The Role of Elites in the Quality of Life in Kalamazoo and Calhoun Counties

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THE ROLE OF ELITES IN THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN
KALAMAZOO AND CALHOUN COUNTIES

by

Sam S. King

A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Sociology

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
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My research examined the role of elites in the quality of life from 1890 to 1990 in two southwestern Michigan communities: Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties. This research is grounded in three research literatures: community power, elites and quality of life. My approach combined a quantitative analysis of six dimensions of quality of life and an historical analysis using case methods to look at the two communities over a 100 year time span.

My assumption at the beginning of this study was that elites play a major role in the quality of life. My data showed that some elites did have major impacts on quality of life in the early period of the study when two elite organizations, the Upjohn and Kellogg companies were formed. The quality of life that developed in each community reflected a white collar-blue collar dichotomy based on the employment requirements of the Upjohn and Kellogg companies. Over the course of this study, this pattern continued and was strengthened. The study also drew on the nondecision approach to community sources which says that elites may behave in covert as opposed to overt ways in taking actions, including those that have an impact on quality of life.
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Sam S. King
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The research question is straightforward. Did elites in Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties from 1890 to 1990 influence the quality of life in their communities? If so, what was their impact? My independent variable is elite behavior. My dependent variable is the quality of life which I have divided into six dimensions: (1) level of adult education, (2) infant mortality, (3) number of physicians, (4) serious crimes, (5) median value of homes, and (6) median family income. I selected these six dimensions because they impact on one's level of education, personal safety, income, housing and health. By any standard they most closely relate to quality of life.

In examining the research question, I drew upon the theoretical work in three scholarly traditions: quality of life, elites and community power. My findings are organized into three time periods: 1890 to 1920, 1920 to 1950 and 1950 to 1990. I divided the 100 year span into these periods because each represents a unit of time which could be separated from the others in terms of events that occurred in these counties as well as the nation. For example, the period 1890 to 1920 began with the rise of industry in these communities and closed with the end of World War I. The next period, 1920 to 1950, began with the nation's most prosperous period to date, the
1920s, then proceeded through the Great Depression to the end of World War II. The third period, 1950 to 1990, brings us up to the present.

The study did not undertake to compare the quality of life in the two counties. To have done so would have been unfair because each community is substantially different. Battle Creek, the major city in Calhoun County, is essentially a blue collar community, while Kalamazoo, the major city in Kalamazoo County, has a higher concentration of professional and white collar workers.

The elites identified in each community include individuals, corporations and institutions. The elites are: Dr. W.E. Upjohn, founder of The Upjohn Company; W.K. Kellogg, founder of the Kellogg Corn Flakes company; their two companies; the Kellogg Foundation started by W. E. Kellogg; the Kalamazoo Foundation, established by W. E. Upjohn; Western Michigan University and, to a lesser extent, Kalamazoo College in Kalamazoo, and the Miller Foundation of Battle Creek.

Chapter II, the Literature Review, examines three scholarly areas, community power, elites, and quality of life and how they inter-relate to the theme of the study. This review also is of interest because it brings together diverse perspectives into a single approach that provides an overview of the various forces involved in the social, political, cultural, and economic lives of the two communities.

Chapter III, Methods, describes my research design and source
material. I used the case method approach and combined both qualitative and quantitative data.

Chapter IV, Findings, reviews events in each community over the 100 year period and how they may have had an effect on quality of life.

Chapter V, Summary and Conclusion, includes highlights in the two communities over the 100 year time span as they related to quality of life.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Relevant data are to be found in three bodies of literature: Quality of life, elites and community power. I have reviewed each in order to relate them to the research problem.

Quality of Life

Quality of life can be defined from two approaches, subjective and objective. The subjective approach means how the individual perceives social, economic and cultural factors in his/her environment. This approach is relative; what one sees as a good quality of life may be seen by another as not good. We all bring our own life experiences to the definition of subjective quality of life. For example, if a family in a community earns $10,000 a year and is unaware that there may be other families that earn more than $10,000, than its perception of the quality of life probably is positive. However, should these individuals discover that there are indeed others who earn more than $10,000, say, $20,000 and therefore are able to buy more goods, than the first group will no longer be likely to perceive their quality of life as positive compared to those who earn more. How one determines one’s subjective quality of life is based on how one perceives one’s quality of life relative to that of others.
The subjective approach is represented by at least five authors: Frick (1986), Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1976), and Kahn (1984). Frick said that quality of life, from the urban perspective, is concerned with whether people live well or poorly. Is life easy or hard? Are people satisfied or dissatisfied? Does the city help people realize their purposes and desires or does it thwart them? Frick's questions go to the heart of the subjective approach to quality of life because they relate to our innermost feelings and attitudes. His comments also parallel one of the methods of measurement--relative deprivation--by which one can measure quality of life and especially that from the subjective approach. This method helps the researcher to determine if there is a discrepancy between what people perceive their quality of life to be and what it actually is. Campbell, et al. (1976) also in the subjective camp, equates quality of life with a sense of achievement in one's work, an appreciation of beauty in nature and the arts, a feeling of identification with one's community and a sense of one's fulfillment with one's potential.

The objective approach is related to external factors such as level of adult education, cost of housing, and infant mortality. An early study of objective factors in one's quality of life appeared in Thorndike (1939) in which the author studied 310 cities in the United States, including Kalamazoo, to assess the quality of life of their residents. (This may also be one of the first instances of the use of the term, quality of life.) Thorndike (1939) identified
Kalamazoo as one of the 10 cities highest in quality of life in the nation on the basis of a series of variables such as "infant death rates, per capita public expenditures for schools, per capita public expenditures for recreation and rarity of extreme poverty" (p. 52).

Ryan and Shanklin (1989) and Hoke (1991) both view quality of life from the objective approach. Ryan said that increasingly quality of life is emerging as a major corporate concern when companies are looking at sites for new plants and offices, according to a survey he made of 100 firms. Corporations also can play a role in the quality of life of communities in which they are located by supporting those activities that enhance quality of life such as the arts. Indeed, the arts themselves, according to Ryan, can be a factor in a community's quality of life from at least two objectives approaches. First, a community with an active arts and cultural program can be more attractive to a company looking for a site; the arts also can be useful to a company as a recruitment factor. Second, arts and culture organizations such as museums, galleries and theater groups can directly generate jobs and cash flow into a community (Hoke, 1991). For every dollar spent by a non-profit arts program, almost another dollar is generated in additional economic activity in a community (Hoke, 1991). The arts as a tourism attraction is yet another community income generator as well as a quality of life enhancer.

In describing the subjective approach, one is concerned with one's inner feelings such as, how one feels if he/she is able to
purchase more goods with one's income; the higher the income the more likely one will perceive his/her quality of life to be good.

Kahn (1984) combines the subjective and objective viewpoints when he says that quality of life can be defined as what is done for people (objective) and with what people can do for themselves (subjective). He explains that the experience of producing something or providing a service, and the recognition of that activity by others are conducive to good mental and physical health. Producing something gives one a subjective quality of life that is positive while the recognition of that production results in an objective quality of life that is also positive. However, denial of the opportunity to participate in productive activity can be damaging to the individual resulting in a negative subjective quality of life. Myers (1987) sees quality of life as a local phenomenon because we experience quality of life as residents of specific communities. In his view, quality of life refers to the shared characteristics that the residents experience.

Liu (1972), a pioneer in the study of quality of life, also may be identified as employing both objective and subjective approaches to quality of life. He lists nine social indicators to assess a community's quality of life: (1) status of individual, (2) individual equality, (3) living conditions, (4) agricultural production, (5) technological development, (6) economic status, (7) education, (8) health, and (9) welfare. Of these, economic status accounted for 80% of the variations. By economic status, Liu
referred to the financial assets possessed by the person. Liu later ranked the nation's cities according to their quality of life.

Another way of examining the quality of life is to substitute the words individual for subjective and community for objective. If we make this semantic substitution we can see that the subjective is the individual because most subjective matters deal with perceptions such as: How does one perceive the importance of education, health care and jobs? The literature views such perceptions as the subjective element of quality of life. On the other hand, objective indicators of quality of life tend to be community based such as number of physicians, number of college graduates and incidence of crime.

In the subjective, health care is personalized by the individual: Is health care good or bad? In the objective perspective, however, the issue of health care is made less personalized and more community based such as the number of physicians who practice in the area.

In measuring quality of life, it is easier to quantify the data than to determine a qualitative value. For example, from a quantitative or objective approach, we can more easily determine, say, the number of physicians in a community than it would be to learn about the quality level of health care in the area.

**Measurement of Quality of Life**

From an objective approach, we may be looking at such variables
as number of physicians, how many high school graduates attend college, and level of unemployment. Such data can be obtained from public records as well as from phone or personal surveys. The data also should be measured over time to determine if the quality of life is improving or declining.

The social indicators approach can be used to measure perspectives of quality of life. Land (1983) defines social indicators as indexes of social conditions which may change over time for different segments of a population. Land says, however, that social indicators can be objective and external such as physical and social but also subjective and internal such as perception of human existence.

Social indicators establish a set of characteristics as a way of measuring static and dynamic aspects of the social milieu. They help us to examine the social implications that result from existing and changing social, technological and economic conditions. They arose to compliment the economic indicators by depicting the non-material aspects of a community. Social indicators can also include population and housing statistics and unemployment rates. Social indicators often relate to quality of life issues such as the incidence of crime, income, and environmental pollution such as noise, all of which can be considered as objective. Subjective events also can be measured as social indicators; these would include "a sense of achievement and love and affection" (Dolkey, 1976, p. 20, as cited in Andrews & Withy).
An indication of where Kalamazoo and Battle Creek rate in various social indicators among the nation's 333 metropolitan areas is to be found in a popular publication, *Places Rated Almanac* (Boyer, 1989). The Almanac ranks these areas on climate, cost of living (which includes cost of housing, property taxes and utilities), health, crime, transportation, education, the arts, recreation and jobs and economic outlook.

Each of these categories is based on the cumulative data of several factors. In its (Boyer) 1989 edition, the cumulative ranking for each city was 221 for Kalamazoo and 280 for Battle Creek (p. 394). For climate, both cities which are about 20 miles apart ranked 189. Each city's rank was based on the yearly averages of five indicators: "1. Very hot and very cold months. 2. Variation in seasonal temperatures. 3. Freezing days. 4. Zero degree days. 5. Ninety degree days" (p. 326).

Cost of living (p. 22) was based on cost of single family homes, property taxes and utility bills. Kalamazoo ranked 192 and Battle Creek, 104, showing that Kalamazoo's cost of living was considerably higher than that of Battle Creek. Health care (p. 95) was determined by the availability of physicians to see patients, physician specialization and hospital services. Kalamazoo ranked 103 and Battle Creek, 216 (p. 102). In the category of crime (p. 73), Kalamazoo ranked 311 (p. 83), and Battle Creek, 251 (p. 81). This rating included both violent and nonviolent crime. Under transportation, Kalamazoo ranked 86 (p. 88) and Battle Creek, 142 (p. 147).
The rankings were compiled from five classifications: daily commute, public transportation, expressway traffic, air and rail service. Under education (p. 179), Kalamazoo ranked 112 (p. 185) while Battle Creek ranked 266 (p. 186). Rankings were determined by two-year college enrollment and four-year and beyond college enrollment. In the arts (p. 223), Kalamazoo ranked 168 (p. 230) and Battle Creek, 216 (p. 230). The rankings were determined by fine arts broadcasting, number of public libraries, art museums and galleries and lively arts performances which include the theater, the symphony orchestra, opera and dance companies. Under recreation (p. 263) Kalamazoo ranked, 298 (p. 275) and Battle Creek, 212 (p. 263); Rankings were based on the number of good restaurants, golf courses, bowling canters, inland water areas and zoos. (Battle Creek has a zoo but Kalamazoo does not). Under jobs (p. 51), Kalamazoo ranked 238 (p. 63) and Battle Creek, 311 (p. 62). The growth forecast for Kalamazoo was 3.45% (p. 62) and for Battle Creek -0.85%. Under new jobs Kalamazoo rated 3.900 for white collar and 270 for blue collar; Battle Creek, 1,080 white collar and -1,630 blue collar. (See Figure 1)

Social Impact Assessment (SIA)

This approach measures demographic, social and economic aspects of quality of life. It ranges from problem or project specific assessment and technology assessment to wider societal impact assessments. Such assessments can refer to broad areas such as the
Figure 1. Places Rated Ranked.
(Based on 333 metropolitan areas where 1 being the highest ranked and 333 the lowest ranked.)
effect of a national highway construction program on the lives of persons whose homes and neighborhoods must be destroyed to achieve this program. SIA can be applied to both objective and subjective approaches. It compliments the study of natural or biophysical or environmental impacts which may be associated with a new project, policy or program such as changes in psychological or physiological factors, community processes and changes in the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. SIA also is concerned with who gains and who loses, e.g., which groups in society gain or suffer from such impacts (Carley & Bustelo, 1984).

An important form of SIA focuses on cities, neighborhoods and minorities. Urban Impact Assessment (which is the urban form of SIA), is designed to gauge in advance--an early warning signal--possible unintended consequences of community programs which may be negative. For SIA the issue is quality of life in times of stress or change. For example, what is the impact on the quality of life of those who are forced to leave their communities to make room for highways or urban renewal projects. Another sample of SIA might be to measure its use, physical or sociocultural change which could result in "social severance in a community" (Carley & Bustelo, 1984, p. 57) which is defined as a rupture of relationships between people and institutions and also between people and places. An example of social severance occurred in many of the nation's cities in the decades of the 1950s and 1960s when urban renewal and inner city highway construction--both often coming at the same time--resulted in
massive dislocations for millions of inner city poor, mostly African Americans.

Relative Deprivation

People suffer relative deprivation when they perceive a discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities (Gurr, 1970). This measurement concept applies to the subjective approach. Value expectations are the goods, services and overall conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. The value capabilities are the goods and conditions people think they are capable of getting and keeping (Gurr, 1970). "The potential for collective violence varies strongly with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among the members of a community" (p. 24). The issue of quality of life can become relevant in such situations if the feeling of relative deprivation is strong.

The lack of a feeling of equality, a form of relative deprivation, can lead to revolution or street riots as we have seen in the decade of the 1960s and again in Los Angeles in summer, 1992.

Elites

Elites probably have been with us since the beginning of civilization wherein a small group exercised power over a larger group. The power of these early elites in the beginning may have been due to superior strength--the strongest men became the warriors. Another
elite may have arisen in those early murky years who had a superior intelligence. This elite may have projected a supernatural power which he/she used to foretell natural disasters or a rainfall essential for a good harvest. In time, he/she assumed a priestly function. These two elites—the warriors and the priests—possibly assumed a duality of power. The warriors had two major functions: To protect their communities from external aggressors and to attack other nearby communities for loot and slaves. The priests probably had one essential function: To ward off evil forces such as drought and to encourage positive forces such as rainfall which led to plentiful food from growing grains. Eisenstadt and Shachar (1987) say these two elites probably arose to justify their existence since they did not farm or hunt, because they either did not like that sort of work or, more likely, their community had space for just so many hunters and farmers leaving the others with the necessity of finding other roles in order to survive.

Elites, of course, have continued through the ages in all societies. Their role has always been the same: To exert influence over the remainder of society. This influence has taken the form of governing or controlling those who govern.

This section will discuss four issues:

1. Who are the elites?
2. How do elites maintain and exercise power?
3. How do we measure activities by elites?
4. What are the impacts of elites on society?
Elites can be traced to Aristotle in ancient Greece. He gave us two types of elites which he related to the role of rulers. There is rule by one, a monarchy and rule by the few, the aristocracy. He also gave us another form of government which was rule by the many, a democracy (Prewitt, 1973). However, the most significant data on the theory of elites is from the works of two Italians and a German, writing in the late 19th and early 20 centuries. These three men, Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels, constructed the classical theory of political elites (Eldersfeld, 1989).

Elites by their very nature have power--political, economic and social--often all three at the same time. Pareto and Mosca, classical theorists of political elites, emphasized the "division between the governing elite and the non-elite" (Bottomore, 1964, p. 10). Pareto, unlike Mosca, was critical about democracy, humanitarianism and progress. Mosca, on the other hand, approved of "the distinctive features of modern democracy" (p. 10). He believed "an elite does not simply rule by force and fraud but represents the interests and purposes of important and influential groups in the society" (p. 10).

In a contemporary approach to the role of elites in urban life, which this study will discuss, we will examine the role of elites in a positive sense, i.e., as a force which operates to improve quality of life. However, I will comment also on the role of some elites in urban life who have a negative impact. The literature on urban
elites devotes attention to one particular elite, those who are a part of the growth machine (Logan & Molotch, 1987). Members of the growth machine elite use their resources and power to develop major urban real estate developments for the benefit of investors often with minimal attention to the interests of those whose lives are affected by such projects, according to Logan and Molotch. In the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, numerous such projects were built in the nation's large cities. In some cases, such projects destroyed entire neighborhoods where poor people, mostly African-Americans, had lived (Logan & Molotch, 1987).

Who Are the Elites?

Pareto saw elites as being divided between those who govern and those who do not govern but do influence those who do govern (Bottomore, 1964). Mosca was the first social observer to make a distinction between elites and the masses. In all societies, Mosca said, two classes appear: A class that rules and a class that is ruled. Michels saw elites as the embodiment of his iron law of oligarchy. This law held that all organizations are ruled by self-perpetuating elites with mass participation limited to ritualistically ratifying the actions of the oligarchy (Prewitt, 1973, p. 20).

Bottomore (1964), the British Marxist, saw three groups of elites as "vital agents in the creation of new forms of society" (p. 63). They are managers of industry, high government officials and intellectuals.
Elites are identified by Presthus (1974) as a minority which enjoys most of such scarce and highly valued resources as security, prestige, income and power. Political elites share several values such as class, education, and group membership in cultural and social organizations that help to ease accommodation among them. These relationships also reinforce the political and ideological preferences of these elites.

Aiken & Mott (1970) suggest two techniques by which we can identify elites, "positional and reputational" (p. 193). In the positional mode the assumption is that those who occupy key roles in the major social, economic and political structures of the community are indeed leaders. The reputational mode of identifying elites is based on the assumption that those having a reputation for power are indeed the powerful.

Another perspective on elites is suggested by Lasswell (as cited in Bachrach, 1971) who said that the concept of the elite designates the holders of high position in a given society with as many elites as there are values. Besides political, for example, there are elites of wealth and knowledge. Jaher (1973) said that elites, from ancient Rome to the present, have many parallels in their kinship relationships, reception of newcomers into their ranks and control over vital communal institutions.

In 1954, Smuckler and Belknap conducted a study of leadership and community participation in the city of Battle Creek. They found a model of community leadership that resembled an elite form. The
model showed a pyramid with the top part composed of 15 core leaders followed by a larger group of 60 activists in the bottom part of the pyramid. They also found that the top tier of leaders—the 15 members—remained constant in relation to specific community problems, indicating an elitist leadership for Battle Creek.

Although I'm not aware of any similar study for the city of Kalamazoo, the elite leadership in this community in the post World War 2 period very likely was not too different from that of Battle Creek. An elite core of business leaders, including officials from The Upjohn Company and members of the Upjohn family, often the same people, were actively involved in the city's political, civic and economic life. Many studies indicate the major role of large corporations in medium sized cities. These include the two books by the Lynds (1929, 1937) which are among the most notable. Other references to such roles by companies are to be found in the book by Aiken and Mott (1970).

How Do Elites Exercise Power?

In American society, elites exercise power by controlling capital and by their role in the political hierarchy, regardless of political party. Newcomers to the ranks of the elite are the intellectuals who, beginning with the New Deal in the 1930s, have moved from academe to government, sometimes as advisers to presidents, cabinet members and members of Congress. They also have moved into various research institutions directed to a multitude of scholarly
interests which exert influence on the nation's governing elites, and these intellectuals are also on faculties of the nation's universities.

One particular group, the business elite, has exercised its power by shaping the future of the nation's urban areas. Molotch (Cummings, 1988) has argued that virtually all U.S. cities are "dominated by small, parochial elites whose members have business or professional interests that are linked to local development and growth" (p. 25). The cities have become growth machines to enhance the fortunes of the particular elites such as real estate developers and, peripherally, bankers, lawyers and insurance companies.

Although power by elites is often exercised by their control of large amounts of capital, power can also be exercised through the use of political, social, civic and cultural associations. But the basis for the power often is economic. Elites also can use their power for positive effects on quality of life. In Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties, major elites like Dr. W.E. Upjohn and W. K. Kellogg, may have used their wealth and power in the hope that they could improve quality of life. In the case of Kellogg, he gave almost his entire fortune to his foundation. Other elites in this study may also have sought to bring about positive changes in the lives of those in the two communities. Whether they succeeded in enhancing quality of life is the question of this study.
How Do We Measure Activities by Elites?

One way is to access the results of efforts undertaken by elites to overcome a problem which has affected the quality of life for a group. For example, in the mid-1920s Kellogg recognized a need to provide help to handicapped children in Battle Creek. He then built a special school for these children, possibly the first of its kind in the nation. Therefore, this is one barometer of measuring the results of an elite action.

What Are the Impacts of Elites on the Community and Quality of Life?

The impacts can be positive or negative. The elites in the two communities of this study may have had positive effects. However, the elites of the growth machines some of whom by destroying entire communities, resulting in massive dislocation had results which led to a sense of helplessness among those affected. In part, this has been accompanied by an increase in savage crime, often with young children as its victims.

Another impact of the elites on communities has been their role as owners of large companies who have moved their firms out of the northern, northeastern and midwestern cities and to the sunbelt and even to other nations where overhead is lower. One result of such movement of jobs elsewhere has been the growth of an urban underclass which might be as high as 9,000,000 (Wilson, 1987).

But the impact of elites on cities is not all negative although the literature leans heavily on the pejorative side. What is
also true is that the growth machine has created a renaissance for many cities by providing housing and other amenities that would encourage middle and upper middle class families to move back to the inner city from the suburbs. Indeed, the literature is almost paranoid. For example, one critic sees the development of art museums, convention centers, and gentrification as a strategy "aimed at re-capturing the city from inner city residents, i.e., African-Americans and Hispanics" (Cummings, 1988, p. 65). Not all middle and upper middle class families purchasing homes in the inner city are doing so to force the poor into more congested housing. The academic critics of the inner city changes perhaps need a more balanced perspective.

Community Power

Perspectives on community power center on two theories, elite and pluralist which go back to the decades of the 1950s and 1960s. Modification of these theories have evolved through the years, with the elite theory as the dominant one, at least insofar as sociologists are concerned. The elite theory was introduced by Floyd Hunter (1953) and C. Wright Mills (1956). Robert A. Dahl (1961) along with his two graduate assistants, Nelson Polsby and Raymond Wolfinger, were the principal exponents of the pluralist theory.

Elite Theory

Hunter found, not surprisingly, that the top community leaders
were drawn from the businessmen's class. The structure of this elite group was held together by "common interests, mutual obligations, money, habit, delegated responsibilities and, in some cases, coercion and force" (p. 113). He inferred that the average resident of the community was usually unaware of who the real leaders were and how they were selected. Because of this, "responsibility cannot be properly lodged when decisions of individual leaders failed to meet expectations of the underlying groups" (p. 216).

The leaders were selected through an intricate web of business and social relations. Mills (1956) looked at elites from a macro as opposed to the micro perspective of Hunter. Mills identifies those who rule the large corporations, operate the government and direct the military as the power elite. "They occupy the strategic command posts of the social structure in which are now centered the effective means of the power and the wealth and the celebrity they enjoy" (p. 3).

In recent years a variation on the elite theory has emerged, that of the growth machine discussed earlier in the elite section of the literature chapter, which Domhoff (1986) has identified as local land-based interests that make their money from the use of their land. Dye (1986) sees the role of local bankers and builders at the center of the elite power structure in most communities.

Logan and Molotch (1987) who referred to the city itself as a growth machine said that "the question of who governs must be asked with the equally central question, for what" (p. 50)? Their answer
was that those who govern are beholden to growth machine elites. These authors pointed out that throughout the 1960s and 1970s the growth machine was successful in achieving "the suburban freeways and the great infrastructural projects and defense procurements that led to vast regional shifts in population, production and rent collection" (p. 179). They added that such growth was facilitated with a good deal of cooperation and mutual accommodation through all levels of government. "That has been the real basis of U.S. urban policy" (p. 179).

The emerging no growth phenomenon, a position that opposes the growth machine, is also examined by Logan and Molotch. Unlike cities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and most communities today, which strongly encourage industry to move in the no-growth cities discourage new industry (or, at least don't encourage it). Many of these cities are in the sun-belt, but even communities in the northeast have consciously embraced alternative growth plans. Often, opposition to growth comes from upper middle class and middle class residents who live in areas that have been targeted for commercial land development. They would rather pay the higher taxes which are often associated with no growth than change the appearance or life style of their community. (Dye, 1986).

Other theorists have developed variations on the elite theme. Bachrach and Baratz (1970) call their approach, the nondecision theory. In this view, the elite group may limit the scope of public consideration only to those issues which are of little concern to
the elite. As Bachrach and Baratz (1970) say: "It is erroneous to assume that power is solely reflected in concrete decisions" (p. 8). Can (a student) ignore the possibility that an individual or a group in a community participates more vigorously in supporting the nondecision making process than in participating in actual decisions? These authors also say (1963) that power is not only to be observed in decision making situations but also in nondecision making. The authors use the term in a pejorative sense, i.e., elites use this method to limit the scope of "actual decision making to safe issues by manipulating the dominant community values, myths, political institutions and procedures" (p. 632).

Gamson (1968) offers another form of elite theory which he calls the "stable unrepresentation paradigm" (p. 18). He argues that the American political system is not open and, indeed, is closed to those who are not a part of the elite. He added that even the pluralistic theory is closed to a large part of the community on an issue by issue situation. His theory is not an elite or a pluralistic theory but instead is an attempt to synthesize the two. He argues that our political system is essentially an elite structure except when it breaks down in time of crisis. At this point, you then have something resembling pluralism. But when the crisis passes, the structure returns to an elite form. Therefore, we continue to have an elite structure in our political system. Gamson sees his stable unrepresentation paradigm as a way of combining the elite and pluralist models in times of crises.
Another author, Rose, (1967) offers the multi-purpose hypothesis which conceives of society as consisting of many elites, each relatively small numerically and operating in different spheres of life with the bulk of the population classified into organized groups. Most of the population "consists not of masses but of integrated groups and publics with varying degrees of power" (p. 6).

Eulau and Prewitt (1973) comment that the reality everywhere is the presence of a ruling minority. "At issue is not the existence of the few who govern the many and the many who are governed but the relationship between them" (p. 11). They infer that if the ruling minority is subject to the constraints of the free electoral process then they would be considered a democratic elite. Otherwise, the ruling minority can be viewed as a totalitarian power.

One author sees Kalamazoo's civic history as one of repeated failures of government initiative and of limits placed on business and economic leadership (Sanders, 1987). "Unlike the classic elitist community in which business and economic elites easily manage their desires, Kalamazoo's economic powers have gotten far less than their full menu of development projects and public support" (p. 196). This has happened despite the fact that the city's political and economic leadership had a "substantial commonality" (p. 196).

Indeed, as the author points out, the city's mayor in 1960 and 1961, was a member of the local family that owns the Gilmore Brothers department store and is himself the owner of several downtown properties. The coincidence of economic and civic leadership did
not suffice to fulfill Kalamazoo's development plans. "The reality in Kalamazoo has been a history of initiatives blocked, failed policy entrepreneurship and a public reaction against a cost of specific public policies" (p. 196).

Pluralist Theory

Pluralist supporters believe that power is not concentrated in the hands of a few but instead is widely dispersed. They argue that elected officials rather than private elites are the most influential in the resolution of community issues and that, therefore, the voting public retains substantial "indirect influence" (Shumacker, 1991, p. 9).

Dahl (1961) said that New Haven in the last two centuries, the urban laboratory from which he developed the pluralist theory, in the last two centuries had moved from an oligarchy to pluralism--from a city governed by patrician families to one that was governed by the offspring of lower middle class immigrants.

Waste (1986), an exponent of pluralism, offered an interesting metaphor to explain the pluralist theory. He presented the pluralist concept in the form of a large billiard table in which the different and more or less equally sized billiard balls bounce off one another until eventually they all lie at rest. "In the classical pluralist view this eventual equilibrium is the policy outcome" (p. 120). Waste also offered three variations of pluralism: Hyperpluralism, stratified pluralism and privatized pluralism. Under
hyperpluralism, the city government, as in classical pluralism, is ruled by multiple groups with the government itself weaker than the various pressure groups. Government in such cities "lacks the means or the will to resist any of the many competing demands that barrage it" (p. 120).

Stratified pluralism refers to cities that have "players of different weights, resources and attitudes" (p. 120). Privatized pluralism referred to a situation in which a limited number of "participants have usurped the authority and resources of public policy making for private ends" (p. 128). Three groups, agriculture, business and labor, on the national level, have been guilty of privatizing "in varying degrees issues of concern to them" (p. 128).

Waste said that Dahl had conceded to the elitists that in New Haven, as in any other community, "only a few would actually make important decisions" (p. 17). What Dahl disputed with the elitists was not the number of persons involved in community decisions but rather the scope of their influence and the "interplay between decisions made by citizens voting in local elections and decisions made by those in various community groups" (p. 17). Dahl believed that the leadership groups that affected public policy in one arena did not overlap into other arenas.

Waste saw a positive relationship developing between the elite and pluralist theorists. He said that community power was on the verge of a new era in which scholars of each theory would work
together to develop a more precise vocabulary for community power research and more exact and replicable field methodologies to analyze power in local communities.

Let us examine the issue of the growth machine from the perspectives of the elites and pluralists. The elitists will look at this phenomenon as one in which a small group, real estate developers and their associates, in close association with national, state and local officials, combine to construct shopping malls, housing developments and highways that will benefit (I use the term here as it applies to the profit the elite group earns) the small elite group but not necessarily the general community. The pluralists, on the other hand, will look at the same phenomena. But, instead of seeing a growth machine at work, they will instead view such an undertaking as one in which only a certain segment is involved and which must compete with other interests in seeking government approval. The pluralist will ask: Is the shopping mall per se bad for the community if it means jobs and increased tax revenue? Elitists see the growth machine as a monolithic force which dominates a portion of the community. The pluralist may not disagree that a growth machine exists, but they may disagree that such an operation will be harmful. The pluralist will say that in a democracy, the general public can make its wishes known by voting to oust those public officials who are not responsive to the best interests of the community. Indeed, the no growth movement can be described as one in which the pluralists can successfully oppose the growth machine.
Stone (1987) offered the view that the electorate can oust any public officials who are not concerned with the general public good. "Those elites who hold elected office are very aware that their performance is highly visible to the electorate to whom they are beholden" (p. 247). Stone said that in looking at the relationship between public and private elites, government officials and corporate officers may encounter restraints imposed by a third set of actors, the electorate. Here we see that in a democracy elites must function under constraints that don't exist in non-democratic governments. Therefore, although those who govern in a democracy may be elites, their actions are accountable. Hence, we note such terms as democratic elites and benevolent elites.

Rossi (1957) in an early article, offered three approaches to the study of community decisions: The first approach relates the social and regional differences among decision makers to the kinds of decisions made. The second gives central focus to the partisans of issues and seeks to find in "their actions vis-a-vis the decision makers the ultimate determinants of the outcome of decisions" (p. 419). Examples of this approach are studies which focus on pressure groups or which search for the power structure. The third approach uses the decision itself as the reference point in trying to understand why the decision maker chose as he/she did. Rossi also warns us that we should avoid looking at one's social background and personal characteristics as the major explanation of one's decision because people act differently in different roles.
Summary

In this chapter, I examined the literature on three variables, elites, community power and quality of life. Under quality of life, I looked at its subjective and objective approaches. I define it as a condition that provides an individual with an overall feeling that can be good or not good depending on one's perspective of various factors that enter into one's existence. For elites, I examined who they are and how they may exercise power in a community to bring about change, positive or negative, with respect to quality of life. The definition of elite used in this study is as follows: An individual, private company or institution that has the power to bring about major changes in the community which affect its quality of life. The elite may use its power to affect positive or negative changes. The results of an elite action may not always be apparent at the time that the action occurs.

An elite can exercise its power by making physical changes in a community such as building schools or by improving health care facilities or by myriad other amenities to improve quality of life. The motivation of an elite in exercising its power to affect change is paramount. Is that motivation for the good of the community or for the advantage of the elite? Sometimes it is both the power the elite has and uses can be of several kinds. The first kind of power is economic which means that the elite has the means to effectively bring about change, good or bad. Economic is the most important
form of power; the higher the level of economic strength, the
greater the power. Another form of power is the influence of the
elite in the community. Influence often is closely associated with
economic power. The wealthy are often more influential than those
who are not wealthy. Integrity and the ability to persuade others
is another form of power, sometimes referred to as charisma. All
of these forms of power, used individually and collectively, have
the potential to bring about changes in a community that can affect
quality of life.

The central question to be addressed is did the elites in this
study have an impact on the quality of life in these communities?
CHAPTER III

METHODS

My data included historical and biographical sources, issues of the Kalamazoo Gazette and Battle Creek Enquirer, U.S. Census Bureau information, and information from the Michigan Department of Vital Statistics. My purpose in reviewing these data was to identify significant changes in each community during the 100 year period and then to relate these changes to quality of life and, where possible, to the role of the elites. From these data I tried to understand why elites acted in such ways that led to changes in the quality of life in these communities.

My methodology was related to grounded theory which is the discovery of theory from the data (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). In developing grounded theory one begins with an examination of the subjects selected for study, in this case, elites and community power. What is relevant to the inquiry is allowed to emerge (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). "Grounded theory is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents" (p. 23).

In my research, I’ve drawn on both quantitative and qualitative data. Strauss and Corbin (1990) identify qualitative research as "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (p. 17). My quantitative data came from the U.S. Census Bureau and the
Michigan Bureau of Vital Statistics. My qualitative information came from articles, books and newspaper and magazine articles on the two individual elites, their companies, and the two schools; articles and annual reports on the Kellogg Foundation and books and journal articles on the three academic areas, elites, community power and quality of life.

The study also examined another set of social indicators to assess quality of life in each of the cities of Kalamazoo and Battle Creek. These indicators appear in a popular publication, Places Rated Almanac, (Boyer, 1989). The indicators include climate, cost of living (which covers cost of housing, property, taxes and utilities), health, crime, transportation, education, the arts, recreation, and jobs and economic outlook.

My methodological design was based on two case studies, examinations of quality of life in Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties. The design embraced several components. First, I identified elites which were likely to have a significant affect on the community. Next, I selected six social dimensions or indicators that I could use to quantify the level of quality of life in each community. The indicators were selected from data provided from the U.S. Bureau of the Census except for two: (1) the number of serious crimes committed per 100,000 population, and (2) the number of physicians in each community. These statistics were obtained from the Michigan Bureau of Vital Statistics. The four dimensions obtained from the U.S. Census were: (1) the number of persons 25 years and older who
had completed at least four years of college, (2) the level of infant mortality per 100,000 population, (3) the median family income, and (4) the median value of homes.

I selected the six dimensions in this study because I believed they would provide data which I could use to assess whether these communities had a good quality of life. Also, I believed these data would give the kind of information that would provide a basis for understanding whether elite behavior might have an effect on quality of life. For example, the biographical data on W.K. Kellogg, especially that which appeared in a series of articles in the Battle Creek Enquirer in 1983 written by his grandson, Norman Williamson, Jr., helped me to understand why Kellogg was deeply concerned about the health of rural children; this concern was transmitted into a major part of his early philanthropy.

I selected the three time periods, 1890 to 1920, 1920 to 1950, and 1950 to 1990, because they represented historical eras in which important events occurred, both in the two communities and in the nation as a whole. For example, during the first period the Upjohn company and the Kellogg company were organized and began to prosper. This was a time when industry was growing in the nation as well. In the second period, the nation underwent the Great Depression and World War II with their attendant consequences for the elites in this study and their communities. The third period, 1950 to 1990, saw the expansion of four major institutions in the area, all of which were elites. Western Michigan College grew into a university,
reaching an enrollment by 1990 of about 27,000. The Upjohn Company emerged as a world class bio-medical research institution as well as a pharmaceutical company. The Kellogg Company greatly diversified its operations to include a wide range of new food products. The Kellogg Foundation became one of the world's largest private foundations (in 1993 its assets reached $6 billion, making it indeed, the world's largest).
CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This chapter will be divided into two sections: Kalamazoo County and Calhoun County. Both counties were settled in the early 1830s after federal surveyors declared the territory fit for settlement. The first settlers were the sons and daughters of the pioneers who originally had settled in Western New York and New Jersey. The land was marshy and proved good for farming, especially celery in later years. The land also was inexpensive, selling for $1.25 an acre to encourage settlers to make the long and sometimes dangerous journey by covered wagon into an unknown area, leaving behind family and friends.

Even by 1890, the demographics of the two counties were similar: farmers and businessmen of English, Dutch and German stock; hardworking, frugal people with a strong Protestant religious orientation and work ethic. Battle Creek, more than the city of Kalamazoo, was a working class town. In 1890, with a population of 43,301, it was even larger than Kalamazoo which had a population of 39,273.

Kalamazoo County: 1890 to 1920

During this period, two of the four major elites in Kalamazoo in this study had their beginnings, The Upjohn Company and Western
Michigan University. Another elite, Dr. W.E. Upjohn, founder of the company, obviously was on the scene and was active in the community including service as mayor of Kalamazoo in 1919-21. The fourth elite, Kalamazoo College, had been a part of the community since the 1830s. All were to become elites in the life of Kalamazoo County.

Western was established in 1903 as Western State Normal School. The Upjohn Company was in its early stage but it was making decisions that would make it the major elite in the area.

The Upjohn family can trace its lineage to Wales in the mid-16th century. The family included watchmakers and church architects and was considered solid, middle class folk with an intellectual bent and adept at building things. Indeed, Dr. Upjohn's ability to build enabled him to design and construct the machinery which he used to make medicinal pills that dissolved in the human body, a task which apparently no one previously had accomplished and which enabled him to launch his company.

The first Upjohns to arrive in the United States in the early 1830s were two young brothers who broke the family occupational mold and became physicians. They were Uriah and William who studied medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York state. After graduating in 1834, they moved to the Michigan Territory where there was a need for physicians (Carlisle, 1987). Uriah, the older of the two, settled in Richland in 1835 and married a 15 year old girl who was to bear 12 children, of whom 11 survived. One was William Erasmus who also, became a physician, graduating from the
medical school of the University of Michigan in 1875. After graduation, he returned to the Kalamazoo area and set up a medical practice.

Shortly thereafter, W.E., as he was to be called for the rest of his life, noticed that medicinal pills in use at that time were very hard and, therefore, would often pass through the body undigested, "its beneficial components unused" (Carlisle, 1987, p. 21). Although other physicians must have known this fact, none had succeeded in overcoming the problem despite the fact that the practice of medicine at that time relied heavily on oral medication. W.E. discovered a method for making pills soft enough to dissolve in the body. He called the pills friable and used an illustration on the pill container which showed a thumb crushing a pill. This became the trademark of the Upjohn Pill and Granule Company which he organized in 1885. In 1902, the name was changed to The Upjohn Company. Over the years, Dr. Upjohn was constantly looking for new products to develop, and by 1907 the company had some 2,000 separate medicines available.

He also was a benevolent employer to his employees. For example, he was the first employer in the Kalamazoo area to allow half a day off on Saturday in the late 1920s making the workweek five and a half days instead of six.

In 1906, Congress passed the Pure Food and Drug Act which required pharmaceutical firms like Upjohn to comply with new federal standards for product quality and safety. This law was a factor in
the company's "evolution into a research based pharmaceutical firm" instead of continuing as just another drug company (Carlisle, 1987, p. 47). Although the firm had followed procedures to guarantee the efficacy of its products before the law was passed, it became apparent that trained researchers were needed to assure the quality control that the law required. In its search, it found a young chemist, Frederick W. Heyl, the first Ph.D. hired by Upjohn. (Carlisle, 1987). He was hired to improve the company's methods of accurately measuring drug content and to control production. Once he accomplished this role, he moved into the research for new products and became the firm's first director of research. In time, the research division grew to employ 1,200 Ph.D.s and M.D.s. Heyl was to remain with Upjohn for 50 years until his retirement. Even after he retired, he continued to work at the Upjohn laboratories trying to devise new products. His role in the growth of the company was important.

Meanwhile, the city of Kalamazoo also was changing. Kalamazoo, like other cities in the nation, was unhappy with the control of its government by political parties. "Reform was in the air throughout the nation" (Dunbar, 1969, p. 148). In 1917, Dr. Upjohn was chairman of a committee that recommended a city commission form of government elected at large on a non-partisan basis. The mayor was to be chosen by the commission from among the elected commissioners who received the highest number of votes. He was to have only ceremonial duties outside of presiding at commission meetings. The
commission was empowered to appoint a city manager who would operate the city government just as any manager would operate a business. On April 1, 1918, the first city commission was elected in Kalamazoo and Dr. Upjohn was chosen as its first mayor.

Another future elite, Western State Normal School, began its first year in 1904 with 107 students. By 1920, enrollment had grown to 724. From the beginning, Western developed a relationship with the off campus community. One reason for the school's existence was to train teachers for rural areas (Knauss, 1929). The school also reached into the rural areas to inform its residents about many subjects through meetings at which speakers would discuss such topics as rural welfare. Western's department of music was another part of the school that extended itself into the community. In 1905, the Choral Union was organized, comprised of students and residents of the city of Kalamazoo. In 1914, the school's Dramatic Association was formed which presented plays that were open to the public. In 1918, Laura Shaw assumed the directorship and was to have a long and illustrious career.

At Kalamazoo College in 1907, a Glee and Mandolin club was organized which, one can presume, encouraged off campus residents to attend its performances. The Geynor Club, a song group for women was organized in 1906 and, again, one would hope that residents of the city were encouraged to attend performances. During World War I, men students organized into a military company known as the Student Army Training Corps. Women students organized Red Cross
classes (Goodsell, 1933).

Kalamazoo County: 1920 to 1950

This section will examine the role of various elites in the county and their effect on quality of life during the 1920-1950 period. These include the Upjohn family, The Upjohn Company, the educational institutions, and the Kalamazoo Foundation. I also will present data on the paper and celery industries which were prominent in the community during this period.

The Kalamazoo Foundation which began in 1925 with a $1,000 contribution from Dr. W.E. Upjohn, gave non-profit organizations and governmental agencies in the county a total of $85,321,579.36 from 1926 to 1990. (The figures for the Kalamazoo and Kellogg foundations were supplied by the respective organizations.) The Kalamazoo Foundation provided grants to a broad range of organizations including Goodwill Industries, the Kalamazoo Institute of the Arts, Habitat for Humanity, Kalamazoo College, Western Michigan University, the Kalamazoo public schools, the city and county of Kalamazoo, Borgess Medical Center, Bronson Methodist Hospital, the Kalamazoo Visiting Nurse Association, the Douglas Community Association and Senior Services, Inc. The foundation's assets as of 1990 were $90,414,947.

On November 1, 1937, the last bond retirement installment was paid by the city of Kalamazoo thereby making it debt free. At the time, it was the only city of 50,000 or more in the nation to be
free of local government bond indebtedness. "The citizens took
great pride in this achievement and continued for several years
to adhere to the pay-as-you-go plan" (Dunbar, 1959, p. 188).

This event may have been reflective of the economic conditions
generally good in the area. Indeed, from 1935 to 1939, 18 new com­
panies were established, creating 2,978 jobs. "It was estimated
that industrial development, to the amount of $15,000,000, had taken
place since 1929, that $8,000,000 had been spent on city improve­
ments and that retail sales had amounted to $30,000,000 annually,"
during the 1930-1940 decade, "an increase of one third in 10 years"
(Dunbar, 1959, pp. 187-188).

One author (Thorndike, 1939) identified the city of Kalamazoo
as one of the few cities which he considered "high" (p. 52) in terms
of its amenities. As stated earlier, he also selected Kalamazoo as
one of 10 cities on his list which he considered good role models
for other cities.

The decade of the 1940s also was prosperous for the city of
Kalamazoo. The volume of retail sales increased 410% from 1940 to
1950 in dollar volume. The comparable figure for the nation as a
whole was 202%, indicating that retail sales in Kalamazoo increased
more than twice as much as the national average. Average family in­
come in 1951 in Kalamazoo was 13% above the national average (Dun­
bar, 1959).
The Upjohn Family

Within the Upjohn family, one of the community's elites, Dr. W. E. Upjohn, the patriarch, made significant contributions in the decade of the 1920s. Many of his benefactions were made in a relatively short period from the mid 1920s until his death in 1932 at the age of 78. However, the company prospered during the decade of the 1920s and into the depression years which meant that more money was placed in circulation due to expansion of the firm's physical plant and increased jobs which translated into more salaries. But, in addition, Dr. Upjohn contributed his own funds to the community in a variety of creative ways (Carlisle, 1987).

Starting with a contribution of $1,000 in 1925, he launched the Kalamazoo Foundation, which has become a major benefactor to the county. In 1928, he purchased a house on Rose street which was opened in 1929 as the Art House. In 1929, he bought another house at South and Park streets for a group of actors called the Players; his daughter, Dorothy, was a member. In 1931 he built the Civic Auditorium. In 1926, he formed the W.E. Upjohn Civic Trust; by 1942, more than $173,000 of its income had been spent locally: $80,000 to expand parks and playgrounds, $49,000 for the Civic Auditorium which has been the home for good theater ever since, and $6,000 for the municipal Golf Association. The Trust put more than $24,000 into the Kalamazoo Foundation.

In 1931, Dr. Upjohn purchased a 1,200 acre site in Richland
Township which was turned into individual garden plots for the jobless in Kalamazoo where they grew vegetables for themselves and for other needy (Carlisle, 1987). In 1932, he organized the W.E. Upjohn Unemployment Trustee Corporation. Its purpose was to "study the feasibility and methods of insuring against unemployment and to devise ways of preventing and alleviating the distress and hardship caused by unemployment" (Carlisle, 1987). Assets of the corporation included 10,000 shares of Dr. Upjohn's personal Upjohn company stock (which in 1959, when the company went public, were worth $12,000,000). The corporation is now known as the W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.

Dorothy Dalton and Genevieve Gilmore, daughters of Dr. Upjohn, and Irving Gilmore, a stepson, have also made substantial contributions to art, theater and music for the community. Their major contributions to the arts were made in the period of 1950 to 1990 which will follow. This reference is included at this point because their contributions followed those of their father. The city itself, in musical organizations, has had a history going back to the beginning of the century. The Kalamazoo Symphony was formed and gave its first concert in 1921. By the end of the decade, the symphony had grown to 73 members.

The Upjohn Company

Between 1920 and 1940, pharmaceutical research generally in the United States grew by a factor of 10. Eleven laboratories
existed in 1920 but by 1940 the number had soared to 96 (Carlisle, 1987). This was due in part to World War I which had shown American drug companies that they could develop new products by themselves instead of depending on European companies, especially those in Germany. The Upjohn company was one of the firms that made a major shift from producing mixtures of medicine largely out of plant extracts (such as quinine, opiates, and digitalis) to medicines extracted from animal tissues (such as endocrine gland substances). By the mid-1920s the company began to assume its modern form. At the time, Upjohn had 800 employees and its gross sales were more than $4 million annually (Carlisle, 1987).

During the Depression, The Upjohn Company saw its earnings increase. In 1929, Upjohn sales were under $7 million; in 1932, $8,500,000; 1935, $10,000,000 and 1937, $12 million (Engel, 1961). By 1941, sales were $19,376,000 (Carlisle, 1987). The reason for these sales increases during the Depression years was that medicine, apparently like breakfast cereal, are among the last items that consumers cut back in hard times. The addition of new products by Upjohn, especially in the vitamin field, also helped sales.

In the decade of the 1930s, the Upjohn company concentrated on four research areas which were to move the firm into a leading position among its competitors. The areas were: (1) vitamins; (2) the development of an anti-coagulant, heparin, which was used by physicians effectively in treating wounded soldiers in World War II; (3) sex hormones; and (4) hormones of the adrenal cortex gland.
Dr. Heyl had developed an early interest in the use of vitamins as a food supplement, especially for children. This followed a discovery in 1922 by scientists at Johns Hopkins University that rickets, a crippling childhood disease, was due to a lack of vitamin D which was available in cod liver oil. Dr. Heyl and his associates developed a new product called Super D Cod Liver Oil which was successful. In later years, Upjohn's interest in vitamins continued with its Unicap, a capsule containing several vitamins recommended for an adult's daily dosage. By 1945, one half of Upjohn's sales of $40,000,000 came from its nutrition supplements led by Unicap (Carlisle, 1987).

Among other products produced by Upjohn during this period were ACE, an adrenal extract used in the treatment of Addison's Disease, a sex hormone called Gonadogen used in the treatment of sterility, delayed puberty and other hormonal abnormalities, Urestrin for the treatment of menopausal symptoms and menstrual disorders and Kaopectate, an antidiarrheal product which came on the market in 1937; by 1985, its sales totaled more than $20,000,000 annually (Carlisle, 1987).

Educational Institutions

Another elite in the community was Western Michigan College of Education which had started as Western State Normal School and which later was to become Western Michigan University. In 1944, it began an evening school program which later became a cooperative effort.
under the joint sponsorship of Western, the city of Kalamazoo school system, Kalamazoo College and Nazareth College (Knauss, 19563). In 1931, Western began radio broadcasts on station WKZO, the city's first station which included lectures by faculty (Knauss, 1953). In 1935, Western formed a chorus of students and area residents which annually presented Handel's Messiah until 1950. The school also sponsored an annual meeting of the Michigan School Band and Orchestra Association and an annual two-week music clinic for high school students and teachers (Knauss, 1953). Another community outreach effort by Western was to encourage its faculty to serve as lecturers and consultants at various city, state and national levels.

Western's faculty continued to grow. By 1925, more than 10% of the 98 faculty members had doctorates and 40% had master's degrees. By 1952, of the 210 faculty, more than 29% had doctorates and more than 61% had master's degrees. (Knauss, 1953). However, the Depression did bring a decline in enrollment at Western which went from 2,316 in 1927-28 to 1,388 in 1933-34. Perhaps the reason for the decline early in the depression was because prospective students were forced to find jobs to support themselves and their families. Education was looked upon as a luxury which many could not afford.

Kalamazoo College also made several contributions to the community in the 1920-50 period. These included a bureau of municipal research which was supported jointly by the city, state and the
College in 1934. The College's department of education sent its students into the city public schools as interns beginning in 1927. The College's history department also conducted seminars of interest to the general public during this time. In addition, the College's various musical concerts, dramatic performances and art exhibits were open to the public. Starting in 1943, the College began to host the National Junior and Boy's Tennis Tournament.

Paper, Celery and Other Industries

Besides The Upjohn Company, other industries in the Kalamazoo area also had a positive effect on the community because they created jobs, especially during the Depression. Two such industries were paper and celery. For many years paper was the city's leading industry. The manufacture of paper and paper products had its beginning in 1866 when the Kalamazoo Paper Company was formed. By 1925, the firm was employing 1,000 workers (Dunbar, 1969). The Bryant Paper Company, established in 1895, had phenomenal growth and by 1925, with 1,200 employees, it had surpassed Kalamazoo Paper (Dunbar, 1969).

Jacob Kindelberger, who helped establish the village of Parchment, saw a need for parchment paper and opened a plant just outside the city limits of Kalamazoo. In time, a separate community with retail stores and homes for the workers grew around the plant. Kindelberger built a community hall which also served as a church. The area was incorporated as the Village of Parchment in 1930. In 1932,
he presented to the village a 38 acre park and recreation area which still bear his name (Dunbar, 1969). In 1939, Parchment became a city.

The paper industry's growth in Kalamazoo led to the formation of auxiliary firms in the area for the manufacture of stationary, business forms, labels, chemicals used by paper mills, brushes for paper machines, paper used in producing gypsum products for building materials, engraving and printer's ink (Dunbar, 1969). Paper and its various products had to be shipped from Kalamazoo elsewhere which added to the business of the railroads and, later, truck lines.

Kalamazoo also was the site of several companies which were unusual but created jobs and income into the community. One was the Shakespeare company which manufactured fishing tackle. By 1925, its business amounted to $1 million a year (Dunbar, 1969). Another was the Gibson company which manufactured guitars, banjos and mandolins. Another was the Grace Corset Company which at one time had 800 employees. For many years, the Kalamazoo Stove Company was one of the largest employers in the areas with 1,100 employees (Dunbar, 1969). Cigar making was another industry that thrived in Kalamazoo during the early years of the century; at one time there were 18 cigar companies in Kalamazoo with a total of 500 employees.

Celery also was an important industry. For years, Kalamazoo was known as Celery City. By 1919 there were 350 celery growers in the area with 950 acres under cultivation; about 500 carloads were
shipped from Kalamazoo during the season. As late as 1947, 1,000 acres in Kalamazoo County were devoted to celery growing. However, the industry declined. One reason may have been because the deep wells which the celery growers needed were being depleted by the paper mills which also used large amounts of water from the wells. (Dunbar, 1969). Another reason for the decline may have been the strong competition from celery growers in California.

Kalamazoo County: 1950-1990

This section will examine Kalamazoo County from several perspectives: economic, social, cultural and religious. It will review the role of its major elites: The Upjohn Company, Western Michigan University and Kalamazoo College on the community.

The decade of the 1950s was a good one for Kalamazoo as well as the nation. The end of World War II brought a surge of prosperity as the automobile and housing industries, among others, began major expansions, following the Depression and the war years when these products were not available. In 1957, Kalamazoo was selected by the U.S. Information Service as the city to be represented, first, in the Window of America exhibit in Great Britain and later at the Berlin Industrial Fair (Dunbar, 1969).

At the end of the 1950s, the City of Kalamazoo hired Victor Gruen, a Vienna-born architect and planner, to develop a plan for the downtown. His plan, which was offered to the city in 1958, included a loop street system encircling the downtown, several parking
lots and garages, a series of pedestrian malls, new buildings and renovation of stores and offices. Although the plan which would have cost between $10 and 12 million was never implemented, the city did construct a two-block pedestrian mall along Burdick street in 1959 at a cost of $58,315. The property owners assumed most of the cost, but the city government also contributed $28,000, and the construction was directed by the Parks and Recreation department of the City of Kalamazoo. This modest project earned Kalamazoo a reputation as Mall City USA. An additional block was added to the mall in 1960 at a cost of $24,000 (Sanders, 1987, pp. 186-7). Sanders explains why the limited project was possible while the larger one, which would have involved federal funds and urban renewal, was not:

The mall promised great things for little money, but perhaps more importantly, it promised no bad or unpleasant things for the downtown area. In part because substantial property ownership rested in the hands of one extended family, a limited downtown project that entailed limited public cost could be implemented. The prospect of urban renewal, with its obvious costs and control by the public sector, was a source of overt conflict. (pp. 193-4)

The decade of the 1960s continued to be prosperous for the community which was reflected in the fact that the Kalamazoo metropolitan area ranked 158th in population among the nation's metropolitan area and 18th on per household income (Dunbar, 1969). Sales tax collections, reflecting retail sales, almost doubled in the same period. Industrial electrical consumption tripled in the first eight years of the decade, another barometer of economic growth. The amount of local bank clearings which had reached the $1 billion in 1951, rose to $3.7 billion in 1968 (Dunbar). The 1960s also saw
the construction of a $30 million General Motors plant on a 40 acre site in Comstock in 1966. The plant employed some 3,000 workers with an annual payroll in excess of $27 million.

However, something else happened in the 1960s decade which was reflective of what was occurring elsewhere in the nation. When the decade began, most of the large companies in Kalamazoo were locally owned (Dunbar, 1969). But by 1968 only one company of 29 which had area operations listed by Fortune as among the nation's 500 largest firms still had its corporate headquarters here and that was the Upjohn Company. Many of the area's paper and other companies had merged with outside interests. "No new paper machines had been installed in local paper mills for three decades" (p. 214). In 1960, two of the largest paper processing firms in the area had merged, Kalamazoo Vegetable Parchment and Sutherland Paper company. In 1966, KVP-Sutherland was acquired by Brown Paper and in 1968 Brown became a part of Gulf Western Corporation. The Rex Paper company was sold to the Allied paper company in 1967 and Allied was subsequently acquired by the SCM Corporation in 1968. Kalamazoo Paper was sold to Georgia Pacific in 1967. Outside of the paper industry, Doubleday Brothers company was acquired by Standard International corporation and the Kalamazoo Pant Company merged with Philips-Van Heusen Corporation (Dunbar, 1969).

During the decade of the 1960s other events occurred which did have a positive effect on the community's quality of life. In 1961, a new art center was completed and was named for Genevieve and
Donald Gilmore who had been its most prominent benefactors. Mrs. Gilmore was a daughter of Dr. William E. Upjohn. In 1962, the Kalamazoo Nature Center was dedicated; it was conceived and directed by H. Lewis Batts, Jr., a Kalamazoo College biologist, who later, together with Burton Upjohn, helped to develop Park View Hills, a large residential community with rental apartments, condominiums and free standing homes in a park-like setting.

The decade of the 1960s also saw another development which emphasized an important facet of the community's life, its religious side. In 1969, the Episcopal diocese of Western Michigan shifted its seat from Grand Rapids to Kalamazoo where it built a new cathedral. The Protestant churches, including the Christian Reform movement, were a vigorous influence. Indeed, according to comments heard in the community, some residents had moved to Kalamazoo specifically because they wanted to raise their families in such an environment. In 1966, 14 church building projects were completed and in 1967 six new sanctuaries were under construction and eight new congregations were formed. (Dunbar, 1969). The Catholic church has had a long presence in the area. The Sisters of St. Joseph operate Borgess Hospital and had been in charge of Nazareth College which, until its closing, included nursing and education among its curricula.

Western Michigan University

In recent years, Western Michigan University which became a
university in 1957, has had a strong influence on the area's quality of life and especially since the decade of the 1980s. Its College of Fine Arts virtually exploded with presentations both on and off campus. The college was established in 1972 and includes four units: (1) the Department of Art, (2) the Department of Dance, (3) the Department of Theater, and (4) the School of Music. For the academic year, 1989-1990, the College gave a total of 1,025 presentations in all of its departments off and on campus reaching an audience of 216,639.

In addition, Western, through its division of continuing education offered courses at six regional campuses in the western part of the state. Off-campus courses also were offered at the Borgess Medical Center, Bronson Methodist Hospital, Loy Norrix high school and the Kalamazoo Nature Center. Members of the faculty were actively involved in community organizations such as Senior Services, the Kalamazoo Forum and such service groups as Rotary and Kiwanis.

The university also was a major contributor to the economic life of Kalamazoo County. In 1991-92, expenditures by the university by its students and visitors in the general community totaled $398,997,000 (Zelder & Sichel, 1992). The university with 3,212 employees, was the third largest employer (2.86%) in the county in 1990, after the Upjohn company with 7,326 employs (6.51%) and General Motors with 3,231 (2.87%).
The Upjohn Company

The Upjohn Company had the largest single economic impact, direct and indirect, on the county for 1990 with an expenditure of $1.21 billion which included wages and salaries for 7,500 employees of $362.6 million or 8.6% of the county's total personal income and $19.8 million in taxes, according to data released by the company. In 1989 the firm's total economic impact, direct and indirect, totaled $1.4 billion and in 1988, direct and indirect, was $1.33 billion. The company did not release data on its expenditures to the community prior to 1988. In addition in 1989 the company gave a total of $10 million to several governmental units in the county, including Kalamazoo, for street and other infrastructure improvements.

By 1990, total net sales for the firm was almost $4 billion with a sharp increase coming after 1982. The level of increase in payroll was much slower. (See Figure 2).

The company also sponsored the Kalamazoo Area Mathematics and Science Center. By 1988, more than 200 high school students were enrolled in the program. The center offered instruction in chemistry, biology, mathematics, computers, physics and geology. The center and the company received an award in Excellence in Partnerships from the Michigan Department of Education.

The Upjohn Family

The family has continued to live in the Kalamazoo area for
Figure 2. Net Sales and Net Payroll: The Upjohn Company.
five generations, an unusual phenomenon for a family with great financial resources. Until 1987 when Dr. Theodore Cooper became its CEO, The Upjohn Company had been led by members of the family. Family members have been active in the community's social, civic, cultural and economic life over the generations. This familial involvement may be attributed to Dr. W.E. Upjohn who believed that it was important to be active in community enhancement, according to comments heard. Martha Parfet, a granddaughter of Dr. Upjohn, is CEO of the Gilmore Brothers Department Stores. She also has been credited by community leaders as a significant force in the creation of the Arcadia Creek project. (Although the project was built in the early 1990s and therefore after 1990, the upper date for this study, community concern for a redevelopment of the area north of the Kalamazoo Mall has been a part of civic thinking since the decade of the 1980s).

Kalamazoo College

The college has and continues to offer lectures, concerts and non-traditional courses for the off-campus community. Its faculty has been active in the political life of the area. In 1955, two departments of the college, economics and political science, set up units to work with local industries and the city government. The department of economics established an industrial relations center in cooperation with local industries in the field of industrial relations management and personnel. The program also provided an
applied field of training for students. The political science department set up an Institute of Government which worked with the Bureau of Municipal Research for training students in local government. Also a cooperative arrangement was established between the College and the Kalamazoo Institute of Fine Arts. High school students in the area had access to the College's athletic facilities such as its football field, baseball diamond and basketball and tennis courts.

Among the faculty members at the college who have been active in the community was the late Dr. Raymond Hightower, a professor of political science and anthropology, who from 1957 to 1977 was a member of the Kalamazoo City Commission and mayor from 1963 to 1967. He also was a member of the Kalamazoo County Board of Supervisors from 1959 to 1968. Another faculty member who had been active in political and civic affairs in Kalamazoo was the late Dr. Elton Ham, a professor of political science, who served as executive director of the Downtown Kalamazoo Association.

In 1971 the College established the Frederick W. Heyl scholarship program which provides for tuition at the College for qualifying graduates of Kalamazoo and Loy Norris high schools. The Lee Stryker Center for Management Studies and Educational Services for the business community has been a part of the college since 1978.

The Kalamazoo City Commission

A thoughtful commentary on the city commission came in a
doctoral dissertation by the late Dr. Elton Ham, professor of Political Science at Kalamazoo College. In his dissertation (1969), Dr. Ham analyzed the changes in the community's political life from the late 1920s to the late 1960s. The general feeling in the community during the 1920s and 1930s among community leaders was "that the best plan the city of Kalamazoo could follow to encourage economic growth was that of maintaining moderate taxes and no debt while providing good basic services" (p. 35).

From 1918 to 1967, political leadership had come from primarily upper to upper middle class businessmen. However, Ham (1969) saw the year 1950 as pivotal in the life of the commission and, thereby, the city.

Before 1950, Kalamazoo's policies were conservative, meaning moderate to low in financial expenditures and limited in expanding the role of local government. After 1951, the policies became liberal, meaning comparatively higher expenditures and a tendency to expand the role of local government. (p. 55)

He goes on to say that from 1951 to 1967, the leadership in the city commission moved gradually toward a very liberal cross-class coalition. Policies of this coalition included policies of planning and economic development. Then in 1967 the incumbent political leaders were defeated and replaced by new leaders representing primarily middle and lower middle class groups; policies immediately changed to those of very little planning, moderate amenities and no redevelopment. (p. 219).

Comments heard in Kalamazoo in the decade of the 1980s about the commission were sometimes critical of its operation. Such comments have been that the commission, possibly from the decade of the
1980s, has declined in its effectiveness. The impression that the commission, by responding to all complaints, is doing the job which should be performed by a city manager and not a commission, whose function is policy making. Comments also have been heard that the Kalamazoo city government is unfriendly towards the business community and, as a result, businesses have been reluctant to locate in this area.

One question that arises is whether the fact that so many companies in the area merged with firms located elsewhere during the 1960s and later, has had an effect on the community's quality of life. Specifically, did the changes in the makeup of the Kalamazoo City Commission decline in effectiveness, as some have charged, because of changes in the area's business leadership? The assumption is that the executives in those Kalamazoo firms that had merged were not as concerned about the city's quality of life as had been the executives involved in the merger who often were the owners of the company and lived in the area.

Another critical position about the Kalamazoo City Commission came from an academic (Sanders, 1987). He wrote,

- fiscal concern (by the Kalamazoo City Commission hindered development plans by the city. Kalamazoo's history is one of repeated failure of government initiatives and of limits on business and economic leadership. Unlike the classic 'elitist' community in which the business and economic elite easily manage its desires, Kalamazoo's economic powers have gotten far less than their full menu of development projects and public support. (p. 197)

The voters have been able to define fiscal policy and political coalitions. "The results are local politics that consistently revolve..."
around issues of taxation and government cost and a government that is restricted on both revenues and functions" (p. 197). He labeled the Kalamazoo City government as caretaker because it lacks a base of popular support. As a result, Sanders wrote, "the city commission pursues traditional urban services and those few additional functions that are costless or nearly so" (p. 197).

As if to confirm Sanders' comments, shortly after the publication of his article, the voters of Kalamazoo rejected a city income tax proposal which the city commission supported. Earlier, in the mid 1980s, the voters had defeated a request for a general obligation bond issue for funds for a proposed railroad overpass on the east side of the downtown area to prevent long traffic tie-ups due to trains moving at street level. Opposition to the overpass came from several groups including environmentalists, persons who were concerned about the aesthetics of the overpass and neighborhood groups near the proposed overpass site.

Meanwhile, in the late 1970s, business and civic leaders in the downtown area became increasingly concerned about the deterioration of conditions in the north end of the area adjacent to the rear of the Kalamazoo Center and extending east and west for several blocks. From this concern arose a movement that resulted in a significant redevelopment program, the Arcadia Creek project. Three factors indirectly led to the creation of the project:

1. A need to repair the Arcadia Creek storm sewer system in the north downtown area.
2. A recognition by community leaders, including the business elite, that Arcadia Creek could be a focal point for a redevelopment program for the north downtown area which would hopefully remove the crime threat.

3. A tornado in 1980 which destroyed several buildings in the area and resulted in vacant land which could be available for new buildings as a part of the redevelopment project.

The three factors had a synergistic impact on the thinking of the leaders who were concerned about the area’s decay. With the Upjohn Company taking the lead an organization was set up to develop plans for the construction of the project in the early 1990s.

Conclusion

What is it about Kalamazoo County that makes it a community with a good quality of life? In response one hears comments that a combination of forces are responsible. These forces are higher educational institutions, a strong work ethic, a predominantly white collar work force, and the creative force from various cultural institutions along with religious diversity all of which combine into a synergism that has a positive impact. In the 100 years covered by this study, Kalamazoo County grew from a rural community, not too unlike hundreds of other areas in the nation, into a thriving metropolis.
The period 1890 to 1920 was significant for Will Keith Kellogg, one of the elites in this study. It was during this time that Kellogg began his corn flakes company (1905) which ultimately led to the great wealth that was channelled into the Kellogg Foundation, another elite, that he founded in 1930.

The Kellogg family which came to Calhoun County in the mid 19th century was poor, like most of its neighbors. W. K. Kellogg's father, John Preston Kellogg, after initially farming, became a broom manufacturer. Will Keith was largely raised by older sisters because his mother was kept busy with new babies.

A major influence in the lives of the Kellogg family in Calhoun County beginning in the mid 19th century was the Seventh Day Adventist church and specifically, its leaders, James and Ellen White. The church was to be especially important to John Harvey Kellogg, who became a physician, and to his brother Will Keith. Two events occurred in the lives of the Kellogg family in the mid 19th century which led to a series of subsequent events that were to have a profound impact on the lives of many people in Calhoun County, the nation, and various parts of the world.

The first event occurred shortly after John Preston Kellogg lost his first wife and an infant daughter because of what he believed to be poor treatment for their illnesses by the attending physician in Calhoun County. It was at this time that Kellogg attended a prayer meeting held by James and Ellen White who led the
Seventh Day Adventist church. Their message, in part, which other Protestant fundamentalist religious groups also were preaching, was that many illnesses were the result of poor eating habits. The Whites urged their listeners to stop eating meat and lard, and to stop drinking coffee and hard liquor. The Whites may also have told their listeners to substitute cereal grains for meat. Whatever he heard impressed John Preston, and he and his large family joined the Adventist church.

Some years later, the second event occurred: the Whites noticed one of the Kellogg children, John Harvey, a bright and energetic young man, and offered to pay for his education and suggested that he become a medical doctor. He accepted their offer. When he completed his medical studies, the Whites offered him the position to head a sanitorium which the church supported in Battle Creek. It came to be called The San and it offered church members as well as others a regimen that included a diet of non-meat foods such as cereal grains offered in a variety of dishes. Dr. John, as he came to be called, turned The San into a world famous institution. Dr. John also hired his brother, Will Keith, to be bookkeeper and, later, business manager of The San. Will Keith was shy, inner-directed, sometimes moody, who quietly went about his task of operating The San as he would any other business. By day, Will Keith saw to it that The San operated efficiently. At night, however, he experimented with various cereal grains trying to improve their palatability for The San’s guests.
During this same period of time, the 1890s, another important event occurred. In 1891, Charles W. Post, an unsuccessful entrepreneur, arrived at The San with his wife. He had most recently been in Texas where he had tried to sell neckties or blankets. He was in poor health and had come to The San for its cures. Post and his wife had very little money and were unable to live at The San. Instead they rented a nearby room in a private home. Each day, Mrs. Post would push her husband in a wheelchair to The San for his daily regimen.

Post, an observant man, noted the kinds of foods served at the San, especially the cereal grains and the coffee-like drink which also was made of grains. In 1892, Post apparently had recovered physically as well as financially, because he was able to buy a farm just outside of Battle Creek where he started a health resort similar to The San. He also served a cereal and a coffee-like drink similar to what was served at The San. In a short time he gave up the health resort but instead began to sell his cereal and coffee-like drink to the general community. He called his cereal Grape Nuts Flakes and the drink, Postum.

Will Keith Kellogg noted Post's activities with keen and increasingly angry interest. He knew exactly what Post was doing; he was financially exploiting the foods that were served at The San. Will Keith told Dr. John that they should also sell their cereals to the general community. But Dr. John refused, saying that as a physician he could not ethically sell a food product which he served to
his guests at The San. Therefore, in 1905 Will Keith severed his relationship with The San and his brother, and began to manufacture and sell his cereal under the Kellogg name to the public.

In this first period, 1890 to 1920, two elites emerged who were to use their considerable wealth for the benefit of their home community. The two were C. W. Post and Will Keith Kellogg. From 1892 until he committed suicide in 1914, Post amassed sufficient wealth to build a hotel and a theater in Battle Creek. His widow, Leila, helped to build a hospital and a botanic garden. Kellogg's major contributions to his community were to come after 1920. However, during the years from 1905 to 1920 he built a profitable business.

However, in 1913 an event occurred that may have planted in Kellogg's mind the idea of using his wealth to help others, especially children. One of Kellogg's grandsons, a two-year-old toddler, fell out of a second story window in the Kellogg residence in Battle Creek. The child suffered severe injuries and almost died. Kellogg spent a large sum to save the child's life although he remained handicapped for the rest of his life. After that experience, Kellogg began to think about the other handicapped children who did not have a wealthy grandfather to help. According to another grandson, this was influential in Kellogg's decision to establish his foundation many years later which would include financial support for programs directed at helping child welfare (Williamson, 1983).

But there might have also been another factor going back to his
youth when he was an active member of the Adventist church that influenced his decision to set up his foundation. An Adventist publication, The Advocate, stressed "sound principles of healthful living through diet, exercise and philanthropic outlook" (Handbook of Denominations, 1985, p. 22). Although Kellogg was no longer an active member of the church, its teachings may have led him to his philanthropy.

One might say that Post's success acted as an incentive to Kellogg to start his own company. However, one could also assume that even if there had been no Post, Kellogg would have started his company because he correctly understood that a market existed for his product. Nevertheless, we cannot know if Kellogg would have been as competitive as he was if there had not been a Post. But Post did exist and the strong competitiveness between them was a reality. Post's success certainly was a factor in Kellogg's drive to capture the cereal market and, in turn, this competitiveness led to his success.

Calhoun County: 1920-1950

During the decade of the 1920s, Kellogg began to give his money away in very large sums to help the people of Calhoun County, especially poor children. In 1925, he established the Fellowship Corporation which was an agency through which he made a philanthropic funding of $1 million for various purposes including a bird sanctuary, an experimental farm and the Ann Kellogg School for
Handicapped Children. In 1930, he replaced the Fellowship Corporation with the Kellogg Foundation with another gift of $1 million in Kellogg Company stock. During the decade of the 1930s, he was to give the Foundation further gifts which totaled $45 million, all in stock.

During the decade, the Foundation made contributions totaling $8 million, a very large sum during the Depression years. Much of the early work of the Foundation was directed toward helping children, especially the rural poor. The first program was the Michigan Community Health Project which covered seven counties (Calhoun, Allegan, Barry, Eaton, Branch, Hillsdale, and Van Buren). This project provided health care for school children in these counties, oftentimes the first such care they had ever received. The project also tried to improve the administration of area hospitals. It was the result of a study by the Foundation which had found that although these counties had the usual number of physicians and dentists, health programs for children were practically non-existent. The health program was administered to the children in the schools (No author, The First 11 Years, 1942).

As a result of the success with its first project, the Foundation decided that henceforth it would use its resources to fund the application of knowledge. For example, it would help professionals, such as physicians and dentists, to help needy children. The Foundation also decided early on that it would support projects to improve school administrations. Kellogg believed that education
offered the greatest opportunity for "really improving one generation over another" (Powell, 1956, p. 331). Perhaps Kellogg expressed this thought because he had received a very poor education (he left school at the age of 14 and never returned except for a four month course at the Parsons Business School in Kalamazoo). He seemed keenly aware of his lack of education. Once when a university wanted to present him with an honorary degree, he refused, saying that he didn't deserve it because he was not an educated person.

The Foundation also decided that the needs of rural children were greater than those of urban children. According to *The First 11 Years*, (No Author),

this reversal of the old creed has been brought about because the cities for self-preservation had to develop compensatory services to protect their inhabitants and promote their health, education and welfare. Philanthropy has made many contributions to urban life and to colleges and universities; less has been done for the country child. (p. 4)

Kellogg may have expressed his basic philosophy for the Foundation in an early comment to Dr. A.C. Selmon, the Foundation's first president: "I want to establish a Foundation that will help handicapped children everywhere to face the future with confidence and with a strong-rooted security in their trust of this country and its institutions" (No Author, *The First 11 Years*, p. 13). The Foundation also developed a philosophy for philanthropy after a two year study of other foundations which confirmed Kellogg's view.

"Funds committed to a foundations' stewardship are the risk capital of society. Foundations can well be risk takers on man's
cultural, intellectual and humanitarian frontiers" (No Author, The First 11 Years, p. 13). Further, the board of the Foundation and Kellogg agreed (Powell, 1956), that

the role of the philanthropic foundation was not as a source of funds for traditional charitable purposes but instead it should be an instrument of social progress rather than of social amelioration and with its 'risk capital' or 'seed money' should assume the risks of enterprises which, because of the project's experimental character, might prove an unwarranted burden on the administrative budgets of sponsoring institutions. Thus the foundation could be in a position to make vital contributions to the advancement of education, the arts, and many other aspects of human culture and welfare. (p. 312)

A point to be made in the life of the foundation from 1930 to 1950 is the large number of buildings that it helped to build in the state of Michigan with several in the Battle Creek area. They include: The School of Public Health at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; the W.K. Kellogg Auditorium in Battle Creek; the Ann J. Kellogg School for Children with Special Needs, Battle Creek, and the South Haven Hospital, South Haven.

Although the Depression had disastrous effects on the nation's business community, sales for Kellogg Company cereals, as in the case of Upjohn Company stock, actually increased. The explanation may be that Depression or not, people have to eat. And, if the particular food item, such as Kellogg's Corn Flakes, is inexpensive and nourishing, so much the better. Just before the Depression, Kellogg in 1929 began a $1 million addition to his plant which was fortuitous since his sales continued to increase and the company, because of the addition, was able to handle its increased sales.
In 1930, the company took several actions that were clearly beneficial to its employees and the community. First, it went on a 6-hour day; next, it built a park and an athletic field for its employees and also offered cultural programs. Kellogg also completed the 100 room Kellogg Hotel in Battle Creek. In the early 1930s, as the Depression deepened, he doubled his advertising budget (Masse & Schmidt, 1984). "By 1935, his (Kellogg's) company paid one of the highest wages in the state, 75 cents an hour for a 36 hour week" (p. 90).

Besides the activities of Kellogg, his company and the Foundation, other events occurred that benefitted the community. C.W. Post's widow, Leila, and later, their daughter, Marjorie Merriweather Post, carried on his generosity to the community. In 1922, Mrs. Post gave the city of Battle Creek a 72 acre tract on which was built an arboretum, Mrs. Post also underwrote the cost of a new hospital which bore her name. In all, she gave more than $1 million to the community. In 1926, she was honored as one of the city's principal benefactors. Their daughter, Marjorie Merriweather Post, who became a Washington socialite, provided funds for several Battle Creek organizations including the Battle Creek Symphony, Lakeview Hospital, and the C.W. Post Athletic Field with its track, stadium and tennis courts. The Depression also was responsible for an event in Calhoun County that actually benefitted the community. In 1933, Fort Custer, which was established near Battle Creek during World War I, came back to life when Civilian Conservation Corps recruits
arrived to landscape the area. In 1936 two theater groups combined to become the Battle Creek Civic Theater. In 1946, it was reorganized as the present Civic Theater.

Calhoun County: 1950-1990

In the period 1950 to 1990, Calhoun County underwent considerable change in its business life and, therefore, its quality of life. At the beginning of the period, the central city was in the economic doldrums, reflecting the loss of defense industry factories from World War II and the Korean War. Its major pillars, the Kellogg Company and the Post Toasties company remained but little was happening to improve the community's quality of life. The city's population also was declining from a peak of 55,000 in 1950 to 35,000 in 1960. The various actors, including the business community, appeared passive. There also was a lull in the financial help from the Kellogg Foundation to Battle Creek because the city was not requesting help.

In the decade of the 1960s, the community experienced some rejuvenation. One positive factor was the formation of the Miller Foundation by Robert Miller, Sr., publisher emeritus of the Battle Creek Enquirer. The Miller foundation took the lead in moving to redevelop the city's downtown which in the early 1960s showed signs of the need for serious rejuvenation.

Another event occurred at this time which was to result in the creation of the Ft. Custer Industrial Park. The federal government
offered a part of the camp to the city of Battle Creek at below market value. The mayor of Battle Creek and the city manager undertook to convince the city commission that such a purchase was good for the community. The two succeeded and the Ft. Custer Industrial Park was created. Once the park was a reality, another example of leadership arose in the marketing organization which was established to locate and convince prospective tenants to move to the new site. The marketing group was called Battle Creek Unlimited.

In the 1970s decade, leadership in the community began to expand with more active participation by officials of the Kellogg Company and two other cereal companies, Grape Nuts and Ralston Purina. By the 1980s, the business leadership emerged as central to the community's economic growth. Its strength was in the Ft. Custer Industrial Park and Battle Creek Unlimited, the successful marketing group. A downtown redevelopment program with the new Kellogg Company headquarters and McCamly Center also added to the community's economic strength. (In the early 1990s, a new headquarters of the Kellogg Foundation was built downtown.)

During the period 1950-1990 two major events occurred which changed the economy of Calhoun County, especially the central city, Battle Creek. The first event was in the 1960s when the city of Battle Creek purchased a part of Ft. Custer which adjoined the city. The site was to become an industrial park which, by 1990, had more than 70 companies including several from Japan, Germany, Belgium and Denmark.
The other event was the merger of the city of Battle Creek with the township of Battle Creek in 1982. The merger, which increased the city's population from 35,000 to 55,000, occurred because of a threat from the management of the Kellogg Company, the city's largest employer and taxpayer. Kellogg officials told the city and township officials that the company was planning to build a $60 million headquarters building but would not do so in Battle Creek unless the city and township merged.

The firm's management told Battle Creek city officials that the company was concerned that the city was not the best place for the new headquarters building. One reason for Kellogg's concern was the city's poor tax base. The city's economic problems was due in part to the multiplicity of township governments (a total of six) adjacent to the city. Kellogg management also believed that a merger between the city of Battle Creek and one of the townships, also named Battle Creek, would improve the city's tax base because it would allow the city to expand its business area.

As of 1989, the Kellogg Company was the principal firm in Battle Creek with 5,000 employees; next was the Defense Logistics Center of the U.S. government with 4,500 and the Veterans Administration hospital with 1,400. The Ft. Custer Industrial Park had about 6,000 employees among its 70 companies. Property taxes paid by Kellogg to Calhoun County in 1990 totaled $12,021,108, 19.93% of total taxes paid to the county. Taxes paid by the companies in the industrial park in 1990 totaled $5,670,983. One author (Thompson, No
Date, p. 23) said that the merger of the city of Battle Creek and the township was unusual because the national trend was against such mergers since World War II by a ratio of almost three to one. Of 54 attempts to merge city governments with surrounding governmental units only 13 succeeded. Thompson said "Kellogg's mobility and dominant position in the economy permitted the company to force a choice between community and security" (Thompson, No Date, p. 23). Thompson also said that the percentage favoring the merger prior to the Kellogg action in 1982 was 41%. In the election, 64.3% voted for the merger.

A survey in 1989-90 in the city of Battle Creek, conducted by the Miller Foundation, provided some insights into the perception of quality of life in that community. The survey was directed to two groups in the city: residents and community leaders. Both groups generally agreed that what they liked best about the city was its accessibility and small town atmosphere, both subjective social indicators. What residents liked least was the problem of crime and drug use, both objective indicators. The community leaders apparently did not identify crime and drug use as major problems but they did cite racism, another subjective variable. The need for action against crime and drugs to improve the quality of life of Battle Creek received the high rating of 92% among residents while leaders rated that need at 33%. Also residents gave the issue of streets in need of repair a score of 72% compared with one third of the leaders (33%). While residents cited the need to attract new business as
high (77%), the response by leaders was about one third (31%) which is surprising since one would think that community leaders who often are business people would recognize that new business development is important to the quality of life in a community. Perhaps a reason for this score was a fear of competition by the local business persons.

By 1980, businessmen had become more active in civic affairs. No capital fund drive involving the city failed to meet its goal in the decade, according to comments in the community. Other comments attributed the resurgence of the city’s downtown to the merger of the city and township of Battle Creek. Before the merger, business in general and retail business in particular was on the downside. But with the merger came the development of the Lakeview mall just off highway 94. The mall made Battle Creek a destination for shoppers. Before the mall, shoppers from Battle Creek went to the Kalamazoo malls. A strong philanthropic feeling exists in the county as demonstrated by the number of its foundations: three in Battle Creek, two in Marshall which has a population of 7,500, and one in Albion which is about the same size as Marshall.

In the second half of the 19th century, as noted earlier, the United States as a nation was moving from a rural agrarian society to an industrial one especially in the north and midwest. Many persons were reluctant to face the anticipated perils of this new era. Some fundamentalist religious movements assumed a role to ease such concerns. One such group was the Seventh Day Adventists which was to
have not only a strong religious influence on the various members of
the Kellogg family but perhaps indirectly on the Kellogg Foundation,
a force that has affected the lives of millions.

Why did Kellogg become the philanthropist that he became?
Eventually Kellogg was to give his foundation practically his entire
fortune which was a 60% interest in the Kellogg company (he kept
only 2-1/2% for himself and gave the remaining 57-1/2% to the foun­
dation). Another question one might ask is: Why did Kellogg, a man
not known for demonstrable affection have such strong feelings for
the welfare of children?

First, what were the forces within him that directed him to
such beneficent philanthropy? A very early insight into his desire
to help others may be seen in a comment in his diary for December
25, 1879. He was 19 years old at the time and had just returned to
Battle Creek after 10 months in Texas trying to sell brooms which
his father manufactured. He wrote: "Merry Christmas--it has been
all day. I gave about $18 worth (presumably brooms) to make people
happy" (Battle Creek Enquirer, March 4, 1956). This event may have
been a forerunner of his desire to make people happy by becoming one
of the most generous givers of all time through his foundation.

His Adventist upbringing could have influenced his decision to
use his wealth for philanthropy. An Adventist publication, The Ad­
vocate, stressed "sound principles of healthful living through diet,
exercise and philanthropic outlook" (No author, Handbook of Denomi­
nations, 1988, p. 22). Several comments by Kellogg support this

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assumption. Soon after he established his company in 1905, he wrote a friend: "It appears my business will be a financial success and it is my hope that anything I accumulate can be used for the benefit of mankind" (Powell, 1956, p. 293). At another time in 1909 he wrote a friend: "If I become prosperous in my business, I expect to make good use of any wealth that may come to me" (Powell, 1956, p. 293). Again, he wrote in the Kellogg Foundation Annual Report, (1980),

I never at any period in my life aspired to become wealthy but the fierce competition perhaps developed a fighting spirit and in the effort to secure our share (of the cereal market) the business has succeeded. It is my hope that the property that Providence has brought me may be helpful to many others and that I may be found a faithful steward. (p. 8)

The pro-rural attitude of the Kellogg Foundation, especially as it related to rural children, is an example of the gemeinschaft versus gesellschaft concept in operation. The rural, not the city, child was to be helped because the urban youngster already had resources of help, according to the foundation. This early pro-rural attitude of the foundation may explain why many of its projects have supported agricultural and rural needs elsewhere in the world.

Indicators of Quality of Life

In reviewing the data on the six dimensions for each county one sees a substantial increase over the years in the proportion of persons 25 years and older who had completed more than four years of college. The increase for Kalamazoo County from 1970 to 1990 almost doubled, from 14.5% to 27.1%, while in Calhoun County for the same
time period the increase was also high, 8.1% to 13.8% (See Table 1).

**Table 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1940a</th>
<th>1950b</th>
<th>1960c</th>
<th>1970d</th>
<th>1980e</th>
<th>1990f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalamazoo</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calhoun</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a U.S. Bureau of Census, 1943.  

The high figure for Kalamazoo County, starting in 1970, may reflect the change in Western Michigan College from a four year undergraduate institution to Western Michigan University in 1957. By 1970 the university had 4,201 graduate students; 1980, 4,779, and 1990, 6,397. (Personal communication with Registrar, Western Michigan University).

Infant mortality for Kalamazoo County in 1940 was 30.3 while in Calhoun County the number was much higher, 48.2. By 1950, the rates were almost the same for the two counties, 22.7 for Kalamazoo and 23.6 for Calhoun. In 1960, the rate for Kalamazoo County again dropped considerably (to 15.7) while for Calhoun County, the number increased somewhat to 26.5. In 1970, the rate for Kalamazoo County

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continued to drop to 13.8 while the rate for Calhoun County, 31.4, was more than twice as high as that of Kalamazoo. By 1980, the rates for the two counties was almost identical, 12.4 for Kalamazoo and 12.9 for Calhoun. But in 1990 the rate for Calhoun County, 11.6, was much higher than that of Kalamazoo, 8.2. (See Table 2).

Table 2
Infant Deaths per 1,000 Births

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1940(^a)</th>
<th>1950(^b)</th>
<th>1960(^c)</th>
<th>1970(^d)</th>
<th>1980(^e)</th>
<th>1990(^f)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalamazoo</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calhoun</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)U.S. Bureau of Census, 1960.  
\(^e\)U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1980.  
\(^f\)U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, 1990.

One reason for the low figure for Kalamazoo, especially in 1990, could have been the neo-natal center at Bronson Methodist Memorial Hospital which was able to save infants who might otherwise have died. For the state of Michigan, the rate in 1980 was 12.8, similar to that of both Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties. For the nation, in 1988, infant mortality was 11.2, almost the same as Calhoun County and higher than Kalamazoo, 8.2 in 1990.

The third dimension, the number of physicians per 100,000 pop-
ulation in a community, showed steady growth in both counties for the years 1970, 1980 and 1990. Although the actual numbers of physicians for Kalamazoo County were much higher than in Calhoun County, the rate of growth from 1980 to 1990 in Calhoun, 154 to 204, was good while Kalamazoo’s rate of increase was higher, 475 to 639. (See Table 3).

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1990</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalamazoo</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calhoun</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The national figure for physicians in 1989 per 100,000 population was 207, considerably less than for Kalamazoo County but substantially more than Calhoun County.

Serious crimes per 100,000 population showed a lower rate of increase, 16% for Calhoun County over Kalamazoo County, 23%, for 1991 over 1980. (See Table 4).

The dimension of median family income showed substantial increases in both Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties starting in 1950. By 1990, the difference between the two counties was wide with $31,060 for Kalamazoo and $27,476 for Calhoun. (See Table 5).
Table 4
Serious Crimes per 100,000 People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalamazoo</td>
<td>5,224</td>
<td>6,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calhoun</td>
<td>6,024</td>
<td>7,158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 5
Median Family Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalamazoo</td>
<td>3,605</td>
<td>6,526</td>
<td>11,037</td>
<td>18,530</td>
<td>31,060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calhoun</td>
<td>3,411</td>
<td>6,376</td>
<td>10,789</td>
<td>17,603</td>
<td>27,476</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Median family income for the state of Michigan for 1990 was $36,652. Median family income for 1990 in the nation was $35,225.

Both counties were below the median family incomes for both the state and the nation.

The sixth dimension, the median value of homes, showed steady increases for both counties with substantial upswings in 1980 and

### Table 6

**Median Value of Homes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1930a</th>
<th>1940b</th>
<th>1950c</th>
<th>1960d</th>
<th>1970e</th>
<th>1980f</th>
<th>1990g</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalamazoo</td>
<td>4,569</td>
<td>3,173</td>
<td>7,315</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>16,747</td>
<td>40,800</td>
<td>62,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calhoun</td>
<td>4,579</td>
<td>2,708</td>
<td>6,933</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>13,926</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>42,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

^aU.S. Bureau of Census, 1933.
^bU.S. Bureau of Census, 1943.
^cU.S. Census of Housing, 1950.
^eU.S. Census of Housing, 1970.
^fU.S. Census of Housing, 1980.
^gU.S. Census of Housing, 1990.

Median home value for the nation in 1990 was $78,300 and $60,600 for the state.

Table 7 (below) shows new housing built in Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties for 1969-1970, 1979-1980 and 1989-1990. New homes generally cost more than older homes. In Table 7, except for 1969-70, when construction of new housing for Calhoun County was almost double that of Kalamazoo County, the latter was far ahead of the former. In 1979-80, new housing in Kalamazoo was more than double that of Calhoun and for 1989-90, new housing in Kalamazoo was almost five times higher than new housing in Calhoun.
Table 7
New Housing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Kalamazoo</th>
<th>Calhoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969-70a</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>1,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80b</td>
<td>2,730</td>
<td>1,058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-90c</td>
<td>2,507</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 8 shows the populations of Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties by decade during the 100 year history of the study.

In looking at the populations of the two counties over the 100 year period, (Table 8), it is interesting to note that the populations of the two counties remained roughly the same, with Calhoun in the lead until 1930 when Kalamazoo assumed the lead. However, the difference between the two counties was not large until 1960 when Kalamazoo took a commanding lead which increased in 1970, 1980 and 1990. In part this increase in Kalamazoo might be explained by the growth of Western Michigan College which became a university in the decade of the 1960s followed by a subsequent jump in faculty and student enrollment especially at the graduate level. The growth of the Upjohn company in that same period also provides an explanation for the population increase in Kalamazoo. Another reason for the population growth was the opening of the General Motors plant in
Comstock in 1965.

Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Kalamazoo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>39,273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>44,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>60,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>71,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>91,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>100,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>126,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>169,712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>201,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>212,378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>223,411</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Calhoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>43,501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>49,315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>56,638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>72,918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>87,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>94,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>120,813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>138,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>141,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>141,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>135,982</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Sales and payroll for some of The Upjohn Company had a steady increase from 1952, the first year the company began to make such data public, until 1990 (See Figure 2). As sales increased so did the firm's payroll although starting in 1972, the rate of growth for payroll was substantially less than sales. The company's sales

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growth, along with increased payroll, were factors in the amount of money the company put into the community including purchases by the firm of merchandise from local businesses.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Following are brief summaries of the history of Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties during the 100 years, 1890 to 1990, which is the period covered in this study. When one looks at the two counties over the 100 year period, one can see many similarities. Both counties from the earliest days were populated by English, Dutch and German families who had a strong religious and work ethic. For the most part the six dimensions used as social indicators in this study moved upward in both counties although those for Kalamazoo were somewhat higher by the end of the 100 year period.

The major individual elites in each county, Dr. Upjohn in Kalamazoo and Kellogg in Calhoun, also had similar backgrounds. Both came from English stock, both were competitive entrepreneurs. But, perhaps the most notable similarity between the two men insofar as this study is concerned was the strong sense of the importance to each of using their fortunes to help their communities improve the quality of life. Both men looked upon themselves as stewards of God in dispensing their fortunes to help others.

In Kalamazoo, another elite, Western Michigan University, also began its life at the turn of the century in 1903. By 1990, it had become Western Michigan University with an enrollment of 26,000, and a growing graduate program, including several departments that
offered the Ph.D. degree; the university also had several satellite campuses elsewhere in the southwest area of the state.

The Upjohn Company grew and prospered especially following World War II. By 1990, the company, with some 7,000 employees in the area, including more than a thousand with either a Ph.D. or a M.D. degree, along with Western Michigan University, is the major reason why more than 25% of the adults in Kalamazoo County have at least a four year college degree. Also, in recent years, the company has put into the community annually $1.2 billion, including taxes, salaries, and purchases from local businesses.

Another major elite is the Kalamazoo Foundation which has put about $85,000,000 in the community from 1925 to 1990. Kalamazoo College, which traces its history back to the earliest days of the community, is also an elite. The college sponsors various musical and theater programs including the Bach Festival which brings to the campus internationally renowned musicians for concerts which are open to the community. The college also sponsors an international tennis tournament for young men.

In Calhoun County, the major elites are the Kellogg Company, the Kellogg Foundation and the Fort Custer Industrial Park. Through the years, the company has kept a low public profile except in 1982 when it threatened to move out of Battle Creek if the city refused to annex itself to an adjoining township. The company believed that the city, by annexing the township, would substantially improve its economic viability; the city and township did indeed become a
single community and the general area has prospered. The company shortly thereafter built a $60 million headquarters building downtown, followed soon afterwards by a new headquarters building for the Foundation nearby.

Perhaps the company's most important role as an elite is the fact that it provides the financial underpinning for the Foundation. The Foundation's assets are company stock. If the stock increases in value, the Foundation's assets also increase. Since 1930, when the Foundation was created, it has contributed about $85,000,000 to Calhoun County, a sum similar to that contributed by the Kalamazoo Foundation to Kalamazoo County over the same general time period. The Kellogg Company also is the county's largest employer and taxpayer. In recent years, Ft. Custer Industrial Park, has emerged as an elite because it has provided many jobs and much tax revenue.

Conclusion

This dissertation began with a basic question: Was elite behavior a factor in shaping the quality of life in Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties during a 100 year period, from 1890 to 1990? The study provided two case histories that examined the role that certain elites in each of these two southwestern Michigan communities played in forming quality of life.

Three elites in Kalamazoo County and three in Calhoun County in the beginning period of this study were responsible to a large extent for the kind of community that each became and, as a
consequence, for the particular quality of life that arose in these counties. In Kalamazoo, the elites responsible for establishing the particular quality of life ethos were: Dr. W.E. Upjohn, The Upjohn Company and Western Normal School, which was later to become Western Michigan University. In Calhoun County, the elites were W.K. Kellogg, the Kellogg Company and the Kellogg Foundation.

Both Dr. Upjohn and Kellogg were really the major elite figures in this study because they were responsible for founding their respective firms. These firms were to set the tone of the two communities which continues to the present. The Upjohn Company is a research oriented organization which employs a large number of scientists and, as such, is a white collar organization. The Kellogg Company manufactures and distributes breakfast food and most of its employees are, and have been since its inception, blue collar. It is this essential factor, Kalamazoo, white collar, and Calhoun, blue collar, which has continued to be the major single factor over the course of this study in determining quality of life levels in each community. Western State Normal School at first had only a minimal affect on quality of life. Its faculty, although white collar, was not of sufficient size to influence the life of the community. But over the years, as it grew, its influence became more apparent.

The single most important indicator that we can show is the level of adult education where, as noted in Table 1, the number of persons 25 years of age and older with at least a college degree in 1990 totaled 27.1%, more than double the 13.3% for Calhoun County.
The Kalamazoo figure can be explained by several factors. In 1990, Western Michigan University, with a student enrollment of 27,000, had about 7,000 graduate students and about 800 faculty members. Faculty at Kalamazoo College and Kalamazoo Valley Community College also influenced the high level of adult education in the community. Another factor was the number of practicing physicians in Kalamazoo County, about 600. Yet another reason for the high level of adult education in Kalamazoo is this: Spouses of persons with professional or advanced academic degrees often also have one or more college degrees.

The importance of these data is that persons with at least a four year college degree prefer living in a community that includes a high level of amenities such as good schools, good health care facilities, good cultural activities and overall pleasant living conditions. Such persons often are responsible for such amenities which, in turn, can encourage other families with a similar educational background to live in such a community.

As the Upjohn and Kellogg companies grew and prospered, each continued to reflect the same dichotomy, one white collar and the other blue collar. As Western Michigan University grew with six satellite campuses, the community not only increased its white collar presence but also benefitted from the many intellectual and cultural activities which the University generated. This population also supported the cultural and academic activities in the community. Calhoun County, including the Ft. Custer Industrial Park,
continued to reflect its blue collar population.

The founders of the two major elite companies, Dr. Upjohn and Kellogg were as different from one another as were their firms. Dr. Upjohn, from all accounts, was a kindly man with a strong feeling for his family and his community. He took an active interest in its civic life, helping to bring a non-political city commission to Kalamazoo as well as serving as its first mayor under the new system. Kellogg, on the other hand, was not remembered as a particularly warm and affectionate person although his foundation, devoted to health care, education and improvement of agricultural methods, early on was oriented to the welfare of children.

Another difference between the two derives from the fact that Kellogg's daughter and his two sons did not remain in Battle Creek in contrast to many of the Upjohns in Kalamazoo. Nor did Kellogg take an active role in Battle Creek's civic or cultural life. Nonetheless, in the mid-1930s Kellogg gave almost his entire fortune in the form of Kellogg Company stock to his foundation which by 1990 had assets of $3 billion.

The two elite families, the Upjohns and the Kelloggs, related differently to their home communities, as indicated earlier. Descendants of Dr. Upjohn, now in their fifth generation, continue to live in the Kalamazoo area. Members of the family had always headed the company until the mid-1980s when the late Dr. Theodore Cooper became its CEO. The Upjohn family continues to be represented in the management of the firm. Family members also have taken leading roles
in the civic and cultural life of the community. Its members have been generous contributors to the arts and to the institutions of higher learning in the area.

Among the Upjohn family members who have had leading roles in the various aspects of culture and arts in the area were Dorothy Dalton, Dr. Upjohn's daughter, who supported theater in the community; she was the major supporter for theater buildings on the campuses of Western and Kalamazoo College. Genevieve Gilmore, another daughter, with her husband, William, was the major patron of the Kalamazoo Institute of Arts. Martha Parfet, a granddaughter of Dr. Upjohn, became the CEO of the Gilmore Brothers Department stores, and was a leader in the movement to develop the Arcadia Creek project. Jim Gilmore, a grandson of Dr. Upjohn, as indicated earlier, helped to bring the pedestrian mall to downtown Kalamazoo in the early 1960s. However, the influence of elites in the city's civic affairs did not continue at the same level as in earlier years. The period following Gilmore's mayoralty saw the emergence of a lower middle class and populist oriented group which assumed the leadership of the Kalamazoo City Commission.

Another factor in the quality of life of Kalamazoo was the increase in population starting in the 1960s due to the development of Western Michigan University and to an increase in Upjohn's white collar staff. Because these increases were essentially among the most highly educated persons. This also had to have an effect on Kalamazoo's quality of life.
Kellogg's progeny did not remain in Battle Creek for long. His eldest son was active in the Kellogg Company for several years but left to pursue other business interests. None of his children or grandchildren maintained a close relationship to Battle Creek. Kellogg's philanthropy to the community came from himself alone and after 1930, from his foundation.

The Kellogg and Kalamazoo Foundations each contributed almost the same amount of money, $85 million, to their respective communities for a similar time period, 1925 to 1990 for Kalamazoo and 1930 to 1990 for Kellogg. Much of the money from the Kellogg Foundation in the decades of the 1930s and 1940s was used to build a community auditorium and schools including Kellogg Community College. Under the bylaws of the Kellogg Foundation a certain percentage of its funds has to be spent annually in Calhoun County. The Kalamazoo Foundation allocates all of its funds in Kalamazoo County. Its assets come from many sources in the community. As of 1990, its assets were about $100 million, considerably less than the $3 billion of the Kellogg Foundation.

Some mention should be made of Kellogg's older brother, Dr. John Kellogg who was head of the Seventh Day Adventist Church sanitarium in Battle Creek. Dr. Kellogg was responsible for making this institution well known throughout the nation in the first half of the 20th century, attracting large numbers of people who came for its various health care practices including a non-meat diet.

We can cite three examples of acts by elites that did indeed
have an effect on quality of life in these communities. In Kalamazoo in the early 1960s, the city built its downtown pedestrian mall under the leadership of Jim Gilmore who was mayor at the time. The mall made Kalamazoo an instant leader in effective downtown planning and development. Many cities were to follow this action. The second event was the decision by the Battle Creek City Commission to acquire a part of the Ft. Custer army base which the commission developed into a successful industrial park. The third event was the action by the Kellogg Company which threatened to leave Battle Creek unless the city became consolidated with an adjoining township. Voters in the city and township quickly voted to approve this consolidation.

These three events were to have future long lasting impacts on quality of life in each community. For example, the Kalamazoo Mall brought instant national and even international recognition as the first American city to have a downtown pedestrian shopping mall. The mall did accomplish its goal for a while. It kept retail customers in downtown instead of going to the shopping centers that were just beginning to develop in adjoining suburbs. In the case of Battle Creek, its action in acquiescing to the demand by the Kellogg Company in the early 1980s led to the development of the Lakeview shopping center which, at least in its early years, was a success. The Kellogg Company also proceeded with its plan to build a new headquarters building in downtown Battle Creek at a cost of $60 million which obviously meant construction jobs. It also served, along
with the Kellogg Foundation's new headquarters, as an anchor for downtown Battle Creek, encouraging other companies to move into the area. The Ft. Custer industrial park, the third example, brought a large number of businesses into the area, creating jobs and taxes. These firms were also heavily blue collar.

Although these examples show a relationship between elite decisions and quality of life, sometimes such a connection is not apparent. Indeed, the literature in the works of Bachrach and Baratz, suggests that elites may not always behave openly when making decisions that could have an impact on their communities. Their perspective thus focuses on nondecisions. The term is used by the authors in a pejorative manner, just as the term, elite, often has a negative connotation. The authors say that elites use the nondecision method to limit the scope of actual decision making to safe issues.

The nondecision approach may explain why it is not always apparent that elites make decisions which can have an impact on a community's quality of life. The elites in Kalamazoo may have behaved in this nondecision manner when its members would actively support certain candidates and not other candidates for election to the city commission; however, the latter sometimes were elected despite the lack of support of elites. In other examples, members of elite families such as the Upjohns as well as others supported the cultural life in the area, sometimes anonymously, including providing funds for scholarships for needy students at Western Michigan University.
and Kalamazoo College.

The companies formed by Dr. W.E. Upjohn and W.K. Kellogg, one developing and selling pharmaceuticals and the other, breakfast cereal, had a profound effect on the lives of thousands who lived in Kalamazoo and Battle Creek. What we have seen in each city is the historic residue of what these men set in motion.
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