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THE FREEWAY PROCESS; AN EXAMINATION OF LOCAL POWER, GOALS AND MEANS OF ADAPTATION TO FREEWAY DEVELOPMENT

The Ohio State University

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THE FREEWAY PROCESS; AN EXAMINATION OF LOCAL POWER, GOALS AND MEANS
OF ADAPTATION TO FREEWAY DEVELOPMENT

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

by

Joyce Ellen Finke, B.S. M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1985

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Approved By

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Adviser

Department of Sociology
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Joyce E. Finke
1985
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Dissertations represent scholarly achievement, and scholars crowd the halls of ivy. Fortunately, the learning process extends beyond the termination of graduate school. The dissertation, however, marks closure of a significant phase of the learning process. At the close of this phase, I would like to acknowledge those most responsible for my graduate career.

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The Ohio State University Jules LaPidus Alumni Award for dissertation research, April, 1983.
# Table of Contents

## Acknowledgement

### Chapter 1. Introduction

- Introduction
- SR 315 chronology
- The issue
- Statement of research problem
- Importance for Sociology
- Outline of chapters

### Overview of SR 315

- Background; existing Olentangy River Road
- Local community reaction
- Local reaction to change
- Freeway support by the public
- Further delay to SR 315
- Union cemetery
- Riverside Methodist Hospital
- Final conflict stymied
- Save Olentangy River Environment (SORE)

### Notes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum Vita</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SR 315 chronology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The issue</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of research problem</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance for Sociology</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outline of chapters</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview of SR 315</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background; existing Olentangy River Road</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local community reaction</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local reaction to change</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freeway support by the public</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further delay to SR 315</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union cemetery</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riverside Methodist Hospital</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final conflict stymied</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save Olentangy River Environment (SORE)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Local Goals and Means of Adaptation to Freeway Process by Spatial Proximity to Alignment</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Local Goals and Means of Adaptation to Freeway Process by Spatial Proximity (Revision)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Appraisal of SR 315 Freeway Right of Way</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Direct Organizations: Adaptation, Goals and Delay to the Freeway Process</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Direct Organizations: Settlement Ratios, Delays, Ranks and Means of Adaptation to the Freeway</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Strength of Litigation as Means of Adaptation in the Freeway Process</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Indirect Organizations in Freeway Process: Duration, Goal and Type</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The SR 315 Freeway Process Hierarchy</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. SR 315 Interview Format for Extralocals and Direct/Indirect Organizations</td>
<td>176-179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. SR 315 Interviews</td>
<td>180-181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

I. A Model of the Freeway Process .......................................................... 159
II. Transportation Bureaucracy, 1963 .................................................... 183
III. Table of Organization: Ohio Department of Transportation, 1974 ... 184
IV. Map of SR 315 Alternative Alignments ........................................... 185
V. Map of SR 315 Alternative Alignments ............................................ 186
VI. SR 315 Final Alignment ................................................................. 187
Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

Freeways in the United States have been the impetus for urban growth, rural development, and population dispersion. However, freeway growth often elicits political and social conflict about the freeway location. This dissertation examines the freeway process in light of the organizational social conflict which delayed completion. A typology of organizational goals and means of adaptation is generated from the analysis, and then the various organizations are assessed by their specific actions, means of adaptation, settlements and delay to State Route 315, in Columbus, Ohio.

SR 315 is a new six-lane freeway between the Goodale Street Interchange and West North Broadway (see final alignment map, Appendix B). The alignment follows the east side of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad tracks, then curves to the east past Union Cemetery and Riverside Methodist Hospital. Then it proceeds north across the west side of the Olentangy River between Henderson and Bethel Roads. At Bethel Road, still along the west side of the river, the route connects to Interstate Route 270 (Stilson and Associates, 1963: 5; ODOT, 1965: 7-10; ODOT, 1977: 2). A chronology of events which characterize SR 315 follows.

1
2. SR 315 chronology

1952  Study by Franklin County Regional Planning Commission
1958  Meeting at Highway Department between Northmoor Park and Clintonville residents
1958  Publication of Ohio State University's Master Plan (April)
1959  ODOT study showing inadequacy of 1952 study
1960  Meetings begin between Ohio State University and highway department
1961  Contract of Preliminary Engineering Report for SR 315
1963  Publication of Stilson Arterial Highway Plan
1964  Local meetings about proposed SR 315
1965  Public Hearing at Ohio Expositions Center
1966  Right of Way Negotiations begin
      Referendum vote
      Publication of Olentangy Expressway Report
1967  Union Cemetery freeway litigation; passage of HB 839 and appeal by cemetery (1967-1969)
1971  Franklin County Engineers refuse state transfer between Ohio State University and Ohio Highway Department
1972  Ohio Highway Department becomes Ohio Department of Transportation
1976  Union Cemetery settlement
1976  Public Meeting at Whetstone High School
1978  Riverside Hospital settlement
1978  Army Corps of Engineers Public Hearing
1981  Completion of SR 315
3. **The issue**

When freeways are built over private property, the highway department must recompense owners, whether the property be private dwelling units or businesses. Often, the process of negotiating compensation goes smoothly, but sometimes the process drags on for years, during which time the construction of the freeway is effectively stopped. Delay may also incur when freeways traverse land used for recreational, historical or burial purposes. In these cases, delay may be entangled by legal statutes and result in permanent blockage of the route.

Specifically, SR 315 is examined, although numerous freeway delays have occurred within the United States. (For examples, see Chapter 2). The numerous freeway disputes suggest that community conflict generated by construction of freeways is not confined to a single city or region. Conflict, generic to freeway growth, should not be overemphasized. Many freeways are constructed as planned. Protest, conflicts, and litigation deter construction and can delay it, sometimes for years, but seldom stop it permanently.

4. **Statement of research problem**

SR 315 engendered multiple reactions from local recipients. In some cases, delays were exacerbated beyond what purely economic concerns would suggest should be the case. Approximately three decades were required to complete the route. This research examines the nature and resolution of this community conflict. The examination consists first of studying the conflict generated by SR 315, as it pertained to the
large delays, that is, when the freeway crossed land owned by the Ohio State University, Union Cemetery, Riverside Hospital and further north, the Olentangy River. Routing SR 315 along this path meant rechanneling the Olentangy River, and brought the freeway into close proximity of relatively high level socioeconomic groups. Local organizations sprung up to protest or support the freeway. These organizations will be studied retrospectively. Second, all organizations will be assessed in Chapter 5 to view patterns of adjustment, settlement and extent of delay caused to the freeway process. Power will be examined as a function of time and means of adaptation to the freeway process.

5. Importance for Sociology

Since its genesis, Sociology has had a focus on urban growth, and on community cohesion-conflict. Strangely, freeways have been little studied, yet consequences of freeway construction include: 1) conflict affecting community power structures, 2) demographic population and sociological effects. And although the present research cannot address it for methodological reasons, 3)fragmentation of community resulting in stress and anomie of affected residents. Thus, freeway development is a salient factor largely unexplored in Sociological literature. Hence this research generated a typology of goals and means of adaptation to the impending freeway.

Specifically, the various goals and means of adaptation refer to the local organizations both directly and indirectly affected by the freeway, contingent on spatial proximity to the alignment. The nature of this research moreover, is to place the freeway process within a
Sociological context. The next section sketches the substance of chapters, followed by an overview of the freeway process.

6. Outline of chapters

Chapter 1 contains the overview and narrative about SR 315. This chronology of the freeway process will illuminate further analysis. Organizations which delayed the freeway process are highlighted. This chapter reflects the multiple ramifications freeway development elicits.

Chapter 2 is the review of existing literature. The nature of conflict, various freeway disputes and transportation development in society illuminates the SR 315 process. Hence, the literature review provides a relative means of comparison. This freeway development can be viewed within a larger system of freeway growth within the nation.

Chapter 3 sets forth the theoretical foundation for examination of the freeway process. In this chapter local goals and means of adaptation to these goals are explored. In this manner, the nature of local adaptation to the freeway can be systematically analyzed.

Chapter 4 presents the specific procedures used in analysis. Essentially, this operationalization of the research shows how the study of SR 315 was done. The procedures, integration of data, and techniques of analysis are explicated.

Chapter 5 discusses the results. In this chapter, power, delay and means of adaptation to SR 315 are examined.

The following Chapter 6, will examine further implications of the freeway process relevant to the field of Sociology. In Chapter 6, patterns, predictions and conclusions are presented. A model of the
freeway process is generated.

The adumbration of chapters reflects the skeleton of the dissertation. Though the bones are connected, they require a corpus for integration. Thus, the chapters will expand upon this skeletal framework. The overview of SR 315 follows.

OVERVIEW OF SR 315

1. Background: existing Olentangy River Road

Columbus, Ohio was but one of the myriad metropolitan areas within the United States experiencing rapid growth in the 1950's. By this time, developers in Columbus were recognizing the need for expanded traffic flow in rapidly developing areas. Specifically, the northwest sector of Columbus was considered a traffic problem, a function of rapid commercial development amidst residential dwellings.

In the fifties, prior to the development of SR 315, Olentangy River Road was predominantly a rural, scenic route. The road, however, could not accommodate the burgeoning growth of the Northwest sector. Northbound traffic moving west from downtown Columbus tended to use the Spring Street-Sandusky Street interchange. (This interchange became a section of the downtown innerbelt in the fifties.) Traffic was channeled through downtown to the predominantly two-lane Olentangy River Road. The river road, like many transportation arteries, was bounded by natural landmarks. The Chesapeake and Ohio railroad tracks lie on the west of the road while the Olentangy River delimited the road's east side.
By 1952, county engineers for the Columbus area prepared a report, "Expressway System for the Columbus, Ohio Urban Area," which proposed an Olentangy Freeway. Within months, a service road was constructed on the road's west berm, to ease congestion of the developing area. These initial actions prompted several local industries, businesses, and residents to communicate with the Ohio Department of Highways (ODOT, 1965: 112).

2. Local community reaction

By 1958, several local neighborhoods and organizations met with the highway department about expansion of Olentangy River Road. Ohio State University was assured that expansion would not infringe upon University plans. The University hoped to fulfill their plans of: 1) maintaining a unified, pedestrian main campus and 2) constructing a west campus across the Olentangy River (Caudill, Rowlett and Scott, 1958; Jean Hansford, 1984). They opposed expansion of Olentangy River Road.

Local residents from Northmoor Park, Clintonville and Worthington were pleased that Olentangy River Road would be expanded. They were assured by the Ohio Highway Department that plans would not worsen flooding in their homes. The Northmoor and Worthington neighborhoods were constructed on low lying land, and under normal conditions, rainfall collected in basements. Regardless, the plan to expand Olentangy River Road was scrapped.
3. Local reaction to change

Abandonment of the plan reinforced local reaction. In 1960, the Ohio State University Board of Trustees met with the highway department to discuss relocation of the freeway within campus. Local businesses, industries and residents persistently telephoned, corresponded, and in short, inquired about the abrupt change in plans and current status of the design.

In 1961, the City of Columbus transportation department contracted Alden E. Stilson and Associates, a local engineering firm, to explore existing freeway alignments, in light of Ohio State University's plans. The OSU Master Plan was an appendix of the preliminary engineering report (1963: 21-23). After publication of this report, residents from two northern Columbus neighborhoods, Clintonville and Northmoor Park, began meeting to discuss potential freeway plans.

They met at neighborhood homes and schools to gauge potential freeway alignments, effects, and strategies to resist deleterious impact of potential routes. The organization of these groups was evident at the 1965 public hearing, when the Clintonville Community Council presented a petition of 6,250 local opponents of proposed SR 315 (1965: 216).

Various organizations were represented in the hearing audience of approximately 100 persons. The seven hour hearing included local slide presentations, depicting freeway damage to an electronics industry and an idyllic, pastoral environment. Essentially, opposition derived from these issues: 1) vacation of existing Olentangy River Road, 2) the abrupt switch of plans, 3) deleterious environmental effects, 4) flooding of low lying areas, and 5) Ohio State University's power
in relation to the proposed freeway (ODOT, 1965). The 1965 public hearing spurred subsequent local and extralocal action.\(^2\)

Local dissension provided the impetus for extralocals to contract for a fresh engineering report (1966). Despite the new study, the highway department continued support of the freeway alignment presented at the public hearing. The dissension further incited local collective action. This local action, however, proved fruitless, in terms of reconfiguration or blockage of the freeway.

4. Freeway support by the public

Despite continuous freeway opposition from Clintonville, Northmoor and some Worthington residents, SR 315 was supported at the polls. Opponents presented signatures to the attorney general, requesting the freeway issue be settled through voter referendum. (Referendum enables an issue to appear on the ballot (II: 1b, 3519.16). SR 315 was narrowly supported in the May, 1966 primary election. Before the election, interested area residents telephoned registered Democrats in an attempt to glean support for their cause: freeway destruction of the Olentangy River environment and lack of citizen participation in the planning process. The proposed freeway required relocation of approximately 2300 feet of the Olentangy River, destroying the terrestrial wildlife and natural habitat. Despite local attempts to gain support of the freeway issue, the public supported completion of proposed SR 315. (Of 51,170 votes case, a slim 180 vote margin passed completion of the route.)

While local flurry embellished attempts to block the route between Ackerman Road and Worthington, the highway department concomitantly
negotiated for right of way with Ohio State University (See Appendix B, Plan 2-b). The University owned acres of land which surrounded the main campus, much of which were undeveloped. Olentangy River Road crossed University terrain, therefore the University was located in the heart of the northern section of proposed SR 315. However, the University had basic needs, principles and requirements. Negotiation between the state agencies was a delicate process (G. McCoy, 1983; J. Pound, 1984).

The state agencies, Ohio State University and the Ohio Highway Department negotiated at least fifteen months before a single land exchange occurred. This initial negotiation was the tip of the iceberg, for the agencies continued to negotiate at least five more years.

When the state agencies finally concurred over the total exchange terms, a snag briefly entangled the process. In 1971, the Franklin County Commissioners refused to warrant the state transfer of parcels. (More than 80 acres of University land was involved.) Within two weeks of the refusal, however, the county provided a procedure for combining the various county tracts for transfer (ODOT, SR 315:10).

Despite the delay to SR 315 in the University area, the southerly section of SR 315 was completed in the early seventies. Other local organizations however, sprung forth to oppose further completion in their areas. Three preeminent opponents delayed further completion of the route. They were: Union Cemetery, Riverside Hospital and the preservationists. The three organizations were neighbors, the cemetery, the hospital, and the preservationists.
5. Further delay to SR 315

5.1 Union Cemetery

Union Cemetery, a burial ground for many civil war soldiers, filed a lawsuit opposing highway appropriation of cemetery land (See page 2 of this chapter). (Cemeteries are considered "sacred" in our society, and thus using them for a freeway violates quasi-religious norms and values of propriety.) The cemetery commanded a great deal of authority which the highway department somewhat obeyed. They sued the highway department in 1967. Between April and November of 1969, two house bills were activated at the cemetery’s request. The first was lost in committee although the second bill authorized the highway director to appropriate unused cemetery land. This decision however was reversed two years later by the court of appeals. Union Cemetery land was exempt from appropriation for highway purposes. Strangely, SR 315 traversed only land unused for gravesites, in the section on the west side of Olentangy River Road.

The highway department continued attempts to negotiate, encouraged by local supporters of the freeway. Local pressure finally convinced Union Cemetery to somewhat compromise with the highway department. Local supporters of SR 315, members of the areas west of the Olentangy River, carried placards depicting the Union Cemetery Commission as those "bad guys" blocking completion of SR 315 (William Lavelle, 1984).

Ironically, if the cemetery continued to resist SR 315, the area west of the Olentangy River most likely would be the freeway site. The cemetery finally reached a compromise with the highway department. In
1976, the cemetery exchanged 25 acres for the freeway, more acres than the department required. The cemetery did not wish to fragment their 1946 edition. SR 315 had been delayed by the cemetery for more than eight years.

5.2 Riverside Methodist Hospital

Further delay was caused by Riverside Methodist Hospital. The hospital, unlike the historical cemetery, had recently moved to the Olentangy River Road location. After one year of residence on West North Broadway and Olentangy, SR 315 was planned to traverse their land, almost touching their doorstep. (Prior to relocation, the hospital board of directors had been assured that old Olentangy River Road would be expanded).

The hospital, unlike the cemetery, detoured legal channels. Rather, they negotiated. In several sessions with the highway department, Riverside obtained major modifications from the original design of SR 315. To increase the distance between Riverside's doorstep and the freeway, SR 315 was reconfigured at West North Broadway parallel to the hospital entrance. Moreover, the hospital entrance was reconstructed. In addition, new ingress/egress ramps afforded the hospital accessibility from the freeway. Additional parking space and shrubbery embellished the facility. Furthermore, land and cash were exchanged (ODOT, SR 315: 80). SR 315 continued its northward path amid diminishing opposition.
6. *Final conflict stymied*

By 1976, it appeared that major opposition had been quelled. Ohio State University, Union Cemetery and Riverside hospital had all accepted cash settlements and/or exchanges of highway services for freeway right of way. However, one issue continued to delay the freeway, and this was addressed at the last two public meetings.

6.1 *Save Olentangy River Environment (SORE)*

SR 315, as proposed, required rerouting of seven streams in the Olentangy River in addition to relocation of 2,360 feet of the northern section of the river in Worthington. Hence, the early opposition from Clintonville, Northmoor, and Worthington residents. Early in the freeway process those groups attempted to reconfigure the freeway design through voter referendum. By the late seventies, the groups had organized into SORE, the preservationist organization.

Freeway location in the floodplain had irritated the discrete local residents but loss of the natural channel incited unified action. The preservationists suggested bridging, tunneling or terminating the freeway altogether. Their cry was stifled when the Army Corps of Engineers granted the Section 404 permit. (This permit is required for any construction which crosses navigable streams, tributaries, or rivers since 1972). Essentially this decision terminated the freeway delay. However, the freeway was completely opened to traffic in July, 1981. Between genesis and completion, the freeway process lasted twenty nine years. Despite completion of the freeway, certain local organizations are still embittered (S. Knipe, 1983; J. Reider, 1984). Hence, the
freeway process generated a proportion of unabated sentiment, though some of the organizations have formally dispersed.

The remainder of the dissertation examines the theory, process, and completion of SR 315. Next however, is a review of the existing literature, essential to comprehension of the freeway process.

Notes

1. The freeway process, used throughout the dissertation, refers to local community and organizational adjustment to the impending freeway. The process extends from genesis of the freeway, that is, initial consideration to build a freeway, as shown in an early study.

   The reconstructed freeway process of this study, SR 315, was studied in 1952 by the Franklin County Regional Planning Commission (1977, ODOT: 12-18; 1965, ODOT). Termination of this freeway was in July 29, 1981 (George Downing, 1984).

2. Extralocal, from the community literature, refers to the governing body, external to the local community (Warren, 1978; Turk, 1977). For the freeway process, the chief regulatory agency is the state highway department, although federal, municipal and county levels impart some influence to decision making. The distinction between local community and extralocal planning agencies will be used in this dissertation to distinguish the administrators, the extralocals from the local organizations.

3. The cemetery operates two cemeteries. The one SR 315 traversed was on the west side of Olentangy River Road and consisted of approximately 3000 lot owners. The other cemetery edition was on the east side of Olentangy River Road and was the historical burial site. (1984, Lavelle).
Chapter 2
REVIEW OF EXISTING LITERATURE

1. Introduction

The following literature reviews aspects of transportation which
tend to entangle both the highway department and communities in
disputes. Transportation policy has changed through the years.
Therefore, this review traces the significant issues, legal statutes,
and disputes to illuminate the more than twenty-five year dispute
encapsulating State Route 315. Since freeway invasion triggered this
controversy, freeways are examined in light of transportation in urban
society to assess advantageous and deleterious effects, as seen by a
geographer, economist, and sociologist.

Next, conflict, community conflict, and community organization are
reviewed, with particular emphasis on the community as an ecology of
games and the urban real estate game. Power and dominance are compared,
in terms of social psychological and systemic components. Finally,
several freeway controversies are reviewed. In this manner, extant
literature provides a solid foundation to analyse the issues, leaders,
decision makers, interests and groups involved in the lengthy process to
complete State Route 315. Freeways elicit multiple effects, both
positive and negative. Ramifications of freeways are presented in the
next section.
2. The nature of freeways in urban society

A combination of effects has extended from the Interstate System, rendering metropolitan complexities. Urbanization, decentralization and public resistance to freeways entangle the freeway effects. Truman Hartshorn suggests policy options to remedy the problems.

In *Interpreting the City*, Truman Hartshorn (1981), a geographer, presents the engineer's goal of freeway design, in light of the unexpected ramification: population decentralization. He lists various adverse freeway effects, in relation to alternative forms of transportation mobility.

Hartshorn asserts freeways became the most successful form of travel since the automobile was personal, flexible, and a rapid form of mobility. Decreasing travel time from one point to another was the chief rationale for highway development, and the Interstate System blossomed.

However, the unexpected impact of freeways between 1950-1960, decentralization, caused metropolitan problems. Dispersion of population from the core to peripheral areas, or decentralization, resulted in a deflated metropolitan tax base as a ramification of highway usage.

Next, Hartshorn describes adverse effects of the Interstate system. Freeway transportation, through rapidly moving persons and commodities, also causes noise and air pollution, loss of property values, neighborhood isolation, environmental abuse, and in short, undesirable effects.
He asserts, "Freeway programs have been halted in nearly all major cities because of their negative impacts." He then presents various policy options in light of the American preference for the automobile.

Next, he presents transportation alternatives which are not herein elaborated. However, his rule of thumb for alternative transportation policies is that the plan must fit "the size of the metropolitan area," though "high-cost, high technology solutions such as rapid rail or personal rapid or personal rapid transit are appropriate only for a few larger areas." Of the alternatives, Hartshorn recommends cost efficient modes such as traffic management and bus priority/freeway transit.

Transportation problems, in relation to planning, congestion, and urban pollution are viewed by Wilfred Owen, and presented next. His solution renders innovative auto-free cities.

3. Transportation problems and solutions

Reconstruction of communities is Owen's solution to increasing automobiles and decreasing public transportation of cities. Wilfred Owen, an economist presents urban transportation problems and remedies in three texts: The Metropolitan Transportation Problem (1966), The Accessible City (1972) and Transportation for Cities (1976).

Owen cites the decline in passengership on motorcoaches as a partial explanation for the increased auto society. A passenger decline of 13 billion occurred between 1945 and 1960, when less than 9 billion persons traveled this way (1966:257). Conversely, in 1975, 80% of all households in the United States had at least one car, with 30% having two or more cars (1976).
He suggests that part of the preference for private auto over public transit stems from "public policy, which has favored the car." His major thesis is that urban design requires integrative urban policy, including transportation, redevelopment, and planned suburbanization. Thus, to avoid urban problems, such as high density residence, urban blight, transportation severance of communities, congestion, air pollution and the like, he suggests a governing structure (1972: 64-70).

By consolidation of the Department of Transportation and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, this integration could be achieved. The resulting Department of Community Development could plan well rounded community growth, rather than specialized departmental planning, independent of balanced community development.

Thus, he suggests that integration of two federal departments might remedy planning problems and achieve an integrated, community growth. Furthermore, in Transportation for Cities (1976) Owen presents innovative auto-free communities to illustrate some recent changes in urban policy. Minneapolis, Minnesota and Roosevelt Island (East River) in New York represent a shift from private auto-freeway transport lifestyle.

In Minneapolis, the dense downtown area has a pedestrian transportation network of 60 "covered bridges" at second story level to connect the buildings. These climate-controlled, glass walled sky-ways provide accessibility to connected shops, restaurants and businesses. Outside, the main shopping street has become a mall, with landscaped walkways, and a bus land in the center. Moreover, the area is barred to automobiles. A second auto-free community is being constructed. The
second example, Roosevelt Island, represents another auto-free community.

On the narrow, two mile long Roosevelt Island in New York, a community of 18,000 is characterized as virtually auto-free. All cars are left in a multi-story garage at one end of the island. Minibus and pedestrian traffic serve transportation needs. The island will contain apartments, town houses, offices, shops, and schools.

Not all communities can be reconstructed to fit these models. Owen's chief remedy, however, is to improve the urban planning process. He suggests the Department of Transportation is making efforts in this direction, by assessing highway and transit projects with the same criteria. Yet a successful transition to integrated community planning has only begun.

He cites the necessity of reordering national priorities by avoiding "excessive investments in transportation, and dedicating resources instead to transformation of blighted urban areas." A self-contained community, rather than one dependent on a larger metropolis would eliminate many transportation problems. A third comment on transportation problems and ramifications is from Amos Hawley. His vantage follows.

4. Unexpected freeway effects

Hawley cites the tautology of urban congestion as a cyclical problem. Without congestion, cities might eliminate new transportation facilities from their plans. However, the density of the city produces a chain of events. Congestion leads to new freeways, and new freeways
create more congestion.

In *Urban Society*, (1981) Amos Hawley reiterates the complex transportation problems. First, Hawley cites the tautology of freeways. Though they are constructed to alleviate city congestion, they concomitantly produce greater density. Improved freeways attract users. Congestion forces deconcentration to the periphery, resulting in both a loss of land value in central areas and an increase in city expenditures.

Municipal expense accrues from maintenance of city services and administrative dispersal of these funds. Thus, commuters from "bedroom communities" of the suburbs (who pay property taxes in the suburbs) are served Monday through Friday by city dollars for fire, police and roadway protection.

Hence, highway improvements frequently spurred by congestion, produce a series of problematic events, that is, increased density, deconcentration, leading to both municipal tax loss and service expenditure.

Next, Hawley cites the paradox of dependence on the private automobile as highly correlated with freeway expansion. This urban phenomenon is "viewed as the cause of the declining fortunes of public transportation services."

Dependence on the motor vehicle for trips to the central cities of metropolitan areas varies inversely to areal size. He cites studies in which the automobile is the preferred mode of transportation in urban America (Hawley, 1981: 262). Thus, even if public transit could alleviate city problems such as congestion, inadequate parking and noise
or air pollution in metropolitan centers, America is oriented to use of the private automobile (Hawley, 1981; Hartshorn, 1980).

Metropolitan political disunity is another problem Hawley cites in relation to transportation planning (1981: 275-283). Contemporary urban problems are aggravated by a "multiplicity of autonomous and semiautonomous governmental units." Planners, deprived of the scope necessary for effective action, are either reduced to trivialities within a jurisdiction or faced with the need to create yet another jurisdiction. The shared nature of service such as transportation systems, health care facilities or means of pollution control renders nebulous regulation. Hence, when plans are formulated for these urban concerns, political interests overlap, clash, and entangle jurisdictions.

Hawley provides various illustrations of unworkable urban planning "remedies" such as annexation, to limit spreading populations, or reorganization of governmental units through incorporating suburban policies within metropolitan units. He suggests, however, that no firm solution exists.

Rather he cites the waning of local autonomy as areas "cheerfully" relinquish power to metropolitan authorities or special interest agencies. Though usually efficient, special agencies for transportation, recreation, sewage or water supplies represent a decline of local autonomy.
5. Summary

Freeways were designed to efficiently transport people and goods as a service to society. Yet the following unexpected ramifications occurred: 1) population deconcentration, 2) congestion, 3) air pollution, 4) noise pollution, 5) fragmented communities, 6) sagging metropolitan fiscs and 7) abuse of natural environment. The adverse side effects tend to spark community conflict about the proposed freeway. Thus, unintended transportation effects produce disadvantages to society. The next section of the literature review, provides insight into a possible reaction to transportation effects.

CONFLICT

1. Introduction

Conflict has been intensively examined in sociological literature. Conflicting interests, clashing personalities, and dialectical forces are used to explain social unrest. Conflict, often an unplanned occurrence, intermittently intrudes upon harmonious, organized activities. This section of the dissertation presents conflict from various vantages, ranging through community conflict perspectives to conflict per se, and power.

2. Community conflict

2.1 Introduction

Community conflict may be viewed as a micro unit of social conflict. Social conflict encompasses the entire social system.
However, the community is a unit of analysis within the larger social system. Thus, community conflict is subsumed within a larger social conflict rubric. However, the conflict which begins at the community level precipitates changes in the larger social system. Texts which examine community conflict will next be reviewed.

2.2 Conflict and the community

Roland Warren's *The Community in America*, James Coleman's *Community Conflict* (1957), and Lewis Coser's *The Functions of Social Conflict* (1956) and *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict* (1968) are next reviewed.

In *The Community in America* (1978) Roland Warren suggests that community organization renders conflict. Communities have undergone a "great change" in society. The change in social organization renders political conflict.

Bureaucratization of the external system requires a concomitant change in the local community, to ensure harmony. The change in societal scale limits the extent of "gemeinschaft" close relations between the local community and the extralocal, regulatory levels. Bureaucratization, and the "great change in society" has transformed the structure of local and extralocal government, business, services, and religious activity (1977: 69-72). This change creates conflict.

2.2.1 Community structure and conflict

Warren defines the community structure as the interrelation of the vertical and horizontal patterns. The vertical pattern encompasses the
extralocal "systemic relationships." The horizontal pattern is the "local tie of various social subsystems." Warren defines the vertical pattern as an external social system whereas the horizontal pattern is an internal social system. These explanations are derived from George Homans, *The Human Group* (1950). In order for systemic equilibrium or a static community organization to exist, the vertical and horizontal social systems must mesh.

In essence, "the relative strength of the vertical system linking community units to extracommunity systems" or "weakness of the horizontal ties linking local community units with each other" determines the extent of social equilibrium (1978: 167-168).

If the local level of the hierarchy (local, district, regional, and national) shares interests and/or roles with the upper level strata of decision-makers, a strong linkage exists. Strong linkage tends to assure a flow of communication, aid, and resource commitment from extralocal to local regulatory agencies. Thus, if a minimal flow or linkage exists between the vertical and horizontal networks, local interests are unattended by extralocal planners.

Warren cites another major ramification of increased bureaucratic structure in society. Local revolt or "neighborhood control" is a community reaction to the "impersonal organizational plans" (1978: 350-360).

Local resistance to federal programs however, is counterbalanced by emphasis on citizen participation, and in short, an attempt by local community government to provide affirmative action programs (1978: 370-381). In this text, the clash between local and extralocal
interests leads to conflict. Policy, generally initiated at the Federal or State level is frequently rejected by local community members. A growth of citizen participation in community programs (urban renewal, school desegregation, or fluoridation projects) was encouraged.

2.2.2 Community conflict and social psychology

James Coleman presents a second view of community conflict. In Community Conflict (1957), he suggests that both external and internal genesis of conflict may occur; conflict, however, tends to manifest the following steps:

1) polarization of social groups,
2) formation of partisan ad hoc groups,
3) emergence of new leaders,
4) commitment of long-standing community groups,
5) an increasing use of word of mouth communication.

He summarizes the process as follows. Issues such as the effects of fluoridation, desegregation, and certain educational curricula precipitate controversy. This conflict, is often derived from power, economic, or sociocultural dimensions, manifesting as deep-seated personality conflicts. Once at this stage, the controversial issue recedes in salience whereas the clash of personalities sustains the hostility. Eventually, the issue is resolved, yet the personality clashes tend to endure beyond the particular conflict.

Coleman explains conflict from a social psychological perspective. As the conflict continues, new groups tend to join as combat organizations. Conflict at the community level, as viewed by Coleman,
is a self-generating, self-sustaining process. Conflict escalates from a specific issue to a more general clash and from an abstract hostility to a more concrete animosity. These processes occur as the conflict endures. What begins as an orderly disagreement, ends as personal antagonism. According to Coleman, this process conforms to Gresham's Law (1956:14), which is

the harmful and dangerous elements drive out those which would keep the conflict within bounds.

Coleman describes the "reckless leaders," "scurrilous charges," and "combat organizations" which arise in community conflict situations. In essence, antagonistic social forces replace normative conciliatory elements which usually organize the community.

Paramount to his model is "power conflict" (quotations supplied by author). "Power conflict" is a clash spawned by a lack of obedience to the authority structure. Coleman's examples are as follows:

1) most school controversies include critics in opposition with the school administrator or school board
2) local school authorities are opposed by those opposed to desegregation
3) fluoridation disputes usually consist of an administration who initiated the plan versus anti-fluoridation groups and
4) disputes over labor management in which labor, the insurgents, oppose management, the authorities.

Thus, Coleman observes community conflict as a power struggle evolving into a personality clash. Coleman's perspective is derived from George Simmel and Karl Marx.
The views of Simmel and Marx are further analyzed by Lewis Coser. Rather than view conflict in a social psychological sense per se, Coser posits the conflict into a functional rubric. In *The Functions of Social Conflict* (1956) and *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict* (1968), he synthesizes social psychology of groups into a quasi-Marxian framework.

3. **Conflict and the social system**

3.1 **Introduction**

Society, examined from the conflict perspective, subsumes elements of community conflict. However, the social system, from a conflict perspective, is seen as a clash of interests, forces, dialectic elements, and in short, social transformation by conflictual components. Lewis Coser examines conflict from a societal perspective. His vantages will next be reviewed.

3.2 **Social conflict**

In *The Functions of Social Conflict* (1956), he enumerates the results or functions of conflict. Contrary to a Parsonian functionalist view, in which disequilibrium is viewed as a malfunction of the system, Coser stresses the indigenous nature of conflict. Citing Simmel in *Conflict*, translated by Kurt Wolf (1955), Coser emphasizes the conflictual nature of groups in society. "Conflict is a form of socialization," in which both cooperation and clash unite groups. A certain extent of conflict is essential to build group relations (1956:31). Shifting to a Marxist orientation, he distinguishes classes
or communities of interest which emit conflictual responses.

These classes protect common positions through conflict. Coser cites Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology* (1844) to illustrate the "in group/out group" effect of interests. The need for scarce resources, power, and wealth precipitates class division of interests. On this dimension, Simmel, Marx and Coser concur. Coser stresses objectification and depersonalization of the class struggle. These processes occur to enable issue representation, rather than personal characteristics. In this way the conflict becomes preeminent rather than the actor's personality.

Thus, Coser emphasizes the integrative, innovative force of conflict. Within a group, it may mitigate unity and cohesion if members have become hostile or antagonistic. Internal struggles about goals, values, or interests do not contradict assumptions for which the group was established. Rather, Coser asserts, these conflicts enable reassessment and refinement of salient ideology and power structure (1956:151-157). Creative and innovative patterns emerge from conflict; hence social change is accelerated.

In *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict* (1968), Coser extends theories from his earlier text. In addition, he clarifies social conflict. For example, he states that the extent of conflict and strain within a social system varies in relation to the following entities: 1) type of group or organizational structure 2) patterns of social mobility available in the social system (achieved or ascribed status) 3) extent of allocation of scarce power and wealth and 4) degree to which this distribution of scarce resources is accepted by actors in
the subsystem. The four elements Coser suggests as conflictual components will further be examined.

3.2.1 Type of structure

Coser defines conflict as behavior which involves a struggle with an opponent over scarce resources, involving attempts to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals (1956:8). Close-knit groups tend to suppress hostilities, whereas loosely-bound groups tend to permit direct expression of rival interests. In these groups there is a tendency for readjustment of the structure through elimination of dissatisfaction. Eventually, unity tends to occur. The conflict itself generates coalitions with some, and clashes with others, both between and within the groups.

Structurally, conflict more frequently arises when groups question the legitimacy of resource distribution. Structural channels may increase or decrease the extent of conflict. The less systemic channels for addressing grievances about scarce resources, the more likely deprived groups will question legitimacy. Legitimacy refers to acceptance of the power structure and compliance with their policy or regulations. Thus, according to Coser, if a group questions the legitimacy, conflict is more apt to occur, contingent on the structural channels for addressing grievances. Groups deprived of scarce resources tend to question legitimacy more frequently if channels for venting grievances are closed (1956:37; 1957:197-207; 1968:79,195). A third component which explains conflict is the extent to which the social system provides upward or downward movement between strata. This
3.2.2 Patterns of social mobility

If a great distance between upper and lower strata exists, with minimal chance for mobility, conflict tends to occur. In other words, the less upward mobility and change of achieved status in a system, the more chance of conflict. Coser distinguished between realistic (objective awareness of interest clashes) conflict, and non-realistic (falsely conscious) conflict.

An intervening variable however, is the extent of legitimacy the group espouses. Coser suggests, for example, that the Indian caste system generates minimal conflict in spite of the great distance between upper and lower castes. Legitimacy of the unequal distribution of scarce resources by the lower strata explains the low level of conflict (1956:37, 162). The less mobility available in an open class system, however, the more likely conflict occurs. Deprived groups, in terms of scarce resources, tend to withdraw legitimacy more frequently if opportunity for upward mobility is blocked. Blockage of mobility however, is interdependent with the distribution of power and wealth. Coser next examines these components, and they are presented in the successive section.

3.2.3 Allocation of scarce power and wealth

This dimension contributes to the dynamics of the conflict. The political economic basis of authority tends to precipitate conflict, contingent on legitimization. Moreover, the conflict is filtered
through various means. Resolution may occur through violence, mediation, or bargaining, dependent on the match of contenders. For example, evenly matched opponents may physically battle, ranging from groups, through communities and nations (1968:248-250).

Mediation, the regulated influence of a third neutral party, tends to occur in non-realistic conflicts, when the opponents fail to objectively see the situation. The mediator attempts to show each party "claims and arguments of the other." (S)he helps to strip the conflict of its non-rational character and aggressive overtones (1956:59).

The difficulty of estimating the adversary's power tends to increase the likelihood of conflict, for if both sides are disinclined to peaceful convergence, a mediator is useless. Often an actual conflict is the only means to assess the adversary's power (1968:249-250).

Bargaining or compromise occurs when the contenders can measure their respective strengths, and decide neither is willing to incur the cost of continued struggle. Bargaining elicits peace without victory, yet the "peace through stalemate, based on a coincident recognition by each side of the opponents strength is at least preferable to peace through common exhaustion."

In the bargaining relation, opponents attempt to maximize their own interests, and each party secures its interest in the measure of its bargaining power. Both parties recognize the overriding interest in maintaining the relation and coming to some agreement (1968:50,263).
3.2.4 Acceptance of distribution of scarce resources

Coser suggests that conflict tends to occur when core values and issues have been activated. If essential sentiments, ties, mores and conventions are obviated without proper recompense, deep rooted contentions erupt.

As in the allocation of scarce power and wealth component of conflict, forms of resolution include violence, mediation and bargaining. Type of resolution depends on the structural channels for grievance, the type of political economic organization, and the issue sparking the dissension. The extent of legitimacy of the power source, distribution of power, and economic recompense exchanged, largely determine the amount of conflict. Various factors interact to explain the frequency, extent, duration and type of conflict. The basis of conflict is embodied by power, legitimation, economic distribution and structural adaptation to the distribution of scarce resources.

3.3 Anti Marxist conflict

Another basis of Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict (1968) is to show how Marxism can be functionally incorporated into current sociology. Coser does not espouse Marxian revolution to achieve class equity, yet he thinks functionalists neglect realities such as "differential distribution of resources and power." Moreover, functionalists overlook the social conflicts which emerge from these inequities (1968:146-147).

Coser underscores the fact that Marx is "historically obsolete," in light of twentieth century economic developments. Nonetheless, Coser
encourages adherence to an analysis of conflict, much aligned with Marxian techniques, that is, through analysis of clashing interests over inequitable distribution of scarce resources: wealth, prestige and power. Hence Coser summarizes conflict in light of components of a Marxian analysis of conflict.

POWER AND DOMINANCE

1. Introduction

The power perspective in this study stems from Max Weber's conception of power and Amos Hawley's conception of dominance. According to Weber, power is the chance of a man or number of men to realize their own will in a communal action, even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action (Weber, 1947:152). Hawley views power, or dominance, as the extent of influence between units in the external and internal communities. These conceptions of power are the substance of this section and will next be reviewed.

1.1 Weberian conception of power

Weber's definition of power, the ability of one or a number of men to realize their own will against the will of others, corresponds to the freeway process in the following way: by law, a small group of decision makers design and attempt to implement the freeway despite opposition from others. In The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, (1947) he presents his ideal typology.

Weber's ideal typology of chief sources of power include three chief modes of legitimation of authority: traditional, charismatic and
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Weber's ideal typology of chief sources of power include three chief modes of legitimation of authority: traditional, charismatic and
rational-legal. The third mode tends to explain freeway development. However, all three dimensions will be presented in light of Weber’s typology.

Traditional authority rests on an established belief in the sanctity of traditions and legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority. Charismatic grounds of legitimation stem from devotion to the exemplary character of the individual in power. The third mode, rational-legal authority, is predominantly represented by the bureaucratic structure. This form rests on a belief in the "legality" of patterned, normative rules, and the right of those elevated to authority to issue commands (Weber, 1947:328).

Traditional and charismatic authority do not require the administrative structure of rational-legal authority. Traditional authority entails "a sphere of confidence without the rational, hierarchical ordering of relations of superiority and inferiority." Tasks need not be organized, with highly specialized duties as in the hierarchical, corporate rational-legal structure. The traditional mode of legitimation parallels the patriarchal familial, kinship order, or system of adherence to precedent (1947: 344).

The charismatic form of legitimation accrues form the personal dynamism of the leader. Exceptional qualities allow the charismatic ruler to attract an entourage of "disciples" or followers. The led become highly devoted to the ideology of the leader. Charismatic leaders select their administrative staff wholly on the basis of charisma. The followers legitimate this leader until "his magical or heroic powers" desert him. Thus, a highly non-rational basis of power
exists from the charismatic mode of legitimation (1947: 360).

Both the traditional and rational legal modes of authority exist outside the realm of everyday routine and are extraordinary. Bureaucratic authority is specifically rational, capable of intellectually analyzable rules; traditional authority is bound to the conventions and precedents of the past; charismatic authority is specifically irrational, in the sense of being external to rules and policies (1947: 361).

1.2 Summary of Weber.

Power is the ability to influence, even against the resistance of others either through obedience or legitimation of these three types. Property, a chief means to transmit power is a crucial requirement in the freeway process (1947: 255). Thus, power may be eliminated by the freeway, or increased merely by the property exchange. In this sense, Weber's conception of power is crucial to the freeway process. However, the chief mode of legitimation is the third in his typology: the rational-legal mode of legitimation.

By law, property is exchanged for freeway right of way. The statutes protecting land in the freeway process, however, will be examined in a later section of this chapter. First, however, Hawley's conception of dominance, or power, will be presented.

2. Hawley's conception of power

Amos Hawley suggests that dominance or power emerges among "differentiated units" within an ecological system. In Human Ecology (1950) dominance implies a hierarchy of power relations, contingent on
the conditions necessary to sustaining function and sustenance. In other words, dominance depends on the function and specialization of the community unit (1950: 221).

Maintenance of the community largely depends on the extent of unit interdependency. According to Hawley, corporate units produce, whereas categoric units conserve. Of the two functions, corporate units dominate the categoric, dependent units.

The categoric unit is based on a commensalistic genesis, i.e., a functionally, homogeneous organization. Familiaristic, kin-like attachments unify the categoric unit, although when social action is necessary, the homogeneous structure may be transformed (1950: 220-221).

In and of itself, the corporate unit embodies power, whereas the categoric unit tends to preserve, and conserve without providing sustenance or productive activities. Moreover, power is distributed among units within and between communities, highly contingent on the ability to adjust to environmental effects.

2.2 Hawley, Weber and the freeway process

Hawley's description of the dominant corporate units and dependent, categoric units extends into the freeway process. The power of productive organizations to attain suitable freeway exchanges is likely, whereas the dependent grass roots organization, sustained by conservation or preservation of their community, is unlikely to command much power in the process, as compared to the corporate units.

In society, Hawley suggests that the least dominant groups will be overshadowed by the dominant groups; both groups must adapt to the
system. In the freeway process, the system is represented as the freeway process.

Power in society is reflected by the means of adaptation to the freeway, and the extent to which a suitable settlement can be obtained. Thus, both Weber's and Hawley's conceptions of power relate to the freeway process. Rational-legal components prompt freeway adaptation, in some manner, and property, for direct organizations, is the means of exchange. In both Weber's and Hawley's terms, power will be examined.

First however, additional literature will be reviewed. Next, power is posited into a game rubric by Joseph Feagin and Norton Long.

3. Community games

3.1 Introduction

Power is examined both in the local community and the urban community. Both Norton Long and Joseph Feagin conceptualize the community as a game-like organization of activities. Long views the games from an ecological vantage, and Feagin extends a conflict vantage into urban real estate.

3.2 The community as an ecology of games

Norton Long (1958) depicts the local community as an ecology of games. The games of various institutions coexist in a particular "territorial system" and "provide the players" a "set of goals, determinate roles and calculable strategies and tactics". The score is tallied by "an elite and general public" within varying degrees.
Long suggests that the achievement of the goals indicates success or failure for the participants, and a set of socialized roles structure the game. In fact, he suggests, the game is highly predictable, contingent on the socialized roles, and social regulations. Participation in multiple games enables the interdependent linking of, for example, the real estate and banking game, or the newspaper game and the highway game. He illustrates,

a particular highway grid may be the result of a bureaucratic department of public works game in which are combined though separate, a professional highway engineer game with its purposes and critical elite onlookers; a set of contending politicians seeking to use the highways for political capital, patronage, and the like; a banking game concerned with bonds, taxes, and the effect of the highways on real estate; newspapermen interested in headlines, scoops, and the highway on the papers' circulations; contractors eager to make money by building roads ... (1958: 253)

In short, the freeway engenders urban growth and profitable opportunities for multiple organizations. The freeway, depending on its location, may either increase or diminish market profitability. It provides market accessibility for business, services and in short, production and consumption activities. In and of itself, the freeway ensures profit for the selected contractors, engineers, appraisors and providers of raw construction materials. Freeways are big business, and teams struggle to obtain a share of the profit. Another perspective of the freeway game is presented next. The freeway game is but one component part of the urban real estate game.

3.3 The freeway game

Joseph Feagin views the freeway game as a component of the political economy. In The Urban Real Estate Game (1983), he suggests
highway contractors, auto lobbies and "coalitions of corporate capitalists" regulate the decentralization of cities. Feagin contends the two car garage "great American dream" is a rational design in society (1983: 108-110).

Chief lobbying force for expanded highway construction is embodied by the American Road Builders Association, consisting of highway construction corporations, construction companies, building suppliers, engineering firms and financial backers. Thus, the highway game is a huge profit making industry.

Rival teams compete for scarce resources, and consist of land use developers, city councils, powerful business persons, corporate leaders, grass roots citizen organizations, and local, state and federal tiers of government. The political organization underlies the influence of each team.

Feagin suggests that all organized grass roots opposition may halt the urban real estate play. However, there have been numerous such attempts, with modicum success. He cites attempts to halt large mall developments in Burlington, Vermont and Hadley, Massachusetts. At the heart of the urban real estate game is class struggle, yet underlying the growth is the social inefficiency of unbridled corporate growth (1983: 16-17). People's movements within cities today do somewhat effect this development, yet without social organization, corporate and private decisionmaking continues unabated. Another view of organization is seen from a land perspective.

Extreme sentiments attached to land characterized urban and suburban areas and the perspective is presented by Walter Firey. Though Firey
wrote about Boston in the 1940's, certain land remains sacred and of more than economic value in society. Firey's sociocultural vantage will next be adumbrated.

LAND ATTACHMENT: SPATIAL FETISHISM

1. Introduction

The importance of property has been investigated through ancient times by Plato and Aristotle, and more recent eras by Locke and Rousseau. Land has consistently played a crucial part in settlement patterns through the ages. A salient finding, of Locke for example, is that "labour, in the beginning, gave a right of property." Locke further suggests that when man (kind) mixes labor with land, the land becomes one's own (Locke, 1679: 45). The meaning imbued into the land is not easily obviated. This section examines the spatial fetishism attached to some land.

1.1 The sociocultural vantage of land attachment

Firey studied Boston in the 1940's, and he suggests that sociocultural interests tend to regulate land use patterns. Firey however, speaks of land use prior to federal policies of Interstate Transportation (1956), triggering disputes over land use. However, Firey's study illustrates spatial land use attachment, or "spatial fetishism," the dimension precipitating subsequent freeway controversy. In Land Use in Central Boston (1947), Firey cites the many acres of valuable land in the Central Business District which "had been allowed to remain in disuse."
He suggests that certain space possesses "symbolic qualities" and "sentiment" which tends to safeguard it. Burial grounds, historic sites and cohesive neighborhoods are examples. Boston Commons, Beacon Hill and the North end are such areas in Boston. Since Firey's study, however, numerous freeway controversies have been spawned by invasion of land characterized as symbolic or "sacrosanct." SR 315, in fact, was to bisect historic Union cemetery.

Firey's study however, traces sociocultural principles protecting certain land. Later violations of these tenets lead to changes in legal statutes, which subsequently lead to changes in transportation policy. According to Firey, Boston Commons reminds Bostonians of Cornwallis' surrender and Revolutionary War events. Beacon Hill represents the "traditional" mark of prestigious social status.

The Back Bay Area however, was not embodied by "spatial fetishism" for it had significantly shifted populations. From a predominantly upper class community, it experienced invasion and succession by middle income residents. The Back Bay area had neither symbolic bonds, nor cohesive community spirit to render its impermeability to land invasion.

Firey reiterates that money does not ensure spatial fetishism. The North End, though appearing as a slum, was a highly cohesive Italian neighborhood, with numerous first generation Italians. The North End (1947) was bypassed by planners, as land feasible for urban development. Firey's sociocultural land use theory explains locational patterns generated by cultural interests. Other proponents of the sociocultural tradition of land use patterns are Albert Hunter (1974) and Gerald Suttles (1968: 1978).
...Today however, as the next section of legal statutes illustrates, locational patterns are somewhat safeguarded by updated legal sanctions. An interplay of power politics, linkage networks, and a distribution of scarce resources results in litigation, bargaining, mediation, or in short, community action. If communities are dissatisfied with choice of land for a freeway, for example, or fail to legitimize the authority structure, i.e., the federal, state or city levels of the department of transportation, conflict ensues. In light of the freeway process, various legal regulations embellish the policy, and these will next be presented.

LEGAL STATUTES SAFEGUARDING SPATIAL AREAS

1. Introduction

Since the 1950's, when the interstate system began to reorganize the United States terrain, the legal regulations correspondingly changed. SR 315, begun in 1952, was completed in 1981, and therefore spanned approximately thirty years. Thus, the freeway was planned prior to many of the changes in land regulations, public participation and increased environmental stipulations. This section reviews the substantive changes.

1.1 Highway policy and federal regulations

In An Overview of Federal Highway Policy and Legislation, the afterword in Richard Baumbach and William Borah's (1981) The Second Battle of New Orleans, Diane Donley presents Federal Highway Policy in terms of legal statutes and policy changes. She states,

Interestingly, the passage of these laws forced changes in policy during the SR 315 controversy.

While initial plans were unimpeded by these statutes, final plans developed in conjunction with these statutes. Thus, right of way acquisition, after 1966, had to be land, free of historic registration, and considered non-abusive to the natural environment. By 1969, two Public Hearings were required: one at both the location and the design stages of planning.

Donley (1981) reviews the two 1966 statutes relating to Historic and Park lands. The Transportation Act, Section 4(f) and the National Historic Preservation Act, exempt historic, park or recreation land from authority of eminent domain. The loophole however, which transportation planners use, is a clause which states, land is subject to right of way if "no feasible or prudent alternative" exists. If "all possible planning to minimize harm" has been attempted, with no feasible option, such land may be acquired for freeway development.

Prior to 1966, these lands were protected only by tacit agreement. Transportation planners did not follow Walter Firey's land use attachment guide, and historic or park lands, and cohesive neighborhoods were sometimes selected as right of way. However, the National Registry of Historic Land, established in 1960, was passed in 1966. The law protects "properties and objects that have national, state, or local importance" from federal, state, municipal or private development.
The number of properties listed on the National Register has increased from 365 in 1969 to more than 16,000 sites and districts in 1978 (1981: 248). Before a federal agency can begin a highway, it must survey the area to determine whether the project affects property on, or eligible to be on, the National Register. (In 1974, the Federal Department of Transportation supplied techniques for incorporating Historic Preservation objectives into the Highway Planning Process.)

The most impactful planning effects, according to Donley, resulted from passage of the National Environmental Policy Act (1969). A detailed Environmental Impact Statement must accompany each route built by Federal funds. Intercity routes, through and around urban areas qualify, contingent upon receipt of comprehensive documentation. Though Environmental Impact Statements have been criticized for lack of validity of measurement, the document required planners to assess the deleterious effects of freeways.

1.2 Effects of Environmental Impact Statement

In 1973, the Office of Water Resources and Oregon State researched the effects of Environmental Impact Statements, for the Office of Program and Policy Planning, United States Department of Transportation. Goals of the EIS, according to this report, are as follows:

1) to assemble a profile of existing conditions in the proposed project
2) to predict future conditions without the project
3) to make projections for each alternative route
4) to identify significant effects of each alternative alignment
5) to describe and display each significant effect
6) to evaluate both beneficial and adverse effects
7) to consider modifications of each alternative
8) to seek feedback on assessment from outside sources and,
9) to make recommendations on the most appropriate solution.

The report submitted to the Department of Transportation (1974) evaluated benefits and disadvantages of Environmental Impact Statements in this way.

**Benefits**
1) coerces the highway department to become cognizant of social, economic and environmental effects. Prior to 1969, economic feasibility was the predominant planning criterion.
2) provides a means of communication to the public about predicted social and ecological impacts.

**Disadvantages**
1) the lack of compatibility between the EIS document and actual freeway plans. Preparation is frequently researched by staff independent of those who actually plan the freeway, since the EIS entails detailed, in-depth assessment of various alternative routes. Distinction of the social, environmental and economic effects for each route entails a precise, arduous process (1974), sometimes conducted as a study in and of itself. The major criticism of the EIS is its validity, whether it accurately measures the social, environmental and economic effects of the actual route. The EIS sometimes fails to reflect the actual plans of the freeway, hence not providing a valid assessment.
However, freeway planning significantly changed with the advent of the National Environmental Policy Act (1969: Donley, 1981: 152-53). SR 315 required an EIS when the Ohio Department of Transportation submitted proposals for Federal funding in 1974.

1.3 SR 315's EIS

Initial plans called for a state route, funded only half by federal funds, and half by state and city funds. However, the state and city transportation fund dwindled requiring proposals for supplemental federal funds. An EIS was then written for the route, when federal funds were procured to complete it. (Hartshorn, 1980; U.S. Dept. of Transportation, 1977). Current funding for "secondary" state routes consists of a 70/30 federal/state financial split. (U.S. Dept. of Transportation, 1981). The environmental impact statement explains a portion of the freeway process, and the benefits seem to outweigh the disadvantages of the document. The environmental statement however, does little to quell freeway disputes. The following section will present freeway contentions which have dotted the nation.

FREEWAY DISPUTES

1. Introduction

Freeway disputes, according to the literature review are engendered from a multiplicity of variables. One most frequently cited (Baumbach and Borah, 1981; Leavitt, 1970; Kelley, 1969) is lack of public participation in the planning process. Another salient explanation is
territorial invasion (Mowbray, 1969; Baumbach and Borah, 1981). Freeway planners are labeled the authority structure or power wielders, and local businesses, residents and environmentalists, the "resisters", "protestors", "exploited", or "manipulated." In the following texts, various disputes are presented, to provide a rubric for SR 315. A theoretical framework and model is generated characterizing the process and pattern of freeway controversies.

1.2 The sixties and freeway controversy

In the sixties, social unrest peppered society, with race riots, anti-war protests, student riots, urban renewal disputes and freeway controversies. As A. Q. Mowbray cites, the sixties directly followed the passage of the 1956 Highway Act which launched funds for the Interstate. Hence the sixties ushered in bulldozers for freeway construction in a turbulent social milieu.

In Road to Ruin (1969) he cites the correlation of racial discrimination and freeway planning. In city after city, "completed expressways run through the ghetto," but in a recent (1969) hearing on the proposed freeway system for Washington, D.C., a "black militant ran to the microphone and yelled, 'This will stop the freeways,' holding up a book of matches for all to see. Ironically, weeks later, large sections of the city were in flames."

Mowbray enumerates myriad expressway controversies. The list includes protest about the Delaware Expressway, a link in Interstate 95 (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), Interstate 55 (Springfield, Illinois), Hudson River Expressway (Highland, New York), Interstate 287
(Morristown, New Jersey) and Interstate 90 (Spokane, Washington). Most of the controversy focused on bisection of historic land, cohesive neighborhoods or hospital land. The hospital, Deaconess in Spokane, Washington sued in 1964 to halt I-90. Claiming the close proximity of a freeway would disturb patients, Deaconess won the law suit. Yet an appeal by highway builders rendered reversal of this decision (1969: 142-143).

1.3 Nashville, Tennessee: racial discrimination

Mowbray describes another major controversy triggering cries of racial discrimination. Protest in Tennessee over Interstate 40, extends beyond publication of his text. He describes however, the inchoate controversy while Ben Kelley in The Pavers and the Paved explains the denouement (1971:97-107).

Mowbray asserts that Interstate 40 was designed in 1956, the year the Interstate System began. Nashville's freeway system contained an inner loop surrounding the Central business District, with numerous radial highways joining the loop. I-40, one of the radials, crossed several railroad tracks and yards, non-controversial spatial areas. Nearer the center, however, the Interstate traversed "a few white-owned retail businesses" (1969: 178-182).

After a series of meetings of highway engineers, and city and agency planners, an alternate alignment was found. This route eliminated "Negro houses, churches, and a college" in North Nashville. Notice of the public hearing was posted at eight branch post offices. The posted date was inaccurate, that is, the May 15, 1957 hearing was posted as occurring May 14, 1957.
At the actual hearing, questions were unrecorded. No public transcript was available. When interviewed, North Nashville residents do not remember a May, 1957 Public Hearing. In fact, North Nashville residents thought transportation policy to be blatantly discriminatory, since their earmarked community was predominantly black (Mowbray, 1969).

Ben Kelley in *The Pavers and the Paved* (1969) recounts the final stages of the dispute. The Tennessee Department of Transportation supported the alignment against the North Nashville "steering committee" who opposed it. The "steering committee," composed of "civic minded professionals" asked for a new public hearing. When denied, they turned to legal measures. The case was heard in District Court, and eventually in the Supreme Court, which ruled to continue construction of I-40. In short, the I-40 "Steering Committee" was defeated. North Nashville Interstate 40 was constructed, despite the displacement of black dwellings, schools, churches, and 234 black-owned businesses.

1.4 The Embarcadero

In *The Pavers and the Paved* (1969) Ben Kelley presents myriad disputes. The San Francisco Embarcadero is next highlighted, followed by various other freeway contentions (1969) for social organization. In 1959, San Franciscans initiated a local movement to veto power of the federal highway administration. Kelley traces the process which affected blocking the $280 million freeway program in the Bay Area. The federal funds, earmarked for the area, were rejected by the community.

The San Francisco city and county legislative bodies vetoed (1966) the "predesignated freeway routes, including Interstate links," although
the "State of California had received assurance of federal fund participation." The raised stub of the Embarcadero remains a tribute to proposed freeway building in Northern California.

Three other opposed constructions occurred in Washington, D.C., Cleveland, Ohio and Boston, Massachusetts. Kelley enumerates the controversies which were ongoing in March, 1969. At the request of a Senate Public Works Committee, Highway Administrator Francis Turner submitted the following sixteen cities experiencing superhighway contests.

1.5 Freeway disputes of 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Opposed Miles</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Neighborhood Impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Historic Land; Displacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Displacement; Route Justification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Displacement; Aesthetics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>Parkland, Historic and Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>Community Impact; Tax Loss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indianapolis</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Displacement; Aesthetics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memphis</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>Parkland Severance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashville</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Community Impact; Accessibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Community Impact; Displacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Historic Preservation; Aesthetics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York city</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>Displacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Displacements; Relocation Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsburgh</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Displacement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
San Francisco 17.4 Displacement; Parkland; Aesthetics
Washington, D.C. 24.2 Displacement; Parkland, Aesthetics

Though this list was submitted in 1969, freeway disputes continue into the eighties. Despite changes in legal statutes, restricting freeway land use, disputes still occur. As Kelley's list indicates, chief issues are displacement, community impact, aesthetics, and sociocultural land use conflicts. Next, Helen Leavitt in *Superhighway-Superhoax*, (1970) details a state by state pattern of freeway controversies.

1.6 *Superhighway-Superhoax*

Additional freeway disputes are presented in this text. *Superhighway-Superhoax* (1970) complements the works of Kelley and Mowbray. Citizen protest of freeways is the highlight of her text, although she also provides an excellent overview of financial changes in highway policy. A summary of the freeway controversies follows.

In New York between 1955 and 1967 the following freeways caused dissension: the Hudson River Expressway, Interstate 87, Lower Manhattan Expressway, Southern Tier Expressway, LaSalle Expressway, and Route 17. Of these battles, two are especially noteworthy.

The Lower Manhattan Expressway was halted after a twenty-eight year battle. In 1961, a stormy public hearing occurred. The route (approximately along Broome and Canal Streets) would link the Holland Tunnel and West Side Highway with the Williamsburg and Manhattan Bridges.
Ten elevated lanes would displace 1,972 families and 804 businesses (1970: 59). This route, discussed since 1946, was opposed by business, civic and residential groups. The 1964 Public Hearing, according to H. Leavitt (1970: 58-64) indicated these polarized factions: freeway supporters stressed employment opportunities rendered by construction of the route; opponents counterbalanced this claim with the job loss that would ensue in the immediate neighborhood if the East freeway were built.

The president of the East Side Chamber of Commerce opposed the route for "connecting bottlenecks." Executive Director of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, Peter J. Reidy, defended the project. Though Mayor Wagner supported the expressway, John Lindsay endorsed the community's opposition in his mayoral campaign. Eventually, a proposal for tunneling the route was made by Lindsay in 1968.

Actually, in August 1969, the City Planning Commission rejected the expressway and the Board of Estimate voted to kill the project. The twenty-eight year entanglement of business, residential, political, and administrative groups halted the freeway.

A second New York freeway dispute involved the Seneca Indians. SR 17 would bisect their reservation. Leavitt describes the complicated seven-year battle which ended in 1964. Route 17 in southwest New York State required relocation when the Kinzua Dam project flooded the existing segment of the route. The Dam, proposed by the Army Corps of Engineers, had also flooded one third of the Indian reservation.

The Indians sued the Army Corps of Engineers for destruction of their homes and were awarded $15 million to rebuild. However, they
contested the proposed fenced superhighway, since it would sever their land in two.

Though Judges Thurgood Marshall and Leonard Moore disagreed with each other, the Federal government supported authorization of Army Corps of Engineers to "replace or relocate highways and to determine necessity for condemning Indian land." Hence, the Southern Tier Expressway, as the State Route became known, was constructed (1970: 80-81).

The Shaker Heights, Ohio community protested an 8.7 mile, eight lane freeway, proposed as a secondary access to downtown Cleveland from Interstate routes extending to Buffalo, Pittsburgh and New York.


1.7 The second battle of New Orleans

This dispute is described in Richard Baumbach and William Borah's The Second Battle of New Orleans (1981). A twenty-three year battle to preserve the historic Vieux Carre riverfront from freeway invasion began in 1946. At this time, a New York freeway builder, Robert Moses, proposed construction of an elevated expressway along the New Orleans historic French Quarter riverfront.
The fight featured the preservationists against the business interests, that is, the environmentalists versus the Chamber of Commerce and downtown merchants. Baumbach and Borah assert that preservationists thought the proposed expressway "an alien twentieth century intrusion that would irreparably harm the fragile beauty of the old city." At the other pole however, to the supporters, "the expressway was desperately needed to revitalize the central business district" and thus prevent further decay and deterioration that had "sapped the vitality of the city."

The Vieux Carre or French Quarter is a 100 square block area on the East bank of the Mississippi River. On January 8, 1815, General Andrew Jackson and an underequipped army of less than 5,000 men successfully defended the city of New Orleans against about 10,000 well-equipped British soldiers, many of whom were seasoned veterans of the Duke of Wellington's insignia.

Not only was this land significant as an historic site, but also as a Creole (Louisiana born descendant of the French and Spanish) neighborhood. A history of American-Creole clashes characterized the area for centuries. According to Baumbach and Borah,

the struggle in New Orleans is physically and symbolically represented by the existence of two distinct areas, lying side by side in the very heart of the city--the Vieux Carre, with its two- and three-story buildings, abutting the central business district, with its 20 and 30 story structures.

The basic tension and friction occurred as a clash between cultures, i.e., languages, religions, nationalities, and deeper values, attitudes, and lifestyles. Thus, the historic, subcultural enclave was
the site earmarked to improve the deteriorating Central Business District.

Though the area had deteriorated, several artists had been attracted by the old world charm and inexpensive housing (1981: 22-23). A philanthropist, William Ratcliffe Irby, had restored several of the buildings and a cathedral (1981:22).

The Vieux Carre riverfront expressway was to be elevated, highly opposed by the preservationists. Then another "at grade" alignment was proposed, still rejected by the majority of preservationists. Supporters of the freeway included Mayor Schiro, business and commercial interests in the Central Business District, and City, State and Federal Departments of Transportation.

However, in 1968, Federal Highway Administrator Bridwell stated that the Vieux Carre expressway should be built at grade level. At this time, all supporters of the freeway conformed to this alternative. However, on February 5, 1969 the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation met in Washington, D.C. to consider the New Orleans Project.

The two-day meeting consisted of reviewing a report by the Director of the Bureau of Public Roads, an evaluation from the National Park Service and opinions from representatives of New Orleans, Highway Department, City Planning Commission, Chamber of Commerce, the Dock Board, and the preservationist Central Area Council. In July, five months later, Secretary of Transportation, John Volpe cancelled the plan for the proposed Vieux Carre Expressway.
In conclusion, however, the conflict is still vital. In July, 1975, the City Streets director Blaise Carriere requested $800,000 from the City Planning Commission to study a Vieux Carre riverfront roadway. Hence, a decision to discard freeway plans is subject to appeal and reversal. Reassessment and reappraisal may occur, reversing the decision established by the Secretary of Transportation, Governor, Mayor, or even the Supreme Court. One final freeway controversy is presented, and then a chronology of highway policy changes will complete the literature review.

1.8 Preservation of black Crest Street neighborhood

A more recent conflict occurred in Durham, North Carolina. In "Activists and Asphalt: A Successful Anti-Expressway Movement in a 'New South City'" (1981) Paul Luebke presents the successful organization of low income Black residents and postcollege young Whites. Aided by legal council, they halted an expressway plan which would have destroyed a cohesive black neighborhood. Several groups formed to block the business and transportation faction. The preservationists were: the Crest Street Community Organization, aligned with the People's Alliance and the Durham Committee for the Affairs of Black People.

The Black Crest Street neighborhood in Durham opposed city government, state officials, Durham businessmen, and Duke University successfully. Contending the freeway was absolutely essential, supporters stressed the freeway "would relieve traffic congestion near Duke Medical Center in West Durham."
Expressway resisters argued that "the neighborhood would have to be relocated in order to promote 'progress' in Durham, as a whole." The young white community activists belonged to the Peoples Alliance, a statewide political organization with chapters in three North Carolina cities. The Crest Street Community Organization was comprised of Blacks in the neighborhood. The Black/White coalition protested and persuaded the Durham City in February 1979, to reverse earlier votes supporting the freeway. By 1977, the expressway had extended westward to within a half mile from the Crest Street Neighborhood.

Alliance with other groups, aided the battle. In short, Luebke cites organizational skills and resource mobilization by the activists as the winning ingredients. The expressway was successfully blocked.

While the North Carolina Transportation Department was busy relocating Crest Street residents, the People's Alliance group had presented a position paper opposing the freeway. The paper relied on library research, and the results of 30 interviews with displaced persons, and officials at City Hall, in the Chamber of Commerce and Duke University. Hence Luebke recounts the halting of the freeway, primarily because a 60-page position paper, (opposed to the expressway) was presented to the 13 member City Council and media in June, 1978.

Thus, successful blockage of the Durham expressway had occurred through organizational abilities and persistent struggle, not only of blacks, but through a black-white alliance. The Durham freeway controversy completes the freeway dispute section. Following a conclusion section, a sketch of the dynamics of the financial changes in highway policy completes the literature review.
CONCLUSION

In conclusion, community conflict, social conflict and community games indicate the multifaceted nature of the freeway process. Land exchange elicits conflict, and the freeway process is a legal vehicle to warrant this powerful exchange. The dynamics of the legal regulations enveloping freeway planning and decision making reflect the significance of personal property rights in our democratic society.

In the fifties and sixties, freeways disproportionately bevelled slum areas, as a form of urban renewal. Freeway development incited cries of racism, environmental abuse, political and economic displacement. The struggles, strife, and spirit of the sixties extended into modified freeway policy of the seventies. However, freeway disputes continue into the eighties. SR 315 spanned the sixties, seventies, and was completed in the eighties. It therefore reflects the dynamic changes in the freeway process.

The freeway process will be examined in the remainder of the dissertation. Perhaps the research will generate patterns from which the freeway process may be further improved. Before the theoretical presentation, however, a chronology of transportation policy changes is presented. The chronology synthesizes presentations from three texts and a highway document.

TRANSPORTATION CHRONOLOGY

Three texts, Transportation for Cities (1976), Superhighway-Superhoax (1970), The Second Battle of New Orleans (1981), and a document, the U.S. Department of Transportation's Guide to
1. Legislation for Highway Financing

1944 Federal Aid Highway Act Funds designated for primary, secondary, and urban routes.

1956 Federal Aid Highway Act; Highway Trust Fund Established by special Revenue collected by taxes on autos, tires, oil, and auto accessories derived from both state and federal levels; launching of the interstate system, in which federal funds would finance 90% of Interstate. By 1965, urban areas were required to establish comprehensive transportation plans. State highway departments were invited to participate in relocation advisory assistance programs.

1964 Federal Aid for Urban Mass Transit; capital grant assistance to mass transportation with passage of Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act. 66% of costs of transit equipment and other capital investments were financed.

1966 Highway Act modified by clause specifying funds not to be used for beautification such as scenic enhancement or outdoor advertising.

1970 Urban Mass Transportation Act in which federal payments increased to 80%.
1973 Federal Aid Highway Act appropriating $18 billion for highways between 1973-1976, yet permitting a transfer of these funds for financing urban mass transit, at option of the local government; cities may reject construction of further interstate highway links and obtain general funds from the federal government to pay for alternative transit.

1976 Two Provisions to the Federal Highway Act of 1968, specifying that controversial interstate segments can be transferred to other locations in the state, and the transfer of federal highway funds for transit or alternate highways within the urban area.
Chapter 3
THE FREEWAY PROCESS

1. Introduction

Transportation networks crisscross the nation, and the ten regions of the federal highway administration have sliced the United States into ribbons of technical design. The process however, has largely been criticized as enveloped by elitist decision making.

The ex post facto nature of local community involvement in highway plans has consistently been cited as the cause of public resentment, social action and in short, a thorny, complicated process. In this chapter, theory underpinning the process will be unraveled, and a model is presented.

The process is basically an extension of extralocal decision making for a freeway which traverses local terrain characterized by commercial, industrial, residential, institutional, cemetery, or undeveloped types of land. The process is the impetus for an array of local responses, ranging from volatile conflict through subdued compliance. In the particular process encompassing SR 315—the focus of this research—the plans and extralocal-local gyrations spanned approximately thirty years. SR 315, envisioned in 1952, was entirely opened to traffic in 1981.
2. Overview of the process

The impetus of the freeway process is a county projection. The projection estimates that population growth and economic activity surpass the accommodation of the areal transportation system. The area then becomes the target for a freeway study.

Qualified regional engineers recommend expansion, and the technical plan is submitted to the state highway engineers. Thus far, only extralocals consider the new transportation facility. Local input, minimal at this stage, is subtly considered. Certain organizations, characterized by large stocks of land, are scrutinized as potential right of way negotiators. Established organizations with large landstocks are considered as the preliminary report is designed (1963, Stilson: 15-21).

In conjunction with this planning, the city contracts a private consulting firm to research various alternatives (City-state relations vary around the nation pertaining to the division of labor of freeway planning). Two extralocal planning bodies, regional and private agencies, next design alignments for the district-state decision makers. The crucial decision making and largest proportion of power is with the state highway department. The federal level is called in only to settle entangled, prickly disputes. Hence, the district deputy director wields salient decision making power in the freeway process (G. McCoy, 1983). This extralocal planning and authority over the freeway triggers waves of social conflict. Polar alliances form between local organizations and certain locals form coalitions with the extralocals.
Alliance, or the expansion of local organizations is a likely means to accumulate strength. Allied organizations may afford a cohesive, shield-like defense in support or against other locals or the extralocals. The united front warrants power to further local goals.

Other means include litigation and extralocal-local coalition. Regardless of the means of adaptation, in time, organizations become enfolded into a power hierarchy, which marks the termination of conflict, and the freeway process. The process is expedited or stalled by the activities of the local and extralocal organizations. Essentially, local means of adaptation, time, and goals determine the extent of power and completion of the freeway.

3. Expected findings of the dissertation

The dissertation will examine the freeway process in light of the organizational participation and power. Essentially, it is expected that delay and power are a function of the various means of adaptation employed by local organizations. The extent to which local power affects the process is determined by the placement of the freeway, goal convergence between the local and extralocal highway department, and local means of adaptation. It is expected that goal convergence elicits power, whereas goal divergence evokes conflict. During the freeway process, supportive organizations may be provoked by conflictual organizations. This active polarization sustains the freeway process.

Concomitantly, organizations directly impacted by the freeway may reflect goal convergence or divergence with the highway department. It is expected that means of adaptation to the freeway are used to attain
goals: support of the freeway or reconfiguration.

It is expected that adaptation by compliance or alliance carries less power than adaptation by litigation or extralocal-local coalition. Regardless of the means of adaptation, local power of indirect organizations, that is, those external to the right of way, largely depends on two dimensions: goal convergence with the extralocals or use of litigation as a means of adaptation. For both indirect and direct organizations, it is expected that time is highly correlated to power. This process will be investigated between first public reaction through completed freeway, with particular emphasis on the three public hearings, right of way files, communication between the locals and the extralocals, and the political clashes between local organizations and the highway department.

Power is reflected by the extent to which local organizations obtain their goal and/or a large settlement. The settlement will be compared to those of other local organizations in the freeway process. Following are the structural bases of conflict in the freeway process.

4. Indigenous seeds of conflict

Conflict within the freeway process essentially derives from the structure and freeway policy. Freeway planning, decision making and growth is an extension of the social structure. Laws, values, power fields and the bureaucracy encompass the freeway process. Therefore, when local organizations contend freeway decision making, essentially they are resisting a larger social order. The extent to which local organizations accept or reject the authoritarian process largely
explains the freeway process. Local agreement or dissension derives from the placement of the freeway. This placement either invades or skirts local territory, and this placement tends to prompt local sentiment.

4.1 Extralocal planning phase: bureaucratic decision making

The state bureaucracy generates decision making for the freeway process. Bureaucracy is a complex organizational form, capable of most efficient, rational action, in terms of management, administration and technical expertise (Weber, 1947: 275). A few words about bureaucracy may be in order. Bureaucratic organization largely avoids public discussion of policies. The secrecy is necessary to keep valuable information from private economic or foreign potentially hostile groups (R. Merton, 1967: 195-197). This secrecy leads to a lack of communication between the local freeway recipients and extralocal decision makers.

The nature of the freeway process, in terms of its bureaucratic planning, contains structural foundation for conflict. Plans, administration of public hearings, negotiations for right of way and exchange settlements are conducted by the extralocal highway department (An illustration of the highway department bureaucracy is in Appendix A). The lopsided, exclusive planning process produces an inequitable power balance between extralocals and locals in the freeway process.

Extralocals have prior knowledge about freeway plans. Conversely, locals are virtually ignorant of the process until extralocals are legally required to inform them of public hearings, for example. The
public hearing provides the locals exposure to various alternative alignments, without decision making ability.

The decision is reached prior to public presentation: local organizations may inquire only about decision making, in terms of rationale for extralocal decisions. Throughout, the extralocals know about the alignments, selected route, and details of the freeway. This upper hand, or power renders distinctive boundaries. Hence an in-group/out-group boundary, indigenous to conflict, is delineated by the extralocal bureaucratic planning, administration, and decision making (Merton, 1967: 203; Weber, 1947: 329).

4.2 Local power fields: indirect input to plans

Local power dominants are organizations within the targeted area, which service, trade with and sustain the local community. Powerful local organizations are service industries, for example, with large populations, or commercial and industrial organizations with highly valued goods or commodities (Hawley, 1981: 224; Hartshorn, 1980: 116-122). These organizations may hold landstocks which are scrutinized for the potential freeway.

This extant, personal land of the organizations comprises a subtle local input to freeway plans. Local dominants are mentioned as considerations in the preliminary engineering report, that is, certain large organizations are mentioned (Stilson and Associates, 1963).

The nature of this local input is inherent to the process; the local powers do not actively seek this recognition. This local power,
acknowledged by extralocals in the freeway process is partially responsible for conflict from other local organizations. When the design is presented at the public hearing, irate, hostile organizations echo belligerence (ODOT, 1965: 184, 194).

The early phase of freeway planning and decision making therefore has an elusive input from local power nodes. Existent local power is extended into the freeway process; large land holders may be integrated into the extralocal plans, for the highway department requires land to build the freeway. Hence, a structural inequity of local power fields influences the early freeway plans.

4.3 Freeway land: legal penetration of American values

In the freeway process, administrators are state officials, hired to serve "at the pleasure of the governor." The administrators are empowered by state code and supported by federal code to plan, program and procure land for freeways. Frequent conflicts over state eminent domain complicate and delay the freeway process.

According to Chapter 5501 of the Revised Code of Ohio, the highway department may acquire land for freeway use from appropriate special funds. Eminent domain, a powerful law, has certain limitations. The limitations of highway acquisition are further examined in the power section of this chapter. First however, the democratic values will be examined. The United States Codes overpowered these Bill of Rights principles.
4.4 Legal process and the freeway

Legal statutes entangle freeway decision-making. Policy overpowers certain taken for granted principles within a democratic society: life, liberty and property. The fourth, fifth and fourteenth amendments in the Bill of Rights reflect these democratic principles. Both the fifth and fourteenth amendments, for example, specify the right to property as a personal liberty. In the fifth amendment, private property may not be "taken for public use, without just compensation," and the fourteenth amendment supports this principle with protection under the law (Sobol, 1969: 207-210). The State may not "deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws. Moreover, the fourth amendment provides security against unreasonable searches and seizures.

The highway department has countered these amendments by providing "just compensation" for right of way seizures. Protected by the Federal Highway Act, highways, freeways and transportation improvements are within the legal domain and only certain land is safeguarded from eminent domain. Subsequent to 1956, the law supported the highway power to recompense landowners for their private property.

The legal penetration of property rights contributes to much of the conflict and delay surrounding the freeway process. Hence, the decision to build the freeway, conceptualized in the bureaucracy, consistently tends to be delayed by conflict in the freeway process. Thus, the bureaucracy, capable of efficient, expedient action is delayed by conflict, evoked when bureaucratic decisions touch personal values (Coleman, 1957: 6). Hence, the decision making process breeds delay
rather than efficient action.

At its worst, a freeway may uproot established, cohesive neighborhoods, businesses, and industries. Extralocal justification may be: the plan is the lesser of two evils, that is, it causes less damage or costs less than other choices.

At its best, the freeway may require only surplus, undeveloped land from organizations in exchange for decision making ability for route location, plus a weighty cash settlement. Another potential profitable position might slice only minimal land from organizational stock. The advantageous position however would be contingent on total land holdings. For example, large holdings are required as spatial proximity to the future freeway may have ill effects, a consequence of small land holdings in this case.

4.5 Institutionalized safety valves to manage conflict

In the freeway process, another indigenous seed of conflict is the institutional safety valve to manage conflict. The freeway process is operationalized, administered and received through institutions of society. In terms of the conflict, the only institutional valve which affords local power is the legal institution.

The structural institutional vents, public hearings, release hostility, predominantly relating to lack of decision making ability. Frustration tends to accumulate, in direct relation to the extent of goal divergency, specifically from indirect organizations who have minimal decision making ability. The frustration produced is regulated through five means of adaptation: compliance, alliance, litigation,
negotiation, or extralocal coalition.

Local organizations who are not power dominants, that is, have minimal land and thus are not recognized in the preliminary engineering report, may vent hostilities at the public hearing or through communication with the extralocals. The institutionalized management of conflict, in conjunction with lack of local power, produces tension, which may erupt at a later time (Coser, 1956: 48). Thus, the nature of the process, conflict management through institutionalized safety valves, sustains the conflict. Unless local organizations resort to the legal institution, little more than a cash settlement and/or frustration accrues.

4.5.1 Valves to vent conflict

Conflict is managed through the following vents: 1) public hearings, 2) communication in forms of letters, telephone calls, and face to face meetings, and 3) legal channels. These channels reflect both the existing local power structure and the disproportional extralocal power balance. The alignment preferred by the extralocals is implemented. Therefore, presentation of numerous alternatives at the public hearing merely serves to whet appetites for further dissension (ODOT, 1965, ODOT, 1976). Decision making for the process is empowered either to the state or the courts.

An intrigue of the legal institutional valve is that it may afford immense power. Freeways have been halted through the courts (Baumbach and Borah, 1981). Local communication to congresspersons, a ramification of the legal system, tends to sensitize those in powerful positions
to local concerns. This vent may lead to power. The legal institutional valves tend to be vehicles to solve conflict. Conflict, a salient component of some freeway processes will next be sketched.

SOCIAL CONFLICT²

1. Introduction

In order to present conflict of the freeway process, social conflict will first be adumbrated. In general, social conflict has these characteristics:
1) the contention is shortened if goals of opponents converge,
2) the outcome depends on goals, means, power and time,
3) means to accumulate power (strength) render local-local and extralocal-local alliances
4) termination depends upon the ability of the stronger opponent to attain goal.

1.1 Conflictual characteristics

Social conflict tends to unify groups threatened by hostile, antagonistic forces. Issues which precipitate contention tend to: touch subjective, personal elements, economic matters, and inequitable power relations (Coleman, 1957; Coser, 1968). Conflict is dynamic, and through time, groups, issues and power relations tend to shift.

Once groups and organizations form through conflict with other groups, boundary lines are distinguished. As time elapses, these institutional vents may frustrate competing groups and the boundaries between groups may shift.
In terms of interorganization conflict, organizations compete with one another until either a stalemate or change in means of adaptation is planned. In the latter case, the change provides a reason for coalition (Turk, 1977: 199). A plurality of organizational memberships provides opportunity for multiple allegiances, ties and sentiments, thus decreasing polarization and factionality. In modern society, these complex attachments frequently occur, and tend to manifest interorganizational alliances.

2. Conflict in the freeway process

The impetus for conflict in the freeway process is the plan for a new freeway. Organizational spatial boundaries are increasingly identified in light of freeway plans. The freeway process accentuates boundaries, and a we-they differential identifies organizations on two levels: internal-internal, and internal-external. Hence local organizations distinguish themselves from other locals and all locals distinguish themselves from the extralocals.

2.1 Competition among locals

Though the organizations are locally unified by the threat of freeway invasion, a competitive edge separates them from one another. An extralocal decision for freeway position amenable to one organization may have severe impact on another organization. The initial competition for freeway location pits organizations against each other.

Local power of the freeway process is initially determined by the extent of land. This variable, in conjunction with means of adaptation
to the freeway may strengthen position in relation to the extralocals. If land stock is minimal, local-local alliances enable an expansion of land from which to negotiate. However, the initial conflict between organizations fragments rather than merges. Until local organizations gauge their strength and ability to acquire power and goals, locals oppose each other in efforts to assess their strength against the extralocals.

2.2 Temporal effects

As time elapses, locals "let down their guard" and assume natural postures of daily activities. These normative activities foster a means to obtain power and strength in the freeway process. Formerly discrete organizations fuse into larger collectivities.

2.3 The natural process

Depending on natural interactions resulting from spatial contiguity, interorganizational linkage, resource dependency, or functional unities, organizations form alliances to attain their goals. These relations, coupled with the legal institutionalized safety valve, and temporal delays, provide the means to attain power in the freeway process. This power determines goal attainment and the hierarchical power structure of the freeway process. Details of termination depend on goals and means of both levels.
1. Extralocal goals and means

The extralocal goal is clearcut: to build a freeway along an alignment considered least damaging to all parties concerned. In terms of extralocals, least damage implies the least expensive alignment. Means to attain this goal include: negotiation with landowner on right of way line. Extralocals must administrate preparation of land titles, assessing status of landowner(s), and appraisal of land.

1.1 The extralocal appraisal process

The appraisal reflects one of three types: income producing, cost to reproduce or replace land or fair market value estimate of land (G. McCoy, 1984). The first type is used for commercial or industrial land which maintains economic profit, whereas the second is used primarily for institutional property, for service to society. The last appraisal type is chiefly used to assess residential land. Landowners who refuse the appraisal tend to adhere to a goal of reconfiguration, whereas landowners who accept the appraisal support the freeway.

Extralocal means to acquire land include a cash settlement or cash settlement in conjunction with exchange of services. Goal attainment for extralocals occurs if the freeway is constructed corresponding to the journalized design, that is, the design presented at the public hearing.
Table 1.

Local Goals and Means of Adaptation to Freeway Process
by Spatial Proximity to Alignment

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+ represents use of freeway adaptation to achieve goal
2. **Local goals and means**

Local goals range from support of the extralocal plan, support of extralocal plan with reconfiguration, through rejection of extralocal plan, that is, blockage of the route. Five means to attain local goals are as follows: compliance, local alliance, litigation, negotiation, and extralocal-local coalition. The following table presents the organization goals and means, as related to the right of way alignment. The cells of the table show the various outcomes. These will be discussed in order.

2.1 **Compliance**

Operationally, it transpires when the actor just accepts the cash settlement for appraisal of land. This obedience, however, may result from indifference or from the actors' acceptance of the extralocal authority. Compliance reflects a support of extralocal goals or indifference to the freeway process. In either case, organizations both directly or indirectly affected by the freeway support the goal of the extralocals. This form of adaptation is non-conflictual.

2.2 **Local alliance**

A second means of adaptation, local alliance, is a prevalent means to combat the extralocals. Organizations both directly (that is, on right of way line) and indirectly affected may use this form. Alliances may form to support either of the three local goals: support, reconfiguration, or blockage. Alliance formation may increase organizational strength.
The transformation of organizations into expanded fields of power is accomplished by fusion with other organizations. Temporary, shifting alliances are accomplished by relations of spatial contiguity, interorganizational linkages, resource dependency and mutual functions. Means of alliance formation will be further explicated; alliance formation sustains the internal activities of many direct and indirect freeway organizations.

2.2.1 **Local alliance from spatial contiguity**

Organization, particularly within close spatial proximity, may also interact as a natural effect of the spatial proximity. Inadvertently, this proximity provides persons the opportunity to "bump" into one another. Communication may concern the freeway. Their progress with the extralocals on settlements, exchanges, and gains or losses, may lead to cooperative strategies. Spatial proximity, though not necessarily creating the alliance between locals, does provide more of an opportunity than the converse, spatial distance.

Even without interorganizational cooperation, interaction between organizations prompts comparative gauging, a salient means to sustain a conflict (L. Coser, 1968: 41). For example, if organization x receives ten dollars per acre for land and organization y is offered seven dollars per acre for equivalent land in comparable area, y can offer this as evidence of an inaccurate appraisal, and delay the freeway process, by requesting another appraisal from the state, or a privately contracted appraiser.
The consequences of the interaction have influenced the freeway process in two ways, either through building temporary alliances, or through delaying the freeway. Spatial contiguity therefore, is a powerful condition of freeway location. As the freeway process terminates, these loose confederational alliances become enfolded in a pyramidal hierarchy of power.

2.2.2 **Local alliance from interorganizational linkage**

In modern industrialized society, it is highly unlikely that organizations remain insular from one another. The diversified nature of complex organizations tends to provide a reasonable source of daily role sharing, mutual affiliations, and common ties among members of the discrete organizations (R. Warren, 1978: 281; H. Turk, 1977: 103). These mutual roles and affiliations tend to generate alliances between organizations, thus providing strength for bargaining (Coser, 1968: 2; Turk, 1977: 137). In terms of the freeway process, societal complexity renders the likelihood that interorganizational linkages will attach formerly segmental organizations. This is a further local means to form alliances.

2.2.3 **Local alliance from dependency relations**

A third binding relation between locals may be resource dependency. The "symbiotic" relationship may coordinate local actions prior to the freeway process. Prior to the freeway, organizations may be tied through financial or trade relations, in terms of mortgage, lease, or commerce between local groups. This dependency provides bonds which
extend into the freeway process (Hawley: 1981: 226). The prior relation tends to be conducive to alliance formation in the freeway process.

The expanded local unit warrants a stronger base for negotiation settlements. The freeway process illuminates the tie. The highway department is cognizant of this interorganizational dependency during procedural requirements for right of way acquisition, that is, as property titles or appraisals are readied (ODOT, 3.15: 1956-1978). In conclusion, resource dependency strengthens local power. The freeway process itself illuminates the interdependent organizational nature.

2.2.4 Alliances based on common function

In congruent fashion, local organizations with mutual functions are likely allies in the freeway process. These organizations are coordinated by virtue of common functional characteristics. Common functions such as organizations of research and development, retailers, financial institutions, or medical facilities, need minimal incentive to align forces because a pattern of interaction may be established.

Two research agencies, for example, most probably share scientific values, methods, and experience. In other words, mutual functions provide a categorical force for alliance between organizations. These bonds strengthen local organizational power fields.

In summary, alliances may form between organizations in the following ways: 1) spatial contiguity, 2) role interdependency, 3) mutuality of function and 4) prior resource dependency. These alliances expand the local power fields, in terms of either negotiation for right of way settlement or blockage of the alignment.
Local alliance, as a means of adaptation to the freeway process serves to influence extralocals either to reconfigure the freeway route or proceed with construction of the freeway. Local organizations become allies as means to strengthen their power base. These alliances provide power either from "natural" interactions of spatial contiguity, or through mutualities such as common functions or roles. A fourth type of alliance formation, resource dependency, may occur through prior financial or commercial relationships.

Though less powerful than legal channels, local alliances explain a frequent means of freeway adaptation. Two other means to accrue power are legal strategies and temporal delays.

3. Litigation

Litigation, through the legal institution, is a means used by local organizations either to block or reconfigure the alignment. A means to delay the freeway, in addition to accrue power, litigation is frequently initiated by the extralocals. In these cases, the extralocal highway department appropriates land by eminent domain. Litigation is costly for the highway department (See Chapter 5, Table 6).

Local organizations indirectly affected by the freeway may use litigation in light of environmental issues, civil rights disputes, or ambiguous policy disputes (For a detailed review of freeway conflicts and litigation, see Chapter 2). These local organizations are not on the right of way line, and therefore, are excluded from formal right of way negotiation action. Their other means to block or reconfigure the freeway, as aforementioned, is to form local alliances. They tend,
however, to command more power through legal strategies. Since they are indirectly affected by the freeway, the highway department has little need to attend to their concerns unless the freeway violates legalities.

Legal strategies, such as lawsuits, correspondence to congressional representatives, and petitions that the alignment appear on the ballot are three generic democratic legal tools. The most powerful of the three is a lawsuit, that is, litigation initiated by local organizations. Most lawsuits generated by local organizations aim at the loopholes in the power of eminent domain.

3.1 Lawsuits

Certain land is exempt from power of eminent domain. These lands are as follows: 1) historic, 2) public parkland, 3) natural environment, and 4) neighborhoods in which civil rights are violated (Baumbach and Borah, 1981: 244-247; Luebke, 1981: 258).

Three statutes protecting local interests are the National Historic Preservation Act (1966), Section 4(f) of the Transportation Act (1966), and the National Environmental Policy Act. In conjunction with the natural environment, if the freeway crosses a navigable stream, channel or tributary, the Army Corps of Engineers gauges the extent of environmental impact and public interest. In most cases the Army Corps of Engineers tends to support extralocal goals (ODOT: George Downing, 1983).

Discriminatory land seizure violates the eighth and fourth amendments, in addition to the recent 1983 Civil Rights Acts. In Durham, North Carolina, black and white citizens obtained a
reconfiguration of the Durham Expressway which bisected an all black established neighborhood. Resource mobilization is cited as the reason local activists blocked the Durham expressway (Luebke, 1981).

The freeway process abounds in litigation. Numerous cases dot the nation, though the local-extralocal gains have not been systematically recorded. (For a review of some of the cases see Chapter 2). Legal strategies tend to result in additional gains in property settlements for local organizations, although there is some deviation. Blockage of the route, however, is rare.

4. Legal correspondence and voter referendum

Two further forms of legal power are functions of our political process. In the United States, citizens have the right "to petition the government for a redress of grievances." This empowers local organizations to combat extralocal power of eminent domain (Sobul, 1969: 207-210).

One means to address grievances is through correspondence. A letter to a congressional representative tends to attract attention. Communication between congress and the highway department is an interorganizational interchange. The congressional representative tends to command authority, and action in favor of local organizations tends to occur. This institutional vent does attain some power.

A voter referendum, the second type of legal technique, is contingent on resource mobilization, and public support at the polls. With support however, this lever may block a freeway, contingent on three variables: time, ability of organizations to mobilize resources,
and extent of local support for extralocal goal.

Resource mobilization entails campaign strategies. With minimal economic backing, for example, a grassroots organization may organize telephone lists, callers, and door to door volunteers. This effort is an attempt to attract voters at the polls. To block a freeway by referenda, public support must be gained. Resource mobilization tends to be time consuming. Without alliances to powerful locals, resource mobilization is a difficult task (Luebke, 1981).

In summary, three legal means may be utilized to expand local power fields: lawsuits, correspondence to congressional representatives and voter referenda, and each does afford power if legal grounds, empathy, or public support can be gained.

5. Negotiation

Negotiation is intrinsic to the extralocal procedure for acquisition of freeway right of way. Thus, organizations directly bisected by the freeway are entitled to negotiation. Local organizations may attempt to reconfigure the alignment through this means; however, in this case the negotiation will be lengthy. Conversely, a brief negotiation reflects support of the route.

Allied organizations may come to the negotiation for right of way. In these cases, local organizations command bargaining strength. Often this occurs after an initial phase of negotiation has failed, and rather than either locals or extralocals resorting to litigation, the locals merge.
6. Local-extralocal coalition

As certain locals form local alliances to accrue power, other locals are sought by extralocals. This selection is a means to attain a more powerful extralocal position, in terms of accelerating termination of the freeway process. Alliances between local and extralocal levels are pursued by extralocals, both as a function of the right of way negotiation process, an attempt to terminate conflict, and accelerate completion of the process. As will be elaborated soon, temporal delay is anathema to extralocals.

Extralocal-local coalition takes the following forms. First, powerful locals who acquire amenable freeway location or acceptable exchange settlement will be selected to coalesce with the extralocals as mediators to stifle conflict from other locals. Essentially, the ad hoc process narrows the gap between the local and extralocal community systems.

The local organization is selected by the extralocal for this coalition. This local organization tends to have the following characteristic: a legal tie to the extralocals.

The extralocal-local coalition is a result of interagency linkage. Thus, the local component is not local in a pure sense. Hence, in some cases, a local organization, which operates in the local community, may share extralocal regulatory functions or regulatory ties.

In most cases, the local-extralocal coalition is an extralocal attempt, that is, an attempt by the highway department to achieve their goal: completion of the freeway. If the local component of this
coalition is purely local, that is, with no shared regulatory functions or agency affiliation, the coalition may serve a symbolic function.

In this sense the local organization reflects the notion that the freeway is not such a bad idea, particularly in terms of the extralocal cash settlement. The mediator local organization, if this is the form of the extralocal-local coalition, acts to convince the local freeway opponent that, "our organization formerly held an equivalent oppositional stance, thus we can empathize with your position."

Local-extralocal coalitions intermittently occur to accelerate termination of conflict. Power, in terms of temporal acceleration or delay of the freeway may be accrued by extralocal-local coalition. In theory, power most likely occurs from two means of adaptation: litigation and extralocal-local coalition. In the latter mean of adaptation, however, the power may have existed prior to the freeway process, and merely be extended in the freeway process.

POWER: STRENGTH TO OBTAIN GOALS

The nature of power, or the probability that one, or a small group of persons will realize their will against the resistance of others, (Weber, 1947: 152; Mills, 1956: 9), is highly contingent on the means to attain goals. Power is the intervening variable for goal attainment, and in order to attain power, with goals divergent from extralocals, local organizations use the following means: alliances, litigation, and temporal delay.

Alliance formation and legal means have already been discussed. A further means to obtain power is temporal delay. This mean will next
be presented.

1. Power and temporal delay

Time is an interactive means to attain power and subsequent goals. It may provide: chance for alliance formation, financial loss to the highway department, or merely a means to forestall route completion. First, time affords a chance that more interaction will occur between organization. This interaction spurs alliance formation. Means of alliance formation, already elaborated, are spatial contiguity, linkage, resource dependency, and functional unity. Time enables organizations to operationalize these means of alliance formation within the freeway process. A further effect of time activates the highway department.

1.1 Temporal effects: right of entry and appropriation cases

Two further temporal effects are financial burden to the highway department, often precipitating an appropriation case. In order to negotiate for right of way, a right of entry warrant is signed by the local organization. This warrant requires that a right of way settlement be achieved within a limited time frame. If compromise cannot be achieved before this time, the highway department loses the right to negotiate. Moreover, to procure an additional right of entry, the "uncompromising" local organization must agree to a new right of entry date. In these thorny cases, the highway department may simply initiate an appropriation case, a rather costly act.

In appropriation cases, the highway department wields power of eminent domain. Despite the power, the extralocals pay for this power.
They pay the court costs, right of way settlement, relocation expenses, and for preparation of additional appraisals, titles, and closing documents. Hence, delay is expensive to the extralocal power base.

A delay requires new appraisal, title, and paperwork to obtain a settlement. These documents require real estate appraisors, and a network of legal services from attorneys, judges, jurists, and the like. Temporal delays deplete finances from the extralocals. Concomitantly however, the extralocals wield greatest legal power, eminent domain. Local organizations wield minimal power through temporal delay; unless however, delay is operationalized through legal channels. This means of adaptation tends to accrue power only if the extralocals have violated the legal bounds of eminent domain.

In conclusion, local organizations use five chief means to adapt to the freeway process: compliance, local alliance, litigation, negotiation and local-extralocal coalition. Alliances tend to form from four elements: spatial contiguity, mutual roles and functions or resource dependency. Of the means of adaptation, litigation affords most local power. Goals of locals and extralocals largely determine the extent of conflict and various means of adaptation. Power may be attained through local means of adaptation and temporal delays. Power in the freeway process directly relates to temporal delay and economic recompense for land, for right of way organizations. Hypotheses to tap these dimensions are presented next.
HYPOTHESES DERIVED FROM THEORY

Hypothesis 1 is derived from the conflict literature, particularly as viewed by Lewis Coser, as previously reviewed. The use of goals and means of adaptation is a spinoff from Robert Merton's typology presented in "Social Structure and Anomie" (ASR, 1938: 672-682).

The land appraisal/land use hypotheses are derived from real estate appraisal texts (Arnold, 1982; Seldin, 1980) and land use studies in Schwirian, Comparative Urban Structure, particularly in Part IV, Factors in the Organization of Urban Space.

Hypothesis 1
Organizations with goals divergent from those of the highway department tend to delay the freeway process more than local organizations with goals aligned to goals of the highway department.

Hypothesis 1-A
For direct organizations with reconfiguration of the freeway as a goal, three of four means of adaptation may be expected: local alliance, litigation, or extralocal-local coalition. Two of these means tend to precipitate most delay: litigation and extralocal-local coalition.

Hypothesis 2
In the freeway process, land appraisal relates to means of adaptation. Land appraised as commercial, industrial or undeveloped tends to elicit local means of compliance or alliance.
Litigation tends to be an efficient means for direct organizations to increase land value estimates.

**Hypothesis 3**

Land appraisal and means of adaptation tend to explain power in the freeway process.

**Hypothesis 4**

Indirect organizations with goals divergent from those of the highway department, tend to adapt through two means: local alliance or litigation. Goal convergence with the extralocals tends to produce power if local alliance is used as a freeway adaptation. Goal divergence with extralocals tends to produce power if litigation is used as a mean of adaptation in the freeway process.

These hypotheses will be examined in the dissertation in an attempt to discern patterns or tendencies of organizations in the process. Chapter 4 presents the operationalization of variables and the procedures used to investigate the process, whereas Chapter 5 presents findings from the data analysis. Next however, the theoretical framework of the termination of the freeway process is presented.

1. **Pyramidal power hierarchy: termination of the process**

As the freeway process unwinds, organizations form an ordered combination of goal support. This process is a consequence of extralocal or local strength to attain goals. The pyramid of power corresponds to power to attain goals through selected means of adaptation. Topmost in the pyramid is the most powerful organization
within the freeway process, in terms of temporal delay, goal attainment, and right of way settlement ratio. The nature of the hierarchy will distinguish between direct and indirect organizations. The outcome may result from litigation or extralocal-local coalition, or even compliance or alliance. The mean of adaptation which affords the best settlement, however, is expected to delay the freeway the most. Therefore, it is expected that litigation and extralocal-local coalition will be the strongest means of adaptation for goal attainment.

Essentially, the power hierarchy forms through time, beginning as means of adaptation to the freeway begin. The measures of power or delay and means of adaptation are presented for both indirect and direct organizations in Chapter 4.

Summary

The freeway process is embedded with conflictual elements. The structural components are: 1) bureaucratic decision making process 2) indirect input from extant local power, 3) legal penetration of American values, and 4) institutionalized safety valve management of conflict. These structural elements of conflict lead to local modes of adaptation to the freeway process.

Initial conflict leads to segmental clashes between local organizations to attain a favorable freeway location or terminate the freeway altogether. Local organizations do not all resort to conflict however. A salient means of adaptation is compliance, in which local organizations support the freeway project. Temporal passage leads to various organizational patterns of adaptation. Compliance, local
alliances, litigation, negotiation, and extralocal coalition explain a major part of the freeway process for direct organizations, and compliance, alliances and litigation explain the major proportion of the freeway process for indirect, local organizations. Chapter 4 presents the procedures and strategies for measuring the variables in the freeway process, and subsequently follows.

These means may lead to increased conflict, power, or goal attainment. Local goals range from freeway blockage, reconfiguration of the route, through total support of the extralocal preference. Termination of conflict occurs as local organizations fold into a power hierarchy, a combination of delay, economic settlement and services exchanged in the freeway process. This hierarchy reflects goal attainment in the freeway process. Table 3 will be reillustrated in the following chapter to indicate local organizational goals and the various means used to adapt to these goals.

Notes

1. Three statutes primarily responsible for changing the impact of highway construction are the National Environmental Policy Act (42 U. S. C. 4321 et seq. (1970)), the Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act (49 U.S.C. 1653 (f) 1970) and the National Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.) Other federal statutes which have been invoked are the Civil Rights Act (42 U.S.C. 2000 d). The latter tends to be used for displacement in lower socioeconomic areas, whereas the former tend to be invoked for severe impact on the environmental or historic sites.

2. Classic views of social conflict employ varied explanations. Conflict is an innate biological tendency, class antagonism, through functions of integration. The components of conflict are from Georg Simmel, as synthesized by Lewis Coser in The Functions of Social Conflict (1956) and Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict (1968), and James Coleman in Community Conflict (1957).
3. Absolute conflict, a form of non-communal conflict, results in violent means to attain opposing goals. Violence serves as a catharsis for oppressed and disadvantaged opponents. In the freeway process, however, violence has not erupted, although persons have been known to throw themselves in front of bulldozers to block freeway construction in Washington, D.C. in the sixties over construction of the Three Sisters Bridge. For a full discussion of absolute conflict, see Chapter 5 of Coser's Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict (1968).

4. Strangers for example, are classically considered dangerous, both for being unidentifiable and unaccountable. Gerald Suttles in The Social Construction of Communities (1972) refers to the spatial segregation of various ethnic, racial and age groups, accomplished predominantly through spatial distance. For a discussion of the development and elimination of this segmental structure, see Emile Durkheim's Division of Labor in Society translated by Anthony Giddens, 1972: 150-151.
Chapter 4
PROCEDURES AND METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction

This chapter provides the procedures and operationalization of variables examined in the freeway process. The dimensions investigated are the goals, means of adaptation, delay and settlements for the local organizations. The process extends from the theoretical foundation in Chapter three. Essentially, the data sources are threefold: existing Ohio Department of Transportation SR 315 files, SR 315 documents and transcripts of public hearings and personal interviews.

Organizations in the process vary and direct organizations are analyzed on three dimensions: goals, means of adaptation, and organizational and type. These organizations are further analyzed by the extent of power or influence in the freeway process. Right of way organizations are assessed by delay to the process, and exchange settlement.

Other indirect organizations are assessed by goals, means of adaptation, time of entry into the freeway process, and events precipitated which influenced delay or acceleration to the process. Power is also assessed for organizations off the freeway path. This chapter presents procedures and operationalization of the variables studied.
2. Data Sources

The three highway files and documents provide the bulk of data. Personal interview, an additional data source was used to supplement transportation files. The three files are: 1) a preliminary file between 1966-1977, 2) a right of way file with corresponding right of way plan (map) and 3) a contract agreements file.

2.1 Preliminary development file

The SR 315 preliminary development file consists of correspondence and communication about highway policy, local interests, newspaper clippings and state departmental memos. An eclectic array of papers describes policy, local reactions to the policy, and progress of SR 315 between 1966-1977. The file was used to construct the SR 315 process. Salient components of the file include two public hearing transcripts, names and addresses of supportive and opponent individuals and newsclippings relaying spokespersons of indirect organizations.

The SR 315 preliminary file provides substantive content to analyze indirect organizations. Data for these organizations was chiefly derived from the Environmental Impact Statement, and comparison of the three public hearing transcripts. (The Environmental Impact Statement is an extralocal account of the history, social, economic and environmental impact and geographical location of the freeway alignment. Basically, the statement must accompany a federally funded public work or freeway).
2.2 Right of way records and plans

The second ODOT file, SR 315 right of way records and plans, enumerates parcels of land acquired for the freeway. Each parcel was identified by geographic position, owner, land required for freeway use, appraisal fair market value estimate, date of appraisal, conflictual issues and date of settlement. Land parcels were numbered by spatial position with lowest numbers beginning nearest downtown Columbus at Goodale Street, and highest numbers extending north through Worthington to Interstate 270.

Each organization was analyzed by temporal span from first appraisal through final settlement. In addition, substantive issues were recorded from negotiator reports, state administrative review forms, and in some cases, lawsuits. Different parcels, identified by organization, varied by type, time between first appraisal and right of way settlement, amount of land exchanged for cash recompense, and distinctive issues.

The right of way plan (map) corresponds to the right of way file, in terms of numerical parcel number, identity of owner, and acreage of land required for the highway. The map confirmed revisions to acreage exchanges; in case of discrepancies between the files and the map, the map was the valid source (G. Downing, 1984).

2.3 Consent legislation file

The third department of transportation SR 315 file consists of consent legislation and agreements from both supportive and former conflictual organizations. Salient permits from incorporated
municipalities, both indirectly and directly affected by the freeway, are contained in the file. Amidst the ordinances and resolutions was the Army Corps of Engineers 404 permit, contract from Riverside Methodist Hospital and resolutions from Upper Arlington, Westerville and Worthington in support of SR 315.

2.4 Supplementary Documents

In addition to the aforementioned data sources, the preliminary engineering report (1963, Stilson and Associates) and the 1978 SR 315 Army Corps of Engineers hearing were investigated. Both are used to synthesize the process. The Stilson report represented the first Olentangy Expressway study and the Corps transcript represented the final phase of SR 315. These documents integrated the SR 315 process.

SAMPLE ORGANIZATIONS

1. Direct organizations

The sample of organizations included all which were bisected by SR 315, indicated by a file located at the District 6 division of the Ohio Department of Transportation. Twenty one organizations were bisected by SR 315. One additional organization, Planned Communities, was not bisected by the route, though it managed land for the Antrim Estate, land willed to the City of Columbus, in conjunction with SR 315. This organization however, was not included in the analysis.
2. Direct and indirect organizations

The interview sample contained 27 persons, representatives from the following organizations:

Ohio Department of Transportation: State Highway Department
Columbus Department of Development
Franklin County (Mid Ohio) Regional Planning Commission
Alden E. Stilson and Associates, Engineers
Ohio State University
SORE Save Olentangy River Environment
DOE Drivers for the Olentangy Expressway
Involved citizens
Industrial Nucleonics
Summer & Company
Union Cemetery

A complete list of those interviewed appears in Appendix A, in addition to the interview formats. Next, however, the use of the personal interview is explained.

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

1. Supplemental data

Additional events and policy about the freeway process were gleaned by personal interview. A non-random, purposive sample was used to supplement the analysis of existing data. Both local and extralocal representatives comprised the sample. Interviews aided the constructive aspect of the freeway process. Exploratory and confirmatory analysis by
Interview enabled a comprehensive scope.

In conclusion, the data source and collection entailed a synthesis of techniques: analysis of existing data, and personal interviews. The intent of triangulation was to construct the SR 315 process as accurately as possible. The synthesis of techniques, it was hoped, captured the historical event.

THEORETICAL REVISIONS IN LIGHT OF OPERATIONALIZATIONS

1. Revisions to theory

As presented in Chapter 3, the extralocal highway department sought to build a freeway. This goal was compared to three potential local goals: reconfiguration of the freeway, support or blockage. These goals extended into this chapter. However, two modifications are in order.

The first change referred to local goals in the freeway process. In many freeway developments in the United States, three goals existed: support, blockage or reconfiguration. For this specific controversy, however, few locals sought blockage rather than reconfiguration, particularly after public support for the freeway in the 1966 voter referendum, local organizations reverted to reconfiguration as a goal. Thus, only two goals are examined in light of the means of adaptation: support and reconfiguration.

Secondly, the five means of adaptation in Chapter 3 (Table 1) are reduced to four means for direct organizations and two means for indirect organizations (Table 2).
1.1 Direct organizations

Negotiation, the deleted mean of adaptation, existed by default for all right of way organizations. Right of way organizations and recipients are entitled to negotiation. Therefore this mean of adaptation was considered a preliminary or exogenous variable leading to four means of adaptation (J. Wheatley, 1984).

1.2 Indirect organizations

Off right of way organizations, or those indirectly affected use two means specified in the revised typology (Table 2). These organizations were excluded from negotiation proceedings as a matter of highway policy. Indirect organizations were not selected for extralocal coalitions, for participation in the freeway process was a voluntary act for indirect organizations. Thus, two means of participation in the freeway process were unavailable to the indirect organizations.

Compliance, a further means of adaptation for direct organizations, was inapplicable for indirect organizations. Their role in the freeway process detered them from compliant behavior, that is, acceptance of a right of way settlement. Thus, indirect organizations had two means of adaptation available to attain their goals: local alliance and litigation. The nature of the freeway process was that direct organizations may have complied through negotiation, whereas indirect organizations may have reacted through alliance or litigation. Thus, only local alliance and litigation were means available to indirect organizations.
Table 2. Local Goals and Means of Adaptation to Freeway Process by Spatial Proximity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goals:</th>
<th>Direct Reconfiguration</th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Indirect Reconfiguration</th>
<th>Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Means:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compliance</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Alliance</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litigation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local-Extralocal Coalition</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ represents use of freeway adaptation to achieve goal
NOMINAL DEFINITIONS OF ORGANIZATIONS

1. Direct organizations

As presented in Chapter 3, spatial proximity delimited organizational strata. Those directly affected, that is, on the right of way, were selected to either accept or reject the highway department appraisal of their land. In a structural sense, direct organizations were required to interact with the highway department about the freeway, whereas the indirect organizations voluntarily joined the process.

Direct organizations, that is, those directly impacted by SR 315 were delimited by land appraisal type.1 Appraisal types included: commercial, industrial, residential, floodplain, cemetery, and institutional land.

2. Indirect organizations

Those off the specified freeway alignment, albeit within close proximity, were indirectly involved. The increased proximity from the alignment distinguished indirect organizations. This spatial distance warranted different modes of adaptation between the two strata. In other words, indirect organizations supported or opposed the alignment through either local alliance or litigation. The point, however, was that indirect and direct organizations had different roles in the freeway process. If an indirect organization reacted to the freeway, impetus was local rather than extralocal, as compared to extralocal impetus of action with direct organizations. Formal structural involvement for indirect organizations did not exist.
Indirect organizational involvement derived from three types: grass roots residential-civic organizations, public agencies, and combat organizations. Early involvement in SR 315 consisted of the first two types, although during the final years of the process, combat organizations joined. The dynamics of the process are assessed through ODOT files, documents and personal interviews.

Public agencies, the second type, represented the Columbus metropolitan area, and consisted of such organizations as the Columbus Area Chamber of Commerce, Franklin County Regional Planning Commission, and Development Committee for Greater Columbus. These organizational types in conjunction with civic-residential, grass roots groups, characterize indirect organizations. Subsequently, procedures for operationalizing the variables are presented.

OPERATIONALIZATIONS

1. Variables for direct organizational analysis

The variables used in the analysis of the freeway process are next examined. Procedures for measurement are outlined. The variables will first each be presented, with specific techniques for tapping the concept. Variables measured are: four means of adaptation to the freeway process - 1) compliance, 2) local alliance, 3) litigation and 4) extralocal coalition - two goals, 5) support and 6) reconfiguration of the freeway, and finally 7) power. Each is operationalized successively.
MEANS OF ADAPTATION

1. Compliance

Compliance was reflected if an organization accepted the right of way agreement in less than two years. The time was measured from date of first appraisal through highway payment of the right of way bill. These dates were tabulated from right of way files for each organization. In addition, the substance of the negotiator's report was recorded to assess the reaction of the organization to the highway appraisal, design of acreage required and, in addition, controversial issues.

If a direct local organization disagreed with the proposed terms of the exchange, yet settled within a brief span of time, that is, less than two years, the response was considered compliant, although the issues of contention were tabulated. Local alliances, the second means of adaptation will be operationalized next.

2. Local alliance

As presented in Chapter three, it was expected that alliances formed from four components: spatial contiguity, interorganizational linkage, resource dependency, and functional unity. The right of way file contained three sources for alliance assessment: 1) the title report, 2) the negotiator's report and 3) combined exchange process.

The title report, the first indicator, was required in land use exchanges and enumerated outstanding debts, assets and in short financial status of potential land transactions. The title report was
used to analyze resource dependency relations, that is, whether two local organizations were interdependent through mortgage, financial link, or legal transaction.

The negotiator’s report reflected the explicit statements by the local organizations about ties to other local organizations. This report tended to indicate the major proportion of interaction between spatially contiguous areas.

The third reflector of alliance formation was a combined exchange of more than one parcel. This was indicated by an appraisal of two properties on the state appraisal estimate, that is, the R/W 22 form. Certain parcels in the files were exchanged in the same transaction, indicating coordinated relations between locals (ODOT, 315: 15-19; 11-12; 169-170). This combined exchange reflected spatial contiguity, or dependency relations; the transaction occurred only when two organizations were linked by spatial boundaries or financial ties.

Two further means used to operationalize alliance formation were personal interviews and public hearing transcripts. The interview included a specific question to tap alliance formation, “Were some groups working together?” (Appendix A). The interviews provided data about alliances from both direct and indirect organizations, whereas the title and negotiator’s report were relevant only for direct right of way organizations.

The last procedure for operationalization of alliance was through content analysis of the public hearings. The 1965 public hearing transcript, particularly, reflected early alliances by statements from both representatives of direct or indirect organizations. The procedure
was in conjunction with maps of alternative alignments. This procedure will be explained with operationalizations for indirect organizations.

3. Litigation

Litigation was operationalized by assessing whether an organization settled for the freeway right of way through a court trial by jury. Though other organizations may have obtained legal counsel from attorneys, these acts did not constitute litigation. Thus, litigation was operationalized by a formal lawsuit filed, rather than communication in the presence of attorneys.

Direct organizations, who adapted by this means, were indicated by the actual court case in the right of way file. Indirect organizations who used this mean would have been reflected by newspaper accounts and personal interview.

For the direct organizations, the case contained the substance of dispute: the economic recompense provided for freeway damages. The initial amount deposited by the highway department was appealed by the organization. The content of the file indicated this mean of adaptation. The fourth mean of adaptation, extralocal-local coalition will next be presented.

4. Extralocal-local coalition

Extralocal-local coalition, the fourth mean of adaptation, was an extension of alliance formation between local organizations. However, the coalition linked extralocal and local organizations, rather than alliance which linked local-local ties. Extralocals initiated the
extralocal-local connection to accelerate completion of the freeway. In lengthy conflicts with locals, the highway department hoped local aid might ease the conflict (G. McCoy, 1983; N. Benedict, 1983).

As with alliance formation, extralocal-local coalition was reflected in two highway files, the right of way files and personal interview. Moreover, research into regulatory agencies supplemented this operationalization. The coalition between local organizations and the extralocal highway department derived from two means of operationalization: 1) interagency linkage, and 2) correspondence indicating strong relations between local and extralocal organizations.

The former measure was reflected by the forms used for right of way exchange. Interagency correspondence forms specify this linkage. The latter was indicated by explicit statements from highway officials about right of way exchange.

In summary, right of way means of adaptation are assessed by highway files, personal interviews, and the public hearing transcripts. Compliance was reflected by a relatively brief, temporal span between right of way appraisal and settlement, in conjunction with the substantive issues of the negotiation process.

Local alliance was indicated by right of way negotiator reports, title reports and coordinated local right of way transactions. Litigation was reflected by a court case in the file, and included a trial by jury settlement. Use of attorneys as counsel was not considered litigation, since many organizations used attorneys in the negotiation process.
Extralocal-local coalition was operationalized by four means: 1) a special negotiation process, 2) interorganizational linkage, 3) explicit statements from highway officials about exchanges, and 4) personal interviews of highway officials indicating extralocal-local linkage. To operationalize delay from this means of adaptation, first appraisal and final right of way settlement was tabulated. This settlement date coincided within three days of the court settlement. The right of way settlement date was used to standardize measures between means of adaptation.

GOALS

As with operationalization of the means of adaptation, goals also were indicated by the right of way files. Goals for indirect organizations are reflected by the public hearing transcripts and Environmental Impact Statement.

1. Support

Support for SR 315 was indicated for right of way organizations by the comments in the ODOT right of way files. Organizations with a blank negotiation form represented supportive organizations. This form, in conjunction with the administrative review of a land parcel indicated the local goal: reconfiguration or support of the alignment.

1.1 Reconfiguration

As with support, the negotiation report, and the administrative review of the appraisal indicated the chief bones of contention. A huge
file folder, that is, one in which the forms expanded the folder into three or more inches, was a clue that reconfiguration was the goal, rather than support. Size of the folders indicated the extent or lack of forms within the folder. Conflict over the freeway tended to be reflected by a large folder: many revisions and lengthy negotiator reports expanded folders. Litigation, however, reflected maximal folder sizes.

2. Summary

In summary, goals of support or reconfiguration were indicated by the details (or lack thereof) about negotiation process for right of way exchange. Support was reflected by a blank negotiation report or comments in a state administrative review. Supportive organizational files were slim, whereas those of contending organizations, that is, those who hoped to attain reconfiguration of the freeway were thick, between three to four inches in width. In addition to the four means of adaptation and two goals, operationalization of a salient explanatory variable, power, is presented next.

POWER

1. Power index

Power was reflected through three components: delay to the freeway process, economic right of way settlement ratio, and additional services exchanged.

Delay was assessed for direct organizations by calculating the temporal span between first right of way appraisal and final right of
way-settlement. As discussed in Chapter three, delay was costly to the highway department, an advantage in the negotiation process for organizations who refused to settle.

In this case, right of entry forms needed to be procured by the highway department, which was usually quite a delicate process if conflict over the alignment was the reason for the delay. Without a right of entry, the highway department terminated negotiation, until a new right of entry was obtained. Thus time was a crucial explanatory variable for the power dimension.

The second level of power was reflected by the settlement ratio. This was calculated for each organization, by dividing the economic settlement for right of way, by an organization's total acreage exchanged for SR 315. The acres were extracted from the right of way plan (map), and the settlement was obtained from the right of way bill. Then the settlement ratio was calculated for each right of way organization.

This ratio indicated a comparative settlement ratio, the cash settlement of each organization, divided by the number of acres. This ratio indicated the value of land exchanged, without additional services which may have been provided by the highway department.

Once ratios for each land exchange were calculated, they were ranked to form a distribution of organizational land values. In this manner, organizations were ranked by economic recompense in the freeway process.

Because the distribution was contingent on two dimensions, land appraisal and land type, these effects are next considered.
2. Land appraisal process

To determine how right of way organizations were appraised, Glen McCoy, was interviewed. Mr. McCoy was the right of way engineer for the land acquisition phase of SR 315. He informed the author of the appraisal strategies for the particular land types.

Of the various land types: commercial, industrial, institutional, residential, undeveloped, cemetery and floodplain, the following appraisal approaches tended to be used in the freeway process.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAND TYPE</th>
<th>APPRAISAL APPROACH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commercial and</td>
<td>income producing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industrial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td>cost to reproduce or replace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undeveloped</td>
<td>market analysis of surrounding land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>fair market value estimate of comparables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cemetery</td>
<td>combination of cost to reproduce and replace and income producing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floodplain</td>
<td>diminished the economic value regardless of land type</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Glen McCoy, ODOT right of way engineer for SR 315.

Once the appraisal approaches were delineated, land types were assessed in relation to the economic hierarchy. In this way, land use
patterns could be assessed.

Thus, the economic ratios, were assessed by land appraisal to examine effects of the appraisal process on the freeway settlements. Delay, a function of means of adaptation and settlement ratios, a function of the economic settlement per acre of land exchanged, were then ranked to form portions of the index of power. The third component, services was next examined.

Services, reflected in the right of way records, were recorded and matched to land parcel. One mean of adaptation was tied to the service dimension. State or federal agencies engaged in exchange in kind transactions, that is, a gentleman's agreement that future services may be exchanged in light of the interagency bond (G. McCoy, 1984; N. Benedict, 1983; James Dowell, 1983).

Other organizations achieving a service performed by the highway department required excessive damage from the freeway. The point, however, was that services exchanged in conjunction with direct organizations were tabulated and explained with the ranks. A settlement ratio distribution was constructed by calculating the mean of the delay and economic ranks. If services corresponded to the freeway transaction, the mean rank was adjusted by 1. In this way a power hierarchy was constructed.

With these procedures, a power index is constructed, composed of the delay to the freeway process, the economic rank of the settlement ratio, and the additional services obtained. Hence, three dimensions comprised the power index: temporal, economic, and interactive service effects. Goals and means of adaptation were expected to contribute to
the delay component of the index, and land appraisal to the economic settlement.

INDIRECT ORGANIZATIONS

1. Introduction

The indirect organizations were analyzed differently than the direct organizations, a function of their differential involvement in the freeway process. Indirect organizations were not directly impacted by SR 315. Sources used to assess indirect organizations, as aforementioned were ODOT files, personal interview, and transcripts of the public hearing and meetings.

Operationalization for five dimensions are presented: duration, alliance formation, litigation, goals, and power in the freeway process.

Indirect organizations adapted to the freeway differently than direct organizations. Variables measuring their adaptation to SR 315 were time of entry, alliance formation, possible litigation activity, goal convergence or divergence with the extralocals and power in the freeway process.

2. Time of entry

Time, indigenous to the freeway process, tended to provide a chance for indirect organizations to form alliances. This formation was a result of concerted community effort to integrate spatial areas. Operationalization of this adaptation was through content analysis of public transcripts, personal interview, and areal analysis of statements.
at public meetings.

Three transcripts were examined for replication of persons and groups. Certain persons attended all three meetings and continued residence in the same neighborhood. Identities and organizational representation were tabulated across the three time periods. Attendance at the three meetings reflected duration, whereas attendance, for example, at only the last meeting represented minimal duration (Babbie, 1983: 282; Labovitz, 1981:79). Late joiners in the freeway process, that is, combat organizations (J. Coleman, 1957) were assessed by content analysis of the public hearings and meetings.

3. Alliance formation

Indirect organizations who entered the freeway process in its early stages were operationalized by analysis of statements from persons at the public meetings. (At the meetings, each vocal person identified him/her self by organization or residential address) (Babbie, 1983: 282).

First, organizational representatives were identified by stance and address, then matched by finding the areas on right of way maps (Appendix B). Then, stances were tabulated by area to assess patterns or clustering of goals, as reflected by addresses of persons at public hearings or meetings.

Next, the spatial distribution of goals was analyzed by potential alternative alignments to assess possible goal rationale. (In the freeway process, it was amazing to find mutual goals in spatial areas.) Through this analysis, alliances were inferred.
However, to ascertain the alliance formation, salient members of the grassroots collectivity were interviewed to confirm the inference. This procedure was used to operationalize alliance formation. (Interview format appears in Appendix A). Operationalization of litigation, the other means available to the indirect organizations is presented next.

4. **Litigation**

This means of adaptation was a reflection of the Department of Transportation preliminary file. In this file, all correspondence and newscroppings pertaining to indirect organizations was observed, and from this data, litigation, as a means of adaptation could be assessed. No lawsuits from indirect organizations were observed, though steps were taken to verify this means of adaptation.

5. **Goals**

Support or reconfiguration of SR 315 was operationalized by statements from members of groups at three separate public meetings. To determine goals, the statements and positions were tabulated.

Support of SR 315 was reflected by a comment which indicated the desire to complete the freeway within an accelerated time. Reconfiguration, however, was reflected by a comment which indicated a desire to change the freeway design, for a multitude of reasons.

The reasons for reconfiguration were tabulated and analyzed to determine the issues of contention. Thus, indirect organizations were assessed by goal, issue, means of adaptation and entry into the freeway process.
6. Power

Power for the indirect organizations was reflected by two variables: 1) entry and duration of the indirect organization in the freeway process and 2) the attainment of the local goal. The means of adaptation aided or detracted from goal attainment; therefore, power was a combination of temporal effects, means of adaptation and goal attainment.

The theoretical foundation assumed that extralocal power explained the major proportion of power in the freeway process. Therefore, it was expected that local power would increase the more local and extralocals converged on goals. This assumption, however, was contingent on means of adaptation to the freeway process.

To measure this dimension, goals of extralocals were compared to those of local indirect organizations to assess goal divergence or convergence. Power, for indirect organizations was reflected by interaction of three dimensions: means of adaptation, goal attainment, and duration of participation in the freeway process. These variables, as operationalized, are examined in the following chapter.

Notes

1. Residential landowners were directly bisected by the freeway in the SR 315 process. However, the unit of observation for the study was the organization. Certain subdivisions were bisected, and the residential parcels could have been assessed to determine means of adaptation. However, the majority of persons in Wollett Estates, Pearson subdivision and University City homes accepted recompense and relocated without litigation. Therefore, it was observed in this freeway process that residential homeowners did not delay the freeway as much as many of the organizations.
Chapter 5
FINDINGS OF THE SR 315 FREeway PROCESS

1. Introduction

The outcome of the lengthy SR 315 freeway process was a freeway, completed in increments. Local organizations adapted to the freeway by various means. Chapter 4 examined the procedures used in the dissertation, and in this chapter, findings and discussion of the analyses are presented. Organizations active in the process are investigated by how they adapted to SR 315, and the power held in the freeway process.

For indirect organizations, power was explained by duration means of adaptation, and goals. Indirect organizations entered the freeway process between 1965 and 1978, and formed alliances as means of adaptation. Power was a function of means of adaptation, time in the process and extent of goal convergence or divergence with the highway department.

Power of direct organizations, as presented in Chapter 4, was analyzed by means through which the organization settled for right of way exchange, extent to which the organization delayed the freeway and land exchange ratio. For direct organizations, power directly related to dual dimensions: time and economic recompense for land. Local goals and means of adaptation to the freeway appraisal process largely
explained power. Most powerful direct organizations were those who obtained either large financial recompense for land, or provided maximal delay to the freeway.

Essentially, of the direct organizations, the 12 commercial-industrial organizations delayed the freeway approximately 2 years, as compared to organizations appraised as floodplain, institutional, cemetery or residential. These organizations delayed the freeway, on the average, by 59.5 months, approximately 2 1/2 times longer than the commercial-industrial organizations directly impacted by SR 315 (Table 5).

Organizations with appraisals of undeveloped land negotiated for the exchange with even less delay than the commercial-industrial sector (Only 2 such organizations with undeveloped land were in the SR 315 process). These organizations complied or allied, whereas the seven organizations appraised as floodplain, institutional, cemetery or residential tended to adapt through legal battles or extralocal coalition.

Findings of the hypotheses, derived from theory presented in Chapter 3, are the substance of this chapter.

FINDINGS

1. **Hypothesis 1**

Organizations with goals divergent from those of the highway department tend to delay the freeway process more than local organizations with goals aligned to goals of the highway department.
SR 315 engendered more goal divergence than convergence from direct organizations (Table 4). Most direct organizations refused to support the freeway until after lengthy periods of negotiation for reconfiguration or increased appraisal value.

Of the 21 organizations, 6 adhered to a supportive goal, whereas 15 opposed the highway department's design of SR 315. Maximal delay to the freeway did extend from organizations with goals divergent from those of the highway department (Table 4).

1.1 Goal convergence

Average delay from the supportive organizations was nine months, as compared to the 44 month delay from organizations who sought goals divergent from the highway department (not shown). Organizations with goals convergent to those of the highway department tended to settle without quite as much conflict as those who sought reconfiguration of the freeway.

Examples of convergent organizations were Ranco, an industrial manufacturer of heating and cooling products, Unity Management, a church, and Summer and Company, a land development corporation (Table 4). They complied with minimal conflict, more in line with the theory of the freeway process (Chapter 3).

On the average, these supportive compliant organizations delayed the freeway less than a year (Table 4). Convergent organizations tended to aid the highway department. Unity Management, for example, rented their church sanctuary to the department as a field office, and Summer and Company provided 38 acres of undeveloped land at a minimal
settlement ratio (ODOT, SR 315: 84, 169). Compliance with reconfiguration as a goal, that is, a goal divergent from the extralocal highway department, evoked conflict, whereas compliance with supportive goals, as with Unity Management or Summer and Company, elicited aid to the highway department.

Two means of adaptation, litigation and extralocal-local coalition were triggered by goal divergence with the extralocals. This aim to reconfigure the freeway, rendered four rather than three hypothesized means to adapt to the freeway. These means, specific to goal divergent organizations, tended to delay the freeway more than either local compliance or alliance (Table 4). These findings will be presented with Hypothesis 1-A.

The majority of direct organizations, that is, more than 2/3 of the total 21, sought reconfiguration rather than support as a goal. This disproportionate number of dissensual organizations reflected the large extent of conflict which SR 315 elicited. Hypothesis 1 was supported, and organizations with divergent goals, that is, reconfiguration of the freeway tended to oppose the freeway until the highway department either reconfigured the freeway or increased the economic settlement ratio for the land. Findings of Hypothesis 1-A are presented next.

2. Hypothesis 1-A

For direct organization, with reconfiguration of the freeway as a goal, three of four means of adaptation may be expected: local alliance, litigation or extralocal-local coalition. Two of these means tend to precipitate most delay: litigation and extralocal-local coalition.
2.1 Compliance

The 4 compliant organizations, rather than settling without conflict, persistently negotiated for an agreeable settlement. Moreover, organizations who used this mean of adaptation may have settled in less than 2 years, yet settlement embodied conflictual negotiation.

The Worthington Board of Education, for example, (Table 4) complied, and delayed the freeway only 9 months. However, the compliance encompassed more than immediate compromise (ODOT, SR 315: 194). Worthington Board of Education persistently negotiated and obtained a reappraisal of their land. (This reappraisal reflected a local rejection of the initial estimate). The school land, appraised as floodplain, was revised, and the school board requested excavation of a well to irrigate athletic fields and fill their pool, in addition to replacement of several evergreen trees. The "compliance" delayed the freeway minimally, yet entailed some conflict.

Worthington Schools represented a compliant, direct organization; none of the direct freeway organizations who sought reconfiguration as a goal, settled without some conflict, hence reformation of the typology as presented in Chapter 4 (ODOT, SR 315: 11, 81, 135, 194). Hypothesis 1-A was therefore not fully supported. Compliance was an additional mean of adaptation to the freeway process.

2.2 Extralocal-local coalition

Two direct organizations shared interorganizational linkage with the extralocs. Ohio State University and the Chesapeake and Ohio
Table 4. Direct Organizations: Adaptation, Goals and Delay in the Freeway Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means of Adaptation:</th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Delay (Months)</th>
<th>Reconfiguration</th>
<th>Delay (months)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Compliance</td>
<td>Kilbourne Realty</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>* Columbus Building Corporation</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ranco</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Worthington Board of Education</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summer &amp; Company</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Columbus Board of Education</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unity Management</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Olentangy Broadway Development</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X = 10.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Alliance</td>
<td>Showe Builders</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Continental Assurance</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Riverside Restaurant</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Wollett Estates</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chemical Abstracts</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial Nucleonics (Accuray)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X = 7.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litigation</td>
<td>Broadlane Realty</td>
<td></td>
<td>Columbus Board of Education</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Columbus Board of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Olentangy Land Development Corp.</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Union Cemetery Commission</td>
<td>86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Olentangy Christian Reformed Church</td>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X = 30.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extralocal Coalition</td>
<td>Chesapeake &amp; Ohio Railroad</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ohio State University</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X = 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* Riverside Methodist Hospital</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X = 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Railroad coalesced with the highway department and delayed the freeway between 3-8.5 years (Table 4). Five direct organizations resorted to litigation and on the average, delayed the freeway more than five years.

Delay was most frequently precipitated by litigation, for example, with Olentangy Christian Church, Olentangy Land Development Corporation, and Union Cemetery Commission, respectively, responsible for at least a 7 year delay to SR 315.

Of the means of adaptation which delayed the freeway longest, litigation and extralocal coalition were maximal, as evident from the 62.2-months as the average delay from litigation and 69 months the average of the two organizational extralocal coalitions (Table 4). Hypothesis 1-A was supported. However, delay was not the single explanatory variable for power, and in light of cash settlement, extralocal coalition wrought minimal economic compensation.

In lieu of cash recompense, organizations using this mean of adaptation obtained decision making ability, services, and a freeway position amenable to function.

Ohio State, for example, received a freeway location amenable to university needs and the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad obtained cash recompense for minimal land exchange. In both cases, the interorganizational linkage enabled these settlements. Of the means of adaptation, therefore, extralocal-local coalition resulted in minimal cash recompense and maximal decision making ability. Delay from Ohio State University was maximal, whereas the railroad delay was handled through a special right of entry process (G. McCoy, 1983; G. Downing, 1983).
2.2.1 Ohio State University

Ohio State University's exchange and negotiation prompted maximal delay to SR 315. The university shared the state rubric with the highway department, and ranked 13th in the settlement hierarchy (Table 5). From the data analyzed and the interviews of both university and highway engineers, it was a quasi-miracle that the university delayed the freeway only 102 months. The somewhat low settlement rank, however, should be interpreted in light of the highway department's exchange in kind agreement, that is, an exchange of construction and road services, in addition to the cash settlement per se (G. McCoy, 1984; J. Dowell, 1983).

The university delay to SR 315 was a function of two elements: the amount of land exchanged and the nature of the extralocal-local coalition. The university exchanged 81.3 acres of land for the highway, more acres than other right of way organizations, and this large land transfer delayed the freeway process. The transfer of university state parcels to highway state parcels required county approval, a difficult approval, indeed. Franklin county initially blocked the land transfer (ODOT, SR 315: 10).

Yet the county obstacle was a minimal part of the delay; the extralocal-local coalition was less than expeditious. Exact terms of the exchange agreement were volleyed between the state agencies. The highway department and OSU struggled over the "type of granular fill material to be used within construction limits," "construction access from Stadium Drive to the east," "abandonment of the OSU incinerator," and the location of railroad siding to serve the print shop," (ODOT,
SR 315: 10). From the various memos and communications between the agencies, it appeared that 102 months or 8.5 years was spent contending details. Ohio State was the most difficult opponent in all the right of way negotiations (G. McCoy, 1983; J. Pound, 1984).

The temporal delay of more than 8 years, however, did not correspond to an uppermost position in the settlement hierarchy (Table 5). The ratio did not reflect the amount the university obtained in services performed by the highway department to construct Campus Loop Road or the bridge connecting main to west campus. This exchange in kind agreement legally could occur only between the highway department and organizations with the state or federal rubric, although Riverside Hospital managed to attain this type of exchange (G. McCoy, 1983; 1984; ODOT, SR 315: 10, 80). University power, as reflected by delay, decision making ability, and additional services was maximal. Other lengthy delays were a function of litigation, rather than extralocal coalition.

Delays from legal battles ranged between approximately 1-7+ years (Table 4). Lengthiest delays accompanied floodplain or cemetery land appraisal (Table 6). As a means of freeway adaptation, litigation tended to delay the freeway an average of at least five years. In this sense, the power of litigation was influential.

Least increase of estimate by the courts, was $15,000 and was awarded to the Columbus Board of Education, with a 41 month delay to the freeway (Table 6). Maximal increase was to Union Cemetery Commission; an increase of $637,160,00 over 86 months. These findings are tied to Hypothesis 2, presented here.
Another lengthy delay was a function of extralocal-local coalition. As discussed, this delay was not as frequent as that of litigation (Table 4). Lengthiest delays accompanied floodplain or cemetery land appraisal (Table 6). As a means of freeway adaptation, litigation tended to delay the freeway an average of at least five years. In this sense, the power of litigation was influential. Hypothesis 1-A is supported in this sense. Delay from litigation, as compared to delay from compliance or local alliance, was lengthy. Discussion of litigation is illuminated by findings from Hypothesis 2, thus findings from this mean of adaptation will be presented in accordance with Hypothesis 2.

3. Hypothesis 2

In the freeway process, land appraisal relates to means of adaptation. Land appraised as commercial, industrial, or undeveloped tends to elicit local means of compliance or alliance. Organizations appraised as cemetery, residential or floodplain, tend to adapt to the freeway through litigation.

Of the 12 organizations appraised as either industrial or commercial, 5 allied, and 3 complied with 1 extralocal coalition and 1 legal battle. One organization, Riverside Hospital, adapted to SR 315 by none of the hypothesized means of adaptation (Table 5).

Litigation predominated as the means of adaptation for floodplain, and cemetery appraisals, whereas alliance and compliance tended to explain adaptive means from commercial-industrial, institutional and residential appraisals of organizations (Table 5).
As previously mentioned, compliance reflected conflict rather than immediate settlement. However, the heated negotiation talks were terminated within a period of less than 2 years. Overall, each mean of adaptation spurred conflict from local organizations bisected by SR 315. Delay to the freeway, however, varied in relation to the specific adaptive mean used.

Average delay from alliant organizations in the industrial-commercial appraisal category was approximately 27 months, whereas compliant, commercial and industrial organizations delayed the freeway on the average, about 1/3 of this time, that is, 9.7 months (Table 5). Overall, alliances tended to form in two sectors: the industrial commercial organizations and those who managed land, that is, with undeveloped land for sale. In view of the frequent alliances, finding of this adaptation to the freeway will next be presented.

2.3 Alliances

Showe Builders formed an alliance with Summer & Company, their neighbor and financial resource. When SR 315 bisected terrain, mutual to the organizations, Summer released Showe from a prior mortgage, in conjunction with the freeway land exchange (SR 315: 169-170). This land exchange was interesting from another standpoint: highway law. First, however, findings of the means of adaptation will be presented.

The spatial neighbors, north of Broadmeadows Boulevard and south of the village of Riverlea, provided undeveloped land for "parkland" development. The additional link between the organizations, resource dependency, was obviated when Summer released Showe from a mortgage.
The alliance from SR 315 right of way procurement, enabled benefits to Showe, Summer and the highway department.

The law affected the brief land transaction. Open or undeveloped land, as it was appraised, legally may be used for park development or freeway right of way, though not for beautification or scenic use, in conjunction with the freeway (23 U.S.C. 101 et seq. 1966).

When Summer & Company and Showe Builders were recompensed for land, they were paid from a different fund (G. McCoy, 1984; G. Downing, 1983). Ambiguity over the land use was eliminated by the payment, since the scenic land could not be used for freeway right of way per se. In any case, the two organizations exchanged undeveloped land during the SR 315 process, though the land was specified as "park land," (SR 315: 169-170).

2.3.1 Further alliances

Findings of other alliances in the process are presented next. Alliances formed from spatial contiguity, resource dependency or mutual functions. Chemical Abstracts, a long term user of Ohio State's research facilities, fully supported Ohio State preferences for the SR 315 design (ODOT, 1965: 113).

Riverside Restaurant, another organization who allied with Ohio State, was located at King and Olentangy, adjacent to university land. The spatial contiguity prompted the highway department and Ohio State to propose that the restaurant's parking lot be used for the freeway. Thus, two organizations allied with Ohio State in light of the freeway. The first, Chemical Abstracts allied from mutual functions, that is,
research and development, and the second, Riverside Restaurant, allied from spatial contiguity with the university.

A fourth alliance formed between Industrial Nucleonics and Continental Assurance, an organization from whom the electronics industry leased space. When both property's were impacted by SR 315, Continental authorized Industrial to manage the freeway right of way exchange (ODOT SR 315: 15, 19). This alliance was derived from spatial contiguity and resource dependency. The freeway integrated the organizations, already bound by the lease and adjacent properties. A further alliance formed between H. Rowland and R. Wollett, owners of Wollett Estates. This alliance with the surrounding residences was coordinated by the subdevelopment's office (ODOT SR 315: 90).

Total delay from local alliances by direct organizations was less than either litigation or extralocal coalition (Table 4). Alliances, as a means of adaptation from direct organizations, did not operate as a major delay. However, the minimal delay which alliance formation precipitated, was counterbalanced by the frequency with which this mean of adaptation was used. Rather than an explanation of major delay, alliance formation explained the predominant local response to the freeway process. Alliance did not effectively impede the freeway from traversing the land. Findings of a mean of adaptation which did wield some power will be presented next.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizations</th>
<th>Settlement Ratio</th>
<th>Economic Rank</th>
<th>Delay Rank</th>
<th>Months of Delay</th>
<th>Means of Adaptation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Riverside Methodist Hospital</td>
<td>$89,371.33+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olentangy Broadway Corp. (Canterbury Apt.)</td>
<td>$75,430.17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Compliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Nuclearics</td>
<td>$64,042.48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus Building Corporation</td>
<td>$35,871.97</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Compliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical Abstracts</td>
<td>$33,725.00</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington Estates</td>
<td>$26,582.09</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadlane Realty</td>
<td>$25,246.63</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Litigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riverside Restaurant</td>
<td>$25,246.62</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continental Assurance</td>
<td>$18,928.00</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesapeake &amp; Ohio Railroad</td>
<td>$1,725.00+</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Extralocal-local coalition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranco</td>
<td>$13,725.00</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Compliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilbourne Realty (unknown owners)</td>
<td>$19,219</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>Alliance x = 27.2 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X = $33,435.67</td>
<td>X = 24.17</td>
<td>Alliance X = 9.7 (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floodplain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worthington Board of Education</td>
<td>$13,477.09</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Compliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olentangy Land Dev. Corp. (convalescent)</td>
<td>$11,308.75</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Litigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olentangy Christian Reformed Church</td>
<td>$9,701.50</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Litigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X = $11,495.78</td>
<td>X = 60.3</td>
<td>Litigation X = 86 (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unity Management</td>
<td>$53,074.57</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Compliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio State University</td>
<td>$16,398.67+</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Extralocal-local coalition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X = $34,736.62</td>
<td>X = 59.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cemetery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Cemetery Commission</td>
<td>$34,089.23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Litigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus Board of Education</td>
<td>$48,966.03</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>Compliance/Litigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undeveloped</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer &amp; Company</td>
<td>$4,962.01</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Compliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Showe Builders</td>
<td>$3,76</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X = $2,482.08</td>
<td>X = 11.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ = additional services exchanged  * = different adaptive means
2.4 Litigation

Litigation was an efficient means for direct organizations to increase land value estimates. Litigation rendered lengthy freeway delays and was an adaptation to the freeway used by slightly more than 1/4 of the direct organizations (Table 4). (This mean refers to court lawsuits, rather than use of attorneys for negotiation). Of the 21 organizations on the SR 315 path, five adapted by litigation (Table 6). Each increased the cash settlement of their exchange by this mean of adaptation.

Appraisals for these organizations were the following: two floodplain and one of cemetery, residential and commercial, respectively (Table 6). The appraisal for Broadlane Realty, the commercial organization, resulted in a brief, that is, 12 month delay, as compared to the other litigation delays. Of the 5 direct organizations who resorted to litigation, two out of three floodplain organizations fought legal battles, in addition to the cemetery organization, and one residential organization. Of the 12 organizations appraised as commercial-industrial, one used litigation. Thus, a minimal number of commercial-industrial organizations used this mean of adaptation, and a disproportionate number of floodplain and cemetery organizations struggled in the courts to adapt to the freeway.

In summary, approximately 1/4 of the organizations used litigation in the SR 315 freeway process, with certain land appraisal -floodplain, cemetery or residential (for an organization) tending to precipite legal struggles. Thus, Hypothesis 2, i.e. that land appraisal relates to means of adaptation, was supported.
Table 6. Strength of Litigation as Means of Adaptation in the Freeway Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Appraisal</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Original Sum Deposited by Highway Dept</th>
<th>Economic Settlement Rank</th>
<th>Delay (in months)</th>
<th>Court Settlement (additional)</th>
<th>Total Settlement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Broadlane Realty</td>
<td>$73,000.00</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>$77,000.00</td>
<td>$150,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Columbus Board of Education¹</td>
<td>$15,000.00</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>$15,000.00</td>
<td>$30,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Olentangy Christian Reformed Church</td>
<td>$41,000.00</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>$24,000.00</td>
<td>$65,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Olentangy Land Development Corp.</td>
<td>$95,850.00</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>$51,650.00</td>
<td>$147,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cem.</td>
<td>Union Cemetery² Commission</td>
<td>$237,840.00</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>$875,000.00</td>
<td>$875,000.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \bar{X} = 62.2 \]

¹ Columbus Board of Education's economic rank includes a compliant transaction to assess the total settlement ratio. The delay and court settlement above are strictly for the right of way exchange.

² The Highway Department withdrew the original sum, therefore the court settlement equals total settlement.
2.4.1 Floodplain land

Of the floodplain appraisals, two prompted litigation and one, compliance, whereas the commercial appraisals prompted only one case of litigation. The majority of commercial-industrial organizations adapted by compliance or alliance (Table 5).

Two organizations, Olentangy Land Development Corporation, and Olentangy Christian Reformed Church acquired land settlement ranks of 15 and 16 respectively, and delay ranks of 4 and 2 (Table 5), reflecting minimal land exchange value for maximal delay. These organizations were appraised as floodplain and resorted to litigation for a settlement increase (Table 6). In both of these cases, the settlement was increased, although in light of the hierarchy of economic settlements, land appraised as floodplain rendered least economic recompense in the freeway process, despite lengthy delay (Table 5).

The Olentangy Corporations, that is, Olentangy Land Development Corporation and Olentangy Christian Reformed Church, regulated a convalescent home and church, respectively. Both refused to settle for the low estimate of their land. The church delayed the freeway 87 months, whereas the convalescent home delayed the freeway 85 months. Of the three floodway appraisals delay was minimal from the Worthington Board of Education (Table 5).

Floodplain land tended to attract minimal land value estimates (Table 5). Average economic settlement ratio from floodplain organizations was $11,496.00 as compared to average land value of commercial-industrial organizations: $33,435.67 (Table 5).
Two further organizations were appraised differently. Union Cemetery Commission was appraised as cemetery land and Columbus Board of Education was appraised as residential. These types of appraisals and subsequent organizational adaptation to the freeway will be presented next.

Both the Columbus Board of Education and Union Cemetery resorted to litigation. (The board complied over one parcel although two parcels of their land were required for SR 315).

2.4.2 Cemetery appraisal

Union Cemetery, the sole cemetery organization affected by SR 315 delayed the freeway in a visible fashion, for more than seven years. The cemetery's resistance to SR 315, between 1967 and 1974, peppered Columbus' newspapers. During this time, the freeway-cemetery struggle generated much court action: two house bills, and a court of appeals lawsuit over the issue of eminent domain of cemetery land (1969: 133; 1970: 132). The use of litigation increased the court settlement to $837,000.00 for 25.683 acres (more acres than the highway department desired). This was $637,160.00 more than the initial highway department economic offer (Table 6).

Prior to the lawsuit, the cemetery and Riverside Hospital had opposed the freeway for spatial bisection of their land. Litigation and neighborhood activism precipitated cemetery settlement. Immediately before settlement, neighborhood activists west of the Olentangy River (Drivers for the Olentangy Expressway) marched up and down Olentangy River Road to protest the cemetery's freeway delay (C. Rhoades, 1984; S. Brevoort, 1984).
This activity, combined with a suitable right of way exchange settlement prompted the cemetery to sell their land for freeway use (W. Lavelle, 1984). Essentially the neighborhood pressure and lengthy struggle had enervated the cemetery.

Between first right of way appraisal and final right of way settlement 7.2 years had elapsed. In calculating the costs of the cemetery land, appraisal could not estimate the sociocultural, sacred quality of burial grounds (Firey, 1947; Hartshorn, 1980: 108; ODOT, SR 315: 79). The cost to replace or reproduce the cemetery land was difficult to estimate. Societal values safeguarded the land from the freeway, and largely explained Union Cemetery's economic settlement rank in the top third of the 21 organizations (7), and delay rank of 3, the third longest delay in the SR 315 freeway process.

Litigation, the cemetery means of adaptation, both delayed the freeway and increased the settlement ratio (W. Lavelle, 1984; N. Benedict, 1984; G. McCoy, 1983). The cemetery settlement, in November of 1976, eliminated a major obstacle to completion of SR 315.

A further obstacle to SR 315 was in the form of the Columbus Board of Education. Their exchange(s), presented next, encompassed two parcels. The Board adapted differently in each case. Both Board of Education parcels were appraised as residential land.

2.4.3 Residential Appraisal

Columbus Board of Education was appraised as residential and assessed as special purpose land. (Special purpose appraisals are used for educational or religious structures.) The .386 acres near Whetstone
Table 7. Indirect Organizations in Freeway Process: Duration, Goal and Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Duration (years)</th>
<th>Support Freeway</th>
<th>Reconfigure Freeway</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Grass Roots Locals</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Drivers for the Olentangy Expressway (DOE)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beautyview Civic Association</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Briarbank Civic Association</td>
<td>16</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Kendale Civic Association</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marburn Civic Association</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Riverside Heights Association</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Save Olentangy River Environment (SORE)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clintonville Community Council</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clintonville Conservation Clubs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northmoor Area Residents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Olentangy Valley Preservation Association</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Greenfield Civic Association</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Linworth North Civic Association</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td><strong>Public Agencies</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Development Committee for Greater Columbus</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Franklin County Regional Planning Commission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Mid Ohio Regional Planning Commission)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td><strong>Combat Organizations</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anderson Concrete</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anheuser Busch</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clintonville Booster</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WTVM Television and Radio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Columbus Automobile Club</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Columbus Board of Realtors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ohio Contractors Association</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ohio Society for Professional Engineers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Battelle Memorial Institute</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PROD (People Against Offensive Development)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citizens Against Interstate 670</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
school (ODOT, SR 315: 157) rendered a 41 month legal delay (Table 4).

The highway attempted to appropriate the land and the Board of Education refused to settle without a court trial. The board contended that the highway department was compensating insufficiently for freeway proximity, leading to noise damage. Subsequently, compensation was awarded by the courts to insulate the school; the court ordered an increase of $15,000 for damages (Table 6).

The increased settlement was a combination of freeway proximity to the school and residential appraisal. Proximity created noise damages which impeded learning activities. Yet, the Columbus Board of Education complied in another transaction with the highway department. The compliant action delayed the freeway less than the litigation (Table 4) and the combination resulted in an economic rank of 5. Unlike the Worthington Board of Education, initially appraised as floodplain, the Columbus Board exchanged land for an uppermost economic rank (Table 5). This rank, surpassed by four others, likely was a function of the means of adaptation, precipitated by freeway proximity and low appraisal estimate of residential land. Topmost settlement rank of Riverside Methodist Hospital will be discussed next.

3. Uppermost settlement ratio: different adaptive means

Riverside Hospital negotiated with the highway department and was one of the last direct organizations to settle (G. McCoy, 1984; ODOT, SR 315: 80). The hospital was the only local organization external to extralocal-local coalitions to obtain exchange in kind compensation, that is, compensation for damages without an actual property exchange.
Thus, the hospital recompense for SR 315 was obtained despite their lack of powerful formal means of adaptation: extralocal coalition, formal litigation. Their topmost settlement position (Table 5), was largely attributed to four components: 1) commercial land appraisal 2) 77 month delay 3) use of attorney to negotiate and settle and 4) spatial proximity of the freeway to the hospital. The hospital ranked 5 in delay of SR 315, and was appraised as commercial. The delay, commercial appraisal, influence of attorneys, and spatial placement to the freeway afforded Riverside a topmost settlement ratio.

The hospital administrators, John Dickhaut of White Cross Hospital (the regulatory agency) and Ed Mansfield, President of Riverside, negotiated with the highway department for 6.5 years. Stated differently, their attorneys negotiated for this long. Out of court, and in the informal quarters of the hospital and the central office of the highway department, the hospital administrators refused to negotiate without legal counsel. Eventually, the hospital obtained their goal: reconfiguration of the freeway (G. McCoy, 1983; N. Benedict, 1983).

The proposed freeway, prior to agreement between the hospital and highway department, was posited on the hospital doorstep. Moreover, access to the hospital was restricted by the spatial location of the ingress/egress ramps. After 77 months of legal negotiation, the hospital acquired ramp access to West North Broadway, reconfiguration of the hospital entrance, parking areas and sidewalks, and a sizeable settlement (ODOT, SR 315: 80). The hospital, appraised as commercial, used a different mean of adaptation than those presented in the freeway
typology. Riverside did, however, attain topmost position in the SR 315 hierarchy.

4. **Hypothesis 3**

Land appraisal and means of adaptation in the freeway process tend to explain power.

Direct organizations were ranked both in terms of delay to the freeway and their land settlement ratio. For the latter, each organizational land exchange was analyzed to assess the economic exchange value per landacre. Of the 21 direct organizations, the top three settlement ranks were attained by organizations with either commercial or industrial land appraisals (Table 5).

The three topmost settlements were attained by Riverside Methodist Hospital, Olentangy Broadway Development Corporation (Canterbury Apartments) and Industrial Nucleonics, appraised as commercial or industrial lands (Table 5). Moreover, positions 6-10 of the economic settlement hierarchy were held by organizations of these land types (Table 5). Thus, 7 of the 10 economic settlement ratios were attained by commercial or industrial organizations (Table 5).

In light of the economic settlement hierarchy, (Table 6) litigation improved the rank for land appraised as residential. However, litigation, in conjunction with floodplain land scored low on the hierarchy. (For combination of ranks, see Chapter 6). The hierarchy of economic settlement ratios, however, did not reflect ranks prior to means of adaptation. Thus, without legal means, the floodplain land might have ranked even lower.
Furthermore, delay to the freeway from these organizations, tended to be minimal, compared to organizations appraised as other land types. (This pattern, it should be recognized, would be manifested only if the commercial or industrial organizations are productive, that is, engaged in lucrative, economic activities).

Certain organizations were appraised as industrial or commercial yet ranked low on the hierarchy, a function of their mean of adaptation or type of land exchange. Ranco, for example, an industrial organization, ranked 19 in the economic settlement hierarchy. However, Ranco exchanged aerial rights for the freeway, rather than ground level land (ODOT, SR 315: 4). Another low ranking industrial organization, the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad used extralocal coalition to obtain minimal economic settlement ratio (Table 5). Ten of the 10.7 acres of railroad land exchanged for SR 315 consisted of the railroad maintenance of property and slope rights (SR 315: 14).

Thus, minimal settlement ranks tended to be explained by the type of exchange rather than an actual cash settlement. Kilbourne Realty, the lowest ranking commercial industrial, entailed land exchange through legal means. Owners of this real estate organization could not be contacted, and the land was exchanged for $1.00 (ODOT, SR 315: 203).

DISCUSSION

In summary, Hypothesis 1 was supported and 1-A was not. Direct organizations with goals convergent to the highway department delayed the freeway least, and local, direct organizations who attempted to reconfigure the freeway complied, allied, coalesced with extralocals or
resorted to litigation, rather than three means as hypothesized. Compliance, however, was redefined to include conflict, rather than simple acceptance of the extralocal exchange offer.

Commercial and industrial land tended to render uppermost positions with minimal use of litigation. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was supported, that is, the land appraisal related to means of adaptation. Means of adaptation to the freeway process were as follows:

Extralocal-local means of adaptation tended to render service exchanges, in conjunction with reduced cash settlements, in comparison to settlement ratios of all direct organizations. Alliance formation tended to occur when land use was appraised as either undeveloped or commercial-industrial.

Compliance, in accordance with freeway support tended to eliminate conflict, whereas compliance and reconfiguration tended to precipitate conflict. With litigation, in each case, the organization increased economic settlement, and for the most part, litigation produced lengthy delay to the freeway (Table 4).

Land appraisal tended to prompt means of adaptation. Certain land, such as the cemetery or that of public schools, tended to extract compromise from the highway department. In most of these cases, however, as with the Union Cemetery or Columbus Schools, for example, litigation was used to reach the settlement. Land types in the freeway process tended to generate the appraisals and this combination explained power. Thus Hypothesis 3 was supported.

From the economic hierarchical settlements organizations with highest land exchange value, tended to adapt through least conflictual
means. Riverside settled out of court, and ranked 1, whereas Olentangy Broadway Corporation and Industrial Nucleonics complied and allied, respectively (Table 5). Fourth ranking Unity Management, complied whereas fifth ranking Columbus Board of Education used both compliance and litigation for the two parcels exchanged for the freeway. Of the top five economic hierarchical positions, four did not resort to litigation and owned land appraised as commercial or industrial, or in the case of Unity Management, institutional (Table 5). The land appraisal for these four did not render a legal battle, albeit Columbus Board of Education, fifth position, did use this adaptation for one of the parcels exchanged.

The freeway process for direct organizations tended to be explained by three salient dimensions: 1) local goal convergence or divergence to extralocal goals, 2) land appraisal, a function of land type, and 3) means of adaptation. Direct organizations were only part of the organizational component of the freeway process. Findings of Hypothesis 4, pertinent to the other component will be presented next.

1. Hypothesis 4

Indirect organizations with goals divergent from those of the highway department, tend to adapt through two means: local alliance or litigation.

Indirect organizations, external to the right of way, were comprised of three types: grass roots locals, public agencies and combat organizations. Each type of indirect organization allied as their mean of adaptation to the freeway process. Alliances were formed
with both local and extralocal components.

Of the types of indirect organizations, grass roots locals and public agencies entered early and remained involved through freeway completion. Duration, in combination with goals and means of adaptation, reflected power, however, since both grass roots organizations entered and sustained activity through the freeway process, duration alone did not explain the power balance.

As the conflict untangled, the established organizations allied with involved groups (Coleman, 1957: 11-13). SORE and DOE, for example, were derived predominantly from organizations who entered the process at its inception (ODOT, 1965: 105-109, S. Brevoort, 1984; S. Knipe, 1984). By the end of the conflict, newcomers represented "combat organizations" to aid the struggling opponents (Coleman, 1957: 8, 18).

Combat organizations joined within the last five years of the process, (Table 7) and allied with active organizations. These extant organizations were other locals or the extralocal, highway department. Save Olentangy River Environment and Drivers for the Olentangy Expressway were chief opponent organizations, derived from civic or residential groups. The two grass roots local organizations were delineated by goals, principles and the Olentangy River.

The highway department, public agencies, Drivers for the Olentangy Expressway (DOE), and several of the short duration, combat organizations supported SR 315, whereas SORE, and some of the belated combat organizations resisted SR 315 (Table 7).

This goal divergence with the extralocal decision makers generated the bulk of clashes in the freeway process (N. Benedict, 1983;
M. Davies, 1984). The nature of the freeway process, like community conflict, was that in early stages, groups became involved with their whole personalities, and intensely supported or opposed the freeway (ODOT, 1965).

1.1 Combat organizations

Interests of the civic organizations sharply diverged from those of the combat organizations. Impact avoidance tended to explain interests of organizations involved for the duration of the freeway process, whereas those with minimal duration, that is, five or less years, tended to be explained differently.

Four indirect organizations, for example, of minimal duration (Table 7) had vested interests: Anderson Concrete, Columbus Automobile Club, Columbus Board of Realtors and Ohio Contractors Association. Construction of the freeway would benefit the concrete and auto industries, through use of products. The automobile club serviced auto users. Completion of SR 315 would increase the likelihood of auto usage. Moreover, realtors and contractors were being employed through the freeway process. Appraisals and subsequent construction on SR 315 served these organizations. These organizations gleaned benefits from completion of SR 315, thus their support.

The Society for Professional Engineers allied with the highway department, a function of their mutual membership. Most of the freeway designers and planners were engineers. The brewery, Anheuser Busch (Table 7), allied to obtain increased accessibility to their plant. The brewery was located just east of SR 315, at Interstate 270. Completion
of the route would enable increased accessibility for the many employees of the plant.

1.2 The media

Two indirect media organizations, Clintonville Booster and WTVN television (Table 7) allied in a less clear cut fashion. The Booster had previously allied with the anti freeway organizations, SORE. By 1976, however, the Clintonville Booster shifted alliances and supported completion of the freeway. WTVN, another media agency blatantly opposed the preservationist stance in a December 20, 1976 broadcast.

Matthew Davies, a Clintonville area dentist and spokesperson for SORE, had encouraged Bill Patterson, a WTVN anchorman, to air the preservationist stance. Davies had hoped to attract public support to reconfigure SR 315, around rather than through the Olentangy River. The WTVN broadcast, however, misrepresented the SORE stance, and lent additional support for completion of SR 315 (Davies, 1984).

Chief explanation for the media stances derived from the progression of the freeway. By 1976, all but two segments of SR 315 had been completed, and by this time, the media had been inundated by features and editorials about the freeway. All but staunch freeway oppositionists in the Columbus area, had tired of the battle. Clintonville Booster and WTVN reflected Columbus' sentiments with the freeway process, which had endured more than 20 years.
1.3 Spillover combat organizations

The combat organizations (Table 7) allied with organizations reflective of their goals. Battelle Memorial Institute and PROD, (People Against Offensive Development) were spillover organizations from another community conflict, south of the Ohio State University campus, in the Columbus area. Their dispute had focused on whether Battelle might expand and construct a shopping center on their land, which would displace low income Harrison West residents (N. Rose, 1982). In the freeway controversy, Battelle allied with the highway department and People Against Offensive Development (Table 7) allied with Save Olentangy River Environment.

The final combat organization was an anti-freeway group, Citizens Against I-670, who allied with SORE. The 670 group opposed SR 315, envisioned in 1952, and designed to integrate their opposed freeway, a proposed connection from downtown Columbus to a northeastern point near Port Columbus (ODOT, 1981) Citizens Against I-670 reprimanded SORE for being too gentle, squeamish, and cooperative (Susan Knipe, 1984).

Interstate 670 was expected to displace a large number of black residents in established low-income Columbus communities. The freeway group joined the SR 315 process at its late stage. Both SORE and Citizens Against I-670 allied to oppose the freeways. Beside these combat organizations and the aforementioned grass roots locals, another type of indirect organization was involved in the freeway process. Findings of this type, the public agency, will be sketched next.
2. Public agencies

Three public agencies sustained support of SR 315 throughout the process. The agencies shared a goal with the highway department: completion of SR 315. The three agencies, Columbus Area Chamber of Commerce, Development Committee for Greater Columbus, and Franklin County Regional Planning Commission (currently known as Mid Ohio Regional Planning Association) supported SR 315 (Table 7).

Essentially, representatives of these agencies felt that lengthy delay in completing the route was inimical to Columbus' future growth. Their essential thrust was that the freeway would enhance Columbus, and that all efforts should be attempted to complete it. In the eyes of the public agencies, Columbus' citizenry should respect the plans and desires of Ohio State University (ODOT, 1965: 95-99). Thus, Columbus, Ohio's public agencies supported the freeway in light of benefits SR 315 would bring to the area. Active neighborhood members sought alliances with surrounding neighborhood groups, whereas the public agencies allied with the highway department and combat organizations allied with locals or extralocals, depending on their interests and goals.

3. Hypothesis 4-A

Goal convergence with the highway department tends to increase power, controlling for means of adaptation.

Power of the grass roots locals was related to means of adaptation and goal attainment. All indirect organizations allied as their means of adaptation to the freeway process. However, the grass roots locals
might have used alternative means of adaptation to gain power. As presented in Chapter 3, litigation was a further means available, although neither of the local grass roots organizations selected this mean. A local attorney had advised SORE to take legal action, albeit the preservationist groups rejected this mean of adaptation (R. Fahey, 1984). SR 315's fate was ultimately determined by a federal decision.

The Army Corps of Engineers judged the extent to which completion of SR 315 would damage the environment or serve public interest (ACOE, 1978). Their final decision to complete SR 315 marked SORE's defeat. SORE might have filed a lawsuit against the highway department in line with the National Environmental Protection Act of 1969.

This act might have protected the Olentangy habitat and wildlife from freeway impaction. Whereas the Army Corps of Engineers could judge whether the freeway served the public interest, and that the river would continue to provide access for navigation, a separate governmental department regulated the environment. SORE might have shown the defects of the Environmental Impact Statement, the extinction of mollusks in the Olentangy River, or the number of environmental impacts, a function of the SR 315 project (ODOT, 1976; ACOE, 1978; R. Fahey, 1984).

The Council of Environmental Quality might have determined SR 315 in violation of the National Environmental Protection Act. However, SORE failed to file suit and was unable to achieve their goal: reconfiguration of the freeway. The freeway penetrated the Olentangy River in several places, requiring modification of seven streams and rechannelization of the river a mile south of SR 161 (ODOT, 1977: 64-66). Nonetheless, both SORE and DOE adapted through alliance among
areas within close spatial proximity, or convergence of goal (C. Rhoades, 1984; M. Davies, 1984; C. Jonassen, 1983). Neighborhood activism on both sides of the river generated and sustained the grass roots organizations.

3.1 **Strength and power of grass roots locals**

The difference, however, between the organizations was crucial. Those west of the river sought goals equivalent to those of the highway department; those east of the river hoped to reconfigure the freeway. SORE's complaint was multi-faceted: environmental abuse of Olentangy River, likely flooding of homes, air and noise pollution in residential vicinities, and dangerous curves near West North Broadway (ODOT, 1965; ODOT, 1976; ACOE, 1978). The root of SORE's criticism of the freeway process was the lack of public participation in the freeway planning and design (ACOE, 1978: 140-144; M. Davies, 1984; S. Knipe, 1983).

The focus of both SORE and ACOE was to avoid bisection and biproducts of SR 315 (S. Knipe, 1984; C. Rhoades, 1984; M. Davies, 1984). In short, indirect grass roots locals tended to approve of building a new freeway as long as the facility serviced rather than damaged their personal space.

In light of Hypothesis 4-A, power of indirect organizations was related to goal convergence with the extralocals. Since indirect organizations allied as means of adaptation, analysis that litigation increased strength is a speculation, rather than empirical observation. However, after the sixteen year duration of both SORE and DOE, without apparent gains of the preservationists, it seemed likely that SORE might
have gained additional strength by attempting a legal battle.

Rather, the environmentalists, like the supporters of the freeway, adapted through local alliance formation; they struggled, sputtered, and eventually acceded victory to DOE, the highway department, the media, and in essence, the majority of Columbus' citizenry who had awaited completion of SR 315 for more than two decades. Whereas direct organizations ceased the struggle about SR 315 when right of way agreement was reached, indirect organizations basically ceased the struggle after the 1978 Corps of Engineers' decision. Final discussion of the SR 315 process follows in Chapter 6, with a model and implications for Sociology.

MISSING DATA

One of the direct organizations, Planned Communities, managed land for an estate, willed to the city for recreational development. The Antrim estate was managed by Planned Communities and was handled differently than the other organizations directly impacted by SR 315. Planned Communities, though an organization directly involved in the SR 315 process, was eliminated from the right of way appraisal/settlement analysis.

Another open space acquisition, as shown on the right of way plan, Evans Investment Company had no right of way information. When the investment company was called, Ralph Kowaluk, the representative, refused to comment on the SR 315 land exchange, in light of the status of the corporation, that is, a private investment corporation (Ralph Kowaluk, 1984).
The ODOT right of way file for Chemical Abstracts contained minimal information. This information was derived from the right of way plan and correspondence file. When an interview was sought with Dale Baker, he had retired. A paucity of information on Chemical Abstracts, therefore, was available. Moreover, an interview could not be attained with a representative from Riverside Hospital. Thus, the number of direct organizations included only those for whom right of way files were available.

Notes

1. Columbus Public Schools owned two separate parcels of land needed for SR 315, and adapted differently in the two exchanges. Thus, the school system was represented in two cells of Table 4: compliance and litigation, in reference to reconfiguration of the freeway. The school, however, represents only one direct organization.

2. Railroads, privately owned and federally regulated, were regulated by the Federal Railroad Administration, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the National Transportation Safety Board. However, each separate railroad, the Chesapeake and Ohio or the Pacific Northwestern, for example, have a separate headquarters (Federal Regulatory Directory, 1979: 885).

3. SORE and DOE identified themselves in 1977, though active integration of neighborhoods began in 1965 (S. Knipe, 1984; C. Rhoades, 1984; ODOT, 1965). The preeminent divider between the factions was the Olentangy River, although two civic organizations in the northwest sections near the C & O Railroad entered in 1976, and were located west of the Olentangy River. Greenfield was comprised of homes in a low-lying area west of the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad tracts. The incompletely built freeway, as far as these residents were concerned, should remain incomplete. Linworth North Civic Association, located west of SR 161, east of the C & O railroad tracks, attempted preservation of the 100 year old trees in the area (ODOT, 1976: 1-7).
4. The conflict between the local and extralocal organizations was intensified by the power balance of the freeway process. The highway department, however, was legally within bounds. SR 315 adhered to policy from the 1960's which included only one public hearing. In 1974, with the implementation of the National Action Plan, highway policy was changed to include two public hearings (U.S. Department of Transportation, Arensdorf, 1974). Ongoing projects like SR 315 were protected by a grandfather clause, which enabled a public meeting to replace the necessary second public hearing (ODOT, 1976: 31). By law, then, the highway department had adequate public hearings or meetings to meet federal requirements.

SR 315 was a freeway begun before NEPA was passed in 1969. By the final stages, the Federal Council on Environmental Quality, 40 C. F. R. 1500 (1979) stipulated stringent environmental regulations.
Chapter 6
THE FREEWAY PROCESS; POWER AND SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

1. Introduction

In addition to services exchanged in the right of way freeway process, power was contingent on goals and the extent to which organizations delayed the freeway, or attained economic recompense and services on their land.

Findings of Chapter 5 suggested that three components largely determine the extent of local power in the process. Essentially, power was wielded by the extralocals, supplemented by varying degrees of local power input, as determined by goals, means of adaptation and land appraisal. The power hierarchy, comprised of the average between delay and settlement ranks will next be explained for the SR 315 process.

THE POWER HIERARCHY

Most power in the SR 315 process was wielded by organizations who managed to combine delay with exchange services and uppermost settlement rank. The power hierarchy of organizations in the SR 315 process was as follows:

Most powerful organizations tended to hold land types which were institutional, cemetery or commercial-industrial. Least powerful organizations held undeveloped land or commercial-industrial land. In these latter cases, specific deviations from the norm occurred. Ranco,
Table 8. THE SR 315 FREEWAY PROCESS HIERARCHY

<table>
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<th>Organization</th>
<th>Adaptive Mean</th>
<th>Land Type</th>
<th>Delay (rank)</th>
<th>Settlement (rank)</th>
<th>Power (X of ranks)</th>
<th>Power (ranks)</th>
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<td>2*</td>
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</table>

1Lowest rank indicates most power, delay and highest economic exchange for land per acre.

2 Averages in the power ranks are adjusted by 1 for services, that is, organizations who received construction services or maintained property rights for land exchanged in the freeway process, had the mean of ranks adjusted by 1, as indicated by an ".
for example, as mentioned in Chapter 5, exchanged aerial property rights, and Broadlane Realty settled in court with a brief 12 month delay. The undeveloped land transactions tended to render minimal exchange value with minimal delay to the freeway. The least powerful organizations holding commercial or industrial land, such as Continental Assurance or Kilbourne Realty authorized others to manage the freeway transaction, or required de facto settlement from unknown ownership status, as was the case for Kilbourne Realty (SR 315: 15; 203).

Least powerful organizations tended to use compliance or alliance as means of adaptation, although one organization, Broadlane Realty, used litigation and ranked 12.75 in the power hierarchy (Table 8). Thus, litigation did not assure a powerful position in the freeway process. Most litigation was used for floodplain or cemetery land and did attain higher position in the settlement hierarchy and delay ranks (Tables 5 and 6).

The irony of the SR 315 freeway process was that Riverside Methodist Hospital ranked uppermost without use of formal means of adaptation. Rather, the Hospital attained the position through delay and legal counsel which illuminated negative effects of freeway proximity to the hospital. Additional upper echelons in the power hierarchy used various means of adaptation: ranging from local alliance through extralocal coalition, litigation and compliance. In this sense, a single mean of adaptation cannot be recommended to assure power in the freeway process.
1. Power in the freeway process

1.1 Delay

The delay component of power rendered a psychological edge to influence the highway department, whereas cash or service exchange rendered power by depletion of highway funds. In light of the power triggered by delay of the freeway, this power from local organizations tended to place the freeway in a limbo of sorts.

Delay placed the highway department at a disadvantage; ambiguous knowledge about fate of the freeway spurred anxiety among the extralocals. They did not know if a land parcel would be acquired within a legal time frame. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the delay to the settlement agreement required the department of transportation to procure an additional right of entry agreement from a contending organization.

This agreement required a signature from the contending party, often difficult to procure in the throes of conflict (SR 315: 1-203). Thus, delay from organizations warranted a social psychological effect on the extralocal, highway department: increase of anxiety over the fate of the freeway. Without a right of entry form, the department was powerless to continue negotiations. Yet, the psychological power of delay was manageable, in light of the goals of the locals. The extralocals could not have managed total defeat, i.e., an opponent who blocked their goal: completion of the freeway.

However, SR 315 engendered two rather than three potential goals: support and reconfiguration. If three goals had emerged from local
organizations, that is, support, reconfiguration and blockage, then locals might have accumulated enough power to match the power of the highway department.1

The chief way local organizations could have wielded power tantamount to that of extralocals would have been through a goal to block the freeway. The only means local organizations, both direct and indirect, might have blocked the freeway would have been through the courts or with legal counsel (Luebke, 1981; Coser, 1967).

As it was, the most power locals could attain was through psychological delay or maximal economic depletion of highway funds or services, or land exchange slightly harmful to the extralocals. In comparison to other freeway processes in the U.S., in which the freeway was halted, as in New Orleans, North Carolina, New York, or San Francisco, (See Chapter 2) to name a few, SR 315 locals wielded minimal power (Baumbach and Borah, 1981; Luebke, 1981; Kelley, 1969; Leavitt, 1970).

Blockage of the freeway would have accumulated most power, if the freeway had legally violated constitutional rights, the preservation of the environment, or special lands, such as historical or parkland. Cemetery land remained moot. A federal law did not safeguard cemetery land from eminent domain, although the probability of conflict increased if cemetery land was selected as a proposed freeway site.

1.2 Power from economic recompense and services

The power gained by locals from these components of the power index was salient, though an expected part of the freeway process. The
highway trust fund, allocated for freeway development was used to procure the right of way. In this sense, the appraisal process, in which estimates for land value were assessed, bore a key portion of the power.

Maximal recompense reflected extensive damage to the remaining land, a function of the freeway, or the quality of the land exchanged. (Total takes of land for direct organizations in the SR 315 process did occur. Freeway placement in relation to the residual land was crucial to the appraisal and subsequent means of adaptation to the freeway).

Economic compensation by the highway department was an expected part of the process, and appraisal of land type, combined with means of adaptation, explained the conflict and settlement. Commercial and industrial land tended to attain highest exchange value, in conjunction with minimal delay to the freeway (Table 5). Land use prior to the freeway project, therefore, was a powerful predictor of the freeway power hierarchy. Goals and means of adaptation to the freeway largely explained the remainder of the process.

Local alliance and compliance tended not to explain the economic land exchange, as much as type of land and land appraisal estimate of land value. Litigation increased low appraisals of land, for cemetery and floodplain land, in particular, whereas extralocal coalition tended to reduce actual economic recompense, in conjunction with increased services. Thus, the power of the local organizations, in light of economic settlements and services was a combination of land type, land appraisal and means of adaptation.
LONG-RANGE EFFECTS OF THE FREeway PROCESS

In society, freeways serve to further economic advantages in the market place, at locations which afford the greatest competitive edge (Berry, 1965; Hoyt, 1939). Business, services and in short functional activities are greatly improved from spatial proximity to freeways. Conversely, trade and service inaccessibility or residential proximity to freeways may prove inimical to businesses or residences. Thus the freeway may posit certain organizations in a powerful position. SR 315 intersected a rapid growth area with a mixture of land uses.

In the SR 315 process, the freeway bisected an expanding northern area of mixed population: residential, retail and wholesale trade, and a service sector, of university, school, church and cemetery lands. The area was expanding, the chief reason cited for the freeway (Stilson and Associates, 1963: 1; ODOT, 1977; 14). Thus, in developing areas, of varied land uses, SR 315 represented modes of community adaptation in a developing area.

The model of the freeway process, generated by this dissertation, explains goals and means of adaptation of local and extralocal community organizations to community change. The model which this research generates is as follows.
Fig. 1. A MODEL OF THE FREEWAY PROCESS
As the model indicates, goals and means of adaptation, in conjunction with land appraisal and land type render power in the freeway process. More specifically, goal divergence from the extralocals, that is, reconfiguration of the freeway, in conjunction with litigation may render increased settlement and delay to the process.

Land types, appraised as floodplain or cemetery, tend to precipitate conflict and a lengthy delay to the freeway. Commercial and industrial land tends to attract maximal economic exchange value, as compared to floodplain or undeveloped land. As presented, if the goal was for freeway blockage, rather than reconfiguration, it was likely that delay served to increase the settlement ratio for land, rather than block the freeway. An additional mean of adaptation, litigation, was required to attain this goal.

Local organizations have infused psychological power in the freeway process, through delay of the freeway. It was unlikely locals would severely overpower the highway department unless the local goal was to block rather than reconfigure the freeway.

SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

A paucity of Sociological research has been done on the freeway process, in light of the confidentiality of right of way records. Moreover, transportation systems have often been cited as causes of urbanization and decentralization of cities (Hoyt, 1939; Schnore, 1959; Berry, 1965) though not the impetus of social conflict. SR 315, a lengthy battle, defeated the environmentalists and those who supported
increased public participation in the freeway process.

The highway department assured the author that public participation in the freeway process significantly increased after completion of SR 315 (Benedict, 1984; McCoy, 1984; Ismail, 1984). The 1974 National Action Plan was implemented after volatile conflicts of the sixties illuminated the lack of public participation in the freeway process (Arensdorf, 1974).

Despite the idea that public participation would improve the freeway process, doubt has been cast on this notion (1976, W. Rosenbaum: 369). Increased public participation in the freeway process does not change the power dramatically.

Interstate 670 for example, a freeway planned to connect downtown Columbus to Port Columbus will displace approximately 109 households, 19 businesses, preeminently in cohesive, black neighborhoods (ODOT, 1981: I-670; vii).

I-670 will traverses two sectors of Columbus, the northeast and east. A major proportion of the northeast population is comprised of elderly, handicapped or black persons. SR 315 consisted of minimal proportions of these persons. Thus I-670 and SR 315 are penetrating different populations. In this sense, the freeway process differs, although organizational adaptations would most likely extend from this research and model of the freeway process.

Hence, the freeway process is dual natured. Urban growth, population deconcentration and increased metropolitan accessibility warrants growth pains, which tend to manifest as conflict over the freeway alignment.
The freeway process affects direct and indirect recipients differently. In light of modernization, freeways are ecological time saving networks which shape the land and increase accessibility to employment, shopping, social services and entertainment. Concomitantly, new freeways uproot established neighborhoods, businesses, habitat, and in short, modify the social environment. Population increases require increased transportation networks. Thus, growth incurs social displacement.

Findings of the SR 315 process are heuristic, rather than final conclusions. The freeway process tends to render conflict, and the extent of conflict ultimately depends on the power of the organizations and groups involved in the environmental changes. Power is determined by three variables: goals, means of adaptation, and land appraisal. Preeminent power extends from the extralocal highway department, unless local organizations combat the extralocals with goals to block the freeway.

To gain psychological power in the process, local organizations might delay the freeway, by refusing to settle for right of way. To merely gain reconfiguration of the freeway, or an uppermost settlement for right of way land, organizations might utilize any of the means of adaptation, or attain legal counsel, to illuminate damages incurred by the freeway, as was the case of Riverside Hospital. To merely provoke the highway department, organizations need only delay the process.

Indirect organizations attain power in the freeway process through use of two strategies: goal convergence with the extralocals, or in lieu of goal convergence: litigation. Local power in the freeway
process tends to be wielded by the direct organizations. Indirect organizations sustained the local input and neighborhood rivalries, though their power tends to be minimal, in relation to delay, economic effects or freeway services.

In conclusion, freeway processes in the United States tend to elicit conflict. Though laws, public participation measures and highway policy continue to change, goals and means of adaptation tend to remain static. Local organizations tend to adapt to freeways with a conflictual response, ranging from compliance, local alliance, litigation and extralocal-local coalition. Two adaptive means—litigation and extralocal coalition—tend to delay the freeway more than others. Land appraisal and goals tend to explain means of adaptation. Floodplain or cemetery land manifests litigation, and commercial and industrial land appraisals tend to precipitate least conflict.

Litigation tends to increase settlement ratios of land, whereas extralocal-local coalition tends to reduce cash settlement in conjunction with increased services rendered with the land exchange.

Most power in the SR 315 process was attained by a hospital, which resorted to a 77 month delay to the freeway, and negotiated through attorneys. Least power was attained by a Realty Company of unknown owners. This property was acquired for $1.00, the legal fee for property transfer.

SR 315 spanned 29 years, from genesis to completion. The northwest freeway penetrated predominantly upper income areas, an admixture of residential, commercial-industrial, institutional, cemetery, floodplain,
and undeveloped land. Grass roots locals, public agencies, combat organizations, and organizations directly bisected by the route delayed completion of the route. SR 315 was completed July 31, 1981, although portions of the route were opened as early as 1974. Though three years have elapsed since the freeway was opened, myriad Columbusites refuse to forget the conflict which encompassed the freeway.

In conclusion, the freeway process tended to precipitate social conflict as a power struggle between local organizations and the highway department, and as a local power struggle, between grass roots and certain combat organizations. The final shape of freeways largely is determined by the institutionalized conflict, reflected by the safety valve formal right of way negotiations, highway department meetings, and internal local meetings. Overall, the conflict of SR 315 was filtered into a new Columbus, Ohio freeway conflict: Interstate 670, a topic for additional research. It is expected that the adaptive means and goals of I-670 are congruent with those of SR 315. However, a differential applies. Litigation as a means of adaptation is being used in conjunction with blockage of the route. In comparison to the SR 315 freeway process Interstate 670 may render local power sufficient to terminate the freeway. The lawsuit, however, remains pending.

Notes

1. Contenders in conflicts require a rough equivalency of strength or match of opponents (Coser, 1967: 40-44). Freeway regulations extend from law, and in order to oppose the extralocal, or stronger party of the conflict, local organizations required legal justification to combat the highway department. Strength of locals depended on their goal, and means of adaptation.
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APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW INTRODUCTION

Interviews were conducted in 1983 and 1984, partially funded by the Jules LaPidus Alumni Award, Ohio State University. The author conducted interviews. Each interviewee was initially contacted by telephone, to explain the purpose of the interview and set up a time for the actual interview.

At the initial contact, interviewees were presented with a brief description of SR 315, in terms of its physical layout and completion date. All interviewees were quite familiar with the route, a function of the sampling procedure (Chapter 4). When the actual interview was conducted, the author remained objective about the freeway, lest anger or hostility might prevail.

Interviews were tape recorded, then later transcribed. In the event of inaudible tapes or unanswered inquiries, interviewee(s) were recontacted via telephone. The major topic which interviewees wished to discuss was Interstate 670, the current freeway development in Columbus, Ohio. Comparisons between the routes were frequently drawn, which illuminated the SR 315 process.

Upon completion of interviews, each respondent (or nonrespondent, as was the case for some interviews (Chapter 5)) was thanked for his/her time and cooperation. Most respondents expressed interest in freeway developments in society, and land development in general.
1. Name

2. Organizational affiliation (current)

3. Address (current)

4. What is highway policy now, concerning location of freeways?

5. What was highway policy between 1966-1980 when SR 315 was being planned?

6. Were you involved in any meetings in which city, state or federal highway planners worked together?

7. Do you know of land exchanges which occurred in relation to SR 315? (Probe)

8. What was the chief obstacle causing the delay of SR 315? Please elaborate.

9. What was your occupation between 1967-1980? If you have changed, please note.
10. How many years of school have you completed?

11. To what organizations, external to your employment did you belong between 1967-1980?

12. What do you think established the location of SR 315?

13. What criteria were considered before actual construction could occur?

14. Do you know of any opposition groups to the freeway? Please elaborate.

15. Did you have any contact with the groups? If so, who did you contact?

16. Who was involved in decisions about SR 315? Please describe these persons in as much detail as possible.

17. What issues were discussed in groups about SR 315?

18. Were some groups working together?
19. Of the groups, can you specify major opponents?

20. As much as possible, describe the nature of the public hearings. (Probe).

21. Do you consider economics a key part of the SR 315 process? If so, in what way?

22. If you could change highway planning policy, what changes would you make? Please describe.

23. Of the alternative alignments for SR 315, which did you prefer, and why?

24. Now that the route is completed, what is your opinion of it? Any positive or negative aspects?

25. To what extent do you think personality conflict accounted for disagreement about the freeway location? (Probe)

26. Interstate 670 is currently being planned and discussed. Do you have any comment(s) about this plan?

27. Referring back to SR 315, what do you think caused chief delay to its completion?
SR 315 Interviews

Status during SR 315 process  Interview  Date

**DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION**

1. Mr. Glen McCoy  District 6 Right of Way Engineer  *  
2. Mr. Ned Benedict  District 6 Location and Design Engr.  *  
3. Mr. Jerry Pound  State Chief of Cost Control  5-10-84  
4. Mr. Dave Gnandt  State Chief/Legal Contracts  2-7-84  
5. Mr. Wayne Ford  State Admin./Environmental Services  5-11-83  
6. Ms. Jean Wheatley  District 6 R/W Exec. Secretary  *  
7. Mr. Richard Jackson  District 6 Deputy Director  10-18-84  
8. Mr. George Downing  District 6 Location and Design Engr.  *  
9. Mr. Leon Talbert  State Dir. of Research and Design  7-18-84  
10. Mr. Wayne Kauble  District 6 Design and Planning Engr.  8-13-84  
11. Mr. Robert Allen  State Admin./Environmental Services  3-21-84  

* Several interviews with Mr. McCoy, Mr. Downing and Mr. Benedict occurred. Others from the Department of Transportation were interviewed only once, except Ms. Jean Wheatley was contacted several times.

**ALDEN E. STILSON & ASSOCIATES**

12. Mr. William Bletz  Civil Engineer  7-23-84  

**MID OHIO REGIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION**

13. Mr. Mohammed Ismail  Director of Transportation  6-7-84  

**CITY OF COLUMBUS**

14. Mr. Ron Rybak  Admin. of Transportation Services  4-14-83  

**OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY**

15. Mr. James Dowell  Property Management Administrator  3-9-83  
16. Mr. Jean Hansford  Campus Planner  4-16-84  
17. Mr. Craig Johnston  Contracts Attorney  6-8-84
INDUSTRIAL NUCLEONICS
18. Mr. James Reider Manager of Corporate Administration 5-29-84

UNION CEMETERY COMMISSION
19. Mr. William LaVelle Coordinator of Cemetery Services 8-14-84

SUMMER AND COMPANY
20. Mr. Gary Reynolds Financial Administrator 5-9-84

SORE (Save Olentangy River Environment)
21. Mrs. Susan Knipe Housewife 4-19-84
22. Dr. Matthew Davies Dentist 9-11-84
23. Dr. Laurel Richardson Professor 3-17-84

DOE (Drivers for Olentangy Expressway)
24. Ms. Charlotte Rhodes Housewife 9-20-84
25. Ms. Sally Brevoort Housewife 10-11-84

INVOLVED CITIZENRY
26. Mr. Richard Fahey Attorney 8-23-84
27. Dr. Chris Jonassen Professor 2-16-84

NONRESPONSES
1. Mr. Dale Baker, Retired Director of Chemical Abstracts 4-11-84
2. Mr. Edward Mansfield, Retired Director of Riverside Hospital 4-12-84
3. Mr. Ralph Kowaluk, Financial Administrator of Evans Investment Corporation 6-14-84
APPENDIX B
TRANSPORTATION BUREAUCRACY, 1963

DIRECTOR OF HIGHWAYS

SECRETARY TO THE DIRECTOR

SWITCHBOARD OPERATOR

TRANSCRIBER & TYPIST

DIRECTOR OF HIGHWAYS

CHIEF ENGINEER

DEPUTY DIRECTOR
DIVISION OF ADMINISTRATION

DEPUTY DIRECTOR
DIVISION OF PLANNING & PROGRAMMING

DEPUTY DIRECTOR
DIVISION OF RIGHT OF WAY

DEPUTY DIRECTOR
DIVISION OF DESIGN & CONSTRUCTION

DEPUTY DIRECTOR
DIVISION OF OPERATIONS

DIVISION DEPUTY DIRECTORS 12 FIELD DIVISIONS

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS

ENGINEER-RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT

ADMIN SPEC-CONSULTANT CONTRACT SERVICES

BUREAU OF DATA PROCESSING

BUREAU OF PERSONNEL

BUREAU OF AUDITING

BUREAU OF PURCHASING

BUREAU OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

BUREAU OF PLANNING SURVEY

BUREAU OF PROGRAMMING

BUREAU OF PLANNING

BUREAU OF APPRAISALS

BUREAU OF ACQUISITION

BUREAU OF UTILITIES

BUREAU OF ENGINEERING & ADMINISTRATION

BUREAU OF CONSTRUCTION

BUREAU OF LOCATION & DESIGN

BUREAU OF BRIDGES

BUREAU OF TESTS

BUREAU OF CONTRACT SALES

FISCAL ADVISOR

TABLE OF ORGANIZATION

OHIO DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Effective date: Sept 29, 1972
Revived date: June 1, 1972

Source: Highway Planning and Research Program, Ohio Department of Transportation, 1974.
MAP OF SR315 ALTERNATIVE ALIGNMENTS
MAP OF SR315 ALTERNATIVE ALIGNMENTS
MAP OF SR315 FINAL ALIGNMENT