April 1974

**Attorney Members of the 1972 Kentucky Senate**

Horace W. Fleming Jr.

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As local governments in the United States evolve, local officials and other community leaders seldom look backward to see from whence they have come. Neither do most look ahead deliberately and with sufficient knowledge based on experience so as to ascertain precisely what the impact of change will be on community development and government. “Most of the day-to-day episodes that constitute the building blocks of a community history,” we are told, “are experienced and laid aside as time moves on.”¹ Thus, we lose appreciation for the ways in which change takes place within local communities and, more importantly for political scientists, for the ways in which local governments adapt structurally and functionally to this change. Moreover, rather than plan for change and seek some control over it through adaptive local governments, we too often allow these governments merely to “happen” through a series of trends “becoming cumulative over time and producing some results of a structural and functional nature intended by nobody”.²

The purpose of this paper is to describe an effort now underway in a small, unincorporated, rapidly developing South Carolina community to study and plan rationally and comprehensively for the reorganization of local “government” at a very early stage in its development so as to minimize the accidental and unintended consequences of rapid change on the evolution of government and to realize from the outset a viable, responsive form of general local government. The community in question is Hilton Head Island. The effort at reorganizing local government is one in which the author has participated centrally. We shall describe first the community, the rapid change taking place within it, and the existing Island government structure. Then we shall discuss the origins of and

procedures involved in assessing Island government with a view toward its reorganization, along with some of the author’s findings concerning the needs for reorganization and the options open to Islanders for reorganizing.

The Island Community: Socio-Economic Characteristics

Hilton Head Island is located in southeastern Beaufort County, some 34 miles by road from Beaufort City and approximately 30 road miles northeast of Savannah, Georgia. (See Figure 1.) The 1970 Federal Census lists the Island’s permanent population at 2456. Census officials, however, acknowledge errors in gathering their data on the Island and suggest that a more realistic 1970 population figure is 4200. Current estimates (1974) place the permanent Island population at near 7500. Beaufort County lists a 1970 population of 51,136. Hilton Head has a total land area of 42.5 square miles; Beaufort County has a land area of 579 square miles.

Hilton Head is quite different socio-economically from the county of which it is a part. While the county’s economy is tied closely to the military, to agriculture and fishing, Hilton Head’s economy rests heavily upon recreation and tourism. In fact, the Island has come to be synonymous with “wealth” and “leisure.” As Professor Harold E. Albert has observed:

Golf and outdoor living in a clean environment have attracted property owners from some forty states and twelve foreign countries. These are frequently business and industry leaders, professionals, and high-level government officials. Cross checking of Hilton Head property owners in the Beaufort County Auditor’s office and in Who’s Who in America would show nearly 100 names appearing in both lists. . . . There are approximately 100 physicians and surgeons owning land, some sixty retired admirals and generals plus about twice that number of retired military men of lesser rank. There are renowned artists and top level administrators from government, especially from the Foreign Service and other divisions of the State Department.\(^3\)

To attract and accommodate these retirees, as well as those seeking quiet vacation retreats, a number of private developments and resort hotels have been constructed. The private developments include Sea Pines Plantation, Port Royal Plantation, Spanish Wells Plantation, Long Cove

Plantation, Hilton Head Plantation, Shipyard Plantation, and Palmetto Dunes. Inside these developments, the locations of which are shown in Figure 2, homes sell for a low of $65,000 to a high of $150,000 or more, depending upon location and nearness to deep water; condominiums sell for $40,000 to $100,000. Residents of these developments enjoy maximum privacy due to the presence of gates at entrances to these developments.
manned by security guards and a pass-system in effect which is highly restrictive. These residents also are offered a wide variety of recreational facilities, including at least one golf course per development, numerous tennis courts, swimming and boating facilities.

Development of Hilton Head Island as a major resort and retirement site with a national reputation dates from the early 1950's when two of the present developers of the Island began acquiring large tracts of land there. At that time, there was not even a bridge to the Island; access from the mainland was by boat. The Island's population was sparse and predominantly black.

By 1960, this had begun to change. In describing the nature and direction of this change, we labor under a distinct disadvantage: the lack of reliable census data for the Island over the past twenty years. However, we can describe indicators of this change. In Table 1, we present statistics reflecting the rapid residential development of the Island measured in terms of building permits issued between 1952 and 1973. In Figure 3, we illustrate trends in the types of residential construction over this same period. We show in Figure 4 estimated growth of the Island's permanent population over the next six years, to 1980. In 1971, Columbia was the only city in South Carolina to surpass Hilton Head in the issuance and total value of building permits. In 1972 and 1973, the Island led all of South Carolina in the issuance of these permits. Already in 1974, the dollar value of permits issued exceeds the 1973 mark.

In the course of Island development, the population has changed from a predominantly black to a predominantly white one. In 1960, blacks constituted an estimated 75 percent of the total Island population; blacks now account for roughly 20 percent or less. In the meantime, whites and blacks have become increasingly segregated socially and geographically. Blacks are heavily concentrated in the northern portion of the Island while the southern portion, where the principal development has occurred, is almost entirely white. High land prices in the southern Island area combined with certain obvious social barriers simply have precluded black ownership of property and residence there.

Approximately 20 percent of the property on Hilton Head in those areas outside the private developments and populated by blacks is "heir

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4 In making these projections shown in Figure 4, the Sea Pines Marketing Research Department relied upon population estimates for the period 1970-72 to derive, utilizing Bureau of the Census techniques, an average annual growth index of 17.5, which was applied to compute yearly growth over the ten-year period, 1970-80. Other, even less scientific projections range from a high of 90,000 by the year 2000 to a low of 50,000 by that same year. The latter projections all assume a constant and continuing rate of population growth based on past measures of development; they do not take into account a gradual stabilization of the Island real estate market that many predict will occur within the next 10 to 15 years.
FIGURE 2. Location of Island Communities

* Private residential developments
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total All Permits</th>
<th>Residential Permits Only</th>
<th>Number of Houses</th>
<th>Average Cost</th>
<th>Number of Apartments and Condominiums</th>
<th>Average Cost</th>
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<td>$350,000</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>343,550</td>
<td>266,050</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9,501</td>
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<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>162,995</td>
<td>142,335</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6,777</td>
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<td>1958</td>
<td>434,375</td>
<td>322,050</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>1,357,909</td>
<td>707,044</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>14,428</td>
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<td>625,601</td>
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<td>1,009,150</td>
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<td>1963</td>
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<td>1,060,441</td>
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<td>4,245,987</td>
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<td>4,490,257</td>
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<td>36,440</td>
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<td>3,062,016</td>
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<td>25,272</td>
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<td>6,933,032</td>
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<td>12,860,543</td>
<td>11,486,567</td>
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<td>7,097,762</td>
<td>6,600,668</td>
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<td>39,821</td>
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<td>51,937,762</td>
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<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
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</table>
property.” This is property deeded over to blacks during the post-Civil War period, the title to which has never been legally recorded. This property, which is steadily rising in value as development of the Island proceeds, is nevertheless difficult to market and equally difficult to improve so long as titles to it remain uncleared. Through a program sponsored by the Island chapter of the NAACP, many owners of this property are now receiving legal assistance in clearing their titles, as developers stand by anxiously in hopes that they might be able to purchase it once titles to it are cleared.

It is not possible to describe accurately the income status of Island residents as a whole, although some reliable data are available on por-
FIGURE 4. Permanent Population on Hilton Head Island.

...tions of the Island, specifically Sea Pines Plantation and the northern Island area. These data indicate considerable disparities between incomes in these two areas. A 1972 survey by the Sea Pines Marketing Research Department of the Sea Pines Company shows that one-third of all plantation property owners (resident and absentee) had incomes during the previous year of over $50,000; over 95 percent had incomes of at least $10,000. A survey conducted in the northern portion of the Island by a privately funded black health program showed that in this area—which is 95 percent black—the median family income was between

$2500 and $3000. These no doubt are two extremes, so care should be taken not to generalize too broadly from them. Middle-range incomes offset high incomes of Sea Pines property owners; and, the latter tend to raise the median family incomes of Island residents as a whole. It is estimated that currently the median family incomes across the entire island is $15,000. Whether or not such an estimate is realistic, it tends to conceal more than it reveals about Islanders' incomes.

The recreation, leisure, and tourism industry on Hilton Head exceeds $300 million annually simply in terms of capital investment. The total payroll resulting from this industry rose from $2 million in 1960 to over $20 million in 1973. Given the work force needs of this industry, it is apparent that the unemployment rate on the Island is exceedingly low. In fact, some claim that there is no unemployment on the Island. To substantiate their claim, these persons cite the fact that over 2000 workers commute daily as far away as Beaufort City and Savannah to jobs on the Island. In 1972, approximately 140,000 people visited Hilton Head. Largely because of the influx of these visitors, the daily population count on the Island (including visitors, commuters, and permanent residents) during the summer months is said to have averaged between 9,000 and 12,000.

Hilton Head is attracting larger and larger numbers of "part-time" residents and absentee property owners. These persons own homes, condominiums, and unimproved property and only occasionally visit the Island. During a major part of the year a large number of these persons lease their dwellings to tourists and seasonal residents. In terms of property, these part-time residents and absentee owners outnumber resident owners by a substantial margin, both in terms of number of parcels held and the total value of these parcels.

As Hilton Head has developed, there have been tensions between Island residents and the remainder of the county. To a large extent, these have been the result of the sudden appearance on the Island of a "foreign" and obviously unique population and the resulting contrast in lifestyles, which has made integration of the Island population into the county difficult. These tensions have been exacerbated by the opposition of many Islanders to efforts by the county at attracting heavy industry to the immediate area. Intent upon preserving the environment, their lifestyles which depend heavily upon it, and, some would argue, in order for the whites to protect "a readily available, cheap, black labor force."

6 These data were provided by Joseph Brown, Director of the Hilton Head Health Project.
8 Ibid., p. 9.
Islanders have managed to defeat several efforts by the county to locate industry on an 1800-acre site set aside at neighboring Victoria Bluff, some eight miles to the northwest of the Island. During 1969-70, Island residents and developers expended over one-half million dollars to bar a German petrochemical plant, *Badische Anilin und Soda Fabrik* (BASF), which ultimately, it was shown, would have done considerable damage to the local environment. At present, Islanders are threatening the same fate to Chicago Bridge and Iron Company (CBI), a metal fabricating industry but an avowed nonpolluter. However, because dredging of nearby waterways is necessary to accommodate CBI’s plant operations, because environmental damage through this dredging and other activities remains a possibility (despite CBI assurances to the contrary), and because some fear that location of the CBI plant at Victoria Bluff is the first step toward eventual construction of a major seaport in the immediate vicinity, Islanders have expressed their opposition in principle to the company’s plans. CBI, on the other hand, promises Beaufort County substantial, additional tax revenues which could alleviate the county’s heavy dependence at present on Hilton Head as a revenue source and “high-paying jobs” for area residents, mainly blacks. And so, once again, the issue of industrialization has divided residents of lower Beaufort County and further fragmented white and black Island communities.

A final word is in order here concerning perceptions of blacks residing on Hilton Head. These persons, conscious of the development occurring around them but hard pressed in many instances to fathom it, subjected to intense social and economic pressures placed upon them by this development in trying to protect their own interests against those of a predominantly “alien” and affluent white culture which suddenly has appeared on the Island, look skeptically upon this development and upon their white neighbors. Even though many blacks have prospered considerably from the development that has taken place on the Island, many still think of the Island as a type of “colonial world” that has been “cut in two” over the last decade. According to one prominent black leader, there are the “settlers”, those who have come to live, work, and invest on the Island and who reside in the private, southern communities and the “natives,” those who were “born on the Island, live here, and die and are buried here,” all of whom reside in the northern portion of the Island and almost all of whom are black. Exaggerating somewhat, this person describes life on the Island as follows:

9 For a complete account of the unsuccessful efforts of BASF and other industries to locate in lower Beaufort County, see Albert, *op. cit.*

If one cared to examine the two groups on the Island, one would find distinct differences. The settlers have a well-built community. Their homes are among the best in the world. Many of the settlers are served by natives who go daily to cook, clean, and/or baby-sit. The community where the settlers live has paved streets. Recreation is varied with golf, tennis, swimming, bridge, etc. The grass in the yards of the settlers, as well as on the golf courses is so well nourished it appears blue under the radiant sunlight. All of this is somewhat secluded. To ensure this seclusion and separation of the serene community of the settlers, “security gates” are erected and staffed by armed men.

The natives, on the other hand, live in a community that is slowly . . . undergoing change. In some cases, the changes are direct results of assistance from the settlers. Some of the settlers are sincere in lending a hand while others are forced to initiate and implement changes in the natives’ community because of damaging and embarrassing community aesthetics.\(^\text{11}\)

In a concluding statement, devoid of exaggeration, this black leader points out that “politically, the two communities are diametrically opposed on virtually every issue excepting the realities of life itself.”\(^\text{12}\)

**Current Island “Government”: Structure and Services**

The needs of Island residents are provided by a mix of public and private agencies. These service agencies overlap, are duplicative, and in their operation are responsible for considerable inequities. In Table 2, we list services made available at present to Islanders through agencies of Beaufort County government and seven public service districts established on the Island. We also list the tax levies of each. Beaufort City is listed in Table 2 for purposes of comparison. In Table 3, we list services available in selected areas of the Island through the public service districts and various private agencies; county services are not shown in this table.

**County Government**

Beaufort County provides Hilton Head with the full range of “ordinary” county services: law enforcement, public education, public works, health and medical care, welfare, planning and development. Powers of general government (rule-making and enforcement authority) are exercised by the county on behalf of the Island, which, as noted earlier, is

TABLE 2. Services Presently Available to Hilton Head Island Through Public Service Districts and Beaufort County.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Public Service Districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sea Pines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Safety:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic Control</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Works:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewer</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drainage</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beach Erosion</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse Collection</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road Maintenance</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Health:</td>
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<tr>
<td>General Services</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Health</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mosquito Control</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Planning and Development</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zoning</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subdivision Regulation</td>
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<td>Tax Levies</td>
<td>102</td>
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</table>
### TABLE 3. Services Presently Available on Hilton Head Island Through Public Service Districts and Private Agencies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Sea Pines</th>
<th>Forest Beach</th>
<th>Palmetto Dunes</th>
<th>Port Royal Plantation</th>
<th>Spanish Wells Plantation</th>
<th>Remainder of Island</th>
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<tr>
<td>Public Safety:</td>
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<td>Fire</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>(x)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sewer</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drainage</td>
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<td>(x)</td>
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<td>Beach Erosion</td>
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<td>Recreation</td>
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<td>Welfare</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x: Public Service Districts
(x): Private agencies, contractual and assessment arrangements
presently unincorporated. In light of the rapid construction on Hilton Head, it is especially interesting to note that Beaufort County as yet has no subdivision or zoning regulations in force. One reason for this is that county officials have been unable to get agreement of Islanders on the fundamentals of such regulations.

While the range of services provided by the county compares favorably with those provided by other counties in the state, Islanders complain that the county is not responding adequately to their needs. They point out that they now pay 43.5 percent of all property taxes collected by the county; Sea Pines Plantation residents add that they alone pay 25 percent of the county's total property taxes. In Table 4, we present a breakdown of Beaufort County tax districts which shows assessed valuations and the amounts and proportions of total County tax collections from each district. In Figure 5, we show increases in the proportion of taxes generated from the Island between 1960 and 1973.

It could be argued that the county simply is not capable of keeping pace with the rapid development taking place on Hilton Head. But, while blacks and whites agree that their needs may be greater than the surrounding area and increasing at a more rapid pace, they do not excuse the county’s alleged failure to serve them adequately. They also point to the fact that Hilton Head is represented jointly with neighboring Bluffton by one member of the nine-member county council and

<table>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>District</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total Assessed Valuation at 5 percent</strong></td>
<td><strong>Projected Tax Yield 1 at 102 mills</strong></td>
<td><strong>Percent of Total Tax Revenues</strong></td>
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<td>7.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sea Pines PSD</td>
<td>$8,045,999</td>
<td>$820,691.89</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>$14,356,999</td>
<td>$1,464,413.80</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaufort City</td>
<td>$5,039,616</td>
<td>$514,040.83</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaufort (outside)</td>
<td>$5,260,166</td>
<td>$536,536.93</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Royal (town)</td>
<td>$1,022,600</td>
<td>$104,305.20</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady's Island</td>
<td>$1,377,540</td>
<td>$140,509.08</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Helena</td>
<td>$1,317,920</td>
<td>$134,427.84</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fripp Island</td>
<td>$826,800</td>
<td>$84,333.60</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daufuskie</td>
<td>$111,810</td>
<td>$11,404.62</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluffton</td>
<td>$1,991,638</td>
<td>$203,147.07</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheldon</td>
<td>$1,655,340</td>
<td>$168,844.68</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>$32,960,429</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,361,963.65</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Presumes 100 percent collections.

Source: Data on which these computations are based were provided by the Beaufort County Treasurer and County Auditor.
that they thus face continued opposition from other Council members to policies of special interest to them. Members of county council and other county officials, it is claimed, fail even to understand the unique problems and service needs of Islanders.

FIGURE 5. Dollar Amounts of Beaufort County Property Taxes Collected from Hilton Head Island, 1960-1973

* Presumes 100 percent collection.
** Data for the period 1960-1969 were provided by William F. Marscher.
Island Public Service Districts

Hilton Head residents are served currently, as noted earlier, by seven public service districts. Five of these are multipurpose districts; two are single-purpose districts. The geographical areas included within these districts are shown on the two maps appearing as Figures 6 and 7. In Table 5, we summarize the organization, powers, and taxing authorities of each district. The shaded areas on the map appearing as Figure 6 signify portions of the Island of low-to-moderate population density not included in any one of the multipurpose districts. These areas are predominantly black, with the exception of Spanish Wells Plantation. (See Figure 2.)

Because Island developers have planned and executed their building of the several private communities on Hilton Head within different time frames and at different paces, these districts have appeared one-by-one over a span of twelve years, beginning in 1961. The most basic of all services now provided by the five multipurpose districts are water and sewage. Aside from these, each district provides other, more specialized services geared to the needs of the various private developments which they include. Fire protection and local medical care, on the other hand, have been considered basic needs of the entire Island population and so have been extended Island-wide. The Sea Pines and Forest Beach districts, we should note, have excluded themselves from the Hilton Head Fire District and have elected to provide their own joint volunteer fire protection. Fire protection extended by the Hilton Head Fire District also consists of a volunteer arrangement.

These districts are administered by five-member boards of commissioners. In all except Sea Pines PSD, these commissioners are appointed exclusively by the Governor on recommendation of the Beaufort County Legislative Delegation. In the Sea Pines District, a referendum is held annually among property owners and residents to select nominees for that commission to three-year staggered terms. In fact, all district commissioners serve three-year terms—subject to successive reappointment—and without compensation.

These public service districts function independently of the developers and of Beaufort County. They are responsible and responsive directly to district taxpayers and subject in their operations to direct supervision of the County Legislative Delegation. County officials assist the district commissioners by assessing property within each district subject to county—and also district—taxation, by levying and collecting specific levies for district support, and by providing other periodic administrative assistance. The legal relationship between the county and these dis-
FIGURE 6. Map Showing Multipurpose Districts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Chairman</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Powers</th>
<th>Areas Served</th>
<th>Tax Levy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sea Pines</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>R. B. Killingsworth</td>
<td>P. A. Batchelder, E. Mulford, A. R. Hedeman, W. J. Kyle</td>
<td>Water, sewer, fire protection, bicycle paths</td>
<td>Sea Pines Plantation, Bay Pines, Point Comfort, Palmetto Bay Road, south side of Pope Avenue</td>
<td>18 mills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilton Head Fire District</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>G. F. Lent</td>
<td>R. G. Bennett, R. C. Bjork, John White, Johnnie White</td>
<td>Fire protection</td>
<td>Entire Island, except Sea Pines and Forest Beach</td>
<td>10 mills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>Powers</td>
<td>Areas Served</td>
<td>Tax Levy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad Creek (1973)</td>
<td>Water, sewer, security, fire and &quot;other hazards&quot;, roads, walkways, bicycle paths, beach and lagoon maintenance, trails, recreational facilities</td>
<td>Palmetto Dunes, Long Cove Plantation</td>
<td>5 mills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. C. Cuppia, Jr., Chmn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. T. Gregory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z. Van Landingham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilton Head Plantation</td>
<td>Water, sewer, fire and &quot;other hazards&quot;, insect control, erosion, garbage disposal, security, street and road maintenance, bicycle paths, parks and playgrounds, conservation</td>
<td>Hilton Head Plantation</td>
<td>15 mills (maximum)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1973)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(not yet operational)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Districts, however, is a cooperative one. District residents are subject to county and district policies, and services provided by the districts complement those provided by the county.

In the beginning, these districts were designed and encouraged by the major Island developers to serve the several private Island communities. In time, however, they have come to include areas adjacent to but outside of these communities. This expansion of district operations has presented some service-related problems, given the desires of residents of these private communities to continue to provide some basic services through other means in order to maintain the privacy of their communities.

Developer-Sponsored Services

Within the several private developments, the roads are owned by the companies that constructed them. Because they are privately owned and maintained along with other common grounds, entry of the public into these areas can be restricted. The developers assess property owners individually and through covenant arrangements for this road maintenance. Developers and residents also jointly provide security within these communities on an assessment basis. While the Hilton Head Plantation and Broad Creek PSD’s are both authorized to provide road maintenance and security, neither has opted for undertaking these service responsibilities for fear that the use of district monies for these services could breach the privacy of certain communities within these two districts.

Other Service Agencies

There are numerous other public and private agencies that provide key services to Island residents. These include regional and state planning and development agencies, Federally-funded regional health programs, an Island rescue squad, several private schools (one of which, Sea Pines Academy, is located on the Island), a private Island hospital and clinic complex (now under construction), a private refuse collection service, and a private water company which serves those areas outside the multipurpose public service districts.

13 In the legislation establishing each of the multipurpose public service districts on Hilton Head, provisions were made for extending services to residents not originally included within their jurisdictions. By petition to any one of the five district commissions, individuals who own property abutting district boundaries may be admitted to the district and receive the full range of district services. In cases where such petitions are filed, the district commissions have no choice but to admit these petitioners and extend district services to them. Some neighboring property owners, on the other hand, may need only one particular type of service from these districts, in which case the former may contract individually for the services they need without becoming fully incorporated into the district. These persons will be charged, of course, for services they receive but will not be taxed for overall district support.
Origins of the Island Government Study

By early 1973, it had become obvious to most Island residents that the enormous growth being experienced by the Island would continue in the foreseeable future and that the needs for services in outlying areas of the Island would continue to mount. To provide for the "orderly and efficient" extension of these services and to consolidate what obviously had become a highly fragmented system for delivering services to parts of the Island, it was proposed that a "Public Service Council" be established. This council was envisioned as a sort of "super" district commission that would study and plan for Island growth, coordinate certain other activities between and among districts, and represent the Island in its dealings with county and state agencies. To do all this, proponents of the council concept favored giving the council a tax of four mills.

The Public Service Council plan was unveiled late in 1972. Opposition to the plan surfaced immediately. Some whites felt that it was only a halfway measure, that a more comprehensive form of Island government was needed. Others felt that the council would only complicate an already overly complicated system for delivering basic services on the Island. Still others were satisfied with the existing arrangement of public service districts. Blacks, fearing a ploy on the part of sponsors of the council concept (which included the major Island developers), were strongly opposed to the council plan from the outset.

In February of 1973, the Island Community Association invited the chairman of the Sea Pines PSD to address its annual meeting and explain the council concept. This individual, who actually originated the concept, ended his presentation with a request that the Community Association endorse his plan. A motion was so made from the floor. Even before there could be a second, blacks present at the meeting forcefully objected. A series of hastily prepared counterproposals were offered, including a motion that the Island seek immediate incorporation as a municipality. It was pointed out, however, that the Island does not meet current population density and area requirements to qualify for incorporation as a single municipality, so this was not a viable option. Still,
some were not convinced. Intense debate ensued. Finally, the chair called for a vote of endorsement of the council proposal "in principle only," noting that some form of coordination of Island service districts was necessary and that the council could provide this coordination until some better plan could be developed. On the vote, whites overwhelmingly endorsed the proposal; blacks (almost unanimously) and some whites opposed it.

During the next few months, the council proposal would be the subject of continued, rather heated discussion and debate. But, in the meantime, the Board of Directors of the Community Association decided to seek outside assistance in examining their total local governmental situation. As one board member recalls:

We had all of a sudden got to the point where we faced some crucial decisions, and we were afraid we had committed ourselves too soon to the Public Service Council plan. We had already let these districts get out of hand. We hadn't really tried to understand where they were taking us or even how they really worked in some ways. And blacks and whites hadn't been working together to find a really satisfactory way of getting it all together. We really felt lost—like we had been caught up in something we couldn't control. It was getting out-of-hand.

Late in March of 1973, the Association's Board contacted the Clemson University Department of Political Science and made a very general request for assistance. At this juncture, they had no firm idea as to the kinds of assistance that they were seeking. In a series of conversations and meetings over the next month, however, it became clear that the Association desired a rather far-reaching assessment of their situation. In early May, an agreement was reached for Clemson political scientists to assist the Association. The author entered into a private contract with the Association to conduct the Island government study; Professor Charles W. Dunn, Head of the Political Science Department and who had conducted initial discussions with the Association leading to the

...
study agreement, and Professors Harold E. Albert and Jack E. Tuttle agreed to provide the author assistance as needed.

A three-phase approach to the study effort was developed. Phase I would consist of the author’s field research on the Island, which would last approximately two-and-a-half months and include the gathering of interview and other data bearing on Islanders’ sentiments toward the needs for government reorganization and their assessments of the existing governmental structure and services. To assist the author in this and succeeding phases of his research, a “Liaison Group” consisting of Island residents would be appointed. These persons would be selected by the Association’s Board and would be representative of various viewpoints and interests expressed and affected by any reorganization of Island government. Phase I would be terminated with the author’s filing of an in-depth report analyzing the Island’s options for government reorganization.

Phase II of the study effort would consist of the author’s preparing a series of newspaper articles for publication in local newspapers and dealings with various aspects of the study and topics relating to local government generally.

Phase III would consist of a set of recommendations to the Island Community Association based on the analysis of options presented in the Phase I report.

The Community Association would finance the study. However, it was agreed that the study should be conducted without regard to special interests and in such a way as to benefit the entire Island—hopefully, by finding an Island-wide solution to whatever needs for reorganization might exist.

**Phase I: Field Research Procedures**

Phase I of this study was initiated on June 6, 1973. Between June 6th and August 11th, the author was in-residence on the Island and interviewed 139 persons residing in different parts of the Island. Interviews were also held with members of the Beaufort County Legislative Delegation and County Council, other county officials, and officials of other local, regional, state, and federal agencies in the area. These interviews ranged from one hour to six hours in length, with the average interview lasting two hours. Open-ended questions were posed by the interviewer because of the need to elicit specific information from different persons as well as basic opinions and assessments. Of the total 158 interviews conducted, 113 were taped. The remaining 45 were not taped for a variety of reasons, including refusals by some respondents to speak openly and candidly on tape. Of course, respondents were given
a choice concerning use of the tape recorder along with a careful explanation as to why the taping of the interviews was desirable. They also were assured of the confidentiality of their remarks.

One of the main purposes of the Community Association's appointment of its Liaison Group was to assist the author in identifying and gaining access to a representative sample of Island residents for interviews. Because certain key respondents had to be located and because certain basic data had to be obtained from them, it was not possible for the author to proceed entirely independently. So members of the Liaison Group, which consisted of six whites and six blacks, were requested to submit to the author lists of persons they felt should be interviewed. From these lists, a master list was compiled, and persons on this list were interviewed. In addition, a number of households were selected at random in all of the different areas of the Island and members of these households were also interviewed. While these sampling and interview procedures leave much to be desired in the way of scientific precision, a more practical approach was dictated by the circumstances. Still it is felt that a fairly representative sample of Islanders was drawn and interviewed, despite the short-comings of the procedures observed. We should add that as the interviews proceeded, a series of sociometric overlays were developed; these proved extremely useful in isolating and identifying elites and divergent interest groups.16

Not unexpectedly, one of the more difficult problems encountered during this phase of the study effort was establishment of rapport with Island residents. The very nature of the study itself was such that it could have proven exceedingly controversial and the author's procedures have been viewed suspiciously. In the past, a number of studies had been done on the Island in the surrounding area, over eighty by actual count. Some of these had not been very favorable in their descriptions of the Island and its residents. Other studies had been carried out merely to promote particular interests and so had alienated many residents, especially blacks whose suspicions of motives within the white community appear deeply engrained. Relating to Islanders was facilitated, however, by a series of very favorable editorials appearing in the Island and area newspapers and explaining the aims of the study, how it would

16 The value of sociometric overlays as basic research tools in the social and behavioral sciences is well established. See, for example, Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); John Pfiffner and Frank Sherwood, Administrative Organization (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960); Fred Massarik, Robert Tannenbaum, Murray Kahane, and Irving Weschler, "Sociometric Choice and Organizational Effectiveness: A Multi-Relational Approach." Sociometry 16 (August 1953), pp. 211-238; Ralph M. Stodgill, Leadership and Structure of Personal Interaction (Columbus: Ohio State University, Bureau of Business Research, Monograph No. 84).
be conducted, and commenting on the author’s professional background. The fact that an academician had been chosen to conduct the study was, in the words of one black leader, “an assurance to people that we’re all going to be heard and treated fairly.” During the entire field research phase of the study, only two persons refused outright to be interviewed; and, there was no effort whatsoever by any group to prejudice the author’s findings or otherwise impede the study’s progress.

Phase II: “Educating” the Public

Phase II of the Hilton Head government study was initiated on July 19, 1973, with the publication in the Island Packet, a weekly newspaper on Hilton Head, of the first in a series of thirteen articles on local government. The final article in this series was published on October 18, 1973. As each of these articles appeared, the Community Association had an additional 2500 reprints prepared. These subsequently were distributed to Island residents who for various reasons did not have access to the Packet article. Since most whites were subscribers to the Packet, the bulk of these reprints were distributed in the black community, through the several black churches and business establishments in the northern portion of the Island.

During the two-and-a-half months that the author was in residence on the Island, numerous invitations to club meetings and other gatherings were extended. All such invitations were honored, allowing the author increased visibility in the white and black communities. Editorial and news coverage of the study continued. A series of interviews with the author also was held on the Island radio station. All questions posed to the author by these groups were answered frankly and precisely. And it was emphasized that the study would merely expose to Islanders the needs that existed for government reorganization and the options for this reorganization. Islanders, it was explained, would make their own final determinations as to whether any action to reorganize was in order, based on the study’s findings and analysis of the options.

Following the author’s departure from Hilton Head in August of 1973, the Community Association, through its Liaison Group and Board of Directors assumed primary responsibility for continuing the educational phase of the overall study effort.

17 A topical outline of this series appears as Appendix A to this paper.
PHASE III: RECOMMENDATIONS

The Phase I report was filed with the Community Association in early December, 1973. It was published on January 5, 1974, and copies made available to selected groups across the Island. Because of the expenses of publishing what turned out to be a rather extensive report, only fifty copies of the report initially were made. Shortly after the report was published, a lengthy summary of its main points was published in the Island Packet. Once again, the Community Association prepared reprints of this summary for distribution in the same way as the earlier reprints of the local government series which appeared in the Packet.

During Phase I of the research effort, it was found that a great deal of misunderstanding concerning the functions of the current Island and county service agencies existed. Too, there was considerable lack of information generally on the current government structure among blacks on the Island. For these reasons and in order to insure a thoroughly informed set of final decisions on the needs for reorganization of Island government, it was determined by the author that the Phase I report should be enlarged in scope. Rather than simply listing and evaluating the options for reorganization, the report would also examine socioeconomic characteristics of the county and the Island, current county government structure, services and finances, the Island's public service districts, their structures and functions, state laws and constitutional provisions controlling local government structure and services, a brief summary of Islanders' assessments of current services provided them by the county and other local agencies, and the options for reorganization of Island government. In final form, the report submitted to the Community Association contained 340 pages. An outline of the report appears as Appendix B to this paper.

During early February of 1974, it was agreed by members of the study team and the Board of Directors of the Community Association that, because the Phase I report was considered by the Association's Board to be so complete and thorough, there would be no need for the author and his colleagues to submit recommendations to the Association regarding implementation of any single option examined in the report. In a headnote to the Packet summary of the report, a retired New York Times editor and Island resident had termed the report "outstanding, and possibly unique in its field." 18 The president of the Community Association added "we have all the information we need now to make an informed decision as to what must be done; if we cannot decide this

for ourselves based on this study, then perhaps we are not ready for self-government."

This decision by the Community Association and members of the study team to delete Phase III recommendations was prompted by the author's insistence that, while these recommendations would be useful, they could influence the community toward adopting a plan for reorganization which might run contrary to the wishes of a majority. Too, it was realized that a single recommendation could divide Islanders irrevocably and unnecessarily preclude some compromise plan between divergent interests which would lead to a minimally satisfactory solution for all. It was also pointed out that until the South Carolina General Assembly acted to implement fully revised Article VIII of the State Constitution on the subject of local government Islanders should defer their own choice among the listed options. For only at that time, the report stated, would residents "be in a favorable position to compare and judge the options on their practical and legal merits." 19

In the meantime, the proposed Public Service Council has become a reality. Late in July of 1973, while the field research for this study was being conducted, legislation passed the General Assembly to authorize the council. The council, as now constituted, lacks taxing authority because of intense objection to it mainly among residents of areas outside the existing multipurpose service districts. Certain other powers suggested for the council were modified to the point where the council has been reduced to simply a coordinating and planning body with its members appointed rather than elected. This appointment of council members, common in such bodies throughout the state, has been—and continues to be—highly controversial. Islanders wish to elect council members and continue to press for election, pending some more sweeping reorganization of the total Island structure of districts. Membership on the council consists of one representative from each of the seven public service districts on the Island, three additional members appointed "at large" from areas outside the five multipurpose districts, and the Bluffton-Hilton Head representative on county council. Hence, the Public Service Council presently consists of seven whites and four blacks (one of whom is the Bluffton-Hilton Head representative on county council and a resident of the Island). It may be too early to say how effective this Island council will be, but many are encouraged by its efforts to date. Few see the council as a final solution to the Island's governmental needs because the council cannot exercise by law general

governmental powers. Still, it is seen as "a good interim step until the Island comes up with a better and more comprehensive plan."

Some Findings Preliminary to Government Reorganization

It is not possible in the space allotted here to discuss fully our findings and their implications for reorganization of Hilton Head Island government. But we can list briefly here certain main conclusions.

(1) Beaufort County is presently in a state of transition from the standpoint of its population growth, diversification of its economic base, and trends toward urbanization. The impact of these changes is already being felt county-wide in the form of newer and greater demands for services from county, municipal, state, and federal governmental agencies. Over the last decade, the county has shown a population increase of 15.7 percent, compared with a state-wide increase of 8.7 percent. The most substantial population increase experienced by the county has been in the Bluffton census subdivision, which includes Hilton Head; and, on balance, it is clear that Hilton Head continues to be the center of growth within the county. Lacking reliable census data for the Island, however, it is difficult to place the Island's population growth in proper perspective.

(2) Like most other counties in South Carolina, the structure of Beaufort County is such that governmental affairs are conducted directly by a large number of semiautonomous elected officials, appointed boards, commissions, and agencies. Because there is no single elected, executive official to assume responsibility for policy development and guidance, it is difficult to hold the county accountable in its performance to the voters, including, of course, Island residents. By tradition, the Legislative Delegation exercises formidable fiscal and administrative controls over the range of county affairs. In the absence of a single, coordinating agency or executive officer, perhaps the Legislative Delegation's role of coordinator of county affairs serves a positive purpose. Still, it would seem that certain reforms of county government in Beaufort and the remainder of South Carolina are required to make these governments more responsive, accountable, and efficient. Revised Article VIII of the State Constitution, when implemented, may go a long way toward instituting these needed reforms. This amendment would divest legislative delegations of much of their control over local affairs and enhance the ability of local officials acting through uniform structures of government to identify and solve problems of a general policy-making and service-related nature.

(3) Given the changing nature of Beaufort County's population and the limitations previously imposed on the county's service role under South Carolina constitutional provisions and statutes, it is obvious that
serious strains are now being felt in the existing county government structure as the county seeks to expand its service capabilities and thereby accommodate rising service needs in rapidly changing areas such as Hilton Head. Even though services provided by Beaufort County compare favorably with those provided by other counties in the state, residents of Hilton Head in particular feel that quantitatively and qualitatively these services leave much to be desired. Some argue that taxes paid by the Island should be proportional to the quality and quantity of services Islanders receive. While this has never been recognized as a valid principle of taxation, there always should be a "reasonable" relation between tax payments and services received, in which case Islanders may have sufficient grounds for complaints against the county.

(4) Beaufort County government is fiscally viable and has the financial means for upgrading its services to all county residents. The county has sufficient taxing capabilities to assure itself of stable and substantial tax yields. Its bonding capacity is more than adequate in proportion to its needs for immediate and long-range capital needs.

(5) One obvious weakness in the county's financial position is its heavy dependence upon Hilton Head as a source of county tax revenues. This fact would seem to require attention by county officials to developing other sections of the county to a position, insofar as possible, on a par with Hilton Head. This may be difficult, given the effective opposition of Island residents in the past to certain kinds of industrial development in the county. On the one hand, industrial development seems necessary and desirable. On the other hand, the county has an overriding interest in protecting the Island tax revenues by promoting its further development and insuring that property values continue to remain at least stable, if not continue to increase. These aims continue to clash, given the county's abiding interest in and commitment to industrialization and Islanders' opposition to it.

(6) The Island community has been fragmented as a result of the construction of private communities. These self-contained communities by their very nature place considerable social distance between their residents and residents of the outlying areas and result in segregated and unique lifestyles. It may be more appropriate therefore to refer to the several "communities" present on Hilton Head and to realize that this social segregation is a fact of life with significant ramifications for any effort at bringing the entire Island under a single governmental structure. Some might even argue that the present arrangement of public service districts is the only workable solution for governmental needs under these circumstances, that any form of general government that would bring Islanders together in a single forum would be doomed to
failure simply because the intense cross pressures and divergent interests would undermine its effectiveness.

(7) There are many different opinions among Islanders as to what the real, immediate need is for local government reorganization. For the most part, these opinions differ not on the need generally, but on how reorganization should proceed and what its effects may be. All those interviewed for this study expressed concern about the costs. Moreover, costs were of greater concern in the northern Island than in the southern Island, a finding not unexpected. It would seem that Islanders wish to implement a form of government which intrudes least on their lifestyles, allows for autonomous control within their own more localized Island communities, costs little more than the present public service district arrangement, relates these costs (in terms of taxes) to the levels and quality of services received, and exercises rule-making authority. The primary concern of Islanders, as they view government reorganization prospects, is that their plan for reorganization provide ultimately for the simultaneous continuation of separate, but equally legitimate, lifestyles and that no single group prosper through this plan at the expense of other groups, or other interests. So it is that one might view Islanders’ ambitions as ideal at most and, although attractive in the abstract, bordering on the unrealistic.

(8) The problem of forming a viable government internal to the private communities must be addressed separately from any proposed Island-wide government reorganization. Many residents of these communities believe that their property owners’ associations can—and should—manage these communities’ affairs separately from the management by Island government of affairs affecting the entire Island, because of different concerns and interests within and between the private communities in question.

(9) Should Islanders opt for this approach of governing the Island and the private communities separately, then jurisdictional problems are inevitable as the Island government—whatever form it may take—attempts to address some problems that may be centered within any one of these private communities but yet affect the entire Island.

(10) Compromise on the fundamentals of governmental form and functions is necessary if a viable plan of government is to be developed and put into effect. This compromise may be difficult in light of the deeply entrenched interests that prevail across the Island. We need not dwell upon the divergence of Islanders’ views, needs, and aspirations, having provided some insight into these earlier. We should note that Island residents nevertheless sense the need for compromise, as indicated in the following remarks of one prominent Island businessman:
We're all on this Island together, and we're going to have to deal with problems all over the whole Island or we're going to sink. But the thing is if we sink then we'll all sink together.

(11) The report filed by the author with the Island Community Association analyzes in depth the effects of revised Article VIII of the State Constitution on laws controlling local government and on plans of Island residents for reorganizing their government. Briefly stated, some of the more notable effects will be the following:

(a) The structures of county and municipal governments will be made uniform through specification in implementing legislation of a maximum of five forms of county government and five forms of municipal government. Neither counties nor municipalities will gain additional powers or be allowed to vary their formal structures through special legislation as they have done in the past.

(b) The service capabilities of counties will be expanded. Counties will be able to provide the full range of services normally expected of a municipality. They also will be authorized to provide variable levels and quality of services in different areas and to tax these areas at different rates according to services received.

(c) By implication, the control by legislative delegation over local affairs will be lessened.

(d) The need for new special districts will be eliminated at the same time that the service role of counties is expanded. In fact, there is no authority granted in revised Article VIII for the chartering of new special districts.

(e) The General Assembly is directed to adopt a new code of laws applicable to the incorporation of municipalities, their organization, and powers. The Assembly may delete the present classification of cities and towns according to population size and allow communities to petition for incorporation under the particular form of municipal government they wish to adopt.

The General Assembly now has under study a series of measures which would bring about the reforms of local government mandated by revised Article VIII.

The Options

The Phase I report to the Community Association listed thirteen options for reorganization of Island government. Each of these was analyzed in terms of its basic features, legal requirements governing its implementation, organizational structure, costs, advantages, and disadvantages. The analysis dealt with optional means of reorganizing for services as well as for the exercise of general governmental powers. In prefacing this analysis of options, it was pointed out that solutions to substantive problems confronting the Island, or parts thereof, could not be addressed in the report. Rather, it was stated that the purpose of the entire report was merely to describe and evaluate alternative structures and forms of government through which Island residents could resolve their own policy issues and address their own needs and problems as they defined them.

Of the thirteen options discussed in the report, only eight can be implemented under present state statutes and explicit provisions of revised Article VIII. These eight options are:

1. Retention of the existing Island public service districts and Public Service Council.

2. Specific structural and functional modifications of the Island districts and the Public Service Council, including:
   (a) consolidation of certain districts,
   (b) provision of security by the Forest Beach PSD,
   (c) strengthening of the Public Service Council as an authoritative policy-making body in service-related areas Island-wide with council members elected rather than appointed,
   (d) expansion of the range of services provided by the several districts.

3. Consolidation of all existing districts into a single Island-wide multipurpose district.

4. Contingent upon implementation of revised Article VIII, provision by Beaufort County of expanded public works and other services to portions of the Island not now included in a multipurpose district with variable taxation in all parts of the Island according to the level and quality of services received.

5. Separation of Hilton Head Island from Beaufort County and annexation of the Island by Jasper County.

6. Municipal incorporation of the most populous areas of the Island and formation of an Island-wide public service district to provide police and fire protection.
(7) Incorporation of certain private communities and one "public" area as separate municipalities.

(8) Consolidation of all existing governments in Beaufort County.

As can be seen from the outline of the study in Appendix B, two Island-wide incorporation options were listed and discussed in the re-organization study. For the past year, and since the meeting of the Community Association in February, 1973, to hear and pass on the Public Service Council plan, Islanders have been debating the advantages of incorporation. We noted earlier that the Island as a whole does not meet present statutory requirements relating to area and population density so as to exercise this particular option. However, an effort by Islanders is now under way to have these requirements modified in legislation implementing revised Article VIII so as to allow the entire Island to qualify for incorporation.

Three options described in the Phase I report have no basis in state laws. These are the township option, the borough plan, and the option of forming Hilton Head Island as a separate county. The township and borough plans are alien to the South as governmental forms. The option of forming the Island as a separate county is precluded by an explicit provision in revised Article VIII limiting the total number of counties in the state to forty-six, the number now in existence.

On February 18, 1974, the Board of Directors of the Island Community Association announced formation of a 50-member commission to analyze the Phase I report on options and to recommend ultimately a course of action for reorganizing Island government. This commission was activated during late April. It is expected that this "Commission on Island Government" will formulate a series of proposals based on the report to present to Island residents in the form of an Island-wide referendum. By July 1st, it is expected that the commission will make known its recommendations. During July, public hearings will be held to give...

21 At the request of certain Island residents, Beaufort County Representative James H. Moss introduced a bill in the General Assembly in April, 1973, that would have modified current exceptions to general incorporation requirements appearing in Title 47, Chapter 14, Section 1.1 of the Code. Whereas at present areas bordering on and lying within two miles of the Atlantic Ocean are excepted from the average population density requirement of 300 per square mile stated in Section 1.1, the Moss bill would widen this limit to eight miles and thus allow Hilton Head to qualify for Island-wide incorporation. The Moss bill passed the House in June, 1973, but failed in the Senate and was referred back to committee for further study. In light of the mandate given the General Assembly to rewrite the whole of Section 1.1, it was doubtful for a time that the Moss bill had any chance of passage. However, it now appears that the General Assembly may retain the essential criteria for incorporation stated in existing Title 47, in which case Islanders will seek to have the two-mile limit exception changed to eight miles as a part of this larger reconsideration of Title 47 under revised Article VIII.
Islanders an opportunity to express their views on the matter of reorganization and to offer other alternatives to the Commission's recommendations. Islanders expect a decision on reorganization during late August.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have described the efforts of Hilton Head Island, a community caught up in rapid and sweeping social change, to fashion a viable form of local government. The ambitions of Islanders may seem idealistic in that they seek through the comprehensive analysis of current and optional governmental structures to purposefully control community growth and development and thus preserve existing lifestyles and values in the face of change often difficult for some to comprehend. Yet, the effort described here is in no sense unrealistic. Perhaps what is often lacking in many local communities is sufficient determination on the part of community leaders and residents to seek an understanding of their history and to plan rationally for change rather than merely allow the latter to happen and then be forced to accept otherwise unacceptable consequences, including the reorientation of community lifestyles, redefinition of customs and values, and adverse effects on the capabilities of local governments to adapt to the change and continue to function effectively.

The residents of Hilton Head Island do not lack this determination to plan and to act decisively. Neither do they fail to understand the difficulties that lie ahead of them in selecting the most desirable option and working out the necessary details for its implementation. The Hilton Head experience will be useful to the remainder of the state and may point up existing inadequacies in our system of local government. Most important of all, perhaps, will be a demonstration through the Island experience of the desirability of frequent reconsideration of local government structure and its reorganization on a recurrent basis.
APPENDIX A

Topical Outline of the Hilton Head Island Packet Series on State and Local Government

Purposes: (1) To acquaint Island residents with basic concepts of state and local governments in the United States, their origins, legal powers and responsibilities, and the functions performed by units of state and local governments; and, (2) to evaluate the several types and forms of local government nationwide, with emphasis upon the ways these function in South Carolina.

I. The Nature and Functions of Government
II. The Structure of American Governments
III. Units of Local Government
IV. Legal Relationship of State and Local Governments
V. County Government
VI. Township Government
VII. New England Town Government
VIII. Special Districts
IX. Hilton Head Island Public Service Districts
X. Municipal Government
XI. Incorporation of Municipalities
XII. Forms of Municipal Government
XIII. Financing Local Governments

APPENDIX B

Outline of the Phase I Report on Government Reorganization Submitted to the Hilton Head Island Community Association

Title: Hilton Head Island Government: Analysis and Alternatives

Introduction

PART I. BEAUFORT COUNTY

Chapter
I. Beaufort County: Socio-Economic Characteristics
   Population
   Economy
   Summary
II. Structure of Beaufort County Government
General
Legislative Delegation
County Council
Other Elected Officials
County Electorate
Summary

III. Government Services
General
Public Safety
Education
Public Works
Refuse Collection and Disposal
Health and Medical Care
Welfare
Planning and Development
Building and Construction Code Enforcement
Subdivision Regulation
Zoning
General Services
Recreation, Fire Protection, and Public Works: Special District Functions
Proposed County Suboffice for Hilton Head Island
Summary

IV. Beaufort County Finances
Appropriations
Sources of Revenue
Tax Rates and Assessed Values
Tax Districts and Tax Levies
Bonded Debt
Summary

PART II. HILTON HEAD ISLAND

V. Hilton Head Island: Socio-Economic Characteristics
Population
Economy
Summary

VI. Island Services: Public Service Districts and Private Service Agencies
Public Service Districts
Hilton Head Water Company
PARGAS, Inc.
Palmetto Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Developer-Sponsored Services: Private Road Maintenance and Security
Planned Island Hospital
Other Private Service Agencies
Summary

VII. Island Service Needs
Service Needs
Current Levels and Quality of Services, Generally
Need for Local Government Reorganization

PART III. EXAMINATION OF OPTIONS

VIII. Effects of Revised Article VIII of the South Carolina State Constitution on Laws Controlling Local Government
General
Counties
Municipalities
Public Service Districts
Townships
Summary

IX. Options
Option 1: Present Structure of Public Service Districts and Public Service Council
Option 2: Specific Revisions of the Districts and the Public Service Council
Option 3: Consolidation of All Existing Public Service Districts Into a Single Island-Wide Multipurpose District
Option 4: Provision by Beaufort County of Expanded Public Works and Other Services to Portions of the Island Not Now Included in a Multipurpose District with Variable Taxation of All Parts of the Island According to the Level and Quality of Services Received
Option 5: Separation of Hilton Head Island From Beaufort County and Formation of a New County
Option 6: Separation of Hilton Head Island from Beaufort County and Annexation of the Island by Jasper County
Option 7: Island-Wide Incorporation as a Full-Service Municipality
Option 8: Island-Wide Incorporation with Immediate Municipal-Type Services Provided Parts of the Island by Public Service Districts and Certain "Mobile" Services Provided Island-Wide
Through the Municipality by Contract; Eventual Consolidation into a Full-Service Municipality
Option 9: Incorporation of the Most Populous Areas of the Island; Formation of an Island-Wide Public Service District to Provide Police and Fire Protection to All Areas
Option 10: Incorporation of Forest Beach and Certain Private Communities as Separate Municipalities
Option 11: Establishment of Township Government Island-Wide or on a Scale Less Than Island-Wide
Option 12: The Borough Plan
Option 13: City-County Consolidation
Summary

APPENDIXES

Appendix A. Beaufort County Officials
Appendix B. Public Service Council Bill
Appendix C. Article VII of the South Carolina State Constitution: Counties and County Government
Appendix D. Article VIII of the South Carolina State Constitution: Local Government