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**A STUDY OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF
PARCHMENT, MICHIGAN**

by

Shirley Forbes Swenson

**A thesis presented to the
Faculty of the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfillment
of the
Degree of Master of Arts**

**Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
July, 1964**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people in Parchment and Kalamazoo have graciously given of their time and information to help in the completion of this study. Special thanks is given here to Dr. Leo C. Stine of Western Michigan University, Mr. Donald Lent, the Mayor of Parchment, Mr. Fred Hall, Superintendent of Parchment Schools, and Mr. Harold De Weerd, Mr. Stewart Geelhood, and Mr. Jack Woods, all of KVP-Sutherland Paper Company.

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INTRODUCTION

Suburban-living has become a major part of our culture and the term has been widely accepted and interpreted to mean a distinctive way of life highly advantaged over life in strictly urban or rural settings. The first major move to the suburbs was by the wealthier segments of our society, and the gracious, leisurely pattern of living they sought still colors the popular image of the term "suburban".

An obvious application of this image is in the book Slums and Suburbs by James B. Conant, in which the author stresses the divergent educational needs of the central city and the "College-Oriented Suburbs".¹ However, "suburbs" no longer describes only this favored white collar class.

In the past twenty years, mass building techniques and materials have developed in response to the pressing demands for more and more housing. Undeveloped farm land has been utilized by building contractors to create whole new residential areas at such a low cost per unit that suburban life is now possible for middle income families. Unfortunately the mass production methods which make these communities possible exact a price of uniformity which detracts from the original picture of distinctive suburban life.

A few years ago the virtues of suburban living were extolled

¹Dr. Conant's image of the suburbs is described in detail in James B. Conant, Slums and Suburbs, (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961). Chapter IV, pp. 80-105.

on every side. Builders' ads still coax us to move out where green lawns and barbecues abound, where community spirit evolves around the Little League and the shopping center, and where traffic and parking problems can be forgotten. They have been too successful.

Each year we face new problems that have arisen because of crowded suburbs. One must drive farther and farther to get away from the traffic problem, until the distance itself becomes a major inconvenience. More and more streets must be paved, more water mains are needed, and more schools must be built. More of all the conveniences of the city are demanded because suburban dwellers want the advantages of urban life plus the advantages they sought by moving away from the cities. As costs of municipal services rise and the lower income groups migrate, the danger of suburban slums threatens many of these communities. The sprawling, unplanned areas are unattractive and inconvenient, and they have out-grown the capacity of the existing political structures to handle their problems. These problems are now the subject of considerable research. The Exploding Metropolis by the Editors of Fortune Magazine, and Cities in the Suburbs by Humphrey Carver examine the suburban failings with great clarity.²

This contrast between the older stereotype of highly desirable

²The Editors of Fortune, The Exploding Metropolis, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1957) and Humphrey Carver, Cities in the Suburbs, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

suburban living and the growing discontent with the suburbs as they are now and as they appear to be headed in the future, forms a background for study of the government of Parchment, Michigan.

This little city of less than two thousand population, contained in an area of approximately one square mile, enjoys a very favorable reputation among its neighboring communities. It is an attractive, park-centered community with an average home value of \$15,000 - \$16,000, and some residences valued as high as \$45,000.³ Community pride has always been high. Although it shares a common border with the city of Kalamazoo, which numbers some 80,000 people, Parchment is a city in its own right, and voted four to one against annexation to Kalamazoo ten years ago.⁴ However, most of the people who live in Parchment work and shop in Kalamazoo and regard themselves as a part of the large metropolitan area.

* Parchment began as a model community, planned and developed by the founder of a paper mill. The people who lived in Parchment worked in the mill, and most of them also attended the community Methodist church.

Responsibility for municipal services has shifted from the mill to the incorporated home rule city government, and people living in the community have established more ties with Kalamazoo.

It is the purpose of this paper to evaluate the success of

³Information provided by Minckler Real Estate Agency.
⁴Official city voting records.

Parchment's government in meeting the city's needs, and to determine the likelihood of its continued success in keeping Parchment free from the problems of typical suburban growth.

Records of the growing cost of municipal government, and interviews with government and mill officials reveal something of the scope of services required by the residents of Parchment. Current literature in the field of urban and suburban study has been helpful in understanding Parchment's status and anticipating its future.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Parchment was established as a village in 1930 and incorporated as a home rule city in 1939. It originated as the KVP mill town and represented the dream and achievement of the Kalamazoo Vegetable Parchment founder, Jacob Kindleberger. The community began in 1909 with workers who brought their families and lived in tents near the mill. The mud trail to Kalamazoo could hardly be dignified as a road and few workers had other means of transportation than their own feet. As soon as funds could be spared by the company, they were used to build houses to rent, and to "stake" workers to homes of their own. The inaccessibility of Kalamazoo enhanced the community closeness which Kindleberger sought. Weak eyesight had forced him to give up his study for the ministry, but he found expression for his missionary zeal in the building of his mill and town.

Very early in the growth of the community, Kindleberger fostered the beginning of a Sunday school, and later he instigated the building of the Community House which contained facilities for church services as well as a kitchen and dining hall, showers and gymnasium, and meeting rooms. (Prior to the building of the Community House these activities were conducted in a part of one of the mill buildings known as "Welfare Hall".) When the Community House was completed, three of its rooms were used as a school. The activities of the Community House centered around the Methodist church services conducted there, and gradually the

the church took over operation of the building and changed the name to The Union Methodist Church in 1941. The building was sold to the Church by the KVP company in 1953.

During the years of Mr. Kindleberger's direction of the mill and community, youth organizations were a prominent focus of community activity. These organizations are described in a "sociology thesis" which was written in 1937 by Miss Helen Southon, the daughter of one of KVP's executives.

"For the boys between fourteen and seventeen, the Home Works Plan for Community Youth has been organized The factory and a group of the parents act as the sponsors. . . . The boys elect a president and other officers common to any business enterprise. They solicit and do odd jobs in the community. Some of the things they find to do are: mow lawns, wash cars, paint buildings, clean basements, take care of children, weed gardens, pick cherries, wash dogs, scrub porches, wax floors, wash windows and anything else they are asked to do.

"The 'company' is paid, not the boys, who are paid from the company treasury on the basis of work done, less certain deductions for overhead

"The boys eleven to fourteen are similarly organized to make and sell such things as clothes props, ladder stools, tow ropes, bird houses, hose reels, lawn furniture, and other simple and useful articles. A school manual training room in the basement of the community house is used. This organization is called The Junior Furniture Company.

"Girls of the ages twelve to seventeen are organized in the same way to bake cookies and pastries, do simple sewing, care for children, and serve luncheons. This is called the Home Baking Company and is supervised by the president of the Ladies' Aid Society."¹

¹Helen Southon, "The Story of Parchment and KVP", (published in a special historical issue of the Kalamazoo Gazette, January 24, 1937).

Although these youth organizations no longer exist, the paternalism which prompted them has strongly influenced the development of Parchment, and has contributed to the community spirit which differentiates this from what is generally considered to be the typical pattern of suburban development.

The Men's Brotherhood and the Ladies' Aid Society of the Methodist Church are still active in the church, but there appears to have been a gradual tapering off of their community wide responsibilities. During the early years of Parchment's history, and up through the depression of the 30's, these organizations provided for the community charity needs, and even supplied medical aid funds for the needy. Kindleberger's philosophy extolled the virtues of community responsibility, but the veneer of community initiative was pretty thin at times.

The KVP company plotted the land on which homes were built in Parchment, paved the streets, and sold the lots. Miss Southon continues: "Mr. Kindleberger decided that it would be a wise plan to map out a model village and have it follow the plan decided upon All land holds certain restrictions so the village can be assured that undesirable buildings will not be established."²

All public works for the city, even its water supply, were provided by KVP and so thoroughly integrated were the community and the company that no separate accounting of funds was maintained.

²Ibid.

This system was maintained long after the village incorporated as a home rule city. (There is no recorded effort to pull away from the influence of the mill, and every indication that the eventual divorce of the city affairs from the mill was at the insistence of KVP.) World War II dominated the first years of city-hood. The mill continued to rent homes to workers until 1951. During the Second World War, KVP bought fifty-one houses in one of the better residential areas as an inducement to needed workers, and the company also plotted and developed the most exclusive modern residential area of the city during the 1950's. The last company-owned lot east of Riverview Drive, the main thoroughfare, was not sold until 1962.³ Mr. Kindleberger's deep concern with the quality of homes and maintenance of property in Parchment is reflected in the mill-imposed restrictions on the plots they developed, and in City Charter provisions to enforce cutting of grass and weeds. The deed restrictions against commercial use of some plots on Riverview Drive have been ignored on several occasions without provoking community protest, according to the present mayor.

³Information provided by Mr. Harold DeWeerd, Secretary of KVP-Sutherland Paper Company, in an interview April 1, 1964.

THE PHYSICAL LAYOUT OF PARCHMENT

Parchment lies northeast of Kalamazoo, Michigan, somewhat removed from the main highways into the metropolitan area. This fortunate circumstance has helped Parchment to maintain its quiet, small-town appearance. The main street, Riverview Drive, runs north and south through Parchment and parallels the Kalamazoo River, heading south into the city of Kalamazoo.

To the east of Riverview Drive is the industrially zoned section, covering approximately one-third of the land area of Parchment.¹ Most of this land is occupied by KVP-Sutherland Paper Company. Sharing this area with KVP are the railroad, and the only other industries in the city: Interchemical Printing Ink, American Wire Cloth Company, and the local branch of Hercules Powder Company. All are located here because of their production association with KVP.

The western boundary of Parchment is the Kalamazoo River. Riverview Drive bisects the city much as street-car routes described by Carver used to do in many other towns.² Industrial property lies to the west, between Riverview Drive and the Kalamazoo River: the best homes, and the Park, lie east of Riverview. At the center point of the city, the KVP Research Laboratory is located on the west side of Riverview Drive, and

¹Official Zoning Map of the City of Parchment, May 17, 1962. See Appendix I.

²Carver, Cities in the Suburbs, Chapter 1.

Kindleberger Park is on the east side.

This forty-acre park was a gift of Mr. Kindleberger during the depression of the thirties. The hilly land, unsuitable for either residential or mill use, was developed as a park for the community. The mill paid for the work of creating and maintaining the park, and the labor provided jobs for the surplus labor force of the depression era. The residential areas adjacent to the park, which are the best in the city, were developed under the supervision of the mill, and the plats sold to the individual owners with land use restrictions imposed by the mill.

Other than land now in use for industrial purposes, KVP owns fifteen plats on which homes have been constructed. These houses are rented out until such time as the company may find need for the land. The location of these plats is shown on the map in Appendix I. Originally, all the land in Parchment was owned by the company, with the exception of the northeast portion, as indicated on the map.

The original school, centrally located on Riverview, has been expanded as much as that land area will permit, and now houses the school administration, junior high and upper elementary grades, and some early elementary classes. Two other lower elementary grade schools are located outside the corporate limits. The high school, which was constructed in 1959, is on the extreme northeast end of the city.

Only a few scattered plats within the city remain undeveloped, except for a section of six lots in the southern-most shopping

center. Three distinct commercial areas have been developed along Riverview Drive. The central one has shown little change in recent years, and two of the buildings have been vacant for some time. Limited parking area is available here. A super-market, branch post office and two gas stations are the extent of the shopping area at the extreme north end of the city. At the extreme south end is a large shopping center containing a variety of businesses, including several which have located there in the past year or two.

A combination City Hall and Fire Station, constructed in 1956, is located on Riverview Drive near the southern end of the city. This triangular piece of land was bought from KVP at the instigation of citizens who did not want the southern entrance to the city to be dominated by a view of commercial establishments.

The nature of the buildings along Riverview Drive is shown in the following diagram.

ERS

SCHOOL

P

RESTAURANT

DEPARTMENT
STORE

BEAUTY
SHOP

A

A

A

A

A

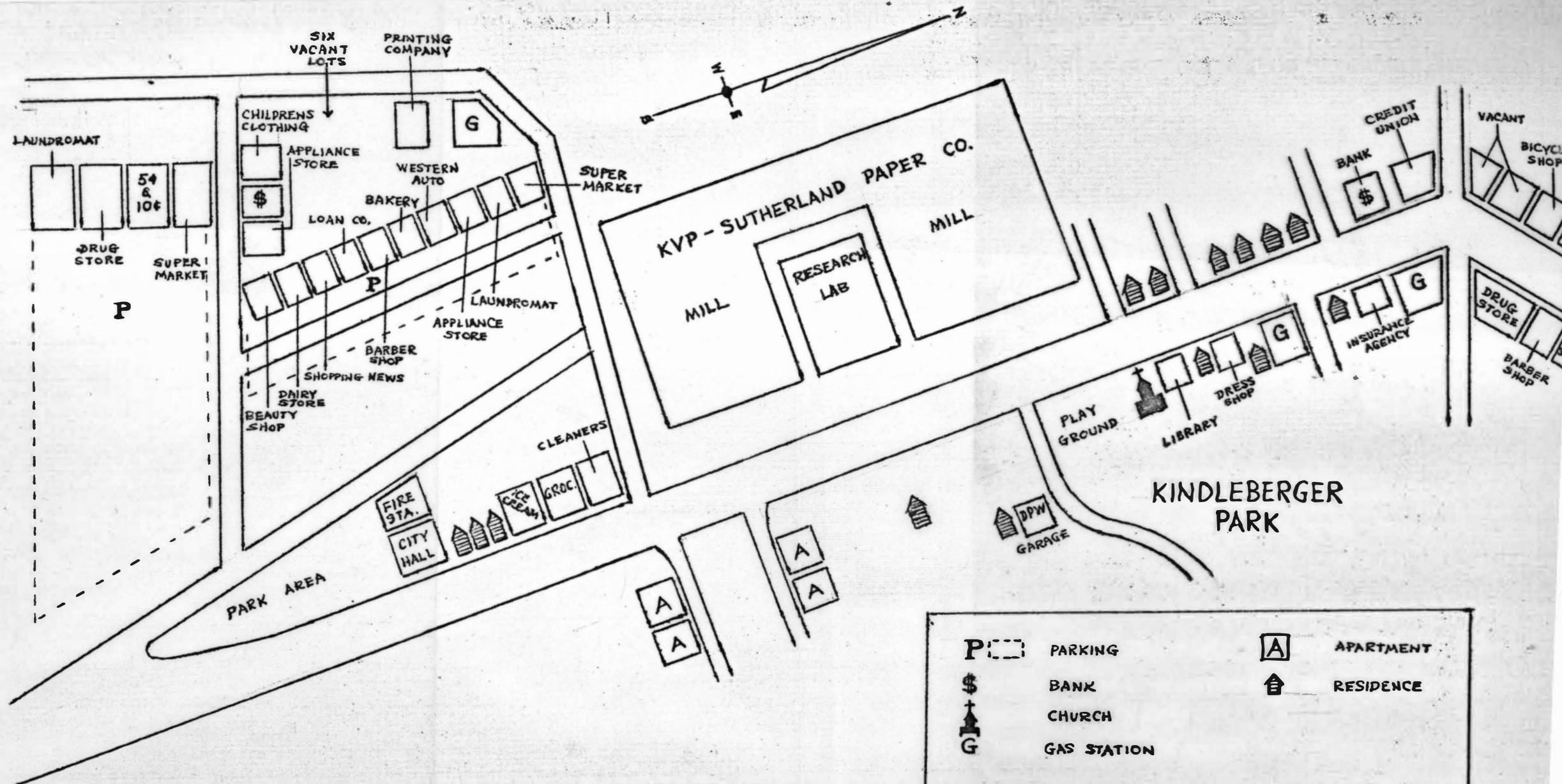
G

P

G

SUPER
MARKET

P.O.



GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

The mill authority spoke directly through the Village Commissioners and the members elected to the Charter Commission which drew up the city charter in 1939. Five of the nine charter commission members were company officials, one was an official of Hercules Powder Company, two were doctors, and the ninth member was the superintendent of schools.

The city charter, adopted April 3, 1939, provided initially for one ward and one precinct. The City Commission of five members is elected from the city at large for two year terms. Candidates must be electors in Parchment with two years residence in the city immediately prior their nomination.

The charter made original provision for monthly meetings, but currently the practice is to hold regular commission meetings on the first and third Mondays of each month, and special meetings are frequently called by the mayor. Unexpired terms are filled by a majority vote of the remaining commissioners. The mayor and vice mayor are elected by the commission, and a strongly entrenched custom dictates that the candidate who received the largest number of votes for commission will be mayor. The mayor exercises no veto or other special power.

The only other elected city official is the Justice of the Peace, known as the Municipal Judge, who serves a four-year term. Nominations for elected city office are by petitions only.

The charter empowers the commission to appoint the clerk,

assessor, treasurer, attorney, health officer, engineer and such other department heads as may be needed. A Tax Board of Review of three members is appointed by the commission for staggered three-year terms. The mayor represents the city on the County Board of Supervisors. In addition, other supervisors who are either city commission members or the attorney or assessor, are selected by the commission to represent the city on the County Board. A currently proposed amendment would eliminate the position of health officer because the County Health Department provides the necessary services.

The charter provided for election of a constable, but the office has been replaced by a police department consisting of the chief and two officers who maintain a 24-hour patrol. The rigid traffic enforcement is well-known, and is credited with reducing the annual traffic fatality rate to zero in the past ten years. The growth of the police department and the strict enforcement policy have come at the insistence of the community. The official minutes of the city commission meetings testify to the growing number of requests for traffic regulation which resulted in the adoption of the present policy.

The Public Works Department employs a force of seven men, and owns all its equipment. No services are provided in conjunction with neighboring units of government. Approximately twelve miles of streets are maintained, of which 80% are paved, complete with curb and gutter. Sidewalks as well as streets

are plowed in winter, and the rubbish is collected twice weekly. Weeds on vacant lots are mowed annually at the expense of the property owners involved. Garbage service is provided by franchised companies which charge the individual customers directly.

The fire department consists of the chief and his assistant, and "about twenty-five active volunteer firemen."¹ The fire chief is an employee of KVP, and the company is continuing its policy of letting employees leave their work for fire-fighting duties without loss of pay. A telephone answering service relays calls to the fire station and KVP immediately. This type of service would place Parchment in "town class 7" according to the Fire Insurance Underwriters' Association.² A difference in insurance rates is made for each class, and for comparison's sake it may be noted that Kalamazoo is in class 4, Detroit in class 1.³ The standard employed is one fireman on duty at all time for each one thousand of population. The Parchment rating is higher than that of the township because the city has fire-hydrants. The department's equipment consists of two pumpers, an emergency first aid panel truck, inhalator and resuscitator and a smoke ejector.⁴

The water system which served the city during its early

¹City Commission, "City of Parchment", 1961, p. 5.

²Information provided by Allstate Insurance Company.

³Ibid.

⁴Commission, "City of Parchment", p. 5.

years was purchased from KVP in 1954, but the city continued to buy bulk water from the company until 1964. Since 1954 the water has been chlorinated and fluoridized at the city pump house. Also in 1954, the city built a two-stage sewage treatment plant, at the insistence of the State Water Resources Commission. The inevitability of this had been realized some years earlier and a fund established for this purpose. The plant was built without bonding. The sewage and water departments are combined under one superintendent.

Prosecutions for violations of ordinances or state statutes may be conducted before the Justice of the Peace in Parchment, according to the charter, or " . . . when directed by the City Commission, before the Municipal Judge of the City of Kalamazoo."⁵ Convictions may be appealed for removal to the Circuit Court, and the county jail serves for any necessary confinement of offenders.

The charter provided for public notices in Kalamazoo newspapers, but as long as the KVP company continued to publish its News, this was regarded as the community newspaper and official notices were published therein.

The school district is larger than the incorporated city and operates as a separate unit of government. However, the city recreation committee does join with the school district in sponsoring a year-round recreation program in Kindleberger Park and the school playground areas.

⁵City Charter, (City of Parchment, 1939), p. 8.

A zoning board operates in the city. Planning boards were appointed in 1950 and again in 1960, but no action has been taken as a result of having these boards. The more recent board cooperated with the Institute of Government at Kalamazoo College in a commercial land use study of Parchment. The planning board ceased to operate when the chairman moved out of the city, and there has been no attempt to act on the recommendations of the study.

An organizational chart of the governmental departments will be found in Appendix II.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

Financial records for the early years of Parchment's municipal history are practically non-existent. KVP was not able to provide any figures for services performed in the community, and no formal budgets were kept by the city. However, annual audits are kept with the minutes of the city commission meetings, and these have been used to determine the growth of income and expenditures as the city has gradually assumed the burdens of a municipality. Budgets have been kept since 1958, and these figures are used for the years 1958, 1959 and 1960.

The main sources of income are the property tax, the state sales tax, and the gas and weight tax from the county which has been earmarked for highway expenditures. The following table indicates the growth in revenues at five year intervals. The late appearance of figures for licenses and fees and for police fines coincides with the city's assumption of greater responsibility. Note particularly the substantial amount in police fines when the city adopted a policy of strict traffic law enforcement.

PARCHMENT YEARLY INCOME¹

Year	Property Tax	Special Assess.	Licenses and Fees	Police Fines	Int. on Gov't. Bonds	State Sales Tax	State Intan. Tax	Hywy. Fund
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1940	20500							1175
1945	20982	2015			463	195		2643
1950	20022	2893	1326		1168	6452		9766
1955	58748	5142		4750		9008	1757	
1960	107362	580	6446	5163	496	10556	3675	54608

¹Property Tax figures provided by city clerk. Other figures from annual audit reports and budgets for 1958, 1959 and 1960.

The true financial picture is difficult to assess because of the fragmentary nature of the records available. The fact that budgets have been kept since 1958 indicates that government in Parchment has been recognized as being more complicated and more important in recent years.

The income figures for each year from 1940 through 1960 are given in Appendix III, Table 1.

The most expensive operations of the city appear in the following table. For ready comparison, figures are given for five-year intervals. However, since the figures for 1955 are not available, 1954 is listed instead.

PARCHMENT YEARLY EXPENDITURES²

Year	Police	Fire	Payroll	Sewer	Water	Water Purch.	Street Light.	Park
1940	\$ 612	\$	\$1100	\$10640	\$	\$	\$1580	\$1000
1945	545		1286				1385	
1950	1615		2134	1222	9070		1203	2797
1954	4660		4000	3369				5134
1960	7904	7254	15009	20122	25918	8322	4913	11319

Year	Street System	Recreation	Public Works
1940	\$ 8044	\$	\$ 3498
1945		75	3873
1950	36	500	7368
1954	9395	1138	12771
1960	33775	2500	14635

It appears from the foregoing table, that while expenditures

² Figures taken from annual audit reports in City Commission Minutes and from Budget for 1960.

have generally tended to increase, there has been no planning in the departments to spread expenses over a period of years. The lack of street system expenditures in 1945 however might be assumed to result from the scarcity of labor and materials during World War II. The amounts spent on the park show the short-term philosophy of finance. This interpretation is fortified by the reading of the minutes of the city commission meetings. When several requests for repair of the tennis courts had been made to the commission, a substantial amount was spent to rebuild them. Nothing more was done until another citizen reported the courts were again in need of repair.

The expense for water in 1950 was incurred because some new mains were needed. There were no municipal expenses for fire or water until after 1954 because these services were supplied by KVP.

The inconsistencies in spending are shown more clearly in the annual disbursements shown in Appendix III, Table 2. The relative importance of major revenues and expenses is shown in Appendix IV, Tables 1 and 2.

It is interesting to note that in 1960 the relative importance of the county highway tax and the city property tax was almost the reverse of their 1950 ratio. At the same time, the public works for which the highway funds are ear-marked was of decreasing importance in the total of expenditures.

Since the excellent streets provided by KVP required only thirty-six dollars worth of care in 1950, this is not even an

item worthy of percentage points in the expenses of that year. However, ten years later this was the largest single item in the list of expenditures. The percentage spent on the park decreased, and the ratio for recreation remained the same. These "frills" seem to have been slighted somewhat for the sake of more demanding needs, such as the addition of fire department and water purchase expenses which did not even exist in 1950.

Parchment has the appearance of a prosperous community, and the record of its assessed valuation corroborates this impression. As shown in Appendix V, the assessment nearly tripled in the first twenty years of the city's corporate existence. A philosophy of economy in government is apparent from the millage record contained in this same table. When the new power plant at KVP increased the assessment by two million in 1947, the millage rate was dramatically lowered. The two mill increase in 1954 was necessitated by the greater responsibilities which came to the city government as the mill withdrew from its direct role in municipal affairs.

According to the present mayor, the later millage increases were needed for major street repairs which had become necessary because of long term neglect. He expressed the hope that millage rates would be kept high enough so that a continuous program of repair could be maintained.³ It is apparent that government

³Interview with Mayor Donald Lent, June 23, 1964.

responsibility is limited to providing the essential services of the present.

Two questions arise at this point: will the citizens of Parchment remain satisfied with the level of services provided, and will the tax base continue to be adequate for the services demanded?

The answer to the first question will be attempted in a later chapter. Neither question can be answered with certainty, but at least some figures can be given to support an opinion regarding the second.

Appendix VI shows that the state equalized valuation for Parchment is high in relation to its assessed valuation. By comparing Parchment with the city of Kalamazoo and Township of Kalamazoo for a period of three years, we see that not only is the state equalized valuation rising, but the percentage of the county total paid by Parchment is increasing, while it is decreasing for the other units.

The healthy condition of Parchment's tax base is further indicated by figures from the 1960 Census of Housing.⁴ Of the 526 houses in Parchment, only two lack complete plumbing, and only 16 are recorded as "deteriorating." 381 are owner occupied, 135 rented, and only 7 available and vacant.

Parchment depends on KVP-Sutherland Paper Company for the

⁴1960 Census of Housing, Vol. I, States and Small Areas, Part 5 Michigan-New Hampshire, (United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census), Table 27, p.24-103.

major share of its property tax income, so the condition of the company property in their jurisdiction is of great importance. The totals for taxes paid to Parchment by KVP-Sutherland in recent years are given in Appendix VII. A comparison of the figures shown in the company tax report in Appendix VIII reveals that although the dollar totals have risen, the KVP share of Parchment's tax income has dropped from 69.4% in 1960 to 66.2% in 1963. It should also be noted that no important capital improvements have been made at the company's Parchment site since the power plant was built in 1947. The importance of this trend will be discussed in a chapter on the future of Parchment.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT

To measure the success of the government of Parchment, it is necessary to determine what the people of Parchment expect from it. The government that is satisfactory in one community may be totally unacceptable to the people in another city.

Charles Adrian, professor of government at Michigan State University, has classified the different philosophies under which municipal governments operate in the United States as follows:¹

- 1) the city as an instrument of community growth, operating under the philosophy that growth is per se an indication of progress. Zoning and tax inducements for industry are proper functions of such a government, as well as beautification of the city - all in the interest of providing an attractive climate for industrial and commercial expansion.
- 2) the city as the provider of life's amenities, emphasizing expenditures to benefit residential areas rather than to boost growth. Effort to attract industry is justified in order to secure more taxes to provide greater consumer services. Land use control is important under such a philosophy of government to restrict growth to light industries of an unobjectional nature. Adrian observes that such a

¹Charles R. Adrian, Governing Our Fifty States and Their Communities, (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1963).

community is " . . . likely to see the avoidance of conflict as itself one of the amenities."² Only homogenous growth will be encouraged in such a setting.

3) the city government as a caretaker, maintaining only those services essential to the community which cannot possibly be provided by private enterprise. This minimal government appeals to conservatives and individuals on fixed incomes. Two other interests which converge here are the marginal home-owner who cannot afford any increase in taxes, and the home-owner in the well-established neighborhood who does not need an expansion of services and does not want to pay to bring other neighborhoods up to the standard he enjoys. Both fear tax inducements and extension of utilities to lure industries because their water bills and property tax might be increased in the process.

4) the city as an arbiter of conflicting interests, umpiring the allocation of scarce resources of the community to "politically effective groups."³ This is the view of minority-group leaders and of the traditional political bosses who build their power on the manipulation of these minority groups.

Adrian of course does not intend that any communities be

²Ibid., p. 94.

³Ibid., p. 95.

strictly categorized in one of these groups. The philosophies operate simultaneously in most communities, with the dominant role not always maintained by the same group. However Adrian does indicate some commonly observable trends according to city size: the larger city is more likely to be concerned with growth and with management of conflicting interests, and the small town more inclined to the caretaker type. Adrian emphasizes that: "Because small towns are dominated by small businessmen, their political leaders are concerned about taxes first, services second."⁴ The suburbanites, according to Professor Adrian, are between this view and the large city dweller who expects many services and will pay for them. Suburbanites are also more actively interested in government because there are more issues than in the small town, and more of a feeling of competence to deal with the issues (more consciousness of power to influence local leaders) than in a large city.

We can see both the small town and the suburbanite view in Parchment, and we find an uncertainty about the philosophy which should dominate.

The numerous services provided by the paternalistic beginnings of Parchment would indicate that a caretaker type of government would not suffice. The lack of impetus for expansion eliminates the first of Adrian's categories, and the homogeneity of the community negates application of the fourth. The second category,

⁴Ibid., p. 91

that of the city as the provider of life's amenities, seems most appropriate. However it must be remembered that the "amenities" enjoyed by this community were provided by the mill, and that maintenance of even the most basic municipal services has been only reluctantly assumed by the city government. Very little has been done beyond mere maintenance of the park and the streets and sidewalks.

The KVP pressure necessary to generate commission action to assume the usual responsibilities of municipal government is apparent in the matter of traffic regulation. A letter from the company to the city commission in 1954 requested new arrangements on Riverview Drive at peak traffic hours so that mill employees need not be released from their work to direct traffic. This . . . fifteen years after the city's incorporation! In December 1955 the initial steps were taken to provide a city fire department. KVP President Stocker indicated the mill would consider a transfer of secondary equipment when the city bought its first truck.⁵

After the death of Mr. Kindleberger and his successor, Mr. Hayward, both before the 1950's, the control of the mill passed from local industrialists to others who shared only the interest in paper making and not that of model community building. The recessions of the 1950's contributed to a re-evaluation of company

⁵The company messages to the city commission regarding traffic and the fire department were reported in the Parchment Journal reviews of regular city commission meetings.

policy which resulted in the merger with Sutherland Paper Company, and discontinuance of community services to Parchment.

Parchment's story is much like that told by Robert O. Schulze in his study of Ypsilanti, which he found " . . . moved from a classical power elite structure to one in which the branch plant managers were interested in the local community only on rare occasions. Rather than wishing to run the show, they only wanted a veto on certain kinds of governmental action. Otherwise they did not wish to be involved."⁶

Parchment city records and interviews with company officials reveal that initiative for change came from the company rather than the politically constituted authority of the city. In 1954 the city bought land for a sewage treatment plant from KVP, in preparation for anticipated orders from the State Water Resources Commission. Prior to the completion of this plant, no treatment was provided. 1954 was also the year KVP decided to discontinue its water service to the city. Originally water had been piped from the mill to workers' homes as a favor, but as non-KVP people moved into the community, meters had been installed. KVP offered to sell its facilities to the city, and permit the city to buy its water supply from the mill. Parchment paid \$29,000 for the mains, hydrants, meters, etc. - which was less than 25% of the appraised market value, according to company records.⁷

⁶ Quoted in Scott Greer, Governing the Metropolis, (N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962), p. 67.

⁷ Data provided by Company Treasurer, Stewart Geelhood, in interview, April 3, 1964.

The transaction, which was approved by the voters in a special election, was regarded as representing a hundred-thousand dollar gift from the company to the city. KVP continued to sell water to the city, but in 1963 the company announced its decision to terminate the service, and the city electors voted to establish their own water supply rather than to buy water from Kalamazoo. They voted a \$130,000 bond issue for this purpose.

There is some evidence that in spite of the community spirit generated by Kindleberger, the present citizenry of Parchment may feel the role of government should be limited to that of the caretaker.

Parchment voters have rejected several attempts to strengthen ties with the city of Kalamazoo. An indication of the lessening influence KVP has in the community is this refusal to join Kalamazoo in spite of out-spoken advice by company officials that such a merger would be wise. No move to annex Parchment to Kalamazoo was instigated until the late 1950's, some fifteen years after Parchment's incorporation, and paralleling the change in KVP's policy regarding community services. There appears to have been considerable feeling that Kalamazoo's annexation attempt was aimed at capturing the tax jurisdiction over KVP and scant consideration for needs of the Parchment community would be given by the metropolis. Just before the annexation move, the Kalamazoo School Board announced that the crowded condition of Kalamazoo's high school made it impossible for them to continue to accept Parchment students on a tuition basis. Parchment resisted this

pressure by building a high school of its own, against the advice of a KVP official who served on the Parchment School Board at that time.⁸

At the time Parchment was forced to set up a water system, Kalamazoo offered an extension of such service. However the plan would have meant a far greater immediate cost for Parchment than the adoption of KVP's offer. With the 1963 decision to establish its own water supply, Parchment again rejected an offer from Kalamazoo.

The urban planning which has become an important function of Kalamazoo government carries the potential for commitment to long term spending and expansion which does not harmonize with the low tax, debt -free philosophy under which Parchment now operates.

The individuals who now direct Parchment government are people who have been here long enough to have shared the aspirations and achievements of Mr. Kindleberger. Their conception of civic responsibility, like his, stems from their residential and economic ties rather than their formal political authority.

The city commission and the Business and Professional Association are dominated by businessmen from the older business area of the city which has shown little change for several years. The Association does not seek to encourage commercial and industrial growth, but functions as a civic betterment league in terms

⁸Information provided by Company Secretary Harold DeWeerd in an interview April 1, 1964.

of providing Christmas decorations, school Halloween parties and contributions to various civic organizations. Recently overtures have been made to the "newcomers" in Shoppers Lane to join the organization. (This is the southern commercial area of the city, where there are many new businesses, and the merchants in that area had begun to organize on their own.) Some of these individuals who assume private business responsibility for community welfare are also members of the city commission, but in their case there is no carry-over of paternalism to the realm of government.

The government however does have restrictive authority aimed at keeping the community in harmony with the ideals of Kindleberger. The city charter provides for Sunday closing and other limitations on pool and billiard rooms, dance halls and bowling alleys - but none of these exist within the city! Sunday closing of grocery stores is enforced. The charter also provides for commission regulation of the number and location of gas stations, abatement of nuisances such as weeds and unused automobiles on private property and a special assessment for removal of snow and ice when "reasonable regulations" are not complied with by property owners. (It would seem therefore that this is not a strictly hands-off caretaker government.)

At present there is no politically effective group seeking cultural growth. The charter permits spending "reasonable sums" and providing boards for recreation, music, library, museum, etc. A responsibility for maintaining a recreation program in Kindleberger

Park has always been recognized, but the extent of the program varies with the degree of civic pressure. A PTA committee succeeded in organizing a Friends of the Library group two years ago to establish a library, but the city government has refused any financial aid because the library is serving some residents of Cooper Township as well as Parchment. The library operates strictly on donations, fund drives, and sale of membership in the Friends of the Library.

The lack of demand for more cultural growth in Parchment is understandable because of the proximity to Kalamazoo. Whether the citizens of Parchment will continue to be satisfied to use the cultural facilities of Kalamazoo on a more or less "guest" basis with no governmental voice in their development depends considerably on the changing population of Parchment.

Less than a quarter of the KVP employees live in Parchment at the present time. Although the majority of the leaders in Parchment are still "old-timers", the direction of change is apparent. Parchment is moving away from its small-town focus to that of a suburb. Greer, a Northwestern political scientist, found that most of the office-holders in suburban government were managers and professionals of business firms located outside the "suburban municipality", and that the second highest group were local businessmen or professionals.⁹ This is true in Parchment. The younger businessmen who participate in civic affairs are

⁹Greer, Governing the Metropolis, p. 96.

generally local representatives of non-locally owned concerns. (The current president of the Business and Professional Association is the branch manager of a savings and loan association who has been in the community only two or three years.

Strictly local businessmen are a disappearing class. Small, independent businesses which have attempted to locate in Parchment in recent years have been largely unsuccessful. New commercial ventures do not appear to be really encouraged by the city fathers - who are bound to see such changes in terms of competition for their own established businesses! There appears to be no community effort to encourage new industry, and there is little reason for them to do so, because there is no land available for such expansion within the city limits. To annex surrounding township areas would require expansion of services.

As the sources of leadership change, the demands made on the government will change too. Greer warned in his study that "As these citizens come to expect more and better privately purchased goods and services, they also expect more of their government. Thus, even if the suburban government approximates the consumption norms of yesterday, the rising aspiration of its residents may leave it continually in the red."¹⁰

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 91-92.

PARCHMENT'S FUTURE

The disenchantment that has generally come with suburban growth has given the very term "suburbs" a disparaging connotation. Although he writes primarily of Canadian cities, Humphrey Carver's "Three Lamentations" of the suburbs are appropriate to our side of the border as well.¹ The first of these maladies is "muddle". The conglomeration of assorted businesses lacking the pattern of distribution which in time gives a city its specialty areas for comparative shopping. Parchment's main strip is not the highway-into-a-city type of street which accumulates such an array, but the scattering of shopping areas on Riverview Drive indicates a lack of directed growth. The Planning Commission study of 1963 showed that approximately 14,500 people shop in Parchment, and the need for better, more complete commercial facilities will increase substantially in the near future.² This study showed the likelihood of a 30-40% increase in the number of shoppers by 1970, and this was to be anticipated without any major highway improvements in the area.

The mayor is concerned about the great increase in traffic on Riverview Drive, and the congestion will increase when the bridge is constructed across the Kalamazoo River at G avenue.

¹Humphrey Carver, Cities in the Suburbs, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 12.

²City of Parchment Planning Commission and Institute of Government, Kalamazoo College, "Study of Commercial Land Use Needs for the City of Parchment", March 6, 1963, p. 8.

(G Avenue coincides with the northern corporate limits of Parchment.) This bridge will be constructed by the state, sooner than had been planned, now that the new General Motors plant for this area of Michigan has been announced. The planning committee of Parchment will undoubtedly be reactivated when the traffic problem becomes more acute.

The second suburban shortcoming identified by Carver is "Uniformity". "The flight to the suburbs has taken us to a monotonous, standardized environment where everyone has much the same amount of money to do much the same things in the same ways."³ Parchment is tangential to plat developments which have this typical suburban uniformity in appearance, and the closeness of such areas dramatizes the individuality of housing within the city of Parchment. But the interesting point is that in spite of the appearance of diversity and individuality, Parchment was deliberately created on an assumption of uniformity of behavior and values. The changes in Parchment which have broken down the community focus and caused it to move in the direction of a suburb rather than a small town have been largely a result of the growing diversity of population. (Parchment is not, however, a heterogenous community. The diversity is only marked in contrast to the extreme homogeneity of its early history.)

Carver's third lament - "What Isn't There" - does not apply to Parchment. Carver rhapsodizes the " . . . memorable places that

³Carver, Cities in the Suburbs, p. 15.

give meaning and expression to city life" ⁴ as he catalogs the landmarks of Canada's leading cities. Here Parchment may take its place with the cities as opposed to the suburbs. Kindler Park is an important landmark to anyone who has lived in Parchment, and impressive to those who have merely driven through. It is hard to imagine a time when it would not be important to the people of Parchment to be able to afford the upkeep of the park, and yet the time may come when maintenance will be very costly indeed.

Measuring Parchment by Carver's "Laments", which really apply primarily to appearances, we can see that Parchment's unique beginning has given it advantages not typical for small urban communities, but that civic action is needed to keep Parchment from acquiring some of the disagreeable attributes of a "suburb".

On the surface there is no apparent reason why Parchment, with its homogeneous, well established community cannot continue on a maintenance basis depending on the substantial taxes provided by KVP and the three companion industries located here. However, the future cannot be regarded as insured on its present basis. KVP-Sutherland is a vastly different organization from the old KVP. Company executives' names are still prominent among the city commission and school board members, but they are members of the old guard and function as long-term residents of the community

⁴Ibid., p. 22.

and not in the role of company officials. The company has prospered tremendously since the merger, and has expanded both nationally and internationally. The elite of the company is no longer directly concerned with the fortunes of the community, and the mill located at Parchment is but one part of its vast holdings. The limitations of the mill's location at this point on the Kalamazoo River preclude any further industrial expansion by the company in this area. It is a reasonable conjecture that in the future this location may be of considerably less value to the company, and may prove a decreasing source of revenue for the company at the same time that maintenance costs for the aging municipal facilities will inevitably increase.

Parchment's problems are in the future. According to James Coleman's study, Community Conflict, the lack of apparent conflict in the community indicates the absence of marked change in the population.⁵ Significant census figures for Parchment are shown in the following three tables. The population growth has been steady, but not dramatically large.

Table 1 - POPULATION GROWTH⁶

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>% of Growth</u>
1940	934	-
1950	1,179	20.7
1960	1,565	24.6

⁵James Coleman, Community Conflict, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press of Glencoe, Ill., 1961).

⁶Figures taken from 1960 Census of Population and 1950 Census of Population, (Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce).

Parchment is a homogeneous community of families, judging from the figures in Table 2. An absence of apparent community conflict is to be expected in this situation.

Table 2 - 1960 POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS⁷

White:	1,563		
Negro:	0		
Other:	2		
Number of Households:	515		
	<u>Single</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Widowed or Divorced</u>
Males over 14:	91	422	17
Females over 14:	104	418	69

Further reason for stability is shown in the age distribution of the population in Table 3. For the sake of comparison, figures are also given for the neighboring city of Kalamazoo. Colleges in Kalamazoo would help to account for the 5% more in the 15-24 age bracket. The fact that larger cities are better equipped to meet the needs of retired people is stressed by William H. Whyte, Jr. in The Exploding Metropolis, and the 5% difference between Kalamazoo and Parchment in the 65 and over group supports his conclusion.

It is often said that suburbs are the best place to raise a family. But the young couples in Parchment account for a smaller percentage of the population than they do in Kalamazoo! The residential sections of Parchment were well-developed before the popularization of suburban living which came with the low-cost

⁷Ibid.

"pre-fab" houses within the financial reach of young families. This observation is also supported by Table 3, which shows almost half (41%) of the population in the 45-64 range of ages.

Table 3 - POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS⁸

Under 5:	Parchment	- - - - -	11%
	Kalamazoo	- - - - -	11%
5 - 14 :	Parchment	- - - - -	19%
	Kalamazoo	- - - - -	19%
15 - 24:	Parchment	- - - - -	12%
	Kalamazoo	- - - - -	17%
25 - 34:	Parchment	- - - - -	11%
	Kalamazoo	- - - - -	13%
35 - 44:	Parchment	- - - - -	15%
	Kalamazoo	- - - - -	12%
45 - 54:	Parchment	- - - - -	15%
	Kalamazoo	- - - - -	9%
55 - 64:	Parchment	- - - - -	11%
	Kalamazoo	- - - - -	8%
65 and :	Parchment	- - - - -	6%
Over	Kalamazoo	- - - - -	11%
% of Pop.: 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19			

But these census figures tell only about the nucleus. The community of Parchment is not, even now, limited to its corporate boundaries. Not only must the people of Parchment share their commercial facilities with surrounding areas, but they must share their tax resources with an expanded school district as well.

The Parchment School District is much larger than the city

⁸1960 Census of Population, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 24, Michigan, (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census).

itself. This is the area most likely to produce conflict in the foreseeable future. An heroic effort has been made to provide a complete school system which compares well with Kalamazoo, but whether the effort will continue to succeed is open to serious doubt.

Very little industry, other than KVP, exists within the taxing limits of the school district. KVP taxes in 1963 accounted for 52% of the school tax income.⁹ The school is the only governmental unit the people in this area have in common and no structure exists to encourage and develop industrial expansion. The city of Parchment, parts of Kalamazoo and Cooper Townships, and a small section of the city of Kalamazoo are united in this school district.

The rapid growth in school population and millage requirements in comparison with the city's slower growth rate shows why the people are more readily aware of the problems of the school district than of the city.¹⁰ The school has experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining the necessary millage. They have found it necessary to hold two or three elections on some issues in order to finally gain the approval for sufficient funds. The disparity of growth between the city and the rest of the school district will give Parchment a decreasing voice in this increasing expense. The city government will have strong competition for tax dollars in the future!

⁹See Appendix VIII.

¹⁰See Appendix IX.

SUMMARY

Parchment has been fortunate in its beginning. Attractive residential areas and recreation facilities, highly industrial tax base, responsive city government, and a spirit of pride in the community all unite to produce "A Very Pleasant Place to Live".¹

The future of Parchment depends on a recognition that these advantages are not self-sustaining. Much has been given to this community, and the gift-giver is gone. The pressures of urban expansion all around it and the changing interests and demands of the people within it will not permit Parchment to remain a small town.

To keep from being swallowed up in the morass of traffic snarls, spiraling costs, and disorganized growth that plague the suburbs, the politically effective segments of the population must be aware that these problems are pressing in on Parchment.

The people in the city and around it must decide whether they are willing to pay the costs and assume the responsibilities of building a larger Parchment, or whether their interests are now so tightly linked to Kalamazoo that they should seek annexation in order to have a voice in the development of the whole metropolitan area.

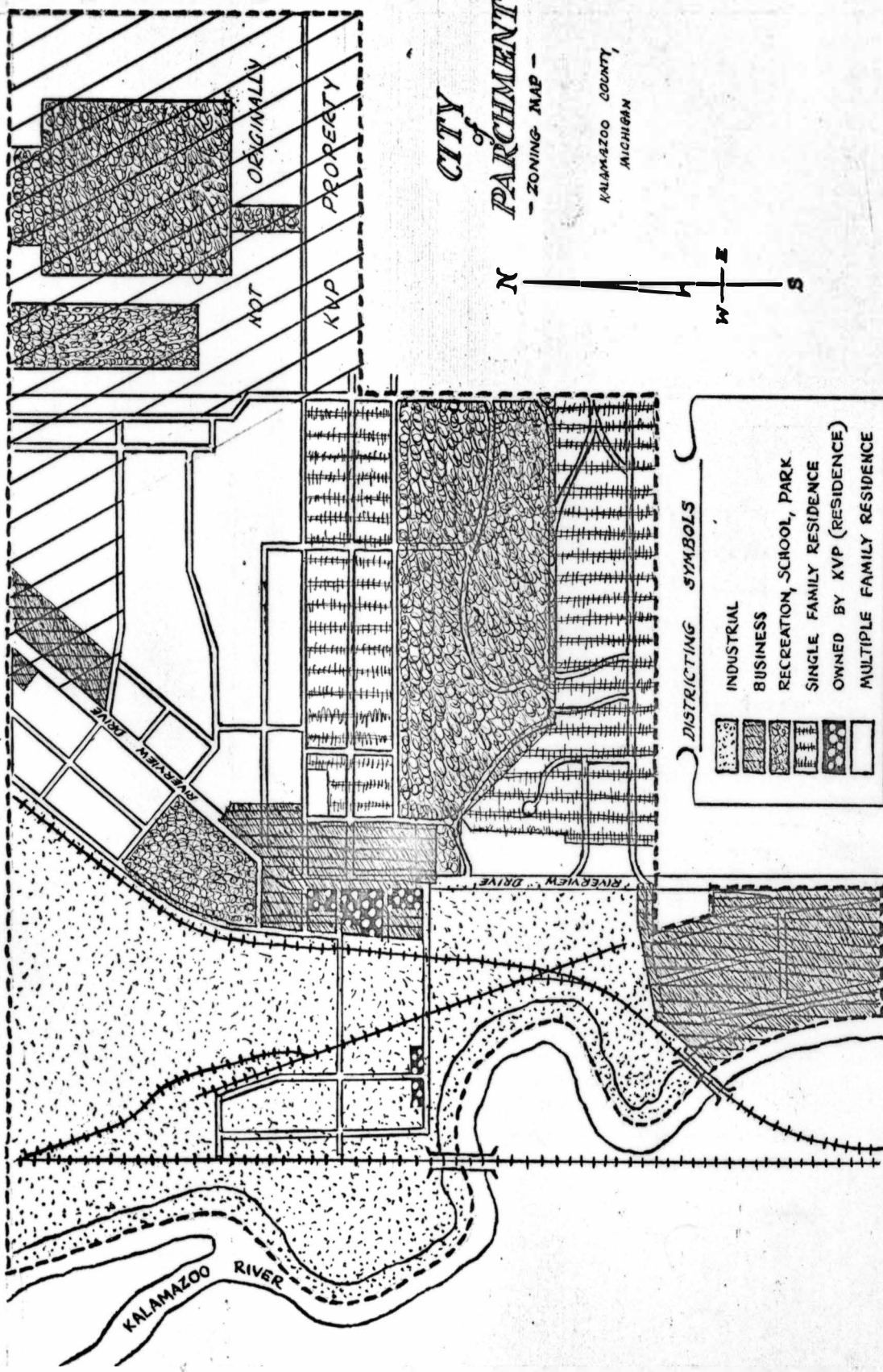
Although the Planning Commission ceased to function when its chairman moved away from Parchment, the very fact that it

¹Subtitle of The City of Parchment booklet published by the City Commission, 1961.

did exist, and did complete a study resulting in concrete recommendations, gives cause to hope the citizens of Parchment will take action to keep their community an attractive place in which to live. The growing interest in problems of suburbs all over the country has come in time to make considerable help available for communities like Parchment.

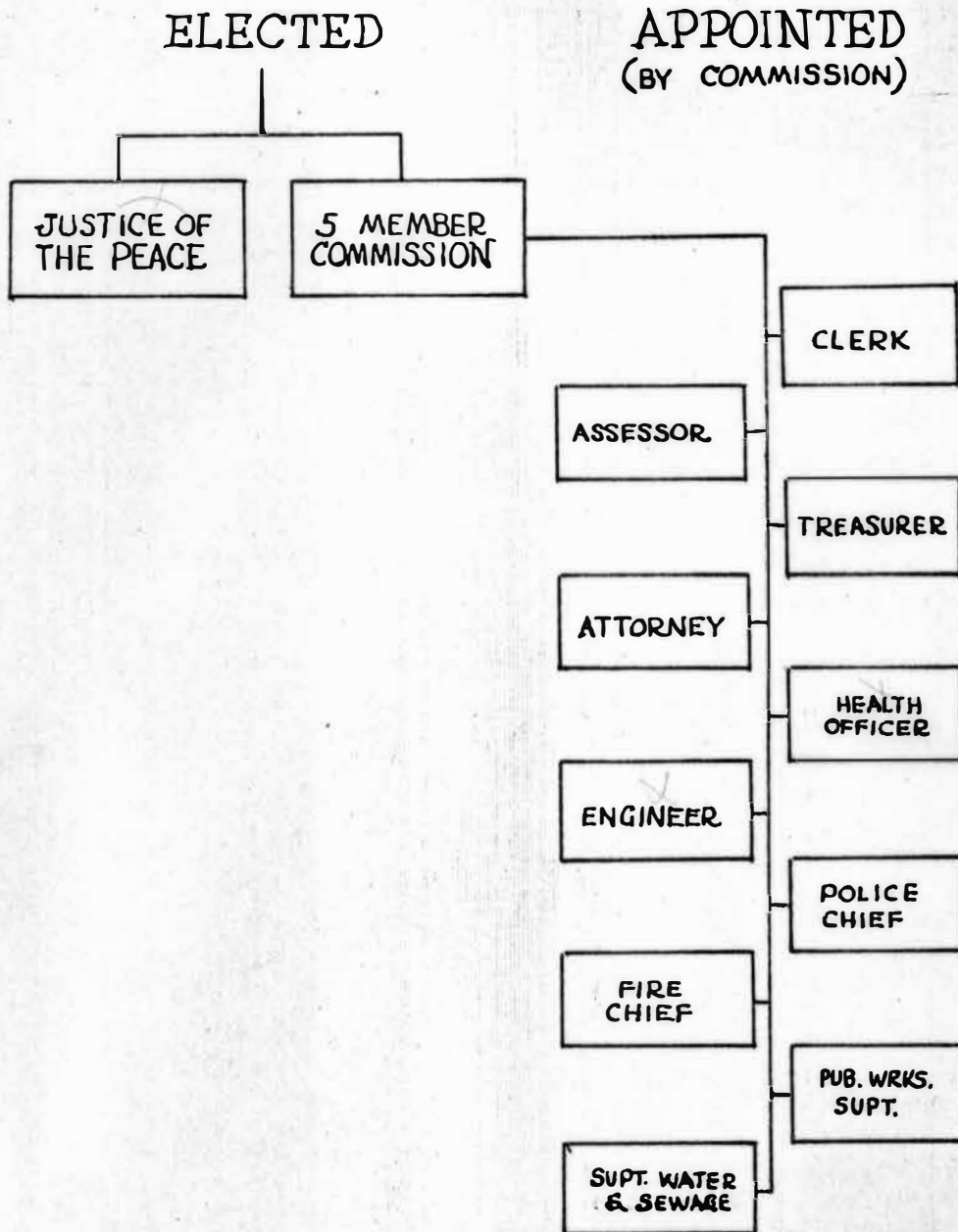
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APPENDIX I



APPENDIX II

ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT



APPENDIX III

PARCHMENT YEARLY INCOME - Table 1*

Year	Property Tax	Special Assess.	Licenses and Fees	Police Fines	Int. on Gov't Bonds	State Sales Tax	State Intan. Tax	Hywy. Fund
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1940	20500							1175
1941	20400					369	281	2551
1942	20458	7686				393		2528
1943	22076	10493				402		2163
1944	20498	3257			323	441		2170
1945	20982	2015			463	1095		2643
1946	21744	no further records available						
1947	17586	2877			664	3103		6771
1948	18089	6435		179	609	1593		9239
1949	19330	5225		102	900	43[sic]		11555
1950	20022	2893	1326		1168	6452		9766
1951	20137	3866	1580			7381	2109	9601
1952	26329	9261	1783	680	1685	7357	2028	15698
1953	31211	6697	137	3272		8253	1757	14929
1954	47365	6402	150	3823		8430	1757	14359
1955	58748	5142		4750		9008	1757	
1956	60698	no further records available						
1957	79548	no further records available						
1958	81437	56407	2748	4514	817	8937	1757	18789
1959	82993	56944	3389	4796	1560	9597		39900
1960	107362	580	6446	5163	496	10556	3675	54608

* Property Tax figures provided by city clerk. Other figures taken from annual audit reports in city commission minutes, and from the budgets for 1958, 1959 and 1960.

APPENDIX III

PARCHMENT YEARLY EXPENDITURES - Table 2*

Year	Police	Fire	Payroll	Sewer	Water	Water Pur.	Street Light.	Park	Street System
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1940	612		1100	10640			1580	1000	8044
1941	486		1100	9885			1618	1000	28877
1942	470		1100	968			1619	1485	11593
1943	444		1100	95			1619	1000	
1944	445		1190	529			1619	1000	
1945	545		1286				1385		
1946			2366				1199	7757	
1947	1226		1355	1890			1770	550	14775
1948	1293		1585	1287			2089	1443	19867
1949	1171		1632	2762			2240	1171	14891
1950	1615		2134	1222	9070	**	1203	2797	36
1951	1996		1980	8785	7615	**	800	3956	15014
1952	2659		2922	6545	3272	**		350	14777
1953	3727		3727	2936				2184	6659
1954	4660		4000	3369				5134	9395
1955, 1956, 1957	- no records available								
1958	5910	5534	13697	52398	33118		4963	5423	17588
1959	8975	7470	14312	18963	33388	15628	4870	8517	26398
1960	7904	7254	15009	20122	25918	8322	4913	11319	33775

Year	Recreation	Public Welfare Works
	\$	\$

Year	Recreation	Public Welfare Works
	\$	\$
1940		3498
1941		2792
1942		4176
1943		4372
1944		2983
1945	75	3873
1946	50	3609
1947	800	4447
1948	520	4191
1949	74	4394
1950	500	7368
1951		9094
1952		16264
1953	4392	14717
1954	1138	11771
1955, 1956, 1957	- no records available	
1958	3832	3257
1959	1988	15689
1960	2500	14635

* Figures taken from annual audit reports in city commission minutes, and annual budgets for 1958, 1959 and 1960.

**For mains to connect to KVP water system.

APPENDIX IV

COMPARISONS OF REVENUES AND EXPENSES

Table 1 - Revenues

<u>Major Sources</u>	<u>% of total</u>	
	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>
City Property Tax	44	37
Special Assessments	7	-
Licenses and Fees	2	5
Interest on Investments	2	1
County Highway Tax	25	42
State Sales Tax	16	8
State Intangibles Tax	4	3
Police Fines	-	4

Table 2 - Major Expenses

<u>Purpose</u>	<u>% of total</u>	
	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>
Water	34	17
Public Works	27	10
Park	10	7
Payroll	8	10
Police	6	5
Sewer	5	13
Street Lighting	4	3
Engineering	4	-
Recreation	2	2
Street System	-	22
Water Purchase	-	6
Fire	-	5

APPENDIX V

CITY ASSESSMENTS*

Year	Real	Personal	Assessed	County Equalized	Millage	Taxes
	\$	\$	\$	\$		\$
1940	2242900	2882200	5125120		4	20500.48
1941	2320700	2789388	5110088		4	20400.35
1942	2380300	2734119	5114419		4	20457.67
1943	2480100	3039058	5519158		4	22076.63
1944	2469500	2655057	5124577		4	20498.31
1945	2464200	2781193	5245393		4	20981.57
1946	2467300	2968751	5436051	7616309	4	21744.20
1947	3449400	3878072	7327472		2.4	17585.93
1948	3483300	4053783	7537083		2.4	18089.00
1949	3522400	4328515	7760915	8054031	2.4	19329.67
1950	3582100	4468500	8050600	8342416	2.4	20021.80
1951	3711000	4679600	8390600		2.4	20137.44
1952	3867800	4908650	8776450		3	26329.35
1953	3946850	4970650	8917500		3.5	31211.25
1954	3975250	4636525	8611775	9700861	5.5	47364.76
1955	4401200	5390185	9791385		6	58748.32
1956	4549700	5566600	10116300	10149417	6	60697.80
1957	4707800	5898650	10606450	10606829	7.5	79548.38
1958	4854900	6003350	10858250		7.5	81436.87
1959	4934450	6131250	11085700	10841453	7.5	82992.75
1960	5032550	6896610	11929196	12948231	9	107362.44

* Figures provided by the city clerk.

APPENDIX VI

STATE EQUALIZED VALUES *

Unit of Government	Assessed Valuations	<u>1959</u>		
		S.T.C. 100% Equalized Valuation	% of County Total	% of Unit Ratio
Parchment	11065700	16693850	3.14274	66.29
Kal. Twsp.	36237475	62061306	11.68352	58.39
Kal. City	191714000	273829147	51.55043	70.01
<u>1960</u>				
Parchment	11929160	22629523	3.95982	52.71
Kal. Twsp.	37809160	65625461	11.48344	57.61
Kal. City	231769070	282115264	49.36580	82.15
<u>1961</u>				
Parchment	12457800	23520324	4.03028	52.97
Kal. Twsp.	38599900	66092552	11.32516	58.40
Kal. City	230948370	281267516	48.19607	82.11

1964 Rate to Equalize

Parchment	1.654291908
Kal. Twsp.	1.63211916
Kal. City	1.194052982

* Figures provided by Office of Equalization Coordinator,
Kalamazoo County.

APPENDIX VII*

KVP Sutherland Taxes Paid to Parchment.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Taxes</u>
1956	\$42,671
1957	55,493
1958	56,563
1959	56,391
1960	74,538

APPENDIX VIII*

KVP Sutherland Tax Report

Property Taxes in Kalamazoo Area 1963

<u>Local Government</u>	<u>Percentage of Unit</u>	<u>Taxes in Thousands of Dollars</u>
Kalamazoo County	5.8	164
Kalamazoo City	5.6	217
Parchment	66.2	83
Portage	3.6	12
Kalamazoo Township	2.4	7
		<hr/> \$473
<u>Schools</u>		
Kalamazoo	5.2	339
Parchment	52.2	263
Portage	3.5	93
Special Education	5.8	32
		<hr/> \$727

* Figures provided by Tax and Insurance Department,
KVP Sutherland Paper Company.

APPENDIX IX*

COMPARISONS OF SCHOOL AND CITY,
POPULATION GROWTH AND MILLAGE

Table 1 - Population Growth

School Membership			City Population
<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>% of Growth</u>	<u>% of Growth **</u>
1940	369	-	-
1945	436	15.1	-
1950	511	14.6	20.7
1955	684	25.0	-
1960	1,251	45.3	24.6

Table 2 - Millage Comparison

<u>Year</u>	<u>School Millage</u>	<u>City Millage</u>
1940	6	4
1945	5.5	4
1950	13.7	2.4
1955	17.5	6
1960	18.04	9***

* Figures on Parchment School District provided by the office of the Superintendent of Schools.

** Based on Census figures, see page 37, Table 1.

*** Since the equalized valuation is so much higher than the assessed, to compute the city taxes on the same valuation as that used for the school district would merely emphasize the point of comparison.

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