the bill in committee. Without a compromise, the result will be substantial funding cutbacks in the budget for education throughout the state.

In Manhattan, the community is experiencing the effects of scarcity. The city staff recently announced that Manhattan will not receive a community development block grant for revitalization of targeted low income areas of the community. A lengthy waiting list of residents eligible for low income housing demonstrates the shortage of low income housing in the community. Representatives of the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) recently cautioned city representatives that they must comply with affirmative action goals established for the community if the city expects to receive future financial assistance from HUD.

The local Board of Education is considering the addition of a grade school in the western part of town. This area has been

one of the primary areas of residential expansion in recent years. The homeowners in this area pay substantially higher ad valorem property taxes than residents in the older part of town because of the method of valuation of their residences for tax purposes. Yet, many of these residents must transport their children to grade schools in the older part of the city. The increased cost of construction of a new school may cause the closing of a neighborhood grade school in the older part of town, or it may prohibit the building of a new school for the residents on the west side. The likelihood of merely adding a new school for the residents on the west side of town seems unlikely because of the scarcity of funds for construction and maintenance.

Another indication of the shift from abundance to scarcity is the inability of the community to provide free recreational facilities for the residents. Within the last year, the community's recreation commission has instituted a user fee arrangement for certain recreational activities in the community parks. The fees apply to groups desiring to use the ball diamonds and football fields for organized activities. Furthermore, an active group of citizens within the community has promoted and supported a free zoo for Manhattan. Although the free zoo concept has considerable support in the community, there has been discussion about requiring user fees for the zoo. While the question of user fees for the zoo will be widely debated, it is likely that a user fee arrangement at the zoo will be adopted in the near future because of the unavailability of public funds.

A direct result of high interest rates and inflation is the apparent inability of many members of the community to purchase their first homes. This problem is addressed by the local county commission seeking assistance through mortgage revenue bonds. This financing alternative enables local lending institutions to provide financial assistance to certain prospective homeowners (income limitations) at interest rates lower than the free market rates. While this mechanism is designed to assist prospective homeowners, it may only temporarily postpone the impact of scarcity on their lives.

Finally, the effect of scarcity is evidenced by the focus of the city commission. Perhaps in realization of its responsibility to allocate scarce resources, the city commission appears to be preoccupied with a single community issue: downtown redevelopment. While other issues are considered and acted upon by the commission, few items involving the future commitment of substantial amounts of public funds are seriously considered unless they are in some way related to downtown redevelopment. The preoccupation by the city commission and city staff appears to be reflected by the community as a whole. This was apparent in the recent election campaign for the city commission. Without question, the central issue in the campaign was downtown redevelopment. Members of the commission and staff as well as other proponents of the downtown project consider the results of the election to be a vote of confidence for the proposed project. Advocates of the project argue that it is the single most important issue facing the community, and efforts to make the

project a reality take a large share of the community's resources. The resources committed to downtown redevelopment include not only public funds, but also the time and effort of the city commissioners and city staff. The attention focused on downtown redevelopment detracts from other community problems. The downtown redevelopment coordinator acknowledges that the project takes most of the community's resources and confirms that other issues receive less attention because of the commission's focus on revitalization of downtown. By way of example, he suggested that at least one city commissioner did not want to commit any community resources to public transportation until he knew what was going to happen regarding downtown redevelopment.

Power Structure and Outside Influences. As stated above, this study is not intended to be a community power study. Nevertheless, the study of community goal-setting in times of scarcity necessarily involves reference to the dominant economic class and its participation in the process. While this presentation is not an update or test of the findings of Flora and Killacky (1973), their work is utilized as a point of reference regarding the community power structure in Manhattan. Their findings and conclusions regarding the ruling elite and resource networks in the community are compared with the findings in this study by identifying certain participants involved in the goal-setting process within the community.

According to Flora and Killacky, the major source of influence in Manhattan centers around networks of organizations operated by key individuals. They identify the Union National

Bank (UNB) and the First National Bank (FNB) as the two most prestigious and dominant organizations within the various economic cliques. Some changes have occurred since the completion of their research. The FNB recently surpassed the UNB in total assets held. As noted by the authors, many of the economic dominants within the community have died or retired. Land development activity within the community has diminished somewhat as a result of high interest rates. This factor may alter the relative power of various resource networks within the community. In spite of these changes and the passage of time, it appears that economic dominants and interorganizational networks still exist within the community. In fact, one interviewee stated that the various appointments to the downtown redevelopment advisory board (DRAB) were selected by the city commission because they were people who could "make things happen" within the community.

The mayor (a position which rotates annually) of Manhattan at the time that the Downtown Redevelopment Advisory Committee (DRAC) was reorganized was a vice-president of FNB. He strongly advocated downtown redevelopment during his term as a city commissioner and mayor. While he has chosen not to seek re-election to the city commission, this individual has expressed an interest in seeking higher political office and some believe he will run for the United States House of Representatives in the next election. FNB is represented on the newly organized DRAB by a local insurance man whose family reportedly owns controlling interest in the bank. Recent reports indicate that FNB may

build a major office building in the downtown area utilizing industrial revenue bonds as a financing mechanism. Such a financing alternative requires approval by the city commission, but FNB is unlikely to encounter much opposition since the proposed office building is viewed as an additional step toward revitalization of downtown.

The chairman of the board (and president at the time of his appointment) of the UNB is also a member of DRAB. He is joined by a prominent steel supplier whose business is located near downtown. This individual was identified by Flora and Killacky as an economic star within the community and is a member of the UNB board of directors. Two other downtown businessmen, both active members of Downtown Manhattan, Inc., are members of DRAB. The remainder of the committee consists of the mayor, the dean of the KSU College of Architecture (an OMNA member), a county commissioner, an active member of OMNA and the League of Women Voters, and a local certified public accountant with Democratic party ties.

The reorganization of the larger advisory committee (DRAC) into DRAB occurred after the city commission entered into an agreement with the developer from Cleveland, Ohio, to plan redevelopment objectives for the central business district. At about the same time, a downtown redevelopment coordinator was selected. No prominent businessperson (i.e., member of the community elite) was willing to take the position; therefore, the chief city planner was selected. These actions (reorganizing DRAC, hiring a developer and selecting a downtown redevelopment coordinator) were major steps toward downtown redevelopment

and signified the city commission's support of and commitment to the revitalization of downtown. Interestingly, in the reorganization of DRAC, the senior citizen and minority representatives (along with others) were removed from the advisory board. The bank representatives and downtown businessmen remained, and the accountant with ties to the Democratic governor was added. The participation of economic dominants in the community goal-setting process became quite visible with the reorganization of DRAC.

An important development regarding the local community power structure is the role of outsiders in the community goal-setting process. This factor is quite evident when one examines the issue of downtown redevelopment. The private investor contacted by the city for the purpose of planning the redevelopment of downtown is a Cleveland-based corporation. This company has diversified interests and assets exceeding the total of assessed valuation of the city of Manhattan. At the time of the announcement of the initial agreement with the city to explore the possibility of downtown redevelopment, the developer's representative advised interested citizens that his company intends to profit from the project and that it would not undertake such a project unless it is likely to make money. If the developer decides that the project is too risky or speculative, or if there is no likelihood of satisfactory profit, it will undoubtedly terminate its agreement with the community and sever its ties with Manhattan.

In addition to the developer, other outside influences affect goal-setting in the community. The major department

stores, which must commit to the project before the developer will proceed, are nationally operated with headquarters outside of Kansas. While two national department stores with local branches in the community (J. C. Penney and Sears) are being considered for inclusion in the mall, the negotiations regarding the project do not involve the local store managers or anyone else in the Manhattan area. These absentee-owned corporations exert influence on the community goal-setting process by demanding certain design and financial features before they will commit to the downtown redevelopment project. For example, the department stores require certain minimum sizes for the stores and insist on a guarantee that the traffic pattern in the community be altered to facilitate traffic to the proposed mall. In many ways, these companies dictate the various alternatives which the developer and the community may pursue. Both the developer and the department stores are outside forces which influence goal-setting in the community (Pellegrin and Coates, 1956; Aikens and Mott, 1970).

Absentee-owned corporations and the developer are not the only outside influences on the community goal-setting process. Both the state and federal governments and their respective agencies influence the community goals. In the case of downtown redevelopment, the community is applying for an Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) from HUD to financially assist the developer to acquire the land for the redevelopment site. The funds necessary for construction of a southern arterial bypass to facilitate traffic for the proposed mall must come from either state or federal sources unless voters in the city approve

a bond issue by local referendum. The city has employed a financial consultant to coordinate and evaluate the alternative methods for financing various aspects of the proposed project. The downtown redevelopment coordinator has stated that without the UDAG grant, tax increment financing, and industrial revenue bonds, the project cannot be completed as proposed. Likewise, the funding of a fullscale public transportation system for the community depends in part at least upon federal or state funding assistance (Smith, 1980). As the environmental shift from abundance to scarcity continues, the community's needs for financial assistance for community projects and services increase. Ironically, the funds available to the community from state and federal sources decrease as these community needs increase. The unavailability of public funds is an outside constraint on the community goal-setting process. As such, it limits the power of the economic dominants and their allies (the developer and major department stores) to pursue expansionist programs in the community.

Downtown Redevelopment. The impetus for downtown revitalization in Manhattan resulted from community resistance to a major shopping mall proposed for the west side of town. The Downtown Manhattan Yes! study identified a basic community question: "Can the downtown retain its role as the regional shopping center for the greater Manhattan area?" The consultant concludes that the citizens and leaders in the community strongly desire to see the downtown retain and enhance its present retail functions (Briscoe, 1979). Although the proposed downtown redevelopment project is clearly an effort at economic expansion in

the community, some advocates of the project characterize it as "controlled" expansion or expansion utilizing existing facilities. The varied support the project enjoys from groups such as the Chamber of Commerce, the League of Women Voters, Downtown Manhattan, Inc. and OMNA, suggests that the project means different things to different groups. In spite of this diverse support, a capitalist assumption underlies the project as currently proposed. Proponents assume that a market for more and bigger retail stores in Manhattan exists. The proposed solution to current retailing problems in the community is to foster economic growth by constructing an enclosed shopping mall with three major department stores (with expanded facilities) and a variety of specialty shops. This fits the traditional capitalist response which is to promote economic expansion even in times of scarcity.

Groups such as the League of Women Voters and OMNA, who actively resisted economic expansion on the west side of Manhattan, now strongly advocate the proposed downtown project as the "only alternative" for the community. These groups and others who opposed traditional capitalist solutions when resisting the proposed westside mall now argue that economic expansion is inevitable in the community, and support expansion in the downtown area rather than an outlying development. These groups also appear to accept the influences of the developer and major department stores on the community goal-setting process. While members of these groups have voiced their concerns regarding the size and design features of the proposed downtown redevelopment

project, they have added their beliefs that the threat of development on the west side is significant enough to warrant compromise on these aspects of the project.

Discussion regarding a smallerscale project for downtown has been stifled, primarily because the developer and department stores insist on a largescale project which meets their criteria for profitable endeavors of this type. Some within the community argue that insufficient consideration is given to the negative effects of the mall on the existing businesses in the site area and on the community social structure in general (Foster, 1980). Others point out that community participation is essential for a successful redevelopment project and cite examples of failures when the whole community does not participate. In any case, the issue for the community is defined as a largescale downtown mall versus a largscale outlying mall.

This was the central issue debated by candidates in the recent city commission election campaign. After a poor showing in the primary election, the advocates of the downtown project joined together in support of two pro-downtown redevelopment candidates. The anti-downtown redevelopment candidates (three) were supported by a citizens' group (Westside Homeowners Association) and received large financial contributions from an individual with business interests on the west side. The advocates of the downtown project effectively portrayed the issue of downtown redevelopment as a question of downtown growth versus westside growth, and the community responded by electing two pro-downtown

candidates and only one westside candidate. While this may slightly oversimplify the campaign and election results, there was a significant turnabout from the general election (two anti-downtown candidates finished first and third in the primary election) after a concerted effort by the advocates of the downtown project. The "coalition" in support of the candidates who favored the downtown redevelopment project included the League of Women Voters, OMNA, Downtown Manhattan, Inc., Chamber of Commerce, and Concerned Citizens for Manhattan (a group headed by the present mayor of Manhattan).

This coalition of interest groups and citizens supporting downtown redevelopment may seem in line with a pluralist approach to community power (Dahl, 1961). Nevertheless, consistent with Buttel's (1976) conflict theory, the "liberal consensus" (in this case, those groups and individuals who resisted economic expansion on the west side of town) is coopted into supporting the proposed downtown redevelopment project as the only alternative to an outlying mall. The assumption of an existing regional retail market to capture lost retail business implies the promise of a share of an "increasing economic pie." Questions regarding the necessity for an enclosed mall, the impact of development on existing businesses, the chance of local private investment, an alternative smallscale project, or the possibility of attracting major department stores to invest equity into a project involving the restoration of existing community facilities go unanswered.

The cooptation of groups who have resisted economic expansionist policies in times of scarcity by the economic dominants

and their allies stifles discussion and participation by many segments of the community. The elderly, the minorities, the low income persons, the students and others within the community are not represented on the Downtown Redevelopment Advisory Board or the city commission. These groups are not well-organized and do not have the financial resources to exert great influence on the community goal-setting process (Alinsky, 1971). Yet, these are the very persons who are most directly and adversely affected by scarcity in the community. Their interests may be protected by groups or individual city commissioners who recognize their plight, but to the extent that interest groups and commissioners are coopted into positions adverse to these interests, the disadvantaged in the community suffer.

In the community goal-setting context, the groups and individuals who resist economic expansion in times of scarcity represent the political and social constraints of scarcity. To the extent that economic dominants within the community and their allies promote economic expansion and coopt interest groups within the community to support expansionist solutions to community problems, they resist the environmental social and political constraints of scarcity on economic expansion. Whether this resistance is a conscious effort to retain profits and accumulated assets or a well-meaning effort to rely upon traditional solutions to new problems is really beside the point. The results are the same: the depletion of community resources, increasing class conflict and suffering of the disadvantaged.

Public Transportation. The lack of participation and representation of the disadvantaged in the community goal-setting process is evident when one analyzes the question of public transportation for Manhattan. The city in conjunction with KSU applied for a grant to study the question of mass transportation in the community. In order to demonstrate community participation, a citizens' advisory committee was appointed. As stated above, the Manhattan Study Advisory Committee's (MTSAC) membership included a KSU professor, a KSU student, the assistant-executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, a vice-president of a local savings and loan (also an OMNA member), and a housewife. No representatives of the elderly, minorities, handicapped, or low income were on the citizens' committee. Subsequent to the city commission's appointment of MTSAC, the grant application was approved and a consultant was retained with funds from the government (Kansas Department of Transportation), KSU and the city. Upon completion of its study of transportation needs and feasibility of mass transit in the community, the consultant submitted its report. The report identified alternative levels of public transportation for the community and concluded from local surveys that citizens wanted a public transportation system and would ride it. The elderly, students, minorities, handicapped and low income persons were identified as the transportation disadvantaged within the community. These persons have the greatest need for transportation assistance and would most benefit from a public transportation system. The consultant discussed several alternative methods of financing public transportation. Upon receipt

of the consultant's report, MTSAC reviewed it and accepted it. The city commission received the report at a regular public meeting and discussed the consultant's findings, conclusions and recommendations. The commission accepted the report and adopted the highest level of public transportation as the appropriate one for the community when and if a public transportation system is instituted. No further progress or initiative toward public transportation has occurred, and it does not appear to be a priority community goal.

One member of MTSAC commented that he believed the appointment of the committee and the hiring of the consultant was an example of grantsmanship prevalent at that particular time in the community and at the university. He suggested that "only the student representative" really believed that a public transportation system for the community might result from the study and committee efforts. Others on the committee characterized public transportation as a service which would be "good for others" or something which would be beneficial but which the community could not afford. City commissioners shared this attitude, and some suggested that, even though the consultant's surveys said people would ride the buses, residents in the community would not give up the independence of their private automobiles. During the recent city commission election campaign, all candidates stated that public transportation was a good idea for the community, but none believed that it could be supported by public funding. There are no apparent efforts among the transportation disadvantaged or anyone else within the community to further pursue a public transportation system in the near

future.

MTSAC, with the exception of the student member, and the city commission had no representatives of the transportation disadvantaged class when the transportation study was conducted. According to one city commissioner, disadvantaged persons often cannot participate on committees or appear before the city commission because of time limitations (i.e., these people are busy trying to "make ends meet"). This commissioner also acknowledged that a lack of opportunity by not being appointed to advisory committees and a lack of organization within the disadvantaged class are other reasons the disadvantaged do not participate and are not well-represented in the community goal-setting process. A city staff member stated that the city encourages persons from the disadvantaged class to participate, but that it is difficult to find persons who are willing. He also remarked that he did not know why more representatives from the transportation disadvantaged class were not selected for MTSAC.

In the case of the public transportation issue, the effect of the non-participation of the transportation disadvantaged may have resulted in the suppression of an important goal for the community. While it is difficult to assess the effect of lack of representation and participation of a certain class within the community on a particular issue, it is significant to note that the disadvantaged persons have the greatest stake in public transportation for the community because it would benefit them more than any other class. Their exclusion from the goal-setting

process at least indicates that decisions regarding public transportation were not reached after full discussion by all segments of the community. In Manhattan, public transportation is presently a "non-issue" (Aiken and Mott, 1970) and there is little reason to believe that community support is forthcoming.

The lack of participation by the disadvantaged in community goal-setting is particularly significant in times of scarcity. Theorists suggest that as the environment shifts from abundance to scarcity, society must learn to cooperate. Individualism must give way to collective solutions to social problems (Johnson, 1980). On the other hand, some writers argue that persons become more individualistic and less cooperative as they feel the effects of scarcity (Nelson and Honnold, 1976). Self-protective, individualistic solutions to community problems directly and adversely affect the disadvantaged. As people become protective of their accumulated assets and seek to maintain their high standards of living in spite of the scarce resources available, greater class distinctions result and the disadvantaged suffer the most.

While a publicly funded transportation system (minimum or high level) could benefit all residents of the community by easing the high costs of transportation and is arguably a "basic community service" which should be subsidized by tax dollars, the prevailing mood among those directly involved in community decision-making (i.e., city commissioners, city staff and advisory committee members) is that Manhattan is not ready for public transportation. According to one city commissioner, the cost of private transportation will have to become prohibitive before the

public will support a subsidized transit system. For the transportation disadvantaged, the costs of transportation are already prohibitive. The wait-and-see attitude and approach to community goal-setting emphasizes the dilemma of communities in times of scarcity. As the costs of transportation rise, the availability of public funds diminishes, as evidenced by recent funding cut-backs. Community residents with declining real incomes cannot afford increased tax burdens. Thus, the political feasibility of public transportation, which is a collective effort toward conservation of depletable resources, decreases as scarcity becomes a reality. Likewise, the disadvantaged, who have the greatest need for the assistance of public transportation, are less able to influence community goals due to the increasingly self-protective, individualistic attitudes of those participating in the community goal-setting process. This attitude is a reflection of traditional capitalist notions regarding community problems. It relies upon free enterprise, competition and production rather than cooperation, collectivity and conservation to solve community problems. In times of scarcity, this means increasing class distinctions and more suffering by the disadvantaged.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Community Goal-setting in Times of Scarcity. The environmental shift from abundance to scarcity is bringing new problems to middle-sized communities. Public funding cutbacks, increasing costs of energy, high interest rates and inflation pose continuing problems for community decision-makers. Economic stagnation and "stationary capitalism" suggest that traditional capitalist solutions will not solve the problems resulting from scarcity. The infinite desires of community residents cannot be fulfilled with finite resources. Nevertheless, the capitalist notions of free enterprise, economic growth and increased productivity as solutions to social and economic problems in the community continue to prevail.

In this study of Manhattan, the community economic dominants and their allies (the developer and major department stores) promote economic expansion and increased productivity as solutions to retailing problems in the community. Proponents of downtown redevelopment argue that the enclosed mall with bigger department stores and more variety shops will attract a regional shopping market and recapture the leakage of local shoppers who have been traveling to other areas to shop. They also suggest that local businesses will improve their quality because they will be forced to compete with the improved major department stores. Many unanswered questions remain and the feasibility of the regional shopping center in downtown Manhattan is still in doubt.

In spite of this, the "liberal consensus" within the community supports the downtown redevelopment proposal for economic expansion because it is the "best alternative." The resistance to westside expansion by groups such as OMNA and the League of Women Voters has evolved into support for downtown redevelopment. The coalition of downtown businessmen, neighborhood groups and the League of Women Voters demonstrates broad community support for the project. As resources become scarcer, the economic dominants and their allies continue to foster economic growth, productivity and competition by promising good times in the future. The "liberal consensus" is coopted into supporting expansionist policies by threats of disaster without growth and by assurances that economic expansion will bring a share of the "ever increasing economic pie" (Buttel, 1976). The threat of a dying downtown resulting from the departure of the major department stores to an outlying mall or another community and the promise of economic growth has convinced much of the "liberal consensus" to actively support downtown redevelopment as proposed.

Because these interest groups, such as OMNA and the League of Women Voters, resisted expansionist policies in the past, they have represented the political and social constraints of scarcity in the community. Cooptation of these groups by economic dominants and their allies to support economic expansion in the community effectively resists the constraints of scarcity on economic growth. While some may argue that the economic dominants and their allies are not intentionally manipulating the "liberal consensus" and others may argue that the interest groups within

the community have thoroughly examined the issues, the fact remains that these groups are not raising important questions regarding economic expansion or seeking alternative solutions in times of scarcity. Support of downtown redevelopment as proposed encourages economic growth, competition and increased production as solutions to community problems. To advocate economic expansion and competition as solutions to community problems in times of scarcity is to reject conservation and cooperation as alternative solutions to contemporary community problems.

The impact of economic dominants and their capitalist philosophy on community goal-setting is also apparent in the question of public transportation. The benefits of a mass transit system in the community were clearly set forth in the consultant's report. Community residents would benefit from a public transportation system because it would ease the high costs of transportation. The transportation disadvantaged, including the elderly, handicapped, minorities, students and low income persons, would benefit most directly. Public transportation is an example of a cooperative solution to a contemporary community problem resulting from scarce resources. Mass transit is an effort to husband resources by utilizing more efficient means of travel.

In this instance, the community has essentially defined public transportation as a "non-issue." The transportation disadvantaged have not participated or have not been allowed, to participate in the goal-setting process. The economic dominants through their representatives have indicated their skepticism of mass transit. The independent, individualistic attitudes

prevalent to free enterprise and competition are pervasive. As resources, such as public funds, become scarce, community residents become self-protective of their assets and their lifestyles. Cooperative solutions are unattractive particularly to those persons who have accumulated assets. The result is that collectivity and conservation are rejected in favor of traditional capitalist solutions. For this reason, downtown redevelopment is a community goal and public transportation is not.

Implications of the Research. This study is valuable because it analyzes two "important" community questions in the context of the environmental shift from abundance to scarcity. By relying upon a conflict theory of scarcity and community problems, one can analyze the goal-setting process in times of scarcity. Why does the community establish economic expansion as a goal when resources are dwindling? Why does the same community not pursue a program designed to conserve resources and help ease the rising costs of transportation for its residents? The findings of this research suggest that in times of scarcity a community controlled by economic dominants with interorganizational networks is likely to seek traditional capitalist solutions to local problems. As resources dwindle, the dominant economic class and its allies (e.g., outside developers and department stores) become self-protective and repressive. Rather than advancing cooperative, conservationist goals for the community, the economic dominants promote traditional capitalist solutions. Private enterprise and economic growth are viewed as answers to economic and social troubles. Social and community services are the areas subject to

funding cutbacks and reduction. Emphasis on economic growth and the reduction of community services results in increasing class distinction and conflict (Buttel, 1976). At a time when the disadvantaged within the community most need cooperative solutions, such as public transportation, the dominant class protects its assets by seeking solutions, such as downtown redevelopment which promote individual gain and maintenance of their high standards of living. This attitude is not surprising in light of the success which capitalists have enjoyed in times of abundance. Nevertheless, the failure of a community to recognize the shift from abundance to scarcity and the inability to adjust its goals accordingly may result in inappropriate goals in times of scarcity.

Hopefully, this study demonstrates the applicability of conflict theory to community goal-setting in its environmental context. The issues of downtown redevelopment and public transportation were selected for this study because of the timing of the research. At another place and time, the issues will undoubtedly vary. Perhaps a community will be deciding whether its priority is to annex a parcel of land or to maintain its boundaries and preserve a prime agricultural tract. The possibilities for analysis are countless. As the community environment shifts from abundance to scarcity, research regarding communities and their goals should provide a framework for analysis of community power structure and goal-setting processes. While complex methodological strategies may provide insight into resource networks within the community and give indications of where the power lies, this research suggests that, regardless of the location

of power in the community, theoretical statements regarding community goal-setting may be applied to specific situations. This method of study helps one understand and analyze contemporary community problems and the environment. In times of scarcity, conflict theory provides a testable framework for analysis of a community and its goal-setting process.

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COMMUNITY GOAL-SETTING IN TIMES OF SCARCITY

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This study examines community goal-setting in a middle-sized, midwestern community in times of scarcity. The setting for the study is Manhattan, Kansas, population 32,644 in 1980. The community is the home of Kansas State University, which has an enrollment of approximately 19,000 students. The city of Manhattan is an agricultural marketing and service center for north central Kansas and Fort Riley, a nearby United States Army installation.

Community goal-setting is studied by analyzing two community issues: downtown redevelopment and public transportation. A conflict theory of natural resources, scarcity and social structure is adapted to the community level goal-setting process. The effects of an environmental shift from abundance to scarcity at the community level are discussed, and the constraints of scarcity on economic expansion and other traditional capitalist solutions to economic and social problems are emphasized. Two key questions regarding the community goal-setting process are addressed: 1) Do the dominant economic class and its allies resist the constraints of scarcity on economic expansion within the community? and 2) Do the disadvantaged participate in goal-setting in the community?

Findings indicate that the dominant economic class continues to influence goal-setting in the community. Outside influences, including a private developer, major department stores and state and federal government agencies, play an increasingly important role in the community goal-setting process. Examination of the downtown redevelopment issue demonstrates broad community support

for the proposed project. While the initial impetus for the revitalization grew out of a resistance to economic expansion proposed for the west side of the community, interest groups and economic dominants favor downtown redevelopment as the "only alternative" to save downtown. A coalition of the dominant economic class, its allies and the "liberal consensus" in the community supports economic expansion, competition and increased production as solutions to community social and economic problems in spite of signs of impending scarcity of resources at the community level.

The disadvantaged within the community have not significantly participated in the goal-setting process regarding downtown redevelopment or public transportation. Public transportation would benefit the disadvantaged members of the community most directly. Nevertheless, the transportation disadvantaged did not directly participate in the community goal-setting process relating to public transportation.

The analysis of the issues of public transportation and downtown redevelopment leads to the conclusion that the community goal-setting process is structured along class lines. The dominant economic class and its allies coopt the "liberal consensus" to support economic expansion and, thus, resist the constraints of scarcity. Traditional capitalist solutions to economic and social problems foster class distinctions and cause suffering for the disadvantaged. Community attitudes favor individualistic, self-protective solutions to community problems. Efforts to husband resources and collectively respond to the impact of scarcity are not

seriously considered by those participating in the goal-setting process.