

Santa Barbara County: Two Paths

Final Report

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BACKGROUND: MMS requested a historic analysis of three California Coastal counties in terms of how their individual "character" evolved over the generations in relation to the oil industry. This report on Santa Barbara County is one of three volumes produced in response; the other two reports consist of one pertaining to Ventura County ("Ventura County: Oil, Fruit, Commune and Commute") and one to San Luis Obispo County ("San Luis Obispo County: A Major Switching"). There is also a data base on diskette simultaneously provided which contains a large assemblage of socioeconomic data on each county and its constituent cities. Drafts of scholarly papers are also being provided (see Study Products below).

amenities, in turn, helped lure the campus of the University of California (among other institutions) which reinforced, in turn, the same set of orientations. One of the results has been a robust environmentalism with support across ethnic groups, income levels, and to a remarkable degree, political party allegiance. Pollution from the 1969 oil spill, in particular, impacted the South Coast directly, leading to lasting political and attitudinal consequences.

By contrast, oil played a dominant economic and social role in the North County, both in rural and urban areas. The major alternative industry of agriculture, especially ranching, was not inconsistent with oil development, nor was the later coming of the military at Vandenburg Air Force Base. This early alignment of ranching and oil (and later with military) has been recapitulated over the generations, even as the components of the North County's economic base has changed. As in the past, today's North County is far more receptive to the industry than the South Coast.

As the significance of oil declines in both parts of the county (given continued growth in other sectors), we anticipate local scrutiny of the industry by both county government and constituent local jurisdictions to persist, although the traditional split of the two sections of the county may abate.

STUDY RESULTS:

In those areas of the county dependent on tourism and retirement (the South Coast), the need to control oil has been paramount, as has been the desire to control development generally. Locals have allowed oil both on land and offshore, but made efforts to limit its precise locations and the conditions of its development. Facilitating these efforts has been the capacity to raise local funds to support environment-oriented political candidates and referenda. The South Coast also has an extraordinary density of community organizations, environmentalist as well as of other types, which provide mechanisms of communication and interaction among activists. There is a robust tradition of community self-consciousness, as evidenced for example by frequent testimony at official oil-related hearings about the need to preserve "our way of life." Much local media coverage has been strongly opposed to oil development, although recent shifts have been more accepting. While oil revenues have been, at times, a significant portion of the tax base, this has not been consistently the case because revenues from other sources have grown so strongly.

The North County has been receptive to oil development, just as it has been more receptive to development overall. Early on, there were cooperative relations between ranchers and oil companies, with mutual benefits on a number of fronts. In part because North County communities are geographically distant from the ocean (separated by Vandenburg Air Force

The purpose of this document is to indicate how the distinctive qualities of Santa Barbara County evolved in relation to the oil industry and explain how the county's settlement pattern and cultural traditions, economy and politics, responded to the coming of petroleum, thus shaping that industry's development within its borders. This means understanding the "character" of this place as it has evolved over time, including distinctions among the towns and cities within it.

We lay out our findings and observations in roughly chronological order. Our observations and conclusions rest on approximately 70 interviews, as well as extensive use of historical archives, government documents, media reports, and previous studies. Whenever feasible, we checked information against more than one source and tried to assemble reliable indicators, including quantitative ones, of trends and patterns we set forth. Each section contains by way of introduction, relevant demographic data for the period under discussion. The report ends with a brief summary of the factors that have shaped the county's responses to offshore oil drilling and the oil industry.

* * *

Santa Barbara County can claim two traditions that go back almost to its founding, two traditions that represent opposite visions of how the earth should be developed, economies constructed, and communities built. Because of its natural endowments, this county has one of the longest histories of oil development in the world – including the site of the earth's first exploitation of petroleum off-shore. Additionally, because of its natural endowments (topography and climate), but also its particular cultural evolution, it has attributes that create special tensions with any activities perceived to threaten residents' quality of life.

To a significant degree, these two traditions also correspond to the two different regions of the county. The southern portion of the county, or "South Coast," as it is often called, has always been the governmental center as well as more significant area in terms of population, economic activity, and scale of cultural institutions. It has also been especially oriented toward quality of life issues, and it has posed challenges to many forms of development, especially oil. It includes the cities of Santa Barbara and Carpinteria, as well as the localities of Summerland, Montecito, Goleta and Isla Vista (see Map 1).

The contrasting North County, historically more sparsely populated, less well connected to the Los Angeles metropolis or indeed to urban centers generally, has played a secondary role in most regards. Compared to the South Coast, its formative development as an agricultural center has been a more dominating function over time. Its other major industry has been oil, and its citizens and political leaders have consistently tended to support this industry, just as they have been sympathetic to development in general. The major settlements in the North County are the City of Santa Maria (the largest town), along with Lompoc, Orcutt, and Guadalupe.

Santa Barbara County contains a population of approximately 370,000 (1990 Census) in an area of 2,774 square miles. Nearly half of the county is rugged, mountainous terrain which is part of the Los Padres National Forest.¹ Three mountain ranges, the Santa Ynez, the San Rafael, and the Sierra Madre, form the county's principal drainage basins: the Santa Ynez Valley and the Santa Maria Valley. From their rivers flow most of the county's current agricultural and urban water supplies (although change may be in the offing as a desalinization plant has been constructed and the county has also joined, in 1991, the State Water Project). The population is concentrated along the coastal plain in the southern part of the county and in urbanized valleys in the northern section of the county.

The county's greatest natural resources, both in economic and cultural terms, are its climate, scenic beauty, and access to both mountains and ocean. It has the longest coastline of any California county, with expansive sand beaches lining most of it. With the assistance of irrigation (average annual rainfall, extremely variable from year to year, is 17.5 inches), fertile soils produce rich abundance of crops, now including broccoli, strawberries, lettuce, wine grapes, avocado, lemon, and decorative flowers.

The Santa Barbara Channel, between the California mainland and a chain of five islands about 25 miles offshore, is home to a rich array of wildlife, including the largest seal rookery in North America. Just off Point Conception in Santa Barbara County, the two climatic zones merge, dividing the nearshore zone into subtropical and subarctic regions – thus providing the Channel with an extraordinary range of fish and water animal species (e.g. tuna to the south and salmon to the north).² Rich forests of kelp further enhance fertility, providing food and shelter for an extraordinarily bountiful array of other species. Before they were overharvested, the Channel was a major provider of sardines (McEvoy 1986), then abalone. As with the current largest commercial catch (sea urchins), abalone is harvested by divers, usually using "very fast vessels" (Kieding 1995).

The most important mineral deposit is oil; 1980 estimates placed remaining recoverable reserves of oil and natural gas beneath the mainland and ocean floor of the Santa Barbara Channel (which is not, technically, "in" the county), at 1.5 trillion barrels of crude oil and 1.7 trillion cubic feet of natural gas.³ Estimates fluctuate up and down (mostly down) as geological information develops, but also because the

¹This account of the county's topological structure and resource base is taken from Graves and Simon (1980: 11) which relies, in turn, on Eisner (1963).

²This description is taken from McEvoy (1986: 3).

³Estimate provided by Dev Vrat, Santa Barbara County Department of Environmental Resources to Graves and Simon (1980). Updated estimates are expected from the MMS-sponsored California Offshore Oil and Gas Energy Resources (COOGER) study; they were not available in time for inclusion in this report.

I. Before the Americans and Before World War I.

Table 1: County sociodemographic characteristics, 1890-1920

	1890	1900	1910	1920
Total Population	15,745	18,934	27,738	41,097
Percent Foreign Born	18.00	19.96	*	*
Percent Nonwhite	18.63	3.58	5.25	3.86
Percent Males	54.86	56.46	54.84	52.17
Household Size	4.71	4.33	4.15	4.13

Source: U.S. Census.

* Indicates data not available

Elements of the two traditions can be found even in the earliest historic evidence regarding the life of the native peoples who populated the coastal plains, the Chumash. Compared to other peoples of the continent, the Chumash are often described as distinctive in quality of life terms. Along with the Gabrielino people adjacent to the South, the Chumash have been called "the wealthiest, most populous, and most powerful ethnic nationality in aboriginal southern California" (Bean and Smith 1978: 538; see also Kroeber 1976: 550; all as cited in McEvoy 1986: 27, 28). They had an advanced state of craft and artistic work (as evidenced in surviving basketry and cave paintings) and other indications of a sophisticated subsistence strategy which relied on bountiful local conditions. The mild climate meant clothing and shelter needs could be easily satisfied; other natural benefits provided foodstuffs to fulfill basic wants.

Part of the local prosperity was supported by oil tars from natural seeps on beaches and offshore (that continue surfacing to this day). The tars were used as canoe sealant, yielding durable and waterproof vessels allowing the Chumash to work a wider range of fishing grounds, and also gain access to the resources of the Channel Islands located just off the coast (see Map 1).

The mission and rancho era

The invading Spaniards could similarly take advantage of the natural amenities of the region. Santa Barbara was headquarters of the Spanish military district, at Santa Barbara's Presidio, founded in 1782. Beginning four years later, the Franciscans established three missions in what is now Santa Barbara County: Mission Santa Barbara, the largest mission in Father Junipero Serra's chain from San Diego to Sonoma, La Purisima Concepcion in what is now the Lompoc area of the North County and Mission Santa Ines in the valley of that name.

regard to the ordinary Mexican people, their language was straightforwardly racist and earned them the enmity not only of the general Mexican population, but of the rancho elite as well. The Yankees organized vigilante groups when they considered the local legal system insufficiently tough on Mexicans; there were violent confrontations between the two groups (O'Neill 1939: 177).

While the inexorable flow of American influence would likely have had the same eventual result, the great drought of 1862-1864 was the proximate cause of the collapse of the rancho system. Drought decimated cattle herds, with the county's livestock falling from over 200,000 head to 5,000 within two years (Krieger 1990: 66). Facing ruin, the rancheros turned to Yankee creditors who charged exorbitant interest rates (e.g. 5 percent compounded monthly). Debts grew and foreclosures became common. Some lands ended up in the hands of Yankee squatters – "wandering, worthless American 'squatters,'" as Brewer's travel journal described them in 1860 (Farquhar 1974: 74), but able to press their case in a setting in which the legal system was increasingly prone to sympathize with their bogus claims (Pitt 1966). Still another mechanism of wealth transfer was intermarriage, typically a wealthy Californio bride and Yankee groom (Almaguer 1994). Once in control of land, some Yankees remained in cattle ranching or sheep (feasible again when the rains returned), but subdivision and diversification gave rise to sharp increases in land devoted to agriculture. Major crops were grains, beans, and – especially in the North County – sugar beets; almond, walnut and perishable fruit trees became large scale crops in the late 1870s.

The collapse of the rancho system, combined with continued Anglo immigration, devastated the political and economic circumstances of the Californio-Mexican population. By the end of the nineteenth century, they had become laborers in agriculture, construction, and domestic work, with women and children pushed into the labor force for the first time. This pattern of employment would foretell the future into the next century. As the city platted a street grid, the Californio adobe dwellings and establishments were removed or concentrated in the pueblo adjacent to the old Presidio (in what became downtown Santa Barbara) (Schultz 1993). As Yankees built homes and businesses nearby, the contrast grew between the crumbling barrio and the well-maintained wood and brick Anglo structures. While some Anglo voices spoke of the romance of the red tile roofs, most dismissed the "Spanish" quarter, both physically and socially, as a disagreeable element.

A similar attitude held toward the Chinese in the area, who occupied low level jobs in railroad gangs in the 1880s and in the emerging tourist industry, as well as small-scale farming operations and laundries. Most of the county's Chinese were residentially concentrated adjacent to the barrio. Part of the wave of anti-Chinese-prejudice that swept California during the period, they were subjected to an intense harassment that crested in the late 1870s. Their numbers declined from a high of about 400 in the mid 1870s to about half that number at the end of the decade (Camarillo 1979: 82).

sickly son. In terms of the built environment, the houses were not only large but often of architectural significance. A leading authority has said flatly: "Montecito is where the finest houses in Southern California are" (Turk 1995: E4).⁶ The rich staged large entertainments for their many guests, sometimes at more than one house at a time (a cottage at the beach was common along with an estate upland), thus bringing in still more celebrity and near-celebrity immigrants.

While in numerical terms, a good number (perhaps a majority) of migrants to Santa Barbara were ordinary people trying to find a better way to support themselves, an atypically large number were different. These were not "huddled masses" escaping famine, oppression, or poverty. There is at least a grain of truth in a 1995 contrast in an *Atlantic Monthly* article: "The way that Poles and Lithuanians settled Pittsburgh, rich people with enormous trust funds settled Santa Barbara. They didn't want a better life; they wanted a perfect life" (Plunket 1995: 38).

Not surprisingly, a high level of self-consciousness about local amenities was taking hold, reflected in the views and strategies of at least some of the local business and real estate entrepreneurs. Thomas Storke, heir to ranchero wealth, and arguably the most important business and civic leader in the county's history, wrote in the first editorial of his newspaper on January 1, 1900:

...Santa Barbara has natural advantages which few cities possess... Its equable climate... the blend of mountains and sea, the semi-tropical sun and the ocean breezes, unite to make it the choicest residential spot in the known world. It only remains for its citizens to do what is theirs to do, and the future of Santa Barbara is assured.

He went on to urge improvements in the city's appearance and facilities, including the construction of a bath house, and pledged the "full support of this paper" to citizens who will bring about "all that is desirable here" (Storke 1958: 115).

Southern California's first "Opera House," The Lobero, was built in Santa Barbara in 1872 (remaining in continuous use to the present, although the building was demolished and a new one built in 1924). The Yacht Club was also founded in 1872, making it the second oldest yacht club in California "and the beginning of a long and unique history of fine yachts visiting our shores," according to a contemporary enthusiast (Kieding 1995: G3). Efforts to rationalize city street designations with letters and numbers was successfully fought; hence street names continue to designate historical figures, events, and topographical features, using Spanish and Chumash words.

Santa Barbara's claims of "specialness" were echoed locally and widely with a consistent series of portrayals. Attention was drawn to the tranquillity of the

⁶This remark was made by Tim Street-Porter in explaining why he "cheated" to include distant Montecito in his celebrated book called "The Los Angeles House."

spread up the coast toward the city "should be met with united resistance on the part of the people" (Sollen 1994: 28). At one point, in the summer of 1899, wealthy Montecito property owners took direct action when oil drilling moved up the coast from Summerland. Here is the lead from a front-page news story at the time:

That the property owners on the sea front are determined that no unsightly oil derrick shall disfigure the beautiful views of land and sea was demonstrated last night, when a party of the best known society men of Santa Barbara armed to meet any resistance, and with workmen employed for the purpose, utterly demolished a new oil derrick that was erected yesterday at Miramar (*Santa Barbara Morning Press*, August 3, 1899).

In this lead sentence are themes that are to continue marking the Santa Barbara story: the beauty of the coast, a sense of entitlement felt by coastal landowners, the social character of the area, and a self-justified – indeed vigilante – determination to protect their quality of life. The "best known society men of Montecito" included a son of the owner of the beachfront land and publisher of the *Morning Press* (Reginald Fernald). There was also, to be sure, criticism of men taking the law into their own hands. A story in a competing afternoon newspaper, the *Daily Independent* (August 3, 1899), struck a different note: "The morning paper says four gentlemen laid the derrick low. In a work of destruction all men are alike, because all are actuated with animal instinct." The *Daily Independent* went on to mock the aesthetic concerns of the Fernald vigilantes by suggesting the derrick be decorated like a barber pole (*Santa Barbara Daily Independent*, August 7, 1899). This sort of ridicule of an overly-fussy Santa Barbara also presages a theme that would continue over the generations – sometimes even emanating from within the South Coast precincts themselves.

Opposition to oil development was to surface again and again. In an early move in the decades-long see-saw battle over the city wharf (Stearns Wharf), the Santa Barbara Chamber of Commerce in 1908 went on record against access to it for oil development – the initial quarrel was over a pipeline to the wharf that would transfer oil to ships. Still, a good deal of oil development did take place and at distances not very far from the locations where the aristocrats lived and played. Large scale and, certainly by today's standards, truly unsightly oil installations⁹ were developed at Summerland(see Photo 1), just adjacent to Montecito. In his memoirs, Thomas Storke (later a strong opponent of off-shore oil) recalled that the derricks at Summerland beach were a tourist attraction, with no hint of irony or resentment in his tone (Storke 1958:208).

⁹A view of the Summerland platforms did make it to at least one "scenic postcard" hailing it as one of the "1,000 wonders" of the California north-south highway.

a whole during the late 1800s, subsistence and commercial agriculture constituted the bulk of the economy.¹³

The wharf built at Point Sal to serve Santa Maria was regularly wrecked by storms; the poor condition of the road linking it to Santa Maria Valley proved the worst obstacle (Carlson 1957: 104-105). A second attempt at a North County port was made in 1880, two and a half miles south of Point Sal at Chute Landing (Carlson 1957: 107-108). Finally, in 1882 the Pacific Coast Railway linked the Santa Maria Valley (via the town of La Graciosa) to the Avila wharf in San Luis Obispo County providing the first railway to port connection for the region. This event was announced in the first issue of the *Santa Maria Times*, April 22, 1882 (Carlson 1957: 117). As one valley citizen (of Orcutt) remembers, the Pacific Coast railway provided "the lone link between Orcutt and the outside world" (Nelson 1987: 89; Simon 1990: 18).

Santa Maria's population in 1887 was about 200. The valley's first bank (created in 1888) in Santa Maria was a branch of the Commercial Bank of San Luis Obispo, another evidence of close links with the county to the north. The second bank was also a branch of a different San Luis Obispo institution; the two were eventually merged as the Bank of Santa Maria in 1890 (Carlson 1957: 152). This bank came to serve as one focal point for a small but active business leadership group – individuals active in finance, real estate, agriculture, and, as it would turn out, oil.

The first recorded use of oil drilling rigs in the county occurred in 1888 in Santa Maria (Franks and Lambert 1985:21).¹⁴ A first big strike (2900 barrels) in the valley was made by Union Oil (then a Ventura County company, prior to its later move to Los Angeles and eventual name change to Unocal). It was preceded by a pioneering effort of Warren Orcutt, a fresh graduate of Stanford with a degree in the new field of "civil engineering" to map the surface geology of the entire Santa Maria Valley field in search of oil. Thus scientific expertise replaced "doodlebugging," and the subsequent good fortunes helped make Orcutt the "dean of petroleum geologists" (Frank and Lambert 1985: 21).¹⁵ Another Union Oil innovation was its "aggressive policy for acquiring oil lands," resulting in the purchase within one year of 72,000 acres ("at practically farm prices"), with more leases and more massive land purchases to follow (Welty and Taylor 1957: 236; see also Simon 1990: 21). Union also performed, in 1903 at Lompoc, the industry's first deep-hole cementing (to keep

¹³Brewer described his 1864 crossing of the ten or twelve miles of the Santa Maria Valley on either side of the river's dry bed as "a most tedious ride," quite in contrast to descriptions of travel before and after as passing among hills "covered with pasture, or grass, with a great profusion of flowers," although all of it eventually "tired us with their abundance and their sameness" (Brewer 1974: 77, 78).

¹⁴For additional details on finds and their locations, see also Simon (1990: 22) and Nelson (1987: 15).

¹⁵He was also the discoverer of the La Brea tar pits paleontological treasure in 1901 – at what became the Los Angeles County museum complex. (Welty and Taylor 1958: 90).

world" at the time (*San Francisco Call*, July 7, 1905), sparked national interest in the oil industry and opened up the pockets of lenders and investors who previously had been reluctant to back so highly a speculative enterprise (see Welty and Taylor 1957: 99). Developments in the valley helped not only secure the fortunes of Union Oil, but to create the state's oil industry – by 1903, California was the nation's largest oil producer (Johnson and Nye 1979: 188).

Orcutt oil operations were also to serve notice that all does not necessarily run smoothly in the petroleum business; Hartnell well No. 1 (about a quarter of a mile from No. 2) burst into flames, on July 7, 1905, from the carelessness of a "boy with cigarette," and, as was reported in a San Francisco newspaper, became "the fiercest and most terrible of oil fires in the history of the State" (*San Francisco Call*, July 7, 1905).

But Union Oil's fortunes rose, fueling the development of the community of Orcutt, which by 1906 had outpaced Santa Maria as the largest trading center in the North County (Nelson 1987: 30). Growth took place in fits and starts; heavy overproduction throughout California in 1905 caused Union to shut in wells as soon as they were completed (Welty and Taylor 1958: 237). The Graciosa Oil Company's wells that were supposed to produce \$9 million a year in production for export to Japan proved a bust, causing an abandonment in 1907 of plans for a 38-mile pipeline from the oil fields in the Santa Maria Valley to a newly constructed Oilport refinery, located on the bluffs north of Pismo Beach in San Luis Obispo County. The Oilport refinery was shut down before it ever began operating (Krieger 1990). Some details of oil field development in the North County can be found in Table 2.

Cuyama Valley • Discovered by the Norris Oil Company in 1948; Richfield later buys 90% of acreage and assumes Norris lease.

Sources: Welty and Taylor 1958: 98, 241; Franks and Lambert 1985: 21-25; Simon 1990: 22, 80

North County life accommodates to oil

By the end of the twentieth century's first decade, oil was integrated into people's lives in different ways. The larger North County's economy was still predominantly agricultural; Santa Maria (incorporated in 1905) served as the center of that economy. In addition to sugar beets (for the Union Sugar factory in Betteravia), barley, and beans, flower seeds became another Santa Maria agricultural export with opening of the Waller-Franklin Seed Company in 1912 (Carlson 1957: 239). At about the same time, Santa Maria's vegetable-growing era (especially lettuce, tomatoes, and strawberries) was just beginning (Carlson 1957: 235-236), with the city of Santa Maria as the heart of that economy.

In contrast, oil families were more centered in Union Oil's company town of Orcutt (Standard Oil also built workers' homes in Orcutt) or scattered in settlements that were sizable but often transitory. As production increased in the surrounding hills, oil workers and their families settled in tents and shacks near wells, resulting in "lease communities" far from town. Many residents were newcomers attracted by work in the oil fields, some of whom would eventually move on to other oil fields in the state. Growing population in these hamlets led to the formation of three school districts named after the leases nearby: Bicknell and Careaga districts (south of Graciosa Ridge) in 1904, and Newlove (on what is now called Orcutt Hill) in 1908.

The historic record yields little evidence of conflict between the twin sectors of oil and agriculture. At the level of key local businesses, including those in Santa Maria, of banking, real estate, railroads, and port development, there was strong integration across spheres. A few agricultural families made fortunes leasing their land for oil exploration, and their names were attached to productive leases: Brookshire, Careaga, Newlove. Thus oil installations had names on them commemorating "old" families, just as some school districts had their very names derived from oil operations. This provides an ongoing sign of the integration between the industry and North County communities.

Many farmers found part-time and full-time employment during off-seasons working in the oil industry. For example, farm boys earned extra money digging ditches and performing other odd jobs for oil companies. As teamsters or "cat skimmers," farm hands worked second jobs directing wagons carrying oil equipment and products. The ranchers and farmers also had equipment the oil developers could put to use: "With all the horses and wagons on their farms, it was natural for them to supply goods and services for the oil industry" (Nelson 1987: 30, 55-56). By

providing incomes and revenues to many farmers and ranchers, the oil industry bolstered the fortunes of agriculture in the Santa Maria Valley, a pattern that would continue over successive decades.

II. Between the Wars (1919-1945)

Table 3: County sociodemographic characteristics, 1910-1940

	1910	1920	1930	1940
Total Population	27,738	41,097	65,167	70,555
Percent Foreign Born	*	*	*	15.54
Percent Nonwhite	5.25	3.86	18.76	5.97
Percent Males	*	52.17	53.04	50.50
Household Size	4.15	4.13	*	3.11
Median School Years, Males	*	*	*	8.9
Median School Years, Females	*	*	*	10.6
Percent Unemployed	*	*	*	5.3

Source: U.S. Census.

* Indicates data not available

The interwar years continued the pattern set before the Great War, with growth quite steady but well short of the now meteoric rates in the Los Angeles region. Development was held back by distance to the two great metropolitan centers to the south and north and the relatively poor transportation facilities (Graves and Simon 1980:11).

In the South Coast, elites from around the country and Europe continued building mansions and attracting visitors of great wealth from across the world. The likes of Paderewski and Heifetz gave private concerts in one of the larger mansions (Jackson 1996); the King of Belgium was a houseguest. Although amounting to probably no more than 300 households during this era, the people of great wealth were significant far beyond their numbers in terms of their effect on the physical landscape and built environment, as well as the social and cultural texture of the region. They also represented the most visible segment of a larger group of migrants, many at least prosperous but some less so, who were similarly attracted to the region for its beauty, cultural tone, and gentility. The charities, amenities, and entertainments of the very rich made the area that much more attractive to those of similar taste.

Increasingly over time, as Los Angeles created its own wealthy aristocracy, some of them moved up to Santa Barbara to live in quasi-isolation on great estates or oceanside villas. It has been argued that this was an exit of the more environmentally-oriented of the Los Angeles wealthy (Davis 1995) – a migration that may have eroded preservationist and environmental sentiments in Los Angeles (compared, for example, to the more robust movements in the Bay Area). But the local Santa Barbara pattern was only reinforced as a result.

Santa Barbara was the site of the first California film studios. Built in 1913, the "Flying A" studios on Mission Street in Santa Barbara (part of the complex still stands) produced 1200 films. The studio lasted only about a decade, but Hollywood personages adopted Santa Barbara as a "getaway." Two small hotels were owned and operated by Hollywood figures for their friends and parties. Fatty Arbuckle and Charlie Chaplin operated what became the Montecito Inn – said to be the "small hotel with a wishing well" in the Rodgers and Hart song lyric. Ronald Colman (partnered with State Senator Alvin Weingand) owned San Ysidro Ranch where John and Jacquelyn Kennedy, as with many other notables, spent their honeymoon.

The influence of the rich families went beyond their numbers also because of the numbers of people they employed to maintain their elaborate households (cooks, maids, horse trainers, mechanics) as well as those who provided them with supplies and took care of their various other service needs. Building mansions and continuous remodeling employed many construction workers, including stone masons (many from Italy) who built thousands of yards of estate walls and decorative garden elements. The economic multiplier effects were large as their expenditures moved through the local commercial system, including the banks and brokerages they helped keep in business.

This collection of actors – the core group of affluent spenders plus those whose income depends on them directly and indirectly – are linked to many others. People engaged in what we might call the "rich people's estate industry" have friends, associates and relatives who, while not themselves economically dependent upon this industry, have good wishes for those who are. There is, in effect, what we term a "social multiplier," analogous to an economic multiplier in the sense that the impacts of an industry radiate out from those who work in it toward a wider circle of those with less direct interests. This social multiplier is always at work as a potential force that creates an interest in maintaining a particular economic function. Some people may themselves make no money from a given sector but have sympathy for it because of their relations with people who do.

The inter-war period was also a time in which those with great wealth impacted the larger region through the gifts and endowments they provided (particularly in their bequests). "Brand name" people like Peabody (Arrow Shirts) and Billings (for whom the University of Chicago hospitals were named) kept most of East Beach (several miles of the city's prime ocean-front) from development by buying it up in 1924 so that the city could later acquire it intact. Cudahy (Chicago meat) built and furnished the appealing Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church for local Catholics; two other Chicago meat families – Armour and Swift – also played roles in local charities and civic institutions. Max Fleischmann (the yeast king) paid most of the costs to develop the city's breakwater so that he could dock his private yacht (it cost him more than \$630,000 in the end); he also endowed the Santa Barbara Foundation with an initial \$250,000, matched by others to become a million by 1929 - - increased still again by Fleischmann. A retired president of Wellesley College donated the land for the Museum of Natural History; joining her in similar work, a

retired president of the Carnegie Foundation arranged the grant that launched the Community Arts Association to foster culture and beautification. Past presidents of institutions like MIT and corporations like Phelps-Dodge, Union Carbide, and many others also played civic roles.

The city's citizens, for their part, also voted large bond issues for improvement projects; they voted twenty-to-one to support Fleischmann's yacht harbor plans with an additional \$200,000 from the city. They authorized another \$1.4 million to renovate the city's beachfront boulevard (Chase, 1959; Graham, et. al. 1994: 57) to give it the shape it has to this day (see Photo 2). As the grants, constructions, endowments, and beautification continued, they made the area that much more attractive to the kinds of people who could choose where in the world they might live. More brought more in a self-reinforcing cycle.

Still another element of the region's social make-up were "bohemian" orientations (presaging later non-conformist "beat" and "new age" presences in Santa Barbara). Among the migrating rich, there were always some seeking alternative ways to live; choosing to be free of the daily grind of adding to their family fortunes in other climes, they could devote themselves to experimentation in thought and lifestyle. But it was not only those of privileged wealth who chose this route. People of varying material levels were attracted to the area as a place to play out such aspirations, even while working at modest occupations.

Besides individual projects of good works and acts of beautification, the region was also the site for innovations in land use planning. In the earlier Yankee phase, Santa Barbara took on an appearance not very different from that of any prosperous Eastern or Midwest American town, with a varied mix of buildings in Italianate, Queen Anne and other period styles, constructed of wood clapboard or brick. Many of the old landmark adobes were allowed to disappear in the general Yankee distaste for things Spanish. Although with a bit more respect for the past than in other parts of the state, the city had aspects of an ordinary Yankee settlement, both in its physical form and anti-"Latin" mentality (pronouncements of the time were crudely racist). Special measures to save landscapes or buildings took place on a piecemeal basis, often with the rich either wielding their power to get what they wanted or, as in the case of the beachfront purchase or Fleischmann's construction of the breakwater, buying the city what they thought it should have.



Photo 1: Summerland oil derricks (1930). Reprinted from Franks and Lambert (1985).

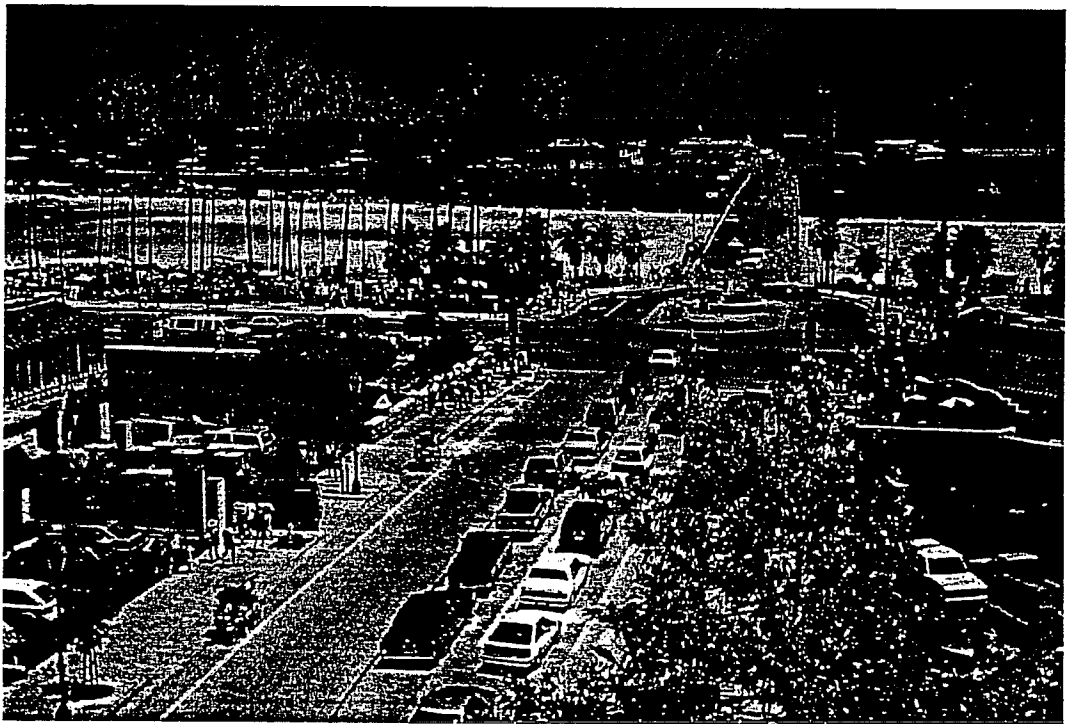


Photo 2: Santa Barbara oceanfront. Stearn's Wharf is shown in the background, at the intersection of State Street and Cabrillo Boulevard. Photo by Harvey Molotch.

More systematic efforts began in the 1920's. Created in 1922, the Plans and Planting Committee of the Community Arts Association, with "its innocent sounding name" (Gebhard 1982: 9), was actually a source of great power, with financial backing from Fleischmann and leadership from the redoubtable Pearl Chase – herself an affluent and well-connected woman of great energy and leadership capacity. Chase, along with a number of similarly committed (and mostly well-fixed) citizens, was to lead not only these early planning efforts, but remain a force in land use throughout the county until her death at the age of 91 in 1979. Not only the initiator of local conservation organizations, Chase also was a founder of the California Conservation Council and the California Roadside Council, devoted to controlling billboards on state highways (Obern 1995). She and her brother Harold were later memorialized with the renaming of the city's primary beach recreation area as Chase Palm Park.

Chase's committee pressured city government and organized expenditures among the wealthy to remake the downtown and generate public amenities across a wide swath (Graves and Simon 1980: 16). California's first zoning law was created for Montecito via special legislation passed by the State Legislature; official zoning and a planning commission for the City of Santa Barbara came in 1923. The state's first county planning commission was that of Santa Barbara County, created in the early '30s (Graham, et al. 1994: 54).

But the most dramatic innovation came in the aftermath of the great 1925 earthquake, when the City of Santa Barbara created America's first Architectural Board of Review. The crisis atmosphere of disaster ordinarily inhibits innovation or creative gestures; indeed, what today we call "fast track" systems of permitting and reconstruction are the order of the day (this is what followed more recent destructive fires in the Santa Barbara foothills). In this context, the architectural reconstruction of Santa Barbara was an especially remarkable event. In the midst of vast destruction, the local powers determined that Santa Barbara would have a physical environment to match its "Spanish" past. In this way, a romantic interpretation of the Californio rancho system became permanent in the landscape.

The earthquake of 1925 destroyed much of the city's downtown at a time when the Plans and Planting Committee had become thoroughly organized. An Architectural Advisory Committee had also been previously formed, predecessor to the 1924 ordinance establishing the Board of Architectural Review. It was also a moment when the Spanish Revival style was catching on throughout Southern California. These conjunctures resulted in the processing of over 2,000 building designs within less than a one-year period, most conforming to the new design guidelines for the Spanish style. For those without the resources, the Plans and Planting Committee provided prototype plans for those with modest means (houses and shops in the proper motif).

The official city government agency, its Architectural Board of Review, was assisted by the citizen-based Plans and Planting Committee, which had lobbied for

the board's creation. Although it carried on a wider range of architectural and environmental activities, a central task of the committee was to make sure the city was rebuilt "Spanish-style" after the quake. The leading local architects and their patrons of that moment were to create a style of building that persists in new construction in the city to this day. It is a style that never characterized the historical city; indeed, it never quite characterized any city. Elements of "old Spain" were expansively used, including plain unadorned walls (stucco in the local version), red tile roofs, exposed massive wood beams, and extensive use of decorative iron work. But the buildings also had to cater to modern tastes for large window areas, provision for central heat, and parking for automobiles. All this and more combined to create "Santa Barbara Spanish" – a blending of Andalusian Spanish architecture with American technologies and life-style preferences of the late '20s and early '30s (see Photo 3). In terms of public buildings, its quintessential representation is the Santa Barbara County Courthouse, completed in 1929 (see Photo 4). It was later to become one of the city's major tourist attractions, as well as a setting for numbers of Hollywood film and TV scenes.

Enough was built in the initial reconstruction to give the city its architectural cast and contribute to its international reputation and tourist draw. But it has not been smooth sailing for lovely construction. At the time of its creation, the *Santa Barbara News-Press*, now the only daily paper, editorialized against the innovation as an unnecessary interference. In part because of the paper's opposition, and joined by other business groups, the Architectural Board of Review was eliminated after only nine months of life. But the style and its accouterments were still urged on by some business leaders, including Storke of the *News-Press*. Even before the quake he had his own newspaper housed in a grand Spanish building, still dominating the city's central downtown square (at De La Guerra Plaza). The popularity of the style was enough to give it some force even when regulation was weak.

About a decade later, another display of local aesthetic power was displayed in the building of the new post office. Storke helped convince the federal government to throw out its completed architectural plans for the city's new central post office because they did not conform to the local architectural ethos. The Chamber of Commerce gained an exception that allowed the city to handle the building's design, which it did by hiring Reginald Johnson of Pasadena, one of California's leading figures in the Spanish-colonial revival movement (and architect of Montecito's swank Biltmore Hotel). The new building was sited so as to remove a part of the city's small Chinatown ("as near to being a slum as Santa Barbara had," according to Storke [1958: 360]), but yet preserving the historic "El Cuartel" adobe on the site. This required another federal exception to allow building on a site short of the minimum lot size requirement. In a further gain for the city, the old post office – grand and imposing in its own right – was sold, in 1940, to the county for use as the permanent home of the Santa Barbara Museum of Art (at a price of \$50,000).

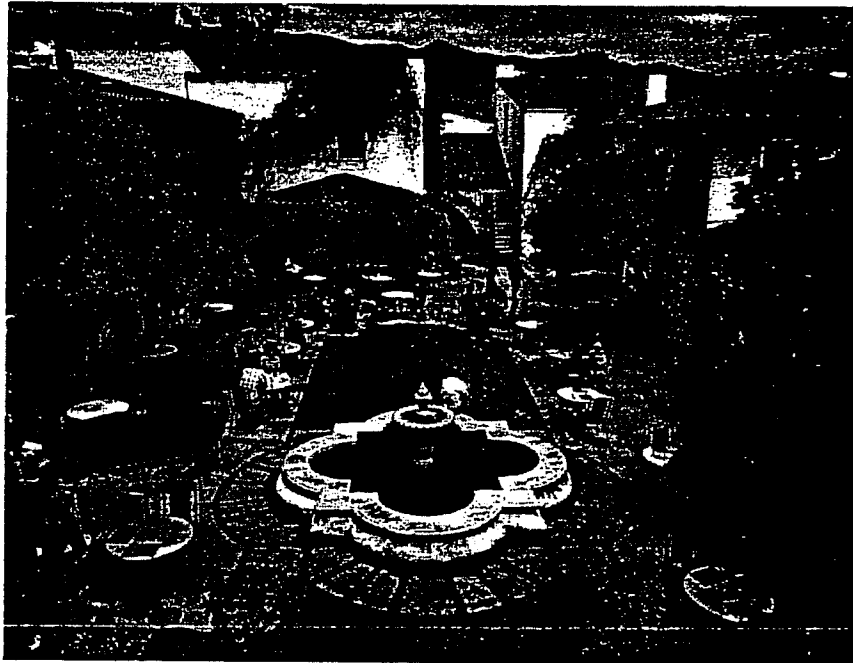


Photo 3: The shopping arcade at Santa Barbara's "El Paseo." The downtown attraction is built around an historic adobe. Reprinted from Plunket (1995).

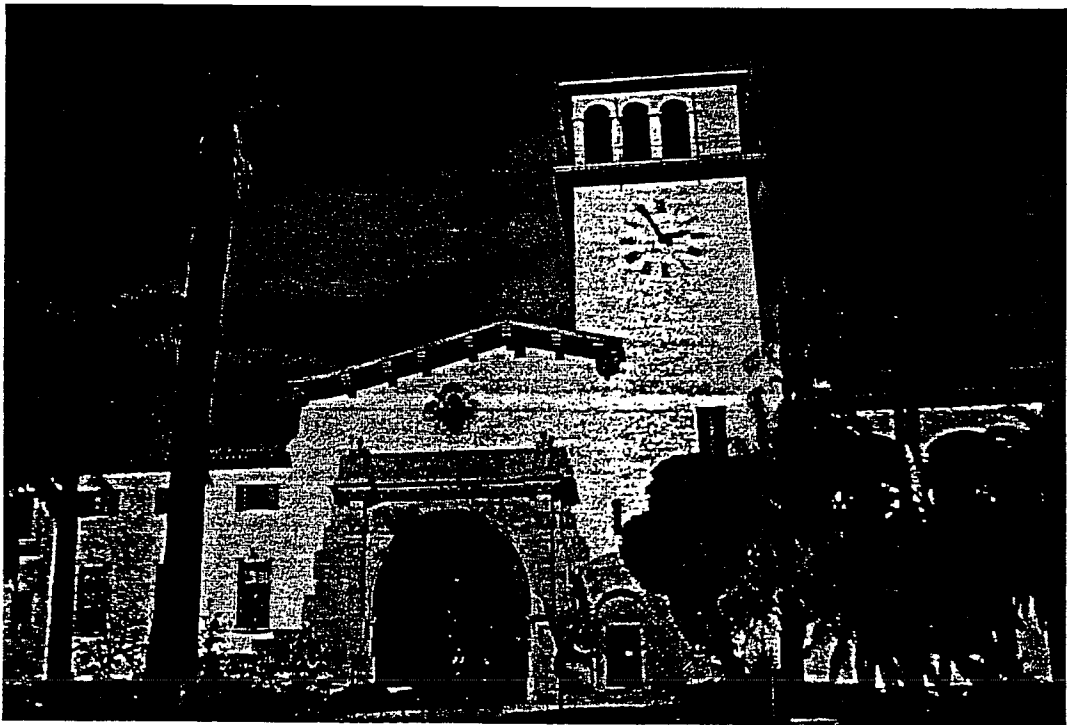


Photo 4: Santa Barbara County Courthouse. Photo by Leonard Nevarez.

Periodically amidst all this building of edifices and cultural development, new opportunities and some anxieties arose from oil. In Montecito, in 1927, the influential Montecito Community Association (which created the state's first zoning law and was dedicated to protecting "residential beauty and exclusiveness") declared a ban on any oil derrick "or structure for use in the boring of oil (from being) erected" (*Santa Barbara Morning Press*, April 6, 1927). Three years later, a resident filed an injunction to prevent drilling near his property, claiming the unsightliness and noise were infringements on his property rights (*Santa Barbara Morning Press*, April 18, 1930). Although the property owner lost – the plaintiff, the Lincoln Drilling Company, successfully argued they were drilling in a sparsely settled neighborhood - the case evidenced further tension between oil and community.

In the city of Santa Barbara, anxieties arose from repeated efforts of the state legislature in the early '30s to initiate tidelands leasing to protect oil stocks being drained by companies operating on adjacent lands – as was happening in Huntington Beach (Bartley 1953: 71). The state's efforts were thwarted by a series of state-wide referenda and initiative votes.

Development was more successful on land. The highly visible La Mesa field (see Photo 5), annexed by the city in 1921 but outside its borders when drilling began, reached a production peak by the mid-1920s. Later, to gain local support for a large-scale oil pipeline project, The Irvine Oil Company promised to use local labor and purchase all possible materials within the city. When the pipeline was approved by a newly elected city council in 1931, protest was loud and clear. The *Morning Press* quoted a Santa Barbara "mechanic" as follows:

They seem to deliberately ignore the character of the city and the fact that an uncontaminated ocean front is its greatest asset (*Santa Barbara Morning Press*, Feb. 24, 1931).

The newspaper editorialized:

Santa Barbara has ever held its beaches in jealous regard, it did not seem possible that a city council elected to represent the people, would endanger this priceless asset by permitting a pipeline.... We do not believe that failure to obtain pipeline facilities will prevent the development of oil on La Mesa, but, even so, the entire community cannot afford to endanger that which is of such value to ALL THE PEOPLE for the welfare of a small area (*Santa Barbara Morning Press*, Feb. 28, 1931, emphasis in original).

The Chamber of Commerce pushed for a ban on drilling anywhere within the city limits. Newspaper commentaries pressed the point that oil would hinder tourism as well as hurt the quality of life, and also voiced doubt that oil, and the Mesa field in particular, would bring significant enough prosperity to justify its harm. Mention was made of the potential for fire and the remaining unsightliness

of abandoned oil derricks on the eastern side of the Mesa as reminders of unsuccessful dry holes and the long-term negative effects on the city.

During something of a slow-down in oil production in the North County, in the years prior to the 1934 discovery of the Santa Maria field, the South Coast was also the site of production at the Ellwood field (which began producing in 1928), with its oil later bound for Japan. Japanese ships would load at Ellwood pier "almost every day" through 1941 (Storke 1958: 293). Ellwood was located north of Goleta, some 12 miles from the existing city line, apparently far enough away to mitigate concerns. Thomas Storke, in his memoirs, referred benignly to the field as "perfectly situated, shipping being only a few yards from the ocean" and other transportation routes passing across the lease (Storke 1958: 292).

The pattern seems clear. Whereas the business community may have been pro-development in most arenas and split from citizens groups on such matters, there was a more complete opposition to oil development within the city (and Montecito). Petroleum operations outside the city and its immediate environs seems to have been much more acceptable to the local leaders.

The North County: Only problem with oil is there's not enough of it

The contrast with the North County, during this as with the previous period, could not be greater. World War I demand for oil precipitated a further influx of workers into the oil fields of Santa Maria Valley, and employment by the oil industry reached a welcome new peak. Individual oil companies were flush with activity; for example, by 1917 the Pinal Oil Company had taken over a competitor (Dome Oil Company), employing 350 before being acquired, in turn, by Union Oil for \$3.6 million (Carlson 1957: 130; Welty and Taylor 1958: 130). This acquisition of Pinal-Dome, which operated 20 service stations in the Los Angeles area, moved Union Oil into retail sales, thus launching Union as a vertically integrated oil company (Welty and Taylor 1958: 130-131). More towns and lease communities developed, like the Bicknell community (managed by Western Union Oil, employing 500 in 1920) with workers' tents and shacks, a post office, schoolhouse, grocery store, gas station, boardinghouse, bunkhouses, and baseball diamond. Its population in fact exceeded Orcutt's.¹⁸ Overall, by 1920, oil production in the Orcutt hills reached a peak of close to four million barrels for the year (Nelson 1987: 20; Simon 1990: 38), stimulated in part by wartime demand.

With the end of World War I, both agriculture and oil went into decline. Marginal farmers searched for alternatives, including work in the oil fields (Simon 1990: 39). There was also a decline in railway employment as rail transport became

¹⁸Two years later, Shell acquired the Bicknell lease (Nelson 1987: 48).

increasingly uncompetitive with pipelines and trucks (the railway closed in 1942) (Simon 1990: 41).

There were also declines coming from the oil industry. In 1922, Union Oil began reducing the numbers of wells in its fields to conserve oil reservoirs, resulting in a production drop of more than 50 percent (from 2,673,692 barrels in 1921) (Simon 1990: 39); its Lompoc wells were shut-in completely for 6 years (Franks and Lambert 1985: 23). Other played-out fields, such as Casmalia in 1926, were retired (Franks and Lambert 1985: 24). With less work, many Union Oil employees moved south to the company's Los Angeles fields throughout the 1920s, leaving many houses in Orcutt vacant for years (Simon 1990: 39), the town in economic struggle, and the surrounding lease communities emptying out (Nelson 1987: 36, 52; Simon 1990: 41). Further to Orcutt's disadvantage, the state relocated the main north-south artery three miles to the east of Orcutt (where Highway 101 is currently), thereby devastating the town's restaurants, lodgings, gas stations and garages (Simon 1990: 41). Orcutt-based, independent oil companies were absorbed by larger units, Union in particular. Orcutt-based Rice Ranch Oil Company, for example, sold its "Rancho" filling stations across the Central Coast to Union and entered into refining agreements exclusively with Union in 1936 (Nelson 1987: 20). This sort of change moved administrative controls and jobs out of the local area.

From the 1930's on, Orcutt was increasingly eclipsed by its neighbor to the north, Santa Maria, which outpaced it in basic business activity as well as the wholesale and retail market trade (Simon 1990: 41). Santa Maria's role as a produce center for the Central Coast would only grow over time. The coming of refrigeration and ice sheds in 1922 (through a company formed by two Santa Barbara men) and snow ice blowers in 1931 allowed produce to be shipped by rail to increasingly distant markets (Carlson 1957: 236-237). These developments, as with oil discoveries to the north in the Santa Maria area, did "spill over" into nearby Orcutt, supporting real estate and some commercial services in various parts of the valley.

Unlike Orcutt, the city of Santa Maria was well established when oil was discovered in its midst in 1934. After Union's first well in the Santa Maria field came in modestly, the company purchased 3,500 acres in Santa Maria in 1935 and generated nine producing wells (Welty and Taylor 1958: 242). One year later, another well came in at 3,000 barrels daily, with the company opening its Battles Absorption Plant to clean and separate natural gas from oil developed at Santa Maria Valley sites (Uhl 1987). Increasingly, Union Oil directed its operations towards Santa Maria as these activities took hold.

World War II and the North County

Operations in other parts of the North County continued and in some cases were rejuvenated. The coming of World War II created economic booms across many fronts in the Santa Maria Valley. Prices rose for agricultural products, as did demand for oil. Not participating in any of this prosperity was the local Japanese-American population, who had become dominant in truck farming. Subjected to indignities and some acts of violence, they were packed-off to detention centers in Arizona and elsewhere, and forced to sell their belongings, including in some cases, highly prosperous farms, at very low prices. Later unclassified documents revealed that General DeWitt's "Final Report" to the President on the internal Japanese threat to America had singled out the Santa Maria Valley for special concern: "Throughout the Santa Maria Valley every utility, airfield, bridge, telephone and power line or other facility of importance was flanked by Japanese" (Shriner 1991: 19). Besides the fact that these Japanese represented no threat whatever to the country, their claimed deployment was, from the vantage of any local, "nonsense" (Shriner 1991: 20); their only "flanking" was a dispersed agricultural land use pattern.

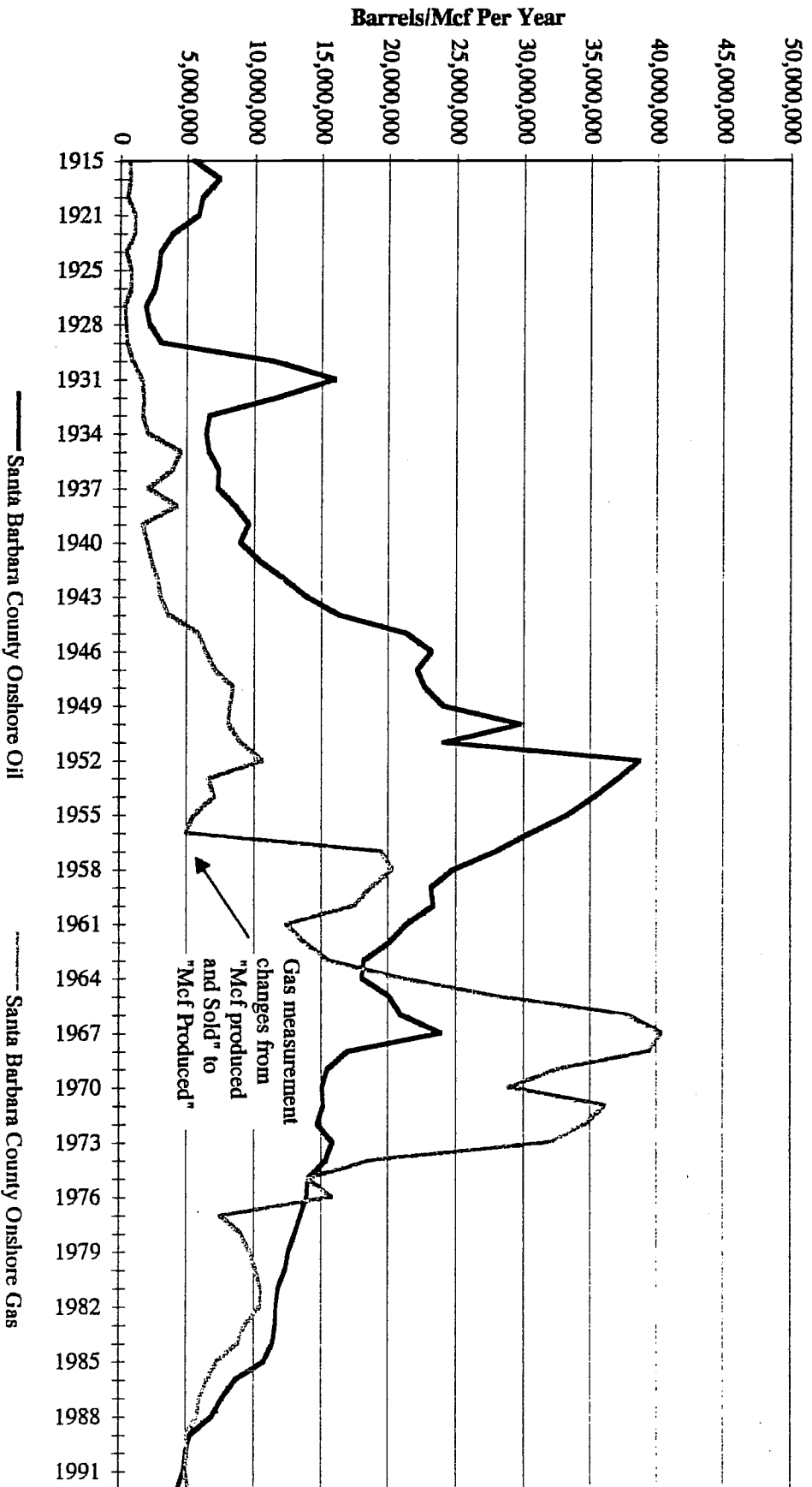
The North County's economic profile was altered with the establishment of Camp Cooke on 86,000 acres near Lompoc and an army training air base north of Orcutt (at what is now the Santa Maria Airport) (Nelson 1987: 94). The coming of the military not only generated greatly increased demand for local products and services, but also raised wages across all sectors. The "Okies" who had performed much of the arduous field labor left for government jobs, with Mexican labor insufficient to take up the slack. Eager for braceros, the *Santa Maria Daily Times* announced in a front-page headline, "Another Batch of Mexicans Coming," as a local observer has written, using the "insensitive" tone "typical of the time, treating the workers as objects rather than people, yet, to the tomato growers and beet farmers, it was the triumphant sound of the cavalry to the rescue" (Shriner 1991: 68). German and Italian prisoners of war were later to be used to bring in the harvests.

Although it helped create the workforce shortage, the military otherwise posed no threat either to agriculture or the oil industry. True, Camp Cooke was established on 70,000 acres of Union Oil property with 10 producing wells. The two parties negotiated a unique arrangement, whereby Union Oil agreed to surrender the land in return for retaining the mineral rights underneath. To prepare for the base, Union Oil removed its surface facilities and bulldozed sand over the well heads. After the war, the company renewed its drilling on base land.

Beginning in 1943, production in the Santa Maria field and Santa Barbara County was reaching record-setting heights thanks to wartime demand (see Chart 1: Santa Barbara County Oil and Gas Production). Union Oil had been under contract since 1920 to supply fuel for the U.S. Navy; as naval operations in the Pacific Ocean increased, Union Oil shipped tankers of Santa Maria refined oil from Port San Luis, at Avila Beach, directly to the Navy's Pacific Fleet (Santa Maria oil made excellent

ship fuel). Wartime oil production also brought new capital investment (e.g. steel structures, electric pumping units) to old rigs and made it feasible to resurrect shut-in wells like Union's Old Maud, inoperative since 1918. Demand for labor exceeded supplies, and transients, schoolboys, and off-duty soldiers were routinely hired for oil work (Uhl 1987; Nelson 1987: 17, 94).

**Chart 1: Santa Barbara County
Onshore Oil and Gas Production, 1915-1992**



Source: California Department of Conservation, Division of Oil and Gas.
Annual Reports of State Oil and Gas Supervisor

Oil in civic life

Throughout the period between the wars and during World War II, the role of the oil industry in the North County only grew, not only in economic terms but also in civic life. Increasing oil production meant increasing contact between the oil industry and farmers and ranchers, with more agriculturists employed or receiving revenue from the use of their lands or equipment by the oil industry. Relations were evidently informal and cooperative; oil workers would "since we're here anyway" assist farmers in building roads, small ponds, and other improvements to their property. Often these projects, negotiated ad hoc and on the spot, served the needs of both parties. As recalled by Darwin Sainz, a third-generation resident and longtime Unocal official:

If you ran cattle in an oil field, you got to know the superintendent, you got to know the foreman, you got to know the workers. And you'd be out there working cattle, and they'd come by in their truck, or they'd have an operation that was – so they were invited to the ranch. So yeah, there was a lot of the mutual camaraderie between the two, I wouldn't say to the point that they were living in each other's household. But on a social basis, there was a social element to that.

Connections between the industry and the population were also intergenerational, with many families having several generations in the employ of the industry, particularly Union Oil. All-day barbecues were the major social gatherings in the Santa Maria Valley, held in the towns or on ranches; ranchers commonly invited their oil industry neighbors. In 1919, Ed Craig, an employee from the Graciosa oil lease, built the huge barbecue pit at the Santa Maria Club which helped popularize Santa Maria's barbecues, "famous all over the state" (Carlson 1957: 225).¹⁹

In 1937, Union Oil donated the 3000 plus capacity Union Oil picnic grounds in Orcutt. The list of civic projects paid for by the oil companies is extensive and goes back a long time. Union, it could be argued, "saved" Lompoc's treasured La Purisima Mission, which it acquired in 1903 as part of its general land acquisition (Savage 1991: 13). Union and the Catholic Church transferred ownership to the county for restoration by the Civilian Conservation Corps, with the oil company donating the building materials.

¹⁹Visitors are said to have declared, "No others in the west can barbecue like the Santa Marians.... Barbecuing in the valley is a holdover from days when the vaqueros would dig holes in the ground, and string their meat on long willow sticks, by which to hold them over the fire. The methods have changed since that day, and so undoubtedly, has the quality of the juicy charcoal broiled rib steaks, for which Santa Maria has become famous" (Carlson 1957:134). In 1996, an exhibition room at the Santa Maria Historic Museum is devoted to the local barbecue tradition.

appointed to the County Board in 1915 by state Governor Hiram Johnson to fill the remainder of another official's term, "a great howl of wrath went up from politicians in the southern end of the county... and from that day until almost the end of his political career Santa Barbara newspapers used Preisker as a target for their most barbed harpoons" (Carlson 1957: 194). Preisker exerted enough influence to come to be called "Little Caesar" and for the charge to be made that "the county was really run from Santa Maria, with the Santa Maria Inn²¹ as the 'little county courthouse,' because of the many policy-forming meetings held there by Preisker..." (Carlson 1957: 197). Preisker's support help build the splendid county courthouse in downtown Santa Barbara; he too was eager to create splendor in the city's heart, even at great expense. Much of the impressive \$1.25 million cost was paid off with tax revenues from oil properties then producing robustly in both north and south county fields. To this day, the county courthouse symbolizes for some in the oil industry the wealth which oil has endowed to the county. Most citizens and leaders on the South Coast, it is safe to say, are ignorant of oil's role in financing their civic gem; if anything, this courthouse centerpiece of Santa Barbara's tony downtown district only symbolizes the distance between the gentility of Santa Barbara with the perceived crudeness of petroleum and the north.

²¹The 24 bedroom Santa Maria Inn opened in 1917 – a "dream come true" (Carlson 1957:229). Its owner, Santa Marian Frank McCoy, later purchased Santa Barbara's upscale El Encanto Hotel and managed both from Santa Barbara; he also served on the county planning commission) (Carlson 1957: 229).

Table 5: County employment by occupation, 1940-1970

	1940	1950	1960	1970
Manufacturing	*	2,187	8,581	11,786
Wholesale	2,118	2,047	2,163	3,260
Retail	3,774	6,990	9,820	17,053
Professional	2,246	4,422	9,280	19,763
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	2,689	3,997	6,130	9,169
Clerical and Sales	4,042	6,840	12,882	23,394
Craftsmen and Foremen	2,423	4,575	8,539	10,851
Domestic	1,590	1,465	1,567	1,683
Service (non-domestic)	1,571	3,817	5,587	12,240

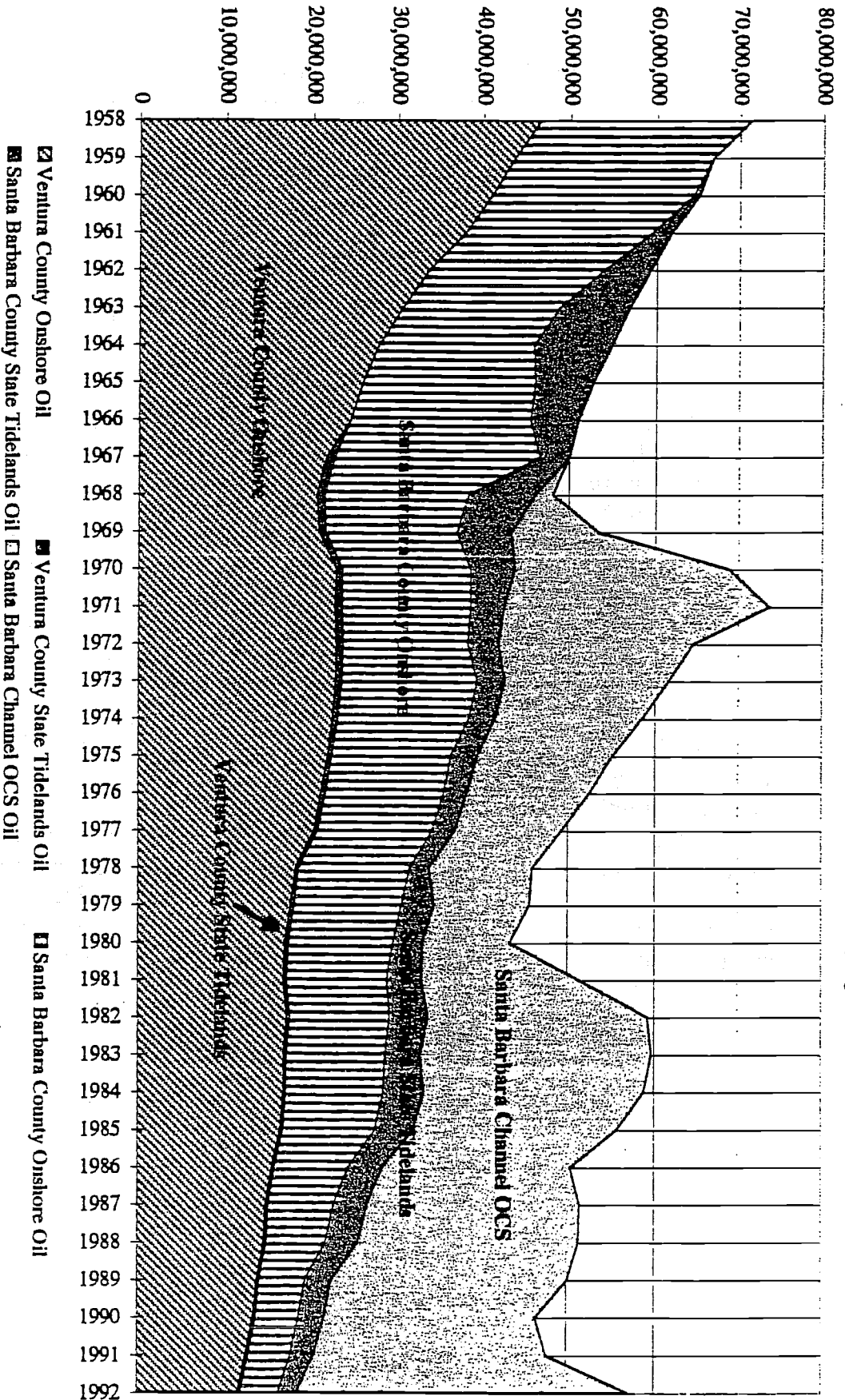
Source: U.S. Census.

* Indicates data not available

The mining sector (which includes oil and gas) was not a significant source of employment, declining to barely more than 1,000 workers by 1970. Thus, despite the fact that county onshore production was as high as it had been for much of the century (see Chart 2: Oil Production in the Tri-Counties, 1915-1992) and Channel offshore production had risen sharply (see Chart 3: The Offshore Era – Production in Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties), employment in the sector was quite small compared to other job sources. Mining employment from all sectors amounted to only one percent of all county jobs in 1970, compared for example to retail trade (16 percent) and Finance/Real Estate/Insurance (almost seven percent) (for selected comparisons, see Table 8: County employment by occupation, 1960-1990).

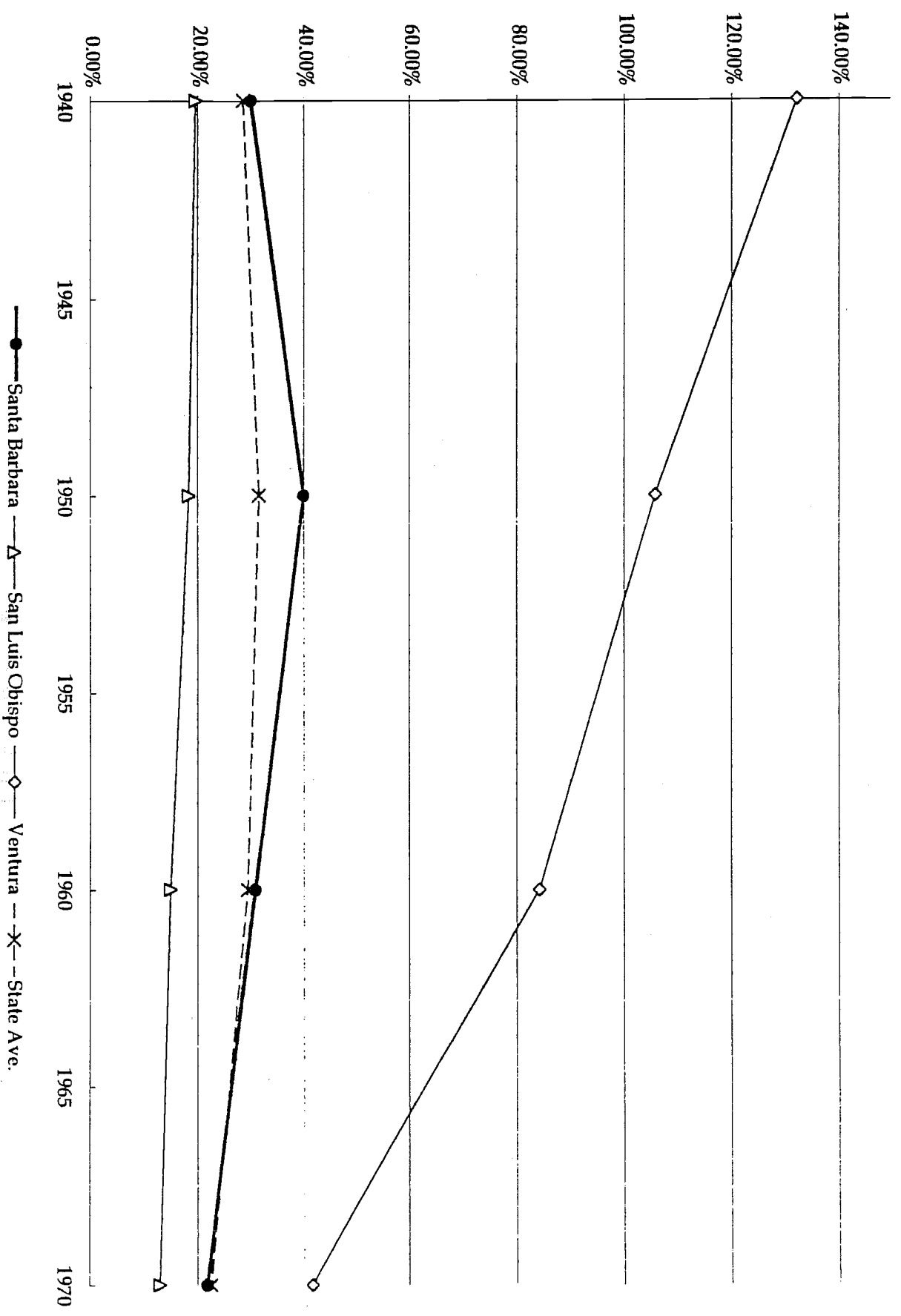
Table 6 (below), based on a different data source (the Census as opposed to Regional Economic Information Service, and using somewhat different methodologies) shows a somewhat higher potential for oil related jobs, 1.7 percent of total county employment, by including jobs in chemical manufacturing and manufacture of secondary petroleum products (the "Petroleum" category).

Chart 3: The Offshore Era
Production in Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties, by Oil Source



Sources: California Department of Conservation, Division of Oil and Gas; Annual Reports of the Oil and Gas Supervisor; Minerals Management Service, Estimated Oil And Gas Reserves, Pacific OCS (MMS 94-0008)

**Chart 4: The Extract/Intact Ratio
Santa Barbara County Compared to State and Region**



The Extract/Intact Ratio compares the numbers of jobs in mining, chemical/allied, and petroleum to jobs generated by eating, drinking and lodging establishments -- a proxy for the tourism industry.

Source: U.S. Census

North County and postwar defense activities

Because the two areas of the county played such different roles in the war, with the North County providing the larger troop-training base as well as oil and food supplies, the ending of the war also had distinct consequences. For the North County, the closing of Camp Cooke and the exit of its 30,000 troops carried major negative economic impacts (Simon 1990: 45, 46). The Korean War brought the base back into operation, creating another defense-related employment rise, with other cutbacks in successive years of demobilization and defense budget cuts. This up and down military cycle continued with the 1956 conversion of Camp Cooke into the Vandenberg Air Force Base (VAFB) as a national missile center. With an initial construction expense of \$61 million, a North County growth boom began; the first successful missile launch was in 1958. By 1960, the airbase employed more than 15,000, then 21,000 two years later. Although the airbase provided substantial amounts of housing, about two-thirds of those stationed there lived off-base; this, combined with construction, created a sturdy building boom in the region with many new firms created in land development and the building trades. The city of Santa Maria attracted over 10,000 new residents between 1960 and 1965 to reach a population of 31,031, bringing it to about half the size of Santa Barbara. The regions surrounding Santa Maria grew to create a total of 48,750 by that year; Orcutt's population had increased from about 3,000 (in 1950) to 11,539 (in 1960) and to 19,477 (in 1970). These growth rates began equalizing population levels between the North County and South Coast. Defense cutbacks at various times, such as a major cut in 1963, carried new downturns for the base and a weakening in the local economies, creating a surfeit of housing especially in the Lompoc area (Simon 1990: 50-52; Nelson 1987: 101).

Oil development, postwar

Oil development in the North County continued apace to meet both civilian and Korean War-era military demand, with new discoveries near the northern county line by Norris Oil and then Richfield (see Table 2: North County oil field discoveries). As in the past, relations with neighbors were cooperative, with oil helping at least a few of them become rich. One land owner gained \$1000 a day in royalties from Richfield Oil (Title Insurance and Trust Co. 1964: 50). Concentration also continued; Union Oil in 1954 bought Sunray Oil's Orcutt refinery and built another at Santa Maria. This plant processed 20,000 barrels daily of the sulfur-laden heavy crude for pipeline transport to Pt. San Luis, hence tankered to Union's Oleum refinery. A third refinery was built a year later just across the county line inland from Nipomo Dunes²³ that also produced coke for foreign export and asphalt for regional use.

²³By 1965, Union's Nipomo Mesa refinery employed 80 workers; approximately two-thirds resided in San Luis Obispo County's Five Cities area while the rest lived in Santa Maria

With the Santa Maria refinery came a carbon dioxide plant, operated by Union's Brea Chemical subsidiary (established in 1952). Combined with prior constructed refineries in the area, Brea chemicals became the largest producer of carbon dioxide products (including dry ice) west of the Mississippi (Welty and Taylor 1958: 213, photo captions). With its dry ice production, Union Oil provided shippers a new means to refrigerate their produce in rail cars, a boon to local agriculture.

In 1957, Union Oil began using secondary recovery methods (gas injection, water flooding, underground burning, or a combination) at 35 sites across the state, including several North County fields. This tripled production at Union's Guadalupe field, with other boosts elsewhere (e.g. Cat Canyon and Orcutt). Petroleum-separating innovations at its Brea Research Laboratory also allowed Union Oil to begin developing the Sisquoc tar sands in 1957 (Welty and Taylor 1958: 229-230).

The instability so often visited upon the North County's economy – with rise and fall in defense, oil, and farm prosperity – may well have contributed to an urgency regarding development opportunities. Various efforts have been made over the years to attract manufacturing and other forms of investment to offset these periodic declines. Indeed, this cyclical quality provides still another element of commonality among the ensemble of North County industries and a consistency in the perceived need to facilitate industrial growth.

The South Coast, postwar

The South Coast had been drawn into World War II most dramatically through the oil installations at Ellwood. In 1942, a Japanese submarine prowling the central California coast fired at the Ellwood oil facility, including its two huge storage tanks.²⁴ Although the Japanese managed to damage equipment at one well site, most of the shells were well off-target. But the event did much to agitate the population across the whole western seaboard, and it clearly fed the hysteria about Japanese-Americans.

Other than this remarkable incident, the war had fewer direct or lasting impacts on the South Coast than it had on the North County. The military built Hoff General Hospital in 1941 to serve the wounded (Days, 1991), with its site after the war becoming MacKenzie Park and the city's public golf course. Some already standing facilities in the area had been converted to defense use (e.g. clubs and several mansions were used to support troop and civil defense functions), but since there was no heavy industry before the war, little could be converted to war use or

(*Santa Maria Times*, October 29, 1965).

²⁴The submarine commander is said to have known his target from previous visits loading crude for shipment to Japan (Shriner 1991:24-27).

expanded to create the kind of large industrial production centers created in other parts of the country. Nor did the War Department or the nascent aerospace industry choose to locate large-scale training or production centers in Santa Barbara, as occurred in the Los Angeles region to the south or the Santa Maria Valley. Indeed, the Santa Barbara kite-flying enthusiasts who founded Lockheed (the Loughead brothers) moved their major operations to what they considered the more appropriate production climate of Los Angeles (Brantingham 1992), although they manufactured airplanes and parts in Santa Barbara during both world wars. The most significant local elements of the war effort were probably the airport and certainly the related oceanfront Marine Base at Goleta Point. The War Department made extensive use of the existing airport, greatly expanding it with structures that still stand.

As with the airport, the Marine Base land was turned over to civilian use after the war, becoming the new campus of the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB). The suburb of Goleta, which had been a small service center for the surrounding agricultural lands, is said to be the most populous unincorporated community in the state. The great change began in 1955 when UC initiated construction of the new campus, turning its prior city harbor site over to Santa Barbara Junior College.²⁵

The prime mover for the establishment of the UCSB campus was Thomas Storke, then publisher of what had become the South Coast's only daily newspaper, the *Santa Barbara News-Press*. His holdings also included large tracts of land, some descended from the vast rancho owned by the Californio family (the Ortegas) into which his Yankee ancestors intermarried. He owned substantial lands adjacent to what became the UCSB campus (and indeed, part of what became the campus itself). The coming of the University led to the largest single growth spurt in the history of the county, occurring in the late 1960's (much enhancing Storke's newspaper and real estate). Storke was a major benefactor of the new campus, including significant financial support (upwards of \$700,000, augmented with millions more from his descendants).

As a University of California Regent, Storke helped convince the Regents to upgrade the small UC College at Santa Barbara into a full-fledged general campus, overcoming the fear that a new campus would dilute resources for Berkeley and UCLA. But, according to Storke:

We felt the cultural background of Santa Barbara offered a real asset to the university family, that no community in the west had so much to give (cited in Douglass 1995: G1).

²⁵Prior to its move to Goleta, the university had been located first at a city hillside location (the "Riviera") and then also on a bluff above the harbor, but for most of its life as a state teacher's college, rather than part of the University of California system.

Special state legislation made possible the absorption of the Santa Barbara state college into the UC system, followed by subsequent legislation that precluded any other state college from enjoying a similar conversion.

As a power in the Democratic Party (rewarded with an appointment to the U.S. Senate to complete an unfilled term), Storke was instrumental in the federal government's selling the campus's current ocean-front site to the University for a \$10 fee. Storke's view, shared by others in the business community, was to use the university as a centerpiece for the emergence of clean industry and further development in culture and tourism. The *News-Press* frequently editorialized on this positive vision of "clean growth."

The first elements of a high-technology, research and development presence were arising both in the city and in suburban Goleta. UCSB was one of the founding four sites of the DARPA network – the Defense Department Project that laid the basis for today's "information highway" (i.e. the basis for e-mail and the internet) and immediately spun-off an important, although small-scale, computer innovation company called Culler and Harrison Electronics. General Electric Tempo, the defense-oriented R & D center of the corporation, took up a major presence in downtown Santa Barbara. Hoffman Electronics constructed a major facility on the top of the Mesa. Defense contractors like Raytheon came in as well as General Research and Santa Barbara Research (General Motors Delco was to follow).

At the Montecito edge of the South Coast, under the support of Ford Foundation money, Robert Hutchins, outgoing head of the University of Chicago and recent head of the Foundation, created the country's most important think tank in the hills adjacent to Montecito in 1959: the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. The initial grant was the then impressive sum of \$4 million. In addition to a permanent resident staff of luminous Fellows (which included the double Nobel laureate Linus Pauling and Alex Comfort, author of the then best-selling and controversial book, *The Joy of Sex*), the "Hutchins Center" (as it was informally known) brought an unending stream of dignitaries through the locale as part of its program of "dialogs." The Center spent many, many millions on these daily efforts to find solutions to the world's problems – an activity that did manage to lure still more affluent retirees (mostly liberals) to the community. The institution also published a monthly magazine (*The Center Magazine*) that had a strong circulation (about 100,000) among intelligentsia throughout the country. After Hutchins' death in 1973, his Center eventually became a part of UCSB, finally folding when income could not keep up with expenses.

While the Hutchins Center may have added a liberal intellectual dimension to the ongoing elite structure of Montecito and Santa Barbara, the more typical in-migrant was something like those who had come before, politically conservative on many issues, perhaps, but strongly oriented toward lifestyle and the environment. The large estates were increasingly divided, and while the new owners may have lacked the vast wealth of their predecessors, they were still affluent. Although not

eligible for voting or holding office in Santa Barbara, Montecito activists – old timers or new migrants – have indeed played a strong role in Santa Barbara city government, making campaign contributions as well as providing leadership in civic groups of what they consider to be "their" city. Sometimes they have been joined by the other rich-person's suburb to the north, Hope Ranch. Hope Ranchers have somewhat less need for direct involvement with local governance issues; all its roads are privately owned by the residential association, as are its beach facilities and the system of equestrian paths that link residences. As with affluent neighborhoods of the City of Santa Barbara itself (primarily along the "Riviera" hillsides overlooking the ocean), Hope Ranch joins Montecito not only in providing the global reputation of the region's picturesque residential areas, but also in supplying disproportionate financial and person-power for the South Coast's civic and political life.

Somewhat in contrast to its surroundings, a community of free-thinkers developed in the Mountain Drive area of Montecito early in the 1950s (Chiacos 1994). Over the decades, the founding figure, Bobby Hyde, gave, sold, or rented land parcels to friends and compadres who were artists, crafts people, and writers, or otherwise socially compatible. The community grew to have several hundred residents, its own preschool, holiday calendar (e.g. Bastille Day), bacchanal, and newspaper ("The Grapevine") and was on the circuit of the San Francisco beat poets and other hip notables, including the Zen Buddhist interpreter, Allan Watts (Watts' daughter married Hyde's son). Others who circulated through the Mountain Drive scene included Philip Whalen, Timothy Leary, Peter King, Joan Baez, and John Cage (Chiacos 1994: 14). Homes were often hand-built of adobe or tile made on the site, and life evolved on a quasi-communitarian basis. Marijuana was a staple crop as well as recreational drug; acceptance of nudity and sexuality were other characteristics. Sometimes credited as the birthplace of the hot tub (and other residential solar-power applications), it continues, albeit in a less distinctive form, up to the present.

The case of those living the alternate life styles reminds that it is not just the rich who give Santa Barbara its character, and it is not just big money that makes for political and social force. In part because of affluence, but also because of the predilections of those with more modest means, the region has had a substantial number of people who have staffed or volunteered for organizations and election campaigns of those running on quality-of-life platforms.

Despite the fact that county government during the 1950s and 1960s was "characteristically pro-development" (Graves and Simon 1980: 20), there were still innovations in land use planning and regulation. In what was a pioneering move in California, the county banned billboards along the entire Highway 154 route linking the city with the North County via San Marcos Pass. The city of Santa Barbara elected officials mostly sympathetic with business as well; it was a time when enforcement of architectural standards was somewhat relaxed, with results

still visible on the city's main street (an occasional conventional modern building with a dollop of "Spanish" decoration).

But past decisions and improvements had created a thriving as well as picturesque city center. At a time in the '50s and '60s, when town centers were abandoned or destroyed across the country through federal urban renewal, Santa Barbara eschewed the program, with preservationists wanting to keep the new version of "old Spain" intact and political conservatives fearing urban renewal as a federal version of "socialism." The city center had itself become a tourist attraction as well as a true main street for all levels of society and ethnic groups to gather. When redevelopment was to be used, beginning in the late 1960s, the primary purpose during this period was for housing, as in the Presidio Springs Senior Housing project on what had been utility yards.

Offshore oil again

As the Santa Barbara South Coast laid its foundation as a future academic and high-technology region, the basis was also being created for a new era of oil for the county as a whole. In the immediate postwar period (in 1947), voters defeated a Charter Amendment to prohibit oil drilling or exploration within the city limits 72.5% to 27.5% (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, May 7, 1947). Oppositional sentiment, however, caused a 1951 referendum on whether or not drilling should be allowed on airport lands owned by the city in the Goleta area; the public again approved by a wide margin, this time influenced perhaps by the fact that Goleta was far enough away (about 12 miles) to mean oil would not be in the city's own backyard.

In 1953, for the first time, the City Council banned drilling anywhere within the city. With a 1965 vote, city residents supported the elevation of the 1953 ban to the status of City Charter amendment²⁶ with 77 percent of voters in favor (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, May 5, 1965). Drilling was declared "unlawful" and "a public nuisance." Endorsed by the *Santa Barbara News-Press*, the ban passed with little apparent controversy; election coverage instead focused on the mayoral race, a Freeholder proposition, and pay raises for public employees.

This increasingly anti-oil context was not auspicious for the coming of offshore oil development. The sea is often spoken of as the city's front yard, and the arc-like quality of the coast line makes any ocean development highly visible from many points on land, whether at the seaside or on the slopes above; this also exacerbates the aesthetic impacts of any visible form of air pollution which appears to hang over the ocean. Much of the development in the region, especially in affluent neighborhoods, was schemed to capture views out to the ocean and across to the Channel Islands. Within the city itself, the Riviera neighborhoods are laid

²⁶A charter element can only be changed by a future public vote.

out as a series of terraces parallel to the coast, almost like an amphitheater, with the ocean as the central feature from the omnipresent picture windows and outdoor patios.

The city and county made prodigious efforts to prevent offshore oil development. Beginning in 1948, amidst continuing controversy over whether coastal waters were under state or federal jurisdictions, the city and county attempted to control offshore activity. Santa Barbara protest led California Governor Earl Warren to halt oil company seismic testing temporarily. Local governments made an unsuccessful attempt to secure local zoning authority over submerged lands adjacent to the coast and, in one option, to restrict production to onshore slant drilling. Protests came to a head in response to Humble Oil's 1953 application for seismic exploration in the Channel. In 1954, city and county officials lobbied the state legislature to make the Channel an oil-free sanctuary, along with the option of local ocean-zoning (Johnson and Nye 1979:194; Lima 1994). There was extensive local as well as national new coverage of the conflict (from AP and UPI), helping to build Santa Barbara's national reputation as a significant political voice.²⁷ The examples of Long Beach and Seal Beach, south of Los Angeles, were cited as the kind of degradation that would occur if extraordinary measures were not taken.

The public controversy contained the usual Santa Barbara motifs. The city matriarch, Pearl Chase, was reported in the *News-Press* as having met with "experienced oil men" and she quotes them as giving her the inside tip: "If you love Santa Barbara, keep on saying 'no' – both to exploration and drilling." (*News Press*, January 10, 1953, "City Advised to Keep Up Oil Fight": A1). The gist of the coverage was that the toehold of exploration will provide the base for operations that will never be stopped: Santa Barbara should not compromise, and Santa Barbara should be firm. We don't know who the "oil men" were, but we do know that among the possibilities were various local residents whose fortunes came from oil (e.g. Samuel Mosher, founder of Signal Oil, Alice Keck of Keck Petroleum); even the ardent environmentalist Robert Easton was from a family with an oil background.²⁸

²⁷See: "District Attorney Preparing Tidelands Control Ordinances" *Santa Barbara News-Press*, January 2, 1953: A1; "Santa Barbara Gives Nation Example of 'Democracy in Action'" *Santa Barbara News-Press*, January 11, 1953: A1.

²⁸ In 1899, the senior Robert E. Easton came to Santa Maria Valley as surveyor for the Sisquoc Investment Company. He eventually became operating superintendent of the company's Sisquoc Rancho for a half century, as well as president of Santa Barbara County Telephone Company, director and vice-president (1906-1926) of First National Bank of Santa Maria, chairman of Santa Maria Chamber of Commerce (in 1924), and (by 1928) president of Santa Maria Gas Company (Carlson 1957: 136). Easton helped organize the community orchestra and other institutions, and was an ardent conservationist (see McMillan 1968). His son, the prominent writer and environmentalist, authored an account of the 1969 blowout in the Santa Barbara Channel (Easton 1972). Easton had also served as an oil company foreman.

But offshore drilling, as well as compromise of a sort, was in the offing. After initial court decisions that granted all coastal waters to the federal government (in 1947), Congress placed California's tidelands, extending three miles seaward, under state jurisdiction in 1953. In the same year, Congress and the Eisenhower administration gave the Interior Department authority to lease Outer Continental Shelf Lands for oil production. But when the state legislature passed its enabling legislation for drilling (the 1955 Shell-Cunningham Act), it gave Santa Barbara something of what it wanted: a 16 mile development-free oil sanctuary stretching from above the city limits at Goleta (including the UCSB campus) to below the city limits at Summerland. Elsewhere in the Channel, a 200-day waiting period would take place between application for drilling and granting drilling rights. The question remained, however, as to the status of the whole Channel, with the state claiming the entire 24 miles of width between ocean and islands to be an inland waterway, and hence completely subject to state control. In 1965, the Supreme Court ruled in U.S. v. California that only the first three miles from the mainland and surrounding the Channel Islands were state waters; the rest was federal.²⁹ In deference to local feelings, the Interior Department established a two-mile wide ecological preserve seaward of the state sanctuary.

Thomas Storke was later effusive in his praise of the oil men for having "helped me and the *News-Press* immeasurably in winning our fight" in the state legislature to establish the sanctuary; he saluted them "for recognizing that the natural beauty of this coast should not be marred for commercial gain" and for being "devotees of Santa Barbara's natural beauty who put esthetic values ahead of personal profit" (Storke 1958: 295). Perhaps more important than the oil men's devotion to Santa Barbara's beauty was a strongly united and well-organized community protest against oil activity said to have deeply impressed a State Senate committee during hearings in Santa Barbara. As it was to turn out, this was only a very partial victory in aesthetic terms; oil platforms in state waters (as in federal waters) were to be highly visible from vantage points within Montecito and the city.

The state-controlled tidelands leasing began in 1956 with Platform Hazel installed in 1958 (many platforms have women's names), erected on the Summerland oil field south of Montecito. It was the first of nine platforms (plus several artificial islands) constructed in state waters between 1956 and 1966; by 1966 all state tidelands parcels, except for the sanctuaries, had been leased – generating almost \$150 million in royalty income to the state (Lima 1994: 216).

The prospect of federal leasing once again mobilized local anxieties. Stuart Udall, the environmentalist Secretary of the Interior appointed by John Kennedy, then serving under Lyndon Johnson, met with local officials, including Santa Barbara's former state legislator Alvin Weingand (also partner with Ronald Colman in the exclusive San Ysidro guest ranch). The Sierra Club (Los Padres Chapter) was

²⁹This decision, in effect, overturned the State of California Tidelands Act of 1929 that granted the state complete control of mineral rights to all tidelands, with no specified limits out to sea.

at the fore in pre-spill fights to keep oil out, with people like Fred Eissler active at both the national and local level in negotiations with Secretary Udall. (Eissler had been Conservation Chair of the national Sierra Club under David Brower.) In the negotiations, assurances were given that nothing would be done that could harm the Santa Barbara environment, indeed that the platforms would be constructed in a way that would make them virtually invisible from the shore.

Federal outer continental shelf (OCS) leasing began in 1966 with a sale to Phillips Petroleum; this was a "drainage" sale, held to avoid losing oil to the state from production in the adjacent tidelands. It was a decision that took local authorities by surprise and served to increase local-federal tensions. This was a period with no mandates for environmental review, public notice, or hearings prior to such decisions. Comments were restricted to those relevant to Army Engineers' concern for navigation through the Channel, and even these were pro forma, since the platform in question was already making its way through the Panama Canal for installation in the Channel.³⁰ Local authorities pressed the federal government for a sanctuary consistent with the state sanctuary, along the 16 mile stretch that included the city of Santa Barbara shoreline. The federal government responded with another compromise: a two mile buffer adjoining the state sanctuary along its entire length. A six week moratorium on new leasing was declared to allow the county time to review the next round of leases.

This was a period of intense displays of opposition by citizens and political leaders against additional leasing, with sometimes fierce confrontation between delegations flying across the continent with threats and protests. It was continuous with sentiments that, in the words of Walter Hickel, the Secretary of Interior at the time of the great oil spill, had been around "as early as 1955... [when] the people of Santa Barbara had fought against the establishment of offshore rigs on their resort doorstep..."; they had "yelled" loudly both before the fact of offshore oil development as well as after (Hickel 1971:99). The year 1968 saw the federal government's first large-scale leasing program: 71 tracts, covering 360,000 acres were leased with immediate revenues of \$603 million to the federal government, setting up the mechanism that would inject hundreds of millions more into the federal treasury over the next decades. The county scrambled to create onshore facility siting plans to handle the anticipated demand for processing and storage facilities as well as possible onshore sites for slant drilling of offshore fields (Lima 1994: 215). It was a planning challenge of a magnitude that would challenge any locality, even states or nations in terms of the scale of potential outcomes.

³⁰ The Interior Department resisted demand for hearings before the 1967 offshore leases "for fear of stirring up the natives" (Interior Department Chief Petroleum Engineer Eugene Standley, quoted in Easton 1972: 101).

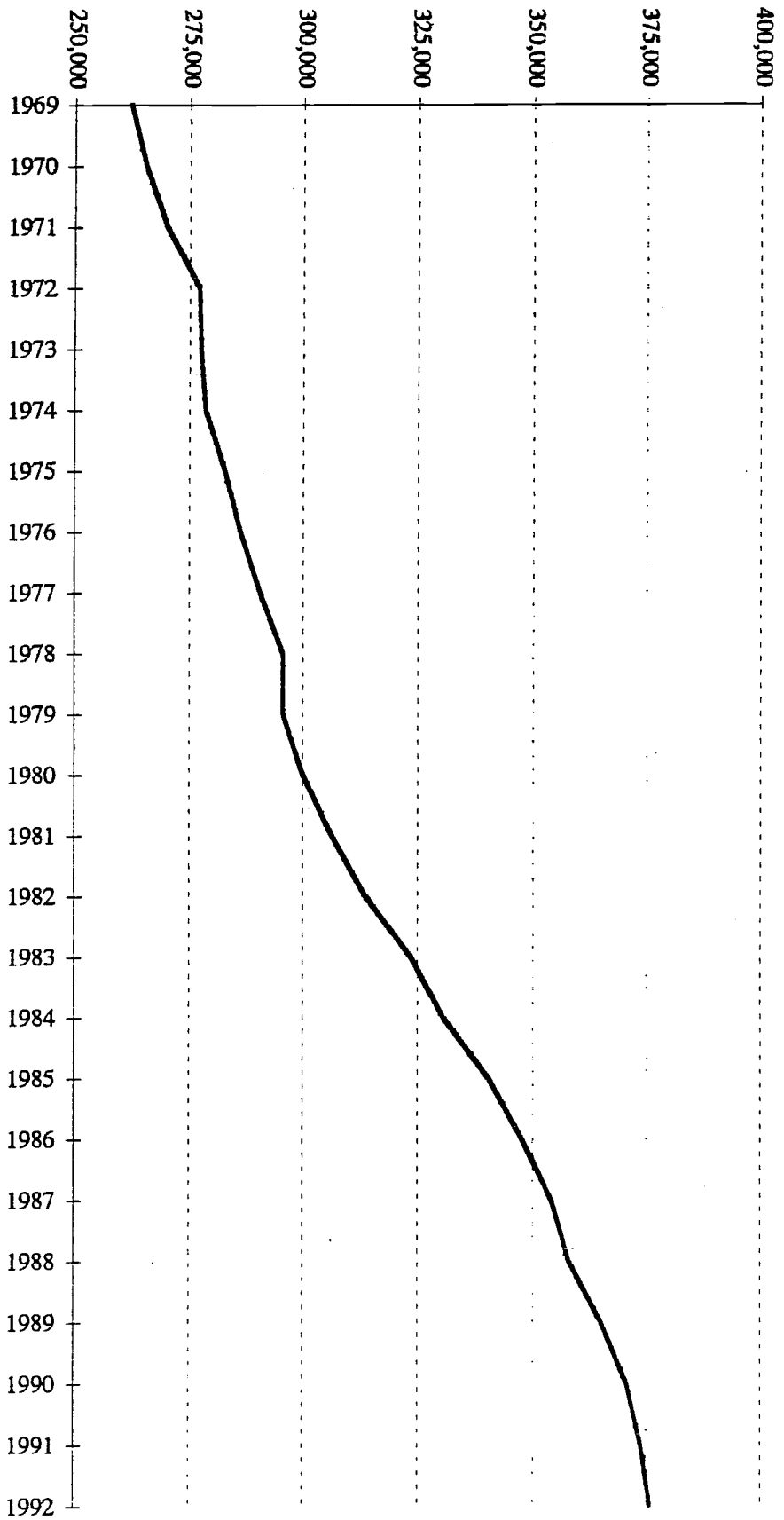
IV. The Environmentalist Era, 1969 to the Present

The county continued to grow during the era, at a rate (40 percent between 1970-1990 – see Chart 5) somewhat lower than that of the state overall, which grew by 49 percent over the 1970-1990 period. Both rates are modest compared to the boom in Los Angeles and San Diego counties during this era.

As in the past, the proportion of jobs in manufacturing is still much lower than the state average during this era. Professionals and Service employment represents about two percent more of the total non-farm labor force in Santa Barbara County for 1970 through 1990 than for the state overall; retailing is also stronger by about the same magnitude in Santa Barbara county compared to the state as a whole (both for 1980 and 1990). Proprietors/managers and Clerical/Sales are about even with the state.

One of the striking changes over the period, the sharp rise in the percent non-white, needs to be interpreted with great caution. These numbers likely reflect the changing definition of the Mexican-American, Latino, and Hispanic populations used by the Census and the changing self-conception of those interviewed by Census enumerators. What is nevertheless clear (from school data among other sources) is that the city and county have long had substantial populations with Latino and/or Spanish heritage. Indeed, some of these families trace their kinship back to the Californio era; more reflect modern waves of migration. Besides the agricultural sector which has long employed Mexican and other Central American laborers, the tourist economy also draws on low-wage immigrant labor for the work-intensive tasks of making hotel beds, cleaning up, gardening, and kitchen work in the cafes, restaurants, and dining establishments that increasingly characterize the area.

Chart 5: Santa Barbara County Population, 1969-1992



Source: Regional Economic Information Service

Table 7: County sociodemographic characteristics, 1960-1990

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Total Population	168,962	264,324	298,694	369,608
Percent Foreign Born	9.92	8.1	12.01	16.93
Percent Nonwhite	3.65	5.6	17.07	22.77
Percent Males	50.21	49.3	49.24	50.22
Household Size	3.07	2.99	2.62	2.73
Median School Years, Males	12.2	12.7	13.0	*
Median School Years, Females	12.2	12.6	13.0	*
Percent Unemployed	3.4%	6.0%	5.6%	5.3%

Source: U.S. Census.

* Indicates data not available

Table 8: County employment by occupation, 1960-1990

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Manufacturing	8,581	11,786	21,916	23,515
Wholesale	2,163	3,260	4,208	4,991
Retail	9,820	17,053	25,275	30,648
Professional	9,280	19,763	20,677	29,377
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	6,130	9,169	15,695	22,645
Clerical and Sales	12,882	23,394	37,341	48,188
Craftsmen and Foremen	8,539	10,851	15,953	19,249
Domestic	1,567	1,683	1,057	1,438
Service (non-domestic)	5,587	12,240	18,700	23,274

Source: U.S. Census

Table 9 (Number of jobs, by sector, 1970-1990; see next page), shows more detail and indicates jobs in each sector as a percent of total county employment. A most striking finding is that the "Mining" sector, which includes oil and gas development, never rises much beyond one percent of all employment.

**Table 9: Santa Barbara County -- Number of Jobs by Sector,
1970-1990**

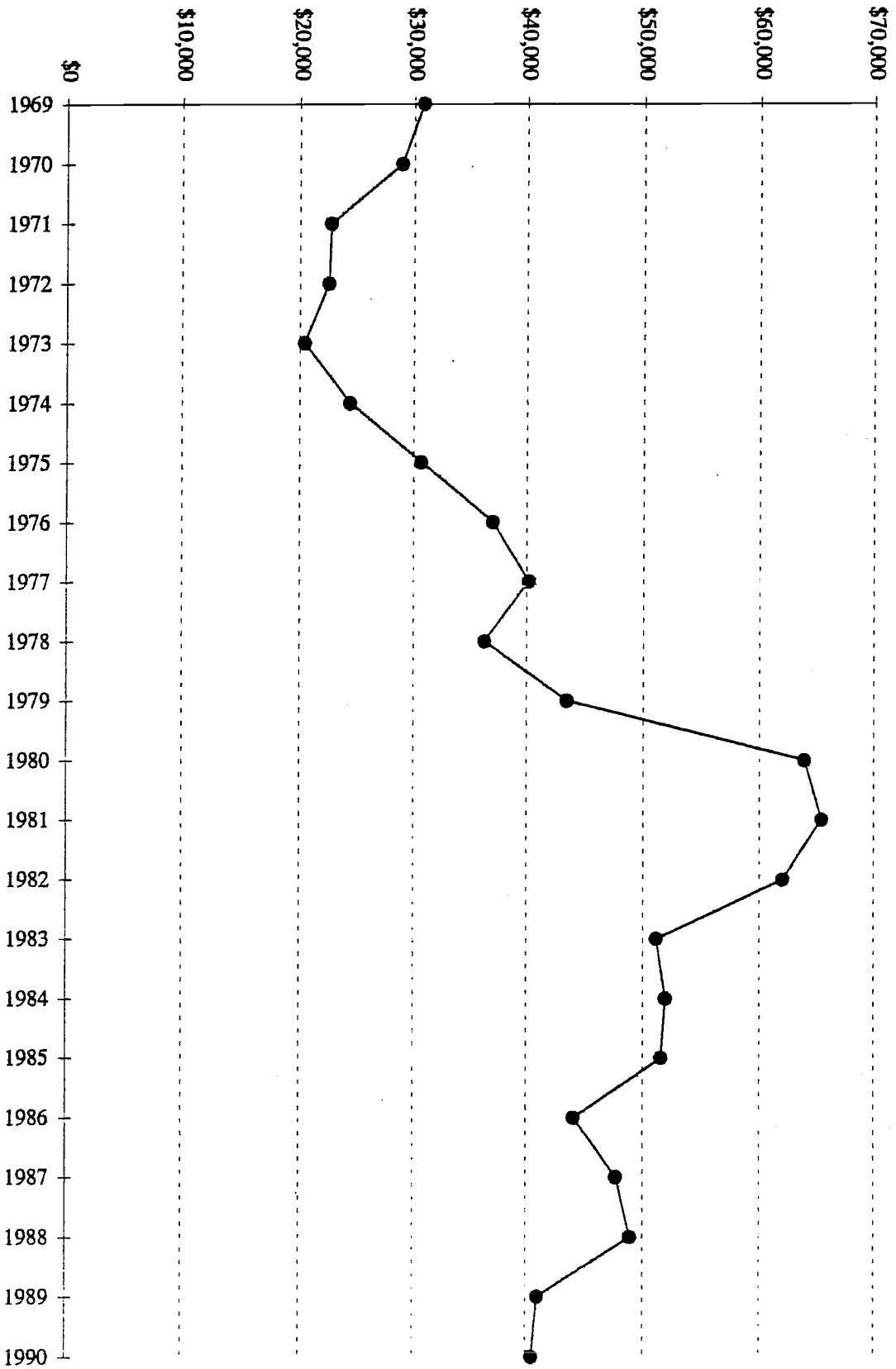
Year	Total Employment	Farm Employment	Ag. Services, Forestry, Fishing and Other Employment	Mining Employment	Construction Employment	Manufacturing Employment	Transportation and Public Utilities Employment	Wholesale Trade Employment	Retail Trade Employment	Finance, Real Estate and Insurance Employment	Services Employment	Gov. Federal, Civilian Employment	Gov. Military Employment	State/Local Gov. Employment
1970	116,062	6,075	1,780	1,159	4,541	10,787	3,540	3,350	18,521	7,984	29,772	4,113	9,090	15,350
		5.2%	1.5%	1.0%	3.9%	9.3%	3.1%	2.9%	16.0%	6.9%	25.7%	3.5%	7.8%	13.2%
1975	137,224	7,526	2,630	959	4,444	12,994	3,700	4,585	22,802	11,206	35,899	3,973	6,645	19,861
		5.5%	1.9%	0.7%	3.2%	9.5%	2.7%	3.3%	16.6%	8.2%	26.2%	2.9%	4.8%	14.5%
1980	167,133	6,848	4,153	1,794	6,929	17,143	5,418	4,421	29,449	13,295	47,645	4,018	4,712	21,316
		4.1%	2.5%	1.1%	4.1%	10.3%	3.2%	2.6%	17.6%	8.0%	28.5%	2.4%	2.8%	12.8%
1985	193,999	5,910	5,263	1,945	9,693	24,803	5,919	5,542	33,958	15,026	55,807	4,256	5,166	20,711
		3.0%	2.7%	1.0%	5.0%	12.8%	3.1%	2.9%	17.5%	7.7%	28.8%	2.2%	2.7%	10.7%
1990	217,428	7,479	6,782	1,529	11,571	23,955	6,335	6,846	35,355	17,049	68,668	4,424	4,493	22,942
		3.4%	3.1%	0.7%	5.3%	11.0%	2.9%	3.1%	16.3%	7.8%	31.6%	2.0%	2.1%	10.6%

During this period, the Extract-Intact ratio of jobs related to oil versus jobs related to tourism shifted slightly toward tourism overall, even with the coming of offshore oil in state and federal waters. The oil industry payroll in the county derived from oil rose significantly beginning in the mid-70s, peaked in the early 80s, but then declined again into the 90s (all based on constant dollars) (See Chart 6: Oil Industry Payroll, 1969-1990). Payrolls and most economic impacts of oil tend to come during the early phases – with construction of platforms, processing plants, and drilling operations. Production itself is capital intensive, but requires relatively few workers to maintain.

In the North County, with no competing edge of tourism and no staunch and well-heeled cadre of searchers for quality of life, oil remained strongly favored. The North County's military-based sector continued its ups and downs. In Lompoc, the space program at Vandenberg helped launch a fivefold increase in the number of motel rooms in the first half of the 1980s, along with housing tracts and new shopping centers. Construction expenditures in Lompoc rose from \$9 million in 1980 to \$61 million in 1985 (Wallace 1996a: B1). But with the Challenger disaster in 1986, the boom came to a sudden end, resulting in declines in retail business, high housing vacancy rates, and depressed real estate prices. The launch pad, mothballed in the process, would not see a blast-off until 1994 with the base's first commercial space project by Lockheed. Although that blast-off ended in failure, the base is now being readied for a continuing program of commercial space operations, with numbers of private firms in place, and high hopes – once again – for growth in the Lompoc area. But this time, growth would be based on serving the telecommunications industry, presumably more stable than military applications.

One realm in which the oil industry has played a significant role is in providing tax revenues. Neither the county nor any of its cities receives either tax or royalty revenues from federal installations (although the county taxes tidelands facilities). But OCS operations generate local tax revenue from the industry's onshore facilities, including processing plants that service the offshore production. In 1985, the high point of tax receipts from oil operations of all types (including "ordinary" terrestrial production), the industry was providing just over 11 percent of the county's property tax revenues (see Tables 10, 11).

Chart 6: Santa Barbara County Oil Industry Payroll, 1969-1990*
 (In Thousands of Dollars)



* Adjusted to Constant Dollars (1982).
 Source: Regional Economic Information Service

**Table 10: Santa Barbara County tax contributions,
oil and gas properties and developments**

1977.....	\$6,099,421
1980.....	\$6,122,396
1985.....	\$13,823,497
1990.....	\$8,816,608
1995.....	\$10,923,169

Source: State Board of Equalization

**Table 11: Santa Barbara County percent of net taxable value owned or
developed by oil and gas companies**

1975-76	8.40%
1985-86	11.37%
1996-96	4.70%

Source: County of Santa Barbara Tax Assessor

Onshore development continued to decline in the county to reach a level in the 1990s of only a fifth of its 1960s volume (a similar although less precipitous fall took place in Ventura County as well). Virtually all drilling was now in the North County, also the site of most workers living in the county who worked with oil, including offshore oil (Molotch and Woolley, 1994). Even including the sharp production rise in the early '90s of OCS oil (including all the oil produced in the Channel, some of which went to Ventura County for processing and shipment), the 1990s did not quite manage to match the late '60s peak in total production (See Chart 3: The Offshore Era: Production in Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties, by Oil Source).

Consistent with our prior cautions not to exaggerate the financial well-being of Santa Barbara compared to the rest of the county (or the country), median incomes in the city are not very different from other parts of the county, including the North County cities of Santa Maria and Lompoc. Indeed, as shown in Table 12 (Median household income, 1980-1990), some of the smaller North County towns (Buellton, Mission Hills, Santa Ynez, and Vandenberg Village) have considerably higher median household incomes than found in Santa Barbara.

Table 12: Median household income, 1980-1990

	1980	1990
Buellton	*	39,757
Carpinteria	19,804	34,827
Guadalupe	*	22,169
Lompoc	18,374	31,702
Mission Hills	*	41,766
Santa Barbara	20,376	33,667
Santa Maria	18,253	29,492
Santa Ynez	*	51,697
Solvang	*	36,841
Vandenberg AFB	*	27,005
Vandenberg Village	*	49,176

Source: U.S. Census.

* Indicates data not available

More distinctive than variations in income are differences in education among the county's cities and towns. Table 13 shows that the percent of adults with a college degree is highest in the city of Santa Barbara (despite its high proportions of poor people and minorities); indeed it is triple the proportion of college graduates in Santa Maria and more than double the proportion in Lompoc. These variations have remained quite stable over time; if anything, the Santa Barbara contrast with Santa Maria and Lompoc has increased (although declined in regard to Vandenberg and several other smaller North County locales). High levels of education have been found to predict environmentalist attitudes in general (Dunlap 1975; Lauber 1978; Protash and Baldassarre 1983; Clark and Goetz 1994) and opposition to offshore oil (among Californians) in particular (Smith 1995: Fig. 5).

Table 13: Adults with B.A. degree as percentage of total population, 1970-1990

	1970	1980	1990
Buellton	*	*	19.5
Carpinteria	8.6	16.7	22.6
Guadalupe	3.4	3.8	4.2
Lompoc	12.0	13.2	14.2
Mission Hills	*	11.6	20.7
Santa Barbara	18.1	28	33.1
Santa Maria	9.7	10.5	10.7
Santa Ynez	*	28.8	29.1
Solvang	*	19.6	24.4
Vandenberg AFB	17.2	20.7	27.6
Vandenberg Village	*	27.5	29.3

Source: U.S. Census.

* Indicates data not available

Even more striking than differences in education are differences in housing costs. The South Coast's housing costs have long been higher than the rest of the state and nation (even though, until 1974, they were at parity with the U.S. as a whole), but the differences have grown greatly over the years (see Table 14).

Table 14: Median housing value, 1970-1990 (in dollars)

	1970	1980	1990
Buellton	21,100	*	*
Carpinteria	22,800	*	*
Guadalupe	11,700	*	*
Lompoc	17,200	118,041	144,600
Santa Barbara	25,700	209,989	346,900
Santa Maria	17,400	117,564	141,900
Solvang	25,500	*	*

Source: U.S. Census.

* Indicates data not available

These high housing costs, which spill over into high rental costs as well, mean that those who live on the South Coast pay a housing premium to do so. Either a larger proportion of their income goes into shelter, or they live under more crowded conditions than their counterparts in the North County; we suspect it is a combination of both. Perhaps this is a reason why homelessness is apparent in the city of Santa Barbara (where panhandling is common), while it is much less evident in North County cities and towns.

For the South Coast, another distinguishing characteristic is a bimodal age distribution – the presence of the university, other colleges (Westmont, Brooks, Santa Barbara Community College), and the tourist industry attract a disproportionate number of the young. Retirement brings (or retains) a disproportionate number of elderly (an adage used to be that Santa Barbara was "for the newly wed and the nearly dead"). These two groups, the young and the old, show modest incomes that obscure more affluent lifestyles and consumption habits. Retired people draw on wealth in various combinations of pensions, social security, CDs, stocks, bonds, and so forth. Their income stream understates their wealth and level of security.

Young people's low wages obscure their actual class backgrounds, which especially for the university students tend to be quite high. Because UCSB has relatively few students commuting from their parents' homes, it has long drawn its students from wealthier backgrounds than have the other campuses in the UC system (Kelley 1981: 16, 104).³¹ The "student-ghetto" of Isla Vista, adjacent to UCSB, with an average age of 23 and very high rents for crowded apartment blocks, has per capita income of \$6,007, lower than the urban ghetto of Compton (Potter 1995: 28). This surely misleads about actual life-styles in the city as well. Some of the young people, whether students or not, work in jobs like waiting tables where tips are greater than reported wages. Again, many of these people are from higher social circles than even their combined tips and wages would indicate; waiting tables in a fashionable city can be a way-station to some other occupational niche. Students attending the other local institutions have a similar profile; even the local community college is distinctive in the number of non-local (including international) students who attend. The point here is that, for various reasons, the income levels of these "ordinary people," young and old, do not give a good sense of their cultural location. For various reasons, quality of life issues loom larger for them than for other types of workers.

During this time period, among newly arriving think-tanks and cultural establishments were the Maharishi University in Isla Vista (before its move to Fairfield, Iowa), the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, Esperia Foundation, the Fielding Institute (a national graduate degree institution), the Buckminster Fuller Society, and Pacifica Graduate Institute (which offers degrees in psychotherapy). Although not all were in place when the event occurred, it was this kind of social grouping that would be part of the local mix that would witness at close-hand "the spill heard round the world."

³¹In 1978, for example, only three percent of UCSB students reported their fathers worked as skilled laborers, compared to eight percent who were physicians, 6 percent lawyers, and 14 percent engineers (See Kelley 1981: 104).

The great spill and immediate aftermath

As it turned out, the federal government's first major lease sale in the Santa Barbara Channel included the tract upon which Union Oil was to construct the "Platform A" that was to blow-out in 1969 and create the Santa Barbara Oil Spill. When the Army Corps of Engineers issued Union's permit (the Corps was the relevant reviewing agency at the time), the city of Santa Barbara had filed protests, citing the lack of a public hearing as a primary grievance (hearings, indeed, were not required by law; the city could only make a moral claim). On January 28, 1969, the oil hit the water with monumental consequences in Santa Barbara. For America, oil drilling, as well as many other ways of doing business in the environment, was never to be the same.

Estimates of the scale of the leak ranged from 10,000 to 780,000 barrels; one Coast Guard estimate put the loss at 100,000 barrels, while a UCSB scientist came up with the 780,000 figure. Whatever the volume of crude, it had stunning visual and emotional impact as it came ashore across the city of Santa Barbara's waterfront and Montecito. It took eight days to bring the gushing spill under control; leakage persisted, however, through fractures in the ocean bottom, and on the one year anniversary of the accident, there was still an outflow of five to ten barrels per day (Easton 1972: 293) with some leakage persisting for an unknown number of years ever after (perhaps up to the present). Beaches were covered with tar for a stretch of about 40 miles (although not over this whole distance at any one point in time), as oil came ashore at various locations over the weeks and months. Clean-up efforts were conspicuously tedious and primitive, with work crews raking straw over the sands, each day's work undone by the next day's incoming tide of oil. Evidence of the spill was still apparent months after.

Tourism for the year 1969 was off by 20 percent; although it is difficult to know what proportion of loss was caused by the spill, local sentiment considered the long-term threat to tourism as great indeed (Easton 1972: 266; Mead and Sorenson 1970). Ironically, and not known at the time, later studies would show the spill (and cumulative spills) were considerably less degrading for the Channel habitat than routine pollution from urban sources, although the urban effects were of a long-term variety compared to the short-term effects of the spill – made more dramatic by the obviousness of the cause.³²

The outpouring of anti-oil sentiment was on a vast scale, both locally and nationally. At the local level, virtually all civic and business organizations, at least in the South Coast area, denounced the oil industry and asked for new regulations, if not outright ending of oil operations in the Channel. This included the Santa

³²The noxious effects were indirect: sewer outfalls and similar sources of pollution caused an urchin proliferation which, in turn, damaged kelp forests which, in turn, eroded conditions needed by other varieties of marine life (see McEvoy 1986).

Barbara Chamber of Commerce and county government. Prominent citizens immediately formed a new organization, Get Oil Out! (GOO). As the name implied, the stance was uncompromising. The leadership included the social elements that make up Santa Barbara's environmental activism. Of the half-dozen or so initial founders, several were professional staff at local high-technology firms. Two were the prominent mystery writers Margaret Millar and Ross MacDonald, the latter of whom made the oil spill the backdrop for his best-selling detective novel, *Sleeping Beauty*. Another two were Montecito society notables Alvin Weingand and Lois Sidenberg (daughter of a countess and well-noted horse woman and sports aviator in her younger days). GOO officials would eventually gain what was claimed to be 200,000 petition signatures forwarded to President Nixon demanding an end to drilling.

When results were not forthcoming as quickly or as completely as the locals demanded, "a current of gloom and despair," in the words of a *Wall Street Journal* report, seemed to take hold. The president of one of the region's leading R&D firms, an international company called Sloan Technology, came to comment:

We are so God-damned frustrated. The whole democratic process seems to be falling apart. Nobody responds to us, and we end up doing things progressively less reasonable. This town is going to blow up if there isn't some reasonable attitude expressed by the Federal Government – nothing seems to happen except that we lose."

Various other organizations joined what was to be a decades-long battle, including the Citizens Planning Association, established in 1960, and local chapters of the Sierra Club, the League of Women Voters and the Audubon Society (with an impressive 750 members at the time in the local chapter [Macdonald 1972]). A Community Environmental Council was formed that was to grow into an endowed think-tank with international recognition (and a paid staff of 60, including workers at its recycling centers). Directly critical to the future of oil was the creation of the Environmental Defense Center (EDC), which came to be staffed by four lawyers and support staff of an additional four, plus interns, and volunteers. Spread across many issue areas besides oil, the EDC has played the informal role of galvanizing citizens, advising local governments, entering litigation, and threatening litigation. Some groups were to be one-shot and short-lived, arising to oppose specific projects over the next years or to do battle on particular issues, elections, and referenda (e.g. sonar testing, on-shore facilities, air quality issues, etc.). These include County Environmental Alliance, Santa Barbara Coastwatch, the Scenic Shoreline Preservation Conference, Citizens to Preserve Zaca Lake, and Citizens' Alert. Others, like the Surfrider Foundation, Citizens for Goleta Valley, and Save Ellwood Shores were to persist, albeit without paid staffs, into the present, with still other groups forming to replace those that have passed from the scene.

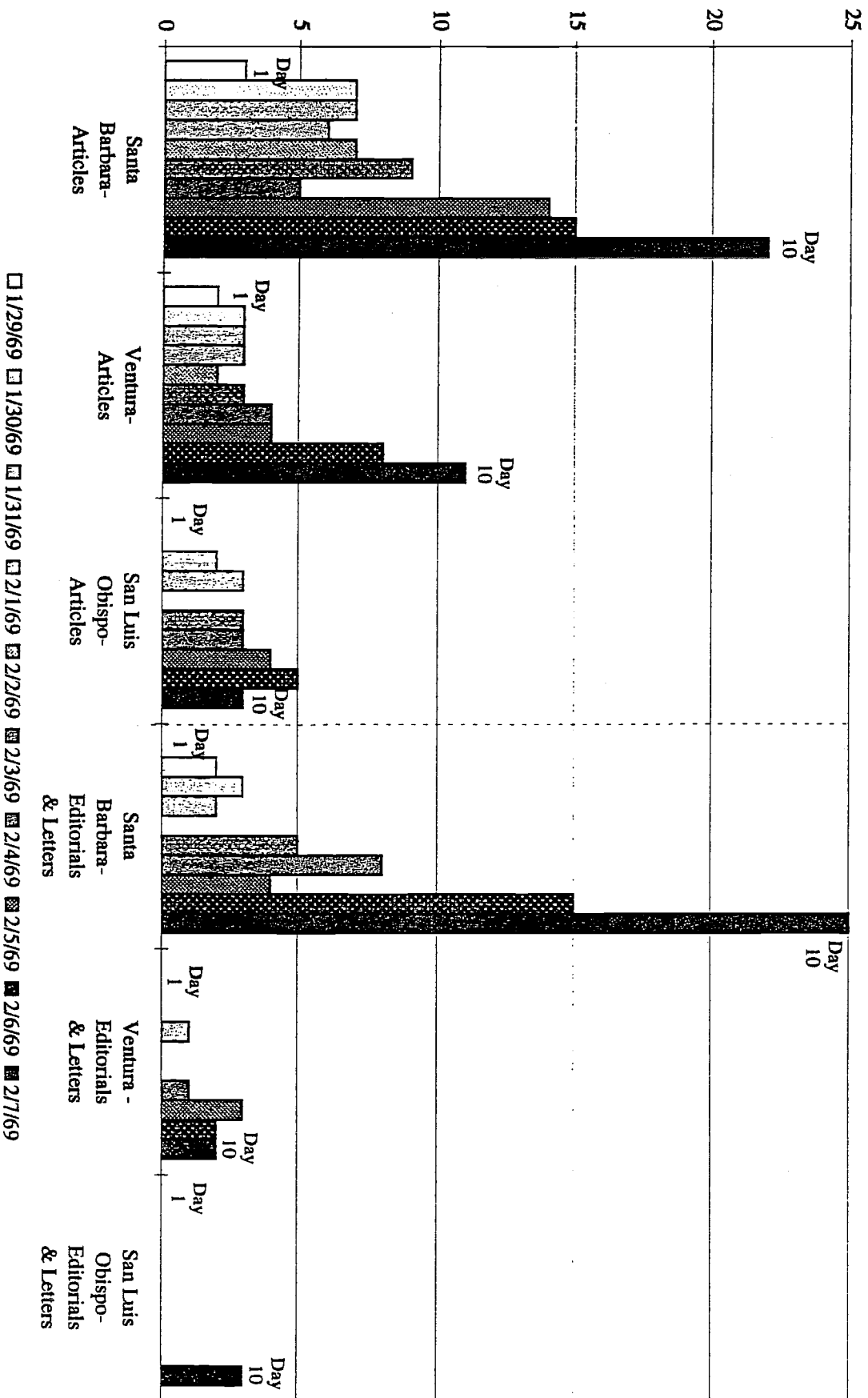
South Coast locals carried out their battles with a repertoire that varied from hot-headed and colorful to studied and coolly strategic. Besides marches and

demonstrations, there was a sail-in, in which boat owners moved on to a platform site to block the edifice from being erected (this was good international press). When oil first came, neither citizen groups nor local government staff had much relevant expertise, although the county's long-standing prior experience with oil, both terrestrial and in the tidelands, meant they were starting from a point well beyond zero. But there were no "imports" from government agencies in Texas or Louisiana to guide local policy makers; staff expertise was all home-grown. Many of our informants observed that this expertise grew gradually; both citizens and people in government "grew into" their roles.

There were groups formed over the years to promote development, including in the South Coast, but none of them – at least until the 1990s – actually supported oil explicitly even though they strenuously objected to the "anti-business" policies of local government in other spheres. Among the pro-development groups have been Santa Barbara Tomorrow and Citizens for a Balanced Community, both organized by business people, including leaders from real estate, construction, and banking.

In the aftermath of the spill, the local media mobilized anti-oil sentiment with consistent, striking, and extraordinary coverage and editorial commentary. The *News-Press* coverage was massive by any standard. We counted the number of stories in the first eleven days after the spill, and compared it with coverage in the *Ventura Star-Free Press* and *San Luis Obispo Telegram-Tribune*, the papers of the two closest jurisdictions to the spill. While no oil ever came ashore at San Luis Obispo, it actually hit Ventura County beaches before Santa Barbara County's. Ventura city beaches and the Ventura Harbor were shortly inundated (Chart 7 shows the results of our counts of news stories). Santa Barbara coverage was approximately three-fold Ventura's and five times the coverage in San Luis Obispo. There were pictures of struggling animals caked in oil and birds cradled in would-be rescuers hands (see Photo 6). Other photos showed children in tears and citizens irate (these images were also presented on local television – and picked up by national news media).

**Chart 7: The First 10 Days of the Oil Spill,
Coverage in the Tri-Counties**



Source: Data compiled by authors from the *Santa Barbara News-Press*, *Ventura Star-Free Press*, and *San Luis Obispo Telegram-Tribune*

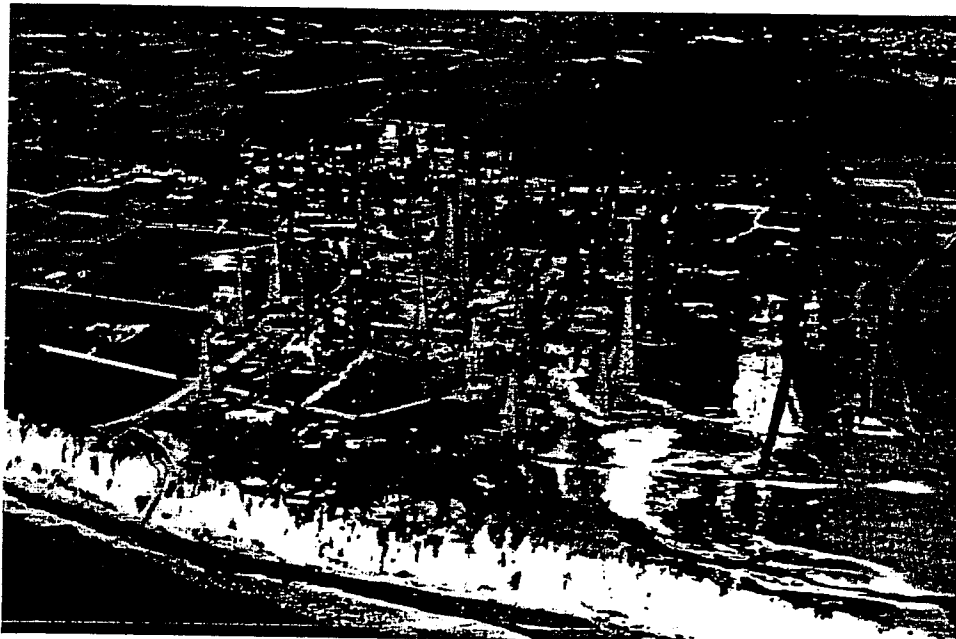


Photo 5: La Mesa oil field (1934). Reprinted from Franks and Lambert (1985).



Photo 6: Santa Barbara Channel oil spill clean-up. Reprinted from Kallman (1984).

For the first year, each day's *News-Press* front page contained a daily reminder that the leak continued even after the gusher had been contained. It ran a score-box that read, simply: "___th day of the oil spill, when will it end?" We similarly made counts of editorials, commentaries and letters to the editor across the three papers (see Chart 7). These results are even more lopsided. The opinions expressed in the *News-Press* were overwhelmingly negative. The ordinarily mild-mannered paper (its daily editorial page motto was "Disagree if you must, but don't be disagreeable") used language as intense as any oppositional group. Under the headline, "Menace in the Channel," an editorial concludes: "All offshore drilling should be halted at once and until there is absolute assurance that there can be no recurrence" (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, January 30, 1969). The next day's editorial, entitled "Oil outrage against public," ended with: "At the moment, the oil companies may be legally within their rights to drill, but they are compounding a crime against the South Coast public at large" (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, January 31, 1969). The paper ran additional pages to accommodate the deluge of letters to the editor coming in (372 published in the first month) – virtually all denouncing oil.

The *Santa Maria Times*, although providing less attention to the spill, took an editorial position similar to that of the *News-Press*. It ran a front page editorial of complaint on February 6 (the spill was January 28) and then followed up with a second editorial the next day on the regular editorial page in which it noted Santa Barbara's rare beauty and the city's effort to prevent drilling. This editorial says that until the reason for the spill could be found and corrected, then all drilling must be stopped. Still another editorial (Feb. 10) used the spill to argue for local control of offshore drilling.

By way of contrast, the Ventura paper took the more equivocal stance that the event was indeed unfortunate but a part of doing business and reparable. The Ventura paper also pointed to the costs and other problems the spill created for the industry itself. Santa Barbara media focused exclusively on the damage inflicted by the spill and the irresponsibility of Union Oil and the federal government's policy on the Channel. The paper described in detail that the blow-out took place because Union requested and received a variance from the usual casing requirements (the variance was granted by Interior Department's Geologic Survey, at that time responsible for regulation of drilling and production). The fact of the variance, interpreted as somehow operating outside the rules, was prominently featured as the cause of the spill and the argument made that the government was deeply incriminated for having allowed drilling in the first place and for so poorly enforcing its own regulations. The paper also detailed the state attorney general's difficulties in finding academic experts willing to testify against oil; the angle was that the universities too were "in the pockets" of petroleum.

The *News-Press* elevated coverage of oil pollution incidents elsewhere in the world, helping form a coherent picture of oil exploitation as dangerous and degrading everywhere and under all circumstances. The *News-Press* ran front-page stories on the economics and politics of the industry, exposing in muckraking style

the low level of income taxes it paid to the federal government (because of "loopholes") and the large subsidies it (then) received to maintain the price of U.S. oil above world-market prices.³³ The paper also shared many of the suspicions of anti-oil groups that the Interior Department was "in bed" with the oil companies, and that academics, including those in the University of California, were similarly mere hired hands of the industry. Thus there could be only suspiciousness of any remedies promoted by the federal government or academic experts, short of an end to drilling altogether. A litany of "broken promises" and "betrayals" was recited. Early offshore structures (albeit in state tidelands) were left behind, some to rust down to water line, exposed for years after at low-tide. Offshore platforms were supposed to be invisible (assurances from Secretary Udall to State Senator Alvin Weingand), but they were obvious enough from the shore. Despite constant efforts, the locals were denied standing vis a vis the Department of the Interior. Union officials had initially minimized the size of the ocean slick and the rate of spillage. The Coast Guard was accused of deliberately delaying notifying local authorities that the spill had taken place. Union Oil was castigated for only confirming the fact of the eruption 23 hours after it had occurred. The media conveyed a perception of oil as pollutant and oil as beyond control.

According to the *News-Press* reporter charged with handling the oil beat, the paper saw itself as "making the battle" against oil with everyone else backing them up. This reporter, Robert Sollen, became full-time environmental correspondent (perhaps the first such beat on any paper in the U.S., and certainly the only one in a community as small as Santa Barbara). In 17 years of covering oil, he says he was never interfered with by management. An ardent environmentalist (later a leader of the local Sierra Club chapter in his retirement), the paper's choice of him for this role could only generate further coverage critical of oil.

Although a story in a locality in which no national media are permanently based, the oil spill generated massive national coverage, with most of it taking the anti-oil perspective found in the *News-Press*. The symbolic deaths of birds and other "human interest" angles were used to tell a story of beauty destroyed and ecological mayhem. The *New York Times* ran 22 news stories on the spill; the *Washington Post*, 19,³⁴ with major (usually cover) stories in *Time* (Feb. 14, 1969), *Newsweek* (March 3); *Life* (June 13) *Saturday Review* (May 10), *Sierra Club Bulletin* (April 10), and *Sports Illustrated* (April 10) – the last three articles written by Santa Barbarans. Such national (indeed, global) coverage helped make the blowout at Platform A a world-wide media event, considered by many the precipitating incident of the modern environment movement (Easton 1972; Mowrey and Redmond 1993).

Key among the consequences was federal passage, in 1969, of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and California's passage of the California

³³Coverage included testimony in the State Legislature and reports from other papers (see e.g. Mead 1969; Rennert 1969).

³⁴For these and other counts of coverage, see Molotch and Lester (1975).

Environmental Quality Act (CEQA), both of which required environmental impact assessments of major public works projects or those requiring governmental permits. These are the landmark laws that gave birth to the environmental review process and the vast data collection apparatus that has come about, as well the consulting industry that carries out the analyses.³⁵ Because OCS leases are on federal lands, NEPA also meant that offshore oil development would come under the law's requirements. Oil development in the Channel would henceforth be held accountable to the environmental review process. Indeed, it is likely that few regions in the country require as much environmental review as Santa Barbara county jurisdictions, and in regard to many forms of development, not just oil.³⁶ But oil would hardly be exempted in the NEPA context.

The oil spill was also a likely force behind creation of the California Coastal Conservation Commission, the watchdog agency charged with protecting the state's coastline. Passed by state-wide referenda in 1972, all lands adjacent to the coast and the tidelands themselves came under the special review procedures of the six regional coastal commissions as well as the state-wide body. Again, because of its long coastline, much of Santa Barbara County's development potential came under Coastal Commission jurisdiction, and any proposed onshore facilities to support offshore oil became subject to commission approval. Again, such changes create a longer time-line for any development proposal, more opportunities for public review, and more openings for legal and political challenges to a proposed project.

A new set of institutional arrangements altered local conditions of oil development, as with development in general. Decisions like those that had earlier generated the Channel leasing program and the permitting of each platform would not again occur without public participation. And this change, in turn, generated new local energies and modes of community organization as citizenry took part in a newly developed public process for judging the value of projects.

In the Santa Barbara case, it is clear, the new processes took hold in a context that was ready and willing. Events and circumstances had come together by the late 1960's to create a very particular type of socioeconomic region. There were an unusually large number of very rich people with concomitant senses of entitlement and resources at their command. There were strong currents of art, experimentation, of seekers of Truth and spiritual values. The university was in place, attracting hundreds of faculty and other researchers, thousands of students, and providing its own sort of draw for retirees who valued the cultural resources of a significant educational institution nearby. Volunteers' expertise could be put to use analyzing environmental documents and industry proposals. There were

³⁵The scope and significance of this legislation was greatly increased with "Friends of Mammoth" decision, in which the California Supreme Court ruled that projects could be challenged on the basis of the adequacy of the environmental review that had take place.

³⁶This extensive use of the environmental review process in Santa Barbara compared to other areas has been well documented. See Warner and Molotch (1992).

strong organizations devoted to planning, and with the oil spill there was an almost religious conception of the need to reform the way the earth was used and local land-use policy conducted.

New community mobilizations

Just as prior arenas of local activism helped form the response to the oil spill, the events at Platform A spilled over into other realms of mobilization. The civil rights movement, anti-war movement, and student-power movement gaining ground in other parts of the country had largely bypassed Santa Barbara. Despite having a student body of 12,000, in 1967 UCSB was showing few signs of participating in the great upheavals. All this was to change dramatically with a student protest, led by a young anthropology professor, of oil-supply operations at the city's wharf – otherwise given over to restaurants and recreational activities. The quiescent "campus by the sea" shortly arose with great furor. From oil, the increasingly strident student activists turned to saving the job of the professor who had led their protest at the wharf (whose teaching post was threatened on other grounds); this escalated into a general protest over civil rights, "overbuilding" and other environmental conditions in Isla Vista, the University's policies toward students, and – most importantly – the war in Viet Nam. Continuing demonstrations and agitation on campus and nearby resulted in, first, bringing in the Los Angeles County Sheriffs Department to bolster local police, and then occupation by the National Guard. Making national headlines, the Isla Vista branch of the Bank of America was burned to the ground on February 25, 1970, as part of an all-day and all-night general protest (Potter and Sullivan 1970). More than 500 students were arrested in various waves over the next several months; one student was shot dead by law enforcement (ironically protecting property at the time), and an innocent campus janitor was killed by a bomb planted at the Faculty Club. The tactics of the Los Angeles County Sheriffs deputies brought in to quell the disturbances were condemned by the otherwise anti-protester *News-Press*. Investigations would reveal illegal entering of homes, widespread arrests of innocent people, and other allegations of mass civil rights violations (Kelley 1981: 55).

These events, controversial and searing, nevertheless added still another element to the local mix: a mobilized student community that provided support in many other types of political activities. Students worked in election campaigns, and when 18 year olds got the vote in 1970, Isla Vista was to provide huge voting blocks for left-of-center candidates at the national level and for liberal-environmental candidates running for the supervisorial seat serving the student district. In the early 1970s, UCSB students not only tended to be liberal like youth throughout the country, but more liberal. So, for example, a UCLA survey of entering students at "highly selective" institutions across the country revealed that whereas 40 percent of entering students nationwide described themselves as "liberal," the figure for UCSB

was 53 percent. By the late 70s, the numbers were all moving to the right, but UCSB students remained to the left of their counterparts elsewhere. This included Berkeley, whose entering students were more conservative than those at UCSB (Kelley 1981: 105).

Especially significant is the particular meaning that being "liberal" seems to have had for UCSB students. The campus established the country's second Environmental Studies Program, immediately swamped with student demand (it is still a popular major). In the 1972 UCLA survey of entering student attitudes, 53 percent of UCSB students said that an essential or very important life objective was involvement in environmental campaigns, and 59 percent said "keeping up with political affairs" was essential or very important (Kelley 1981: 105). All of these numbers were to decline by the end of the decade; in 1978, UCSB students ranking involvement in environmental campaigns as an important life objective had declined to 38 percent, a still robust number and higher than the percent at Berkeley (31 percent). Further, these data are based on entering students, but research findings on UCSB students, and students generally, show a shift to the left as they move through college. The UCSB campus student profile in the decade following the spill was thus particularly to the political left, and especially strong on environmental activism.

A core group of the activists created a short-lived Isla Vista newspaper called *Strategic Hamlet*. With financial support from a few Montecito philanthropists and others, the core staff followed up with a more long-lasting weekly paper, the *Santa Barbara News and Review*. This paper lasted from 1972-1986 until it merged with a second weekly and became the currently robust *Santa Barbara Independent* (whose owners have recently created the *Ventura Independent* to serve the adjacent county to the south).

Especially in its *News and Review* days, Santa Barbara had an alternative paper that was intensely political, and relative to most media in the country, far to the left. It opposed oil development with even more fervor and certainly more consistency than the *News-Press*, but in addition fought development across the board. It provided positive coverage of environmental protest organizations, including the specifics of their projects and complaints against local government and developers. On oil issues, it joined the *News-Press* in giving not only detailed information, but providing specifics of just how citizens could take action: where and when hearings were to take place, the relevant issues at stake, locations of protests, and so forth. These media facilitated not only local knowledge, but also local action.

A new generation of land-use regulations

In this context, politics was to greatly change in the city and county of Santa Barbara. A harbinger of future events, in retrospect, was an earlier and unprecedented voter initiative that overturned the county's rezoning of land to

allow Humble Oil to develop a processing plant near Carpinteria. Humble had purchased the lease on February 6, 1968, and by June 27 of the same year, the Planning Commission had rezoned the property – amazingly quick service by later standards. Almost as quickly, an opposition developed, gained the necessary signatures, and defeated the rezoning at a November 5 county-wide vote.

A post-spill landmark was a 1970 county-wide vote that reversed the Board of Supervisors' rezoning approval to permit a large-scale luxury housing development and polo club on the ocean in a rural area north of the city, well-beyond Goleta at El Capitan beach. This reversal, carried two-to-one, was noteworthy on a number of grounds: it also was county-wide, meaning that environmentalists again could prevail even when more conservative North County voters were participating. It also registered a new level of concern for the land; such luxury development had not previously been thwarted in the sort of "gentlemen's agreement" that had fostered "clean" (and affluent!) development in the past."

Local political changes followed in rapid-fire succession. In part to gain planning time to create proper methods for environmental review, the county passed a near-complete moratorium on new construction (in place for less than a year until the more rigorous procedures were set up). County voters on the South Coast, in 1972, elected two environmentalists to the Board of Supervisors (James Slater and UCSB professor Frank Frost). Environmental regulations were refined and expanded continuously, with a major change coming in 1974 with the creation of a semi-autonomous County Office of Environmental Quality which, among other responsibilities, would have the power to select firms carrying out environmental review for developers, even though developers were required to pay the costs of their services. The county had become a leader, "unique" in its procedures (Graves and Simon 1980: 38) which would be praised by state officials both for their effectiveness at "full disclosure" of project impacts as well as their "streamlining" of the process. This Office of Environmental Quality would grow and build strong in-house expertise that would come into play in fateful ways for the oil industry. In 1977, it was elevated to full department status as the Department of Environmental Resources, and all oil development impacts came under its purview.

Despite bitter criticism from two North County supervisors and two negative grand jury reports, the department not only survived but grew in both size of staff and range of its activities (a later grand jury, differently constituted politically, would praise the quality of the department's work as "virtually unassailable").³⁸ The situation thus evolved that, in part because of the spill but also in line with a

³⁷Part of the drama of these events was the arrest of two elderly Santa Barbara women for irregularities in how they handled some of the petitions that placed the measure on the ballot. The ensuing sympathy for the women further galvanized support for their goals.

³⁸"Grand Jury Urges County Effort for New Housing," *Santa Barbara News Press*, July 8, 1980, as cited in Graves and Simon (1980: 87).

long history of local innovation, the county of Santa Barbara developed leadership in the new procedures of environmental review, and the segment of county staff responsible for this leadership came to play an important role in regulating oil development. In part, this build-up in capacity was made possible by the fact that so many projects were coming together at once. This both forced action and made it economically feasible to hire and train a range of specialists who could work together on the common challenge (Lima and Woolley 1991: 7). In 1983, the county created its own Energy Division within the Resource Management Department, with its operations financed by oil industry development fees.

The reorganization of county planning was a response to the vastness of the projects being proposed and the county's historic concern to maintain amenities. The developments were of a scale unprecedented in the history of the county; indeed they were large by the standards of many *countries*. The need to consider so many documents, reports, complaints, permits, environmental impact reports (EIRs) concerning oil created an "agenda glut" (Lima and Woolley 1991) for the County Board of Supervisors and Planning Commission. The county's staff agencies were similarly impacted in their efforts to assess impacts and plan for them, especially given the county's ongoing commitment to control the consequences of development. It was not just the planning departments that were affected, but other agencies as well – most notably the Air Pollution Control District which bore much of the brunt of monitoring air quality impacts (Santa Barbara's sunshine and mountain proximity are smog-inducing). First, through assistance of other agencies (the State Coastal Commission) and later through fees imposed on the oil industry, staff and budgets sharply rose. The Energy Division grew from 12 positions in 1984 to 25 in 1990; the local Air Pollution Control District increased from 17 to 110 over the same period, with a budget increase of similar magnitude (Lima and Woolley 1991: 9).

Here is a list of the major new projects, one that understates local government planning burdens because of additional projects that were proposed but later withdrawn (for further detail see Appendix A: Santa Barbara County Timeline).

- 1974 Exxon's onshore Las Flores Canyon processing facility begins 6 year permitting process. In 1975, South Coast activists succeed in subjecting zoning approval to county referendum vote but fail to defeat project. In 1978, Exxon initiates use of surrogate offshore storage and treatment facility while county approval for onshore facility remains pending; county finally reaches agreement with Exxon for facility operation in 1980.
- 1979 Federal Lease Sale 48 offers 148 OCS tracts from Point Conception to Mexico border. Results in nine active leases covering 23,040 acres

- and two offshore platforms (Harvest and Hermosa) erected in the next five years.
- 1980 Federal Lease Sale 53 offers 111 OCS tracts from Point Conception to the Oregon border. Results in 38 active leases covering 202,660 acres and two offshore platforms (Irene and Hidalgo) erected in the next six years.
- 1981 Federal Lease Sale 68 offers 140 OCS tracts from Point Conception to the Mexico border. Results in four active leases covering 15,860 acres.
- 1982 Federal Lease Sale 73 offers 173 OCS tracts from Point Conception and Morro Bay. Results in eight active leases covering 43,801 acres.
- 1982 Federal Lease Sale RS-2 resells 12 OCS tracts. Results in two active leases covering 11,386 acres.
- 1982 Arco caps oil and gas seepage area off Coal Oil Point with two giant steel pyramids to satisfy required emissions trade-off by the county's Air Resources Board and the state.
- 1984 Federal Lease Sale 80 offers 657 OCS tracts from Point Conception to the Mexico border. Results in one active lease covering 456 acres.
- From late 70s With cumulation of federal OCS lease sales, other proposed onshore installations proceed through various stages of permitting process but are never constructed: an LNG terminal, two supply bases, a crew base, and additional processing facilities.
- 1985 County approves Chevron's proposal for onshore Gaviota processing facility. The facility is built and operative by 1987.
- 1995 Mobil proposes Clearview slant-drilling project (as part of Ellwood onshore facility expansion) to develop tidelands reserves. Mobil withdraws its application in February, 1996.

In the city of Santa Barbara, a reform slate oriented toward growth control took over the City Council in 1972 – for the first time providing an environmentalist majority in the city. This majority has persisted, on a more or less continuous basis, up until the present day. It pursued even stronger anti-oil policies than its predecessor, taking the step of banning oil activities at the city wharf – as had been demanded by the student protesters several years prior. The new council supported a change in the City Charter limiting all business buildings to 60 feet in

height and houses, apartments, and hotels to 45 feet (about four stories); this followed a public vote aimed at blocking a proposed eight-story "high rise" (a project supported by the *News-Press*, whose founder Thomas Storke was to occupy the top floor). Then came a change to the city's general plan that cut much of the allowable residential densities in half; this was part of a comprehensive growth control program that zoned the city for a maximum population of 85,000 people (an addition of about 12,000 from the existing 1974 level). Finally in 1989, the city imposed sharp limits (through a public vote, "Measure E") on additions of office, commercial, or industrial space, permitting only a modest increment to the existing total over the next 20 years (about 500,000 square feet of new space). In neighboring Goleta, a moratorium on water hook-ups (in 1973) became, in effect, a strong growth control mechanism³⁹ – and is only now in the process of being lifted. At various times, other jurisdictions – Montecito and the small enclave of Summerland – had their own versions of hook-up moratoria. Virtually all these actions (except to a degree those against oil) took place with most local media, particularly the *News-Press*, strongly opposed because they were deemed excessive and unreasonable controls over local business.

In the North County, no city or local community had any political or social profile resembling that of Santa Barbara. Although both North County supervisorial districts elected environmental liberals (Dianne Owens and Robert Hedlund) and one moderate (Toru Miyoshi) during the period after 1969, local political leaders were overwhelmingly pro-business and pro-oil (Owens and Hedlund were forced out after a single term; Miyoshi served two). Santa Maria has had, at most, a token environmentalist now and then on its council. Because the two North County districts could usually be relied on to provide pro-oil supervisors, any shift in the sentiments among the three other supervisors provides a majority at least somewhat sympathetic to petroleum development – at least compared to the city of Santa Barbara's leadership.

Besides the differences in socioeconomic base (particularly education levels and occupational role) and cultural tone between the North County and South Coast, there are other plausible ways to explain the varied responses to offshore oil development. Oil development in the North County has taken place in locations generally hidden from major population centers, whether at inland valleys or offshore (most of the offshore platforms have been farther south, and North County cities are not on the coast in any event).⁴⁰ Certainly important in the north-south difference is the contrast in the organizational infrastructure, international reputation, and self-consciousness between the two areas.

But increasingly over time and throughout many county jurisdictions and within county government itself, there came to be a new understanding of how any

³⁹This is probably one of the few growth control mechanisms of the many enacted in California that has actually curtailed growth (Warner and Molotch 1992).

⁴⁰This point was made by Robert Sollen (see Graves and Simon 1980: 14).

additional growth, whether residential or business, would be monitored. Even as more conservative leaders took power in various jurisdictions, there could be no going back on certain ways of thinking. A new kind of logic was imposed on development that shifted the grounds of debate. A project would have to:

- Pay its own way. As particularly revealed by studies conducted by the city of Santa Barbara, population gains, on the whole, resulted in a net loss in public revenue. A burden of proof was thus laid on any new project that they would not be a fiscal liability. This could be accomplished by the developer paying special fees or in some other way mitigating the damage. Many local business spokesmen (and the *News-Press*) fought such provisions, and the degree of mitigation has remained an ongoing series of contests in the city, the county, and other jurisdictions as well.
- Enhance amenities. Again, city analyses pointed out that additional growth would erode citizen access to existing amenities like beachfront and parks. The burden of proof was on developers to show their project would not do this or to mitigate with special fees or other mechanisms any detraction from quality of life.
- Sustain the environment. City voters had passed an addition to the City Charter in 1982 for the city to "live within local resources" (Santa Barbara City Charter §1507). This was code language, in particular, for relying on local water supplies instead of joining the State Water Project. Santa Barbara was the only county in the state whose voters had rejected the State Water option (in 1979), in part because of its negative environmental effects in northern California, in part for fear it would stimulate local growth. Equally as important as the issue of water use was the fear that new development would further erode air quality. Santa Barbara's meteorological conditions (including extensive sunshine and rings of mountains that can trap air in stagnant valleys) make it susceptible to smog. At the time of the 1977 statewide evaluations, the entire county was deemed a non-attainment area for oxidant; the South Coast was in non-attainment for carbon monoxide, and the North County was in non-attainment for particulates.⁴¹

The upshot was, again, a shift in the burden of proof to developers to show their projects would not harm the natural environment. They would have to show, on a case-by-case basis, that their project's pollution would be offset by pollution abatements they would create, that their water use would actually lower the total amount of water used at the site compared to the prior pattern, or that they would – in relevant cases – safeguard habitats, open spaces, viewsheds or other environmental resources.

⁴¹See State of California Clean Air Act Amendments, 40 C. F. R., sections 51.12, 107, 110, 174 (1973); also, Graves and Simon (1989: 70, 71).

Once again, all these policies and programs were stridently opposed by business groups, but through the kinds of people they elected to office or by direct referenda, citizens overcame such resistance and made environmentalism local policy and the basis of city government – with at least some carry-over to county government as well.

Some policies do change as a result of the balance at any given moment on the County Board of Supervisors. For example, when the County first created an Office of Environmental Quality in 1973 (to oversee all planning and development programs), it appointed a highly energetic and experienced administrator as director (Albert Reynolds, a former State Department official). He was to become thoroughly informed about local oil issues and was known as a formidable regulator – or alternatively, as portrayed by a Grand Jury investigation requested by a North County Supervisor, infused with "bureaucratic self-interest."

As further enhancement of the scope of the agency, a supportive majority in 1977 raised the Office of Environmental Quality to full department status as the Department of Environmental Resources, which was, in turn, in 1981 merged with the Planning Department to become a new "Department of Resource Management." Although Reynolds was widely expected to become head of this new department he had put together, a political shift in the board's leanings not only deprived him of the post but caused his unceremonious firing. In 1991, the name of the department was changed still again to "Department of Planning and Development" – a signal of more pro-development board sentiments, not only toward oil, but toward business in general. In terms of actual policy shifts, however, precedents make it hard to implement strong reversals; public watchdogs remain on duty, ready to create controversy, litigate to delay, or mount initiative campaigns.

Public sentiments: Evidence from surveys, votes, and hearings

This is the changing, litigious, and polarized context in which oil has had to work during its years in the Channel. The oil industry has managed to prospect, to drill, to produce, to process, and to transport – but only under conditions of threat and counter-threat, oppositional referenda, litigation and counter-litigation. On very many occasions, and especially in the South Coast, it has also had terrible press and widespread public denunciation. It was not just the oil companies who came in for local rage, but also government – and most especially the federal government, particularly the Department of the Interior and its minerals management arms.

Opinion polls taken in 1972, 1988, and 1990 do indicate persistent local concerns about offshore oil. The first county survey reported 53 percent viewed Channel offshore oil as a "serious problem." While only about a fourth wanted all drilling halted, 56 percent favored tighter regulations (Hetrick 1973: 72, 74). In the 1988 county-wide survey which asked about opposition to further drilling, 54 percent of county residents opposed new activity, with 39 percent in favor. The 1990

poll yielded almost identical results (Lankford 1990).⁴² Statewide surveys again produce very similar majorities opposed to additional drilling off California. The Santa Barbara North-South County split was in clear evidence in all these surveys. It helps explain still other survey findings (Smith 1995) that California coastal county populations do not differ much from inland counties in attitude; diversity within coastal counties is likely as great as differences among counties.

An indication of how citizens of different communities felt about the coastal environment more generally can be gained by inspection of referenda votes at two points in time after the spill – the 1972 statewide vote to establish the Coastal Commission (which asked voters to recognize the coastal zone as a "delicately balanced ecosystem"), and the 1985 Santa Barbara County ballot measures to consolidate oil processing facilities at either one or two coastal locations. Support for these initiatives indicate not only an environmental awareness but a willingness to increase state and local regulatory power to preserve coastal resources.

Santa Barbara County voters supported the 1972 measure by a 61.9% majority. As Table 15 shows, however, support for the initiative varied by community, with South Coast locales in support and North County towns in opposition:

Table 15: Votes cast on 1972 Coastal Zone Conservation Act

	Yes	No
Carpinteria	55.58%	44.42%
Guadalupe	45.26%	54.74%
Lompoc	47.38%	52.62%
Santa Barbara	67.17%	32.83%
Santa Maria	42.58%	57.42%
Total, unincorporated areas	64.52%	35.48%
Total, County	61.91%	38.09%

Source: Elections Division, Santa Barbara County Clerk Recorder Assessor

Strongest support came from the city of Santa Barbara (67%); weakest support was from Santa Maria (43%).

This north-south difference tended to persist across all county votes relevant to the environment, but county majorities consistently passed environmental measures at the polls. In all ten Santa Barbara area referenda (city and county) involving environment and growth issues between 1967 and 1983, the environmentalist position prevailed (Sollen 1983b).

By 1985 the environmentalist position was becoming less reliable as a predictor of election outcomes. In that year, the county electorate was given two propositions explicitly concerning oil development – ballot measures A and B.

⁴²These surveys were conducted by Richard Hertz consulting. See also Smith (1995: 12).

Measure A, drafted by Santa Barbara's Environmental Defense Center, called for consolidation of oil processing facilities at one site on the South Coast (Las Flores Canyon) and one site in the North County, specified air quality regulations indicating allowable amounts of pollutants, and sought to ban tankering of Santa Barbara Channel crude by 1988 (in favor of pipeline transport). Measure B was a weaker countermeasure placed on the ballot by the then generally pro-oil Board of Supervisors to undermine Measure A; it was advisory only, recommending the following:

- (1) Strict enforcement of clean air standards, (2) consolidation of oil and gas processing facilities at two sites (but both on the South Coast, rather than one south and one north), (3) pipeline transport of oil out of Santa Barbara County, (4) pipeline transportation of hazardous natural gas liquids, propanes, and butanes, and (5) consolidation of marine tanker terminals at one site.

While support of either measure reflects an interest in environmental preservation, Measure A would have provided more stringent and binding controls. As shown in Tables 16 and 17, Measure B was supported almost four to one, while Measure A failed to carry a majority anywhere in the county:

Table 16: Votes cast on Santa Barbara County Measure A (1985)

	Yes	No
Carpinteria	33.77%	66.23%
Guadalupe	14.84%	85.16%
Lompoc	30.31%	69.69%
Santa Barbara	49.09%	50.91%
Santa Maria	15.07%	84.93%
Solvang	27.12%	72.88%
Total, unincorporated areas	39.34%	60.66%
Total, County	37.37%	62.63%

Source: Elections Division, Santa Barbara County Clerk Recorder Assessor

Table 17: Votes cast on Santa Barbara County Measure B (1985)

	Yes	No
Carpinteria	75.03%	24.97%
Guadalupe	69.10%	30.90%
Lompoc	75.60%	24.40%
Santa Barbara	82.78%	17.22%
Santa Maria	73.14%	26.86%
Solvang	80.13%	19.87%
Total, unincorporated areas	80.10%	19.90%
Total, County	79.74%	20.26%

Source: Elections Division, Santa Barbara County Clerk Recorder Assessor.

Again, the pattern of north-south split was evident; the city of Santa Barbara showed the most support for Measure A (it almost passed, with over 49%). In Santa Maria, only 15% of voters supported the more stringent initiative. Support was also low in the North County towns of Guadalupe, Solvang, and Lompoc. While Measure B was supported throughout the county, voting followed a similar pattern in that support was highest in Santa Barbara and lowest in Guadalupe and Santa Maria.

To gain other evidence of county sentiment toward oil development after the spill, we carried out detailed studies of public responses at two important oil-related hearings. Whether or not testimony at hearings accurately reflects public opinion, and some evidence indicates it does (Gundry and Heberlein 1984), expressions at hearings are important in themselves. For one thing they have legal force in that evidence of "controversy" associated with a project, under California Environmental Quality Act, is one basis for requiring full-scale environmental reviews of a given development. Hearing testimony also may be covered by the media and in that way spreads concerns and anxieties. Hearings may also introduce evidence that courts will later rule has not been dealt with adequately by those environmental reviews or by government agencies that may approve a project. There are thus good reasons to take sentiments at hearings seriously.

One hearing we used was for Lease Sale 53, the federal government's proposal to lease 243 tracts off central and northern California; the hearing for the lease sale's draft EIR was held in San Luis Obispo on June 27, 1980 and incorporated only the northern end of the Channel. The second hearing we examined was for Lease Sale 68, the proposed lease of 218 tracts off central and southern California, this sale involving southerly parts of the Channel. This hearing was held in Santa Barbara on July 28-29, 1981. Both of these hearings were held as part of the mandate to gain public comment on the environmental reviews stating the impacts of each of the lease sales.

We carried out our examination of these events by:

1) Determining the content of the Environmental Impact Reports, in terms of the volume of discussion given different types of issues (e.g. air quality versus economic impacts, etc.). We counted every line of text and classified them by their subject matter, using a previous technique developed by Freudenburg and Gramling (1994).

2) Determining the content of public response as represented by statements made at the hearings and letters filed. Again, we precisely counted every line of every response and classified them according to the kind of issue area they took up.

3) We then looked at news coverage of the same events and again classified lines of text, using the same mode of categorization.

In this way, we could study the process of "amplification" – the way content in the EIRs were selectively portrayed and reformulated as it moved through successive stages of "public life."

Comments from Santa Barbara County speakers and correspondents included 29 parties who were opposed to the leases and 28 who were supportive (none were neutral). Positive comments tended to come from the North County rather than the South Coast and from business groups rather than citizens associations. Of the ten North County speakers, all were in favor of the sales, while all 32 of those in opposition were from the South Coast. Of the parties identifying themselves with business affiliations, all 12 supported the sales, while 23 of the 34 unaffiliated individuals or representatives of citizens associations were opposed.⁴³ What is most apparent is that while the EIR focuses on technical issues (assessments of impacts on endangered species, other plant and animal species, water quality, and matters such as oil spill models, drilling cut analyses, and seismic fault mapping), the "public" takes up much larger issues which, if dealt with at all, are taken up only in a cursory way in the EIRs.

Those in favor of oil disproportionately stressed the issue of national energy needs (a topic mentioned only as prefatory language in the EIRs). Those opposed to oil raised issues of legitimacy and raised them intensely – the legitimacy of the entire oil program, the legitimacy of the hearing, the legitimacy of how decisions would be made, regardless of what the EIR had to say (this effect was even stronger among those testifying from San Luis Obispo County and much weaker from those coming from Ventura County). The other major issue raised by opponents was a general appeal to "way of life" (the term was often used) – the idea that something precious was in jeopardy, something inconsistent with oil development (the specific numbers and percents are detailed in Appendix B: Federal OCS Lease Sale Hearings – A Case Study).

⁴³Only those speakers who identified their location and/or affiliation during the course of their testimony were counted. Data was gathered by reading all hearing transcripts and letters, isolating speakers from Santa Barbara County, and determining affiliation and position.

Issues like "way of life" are, of course, difficult to quantify and hence not easy for those who write EIRs to deal with. Concerns with the legitimacy of procedures and the integrity of political leaders, the courts, and administrative units (salient among oil opponents) are not at all matters deemed appropriate for EIRs by those who commission them and those who write them. But the "public" – regardless of which side they were on – took the hearings as an opportunity to present the relevant issues as they saw them, and this brought many non-technical concerns to the fore.

This effect was further amplified at the stage of media dissemination. We categorized fully half of the *News-Press* coverage (at the time still very wary of oil development) as devoted to the issue of legitimacy (the *Santa Maria Times*, by contrast, concerned itself with this question in only six percent of its coverage). The *News-Press* coverage included prominent (and sympathetic) treatment of then State Senator Gary Hart's hearing comments; Hart was a well known and extremely popular politician, elected on a liberal-environmentalist platform. Hart's public denunciation of Lease Sale 68 EIR process as a "sham" was prominently played – front page, and the basis of the story's headline and lead paragraph (Hart was referring to the Interior Department's alleged unconcern for local opposition to offshore drilling).

Specific bones of contention: Local government vs. oil

These negative sentiments, widely held in the South Coast and expressed in diverse ways, were stimulated by and impacted the relations between local government, on the one hand, and the industry and federal government, on the other.⁴⁴

Among the bones of contention over time:

- The Interior Department's efforts, in 1975, to perform a "blanket" environmental review for future developments across its lease sales without the kind of individual reviews favored by local authorities.
- The industry's resistance to local efforts to consolidate oil processing facilities, first at one major location (Las Flores Canyon) and then, as later agreed to by authorities, to two locations to ward off scattered industrialization along the coast. The locals have prevailed, with two new efforts to overcome the consolidations apparently defeated (the Molino project and Mobil's "Clearview").

⁴⁴The belief that oil and Interior were riding roughshod over Santa Barbara was to be supported in a searing National Academy of Science report that criticized the federal government's failure to develop information on the social impacts of its OCS programs (see National Academy of Sciences 1989).

- Local authorities' efforts to force transport of processed oil by pipeline, rather than tanker, to mitigate potential for spills and air quality losses (as well as to avoid conflicts with local fishers and recreational boat enthusiasts). The locals won most of the battles, but the county has remained embroiled with Exxon over its alleged failure to adhere to its agreement in this regard. This is an especially telling case, in political terms, because the anti-Exxon stance is being taken by a unanimous Planning Commission and a unanimous Board of Supervisors at a time when the majority of both bodies are sympathetic to development.

- Locals' demands that offshore facilities (e.g. engines on platforms) fall under the same air quality rules as onshore facilities. The county's position was greatly strengthened when the 1990 federal Clean Air Act amendments transferred OCS air quality control from the Interior Department to the Environmental Protection Agency which, in turn, delegated authority to the county.

- Types and levels of mitigation oil companies should compensate for the socioeconomic impacts of their activities. Intense and protracted negotiations led to the creation of two ameliorative programs. The oil companies accepted, with reluctance, the locals' position that rather than being a fiscal and social benefit through jobs and taxes, oil projects were a net loss that had to be mitigated. Two mechanisms were set up:

- a. Coastal Resources Enhancement Fund (CREF) in which each oil development is assessed a fee that Santa Barbara County uses to offset impacts on coastal resources. These funds have been used to enhance access to the coast, to acquire land near the ocean edge, to build and improve coastal-related parks, bikeways, marinas, etc., and to fund environmental programs like Earth Day. A total of \$8.9 million has been distributed through this program over the 1987-1995 period (oil industry advocates have asked that CREF recipients be required to identify oil companies as the source of their project's funding, a source of minor controversy at present).

- b. The SocioEconomic Monitoring and Mitigation Project (SEMP). A complex monitoring of new employment caused by the oil industry results in payments to local jurisdictions (school districts, fire districts, cities, etc.) to offset costs created by new additions to service loads. This innovative program means that rather than pay based on environmental impact reports that *predict* impacts, payments are based on the actual impacts as revealed through the monitoring procedures. In its first four years of existence (1986-89), SEMP resulted in \$1,600,000 in payments to a wide range of local jurisdictions as offsets for oil-related costs. The largest single block of funds went to the South Coast to mitigate housing impacts, with another substantial block going to the city of Lompoc (which has more than a proportionate share of oil workers) to offset costs of public services and school facilities. The payments listed (see Table 18), because they are based on impacts measured by questionnaires filled out by oil

Table 18: Cumulative SEMP mitigation payment summary, 1986-89, Santa Barbara County, by company

JURISDICTION	IMPACT AREA	CHEVRON		UNOCAL	ALL-AMERICAN		GAVIOTA TERMINAL	EXXON	TOTAL
		TEXACO							
CITY OF LOMPOC	PUBLIC SERVICES	\$207,953	\$13,853	\$22,858	\$5,088	\$10,658	\$260,386		
	WATER SUPPLY	\$16,911	\$1,249	\$1,904	\$374	\$560	\$20,998		
CITY OF SANTA MARIA	PUBLIC SERVICES	\$40,700	\$9,277	\$4,328	\$2,348	\$4,190	\$60,841		
	SCHOOL FACILITIES	\$10,509	\$747	\$3,675	\$683	\$397	\$16,011		
SANTA MARIA BONITA SCHOOL DISTRICT	SCHOOL FACILITIES	\$32,901	\$3,721	\$12,520	\$1,792	\$3,598	\$54,532		
	SCHOOL FACILITIES	\$67,550	\$5,847	\$9,824	\$2,430	\$8,053	\$111,704		
COLLEGE SCHOOL DISTRICT	SCHOOL FACILITIES	\$4,563	\$269	\$174	\$538	\$3,521	\$9,065		
	SCHOOL FACILITIES	\$5,215	\$314	\$56	\$270	\$162	\$6,017		
GOLETA UNION SCHOOL DISTRICT	SCHOOL FACILITIES	\$7,833	\$1,051	\$241	\$1,769	\$6,190	\$17,084		
BUELLTON COMMUNITY SERVICES DISTRICT	WATER SUPPLY AND SEWER TREATMENT	\$28,092	\$1,987	\$9,402	\$2,078	\$599	\$41,158		
	WATER SUPPLY AND SEWER TREATMENT	\$21,820	\$3,341	\$718	\$508	\$263	\$28,650		
CITY OF SANTA BARBARA	WATER SUPPLY HOUSING	\$81,080	\$7,768	\$15,290	\$7,294	\$12,129	\$123,541		
	WATER SUPPLY HOUSING	\$245,633	\$25,354	\$55,308	\$22,828	\$39,860	\$388,981		
COUNTY OF SANTA BARBARA	CAMPGROUNDS HOUSING (South Coast)	\$23,807	\$7,228	\$1,710	\$1,466	\$756	\$34,967		
	HOUSING (Santa Ynez Valley)	\$162,858	\$28,550	\$31,232	\$21,010	\$13,849	\$257,497		
SANTA MARIA JT. HIGH SCHOOL	SCHOOLS	\$113,268	\$16,563	\$3,012	\$14,819	\$8,930	\$158,392		
	SCHOOLS	\$5,362	\$0	\$159	\$329	\$884	\$8,734		
SANTA BARBARA CIT	SCHOOLS	\$3,142	\$0	\$339	\$690	\$2,715	\$6,886		
TOTAL		\$1,089,175	\$127,119	\$171,748	\$96,090	\$115,312	\$1,589,444		

SOURCE: PAYSUM spreadsheet provided by SEMP administrators

workers as to their residence, roughly parallel impacts of OCS activity in various parts of the county (for an evaluation of SEMP, see Molotch and Woolley 1994).

- Safety and other regulatory standards at onshore facilities, frequency of inspections, and speed and completeness in reporting pollution incidents and other troubles. Local authorities and environmental groups complain of industry failings; industry consistently assures compliance.

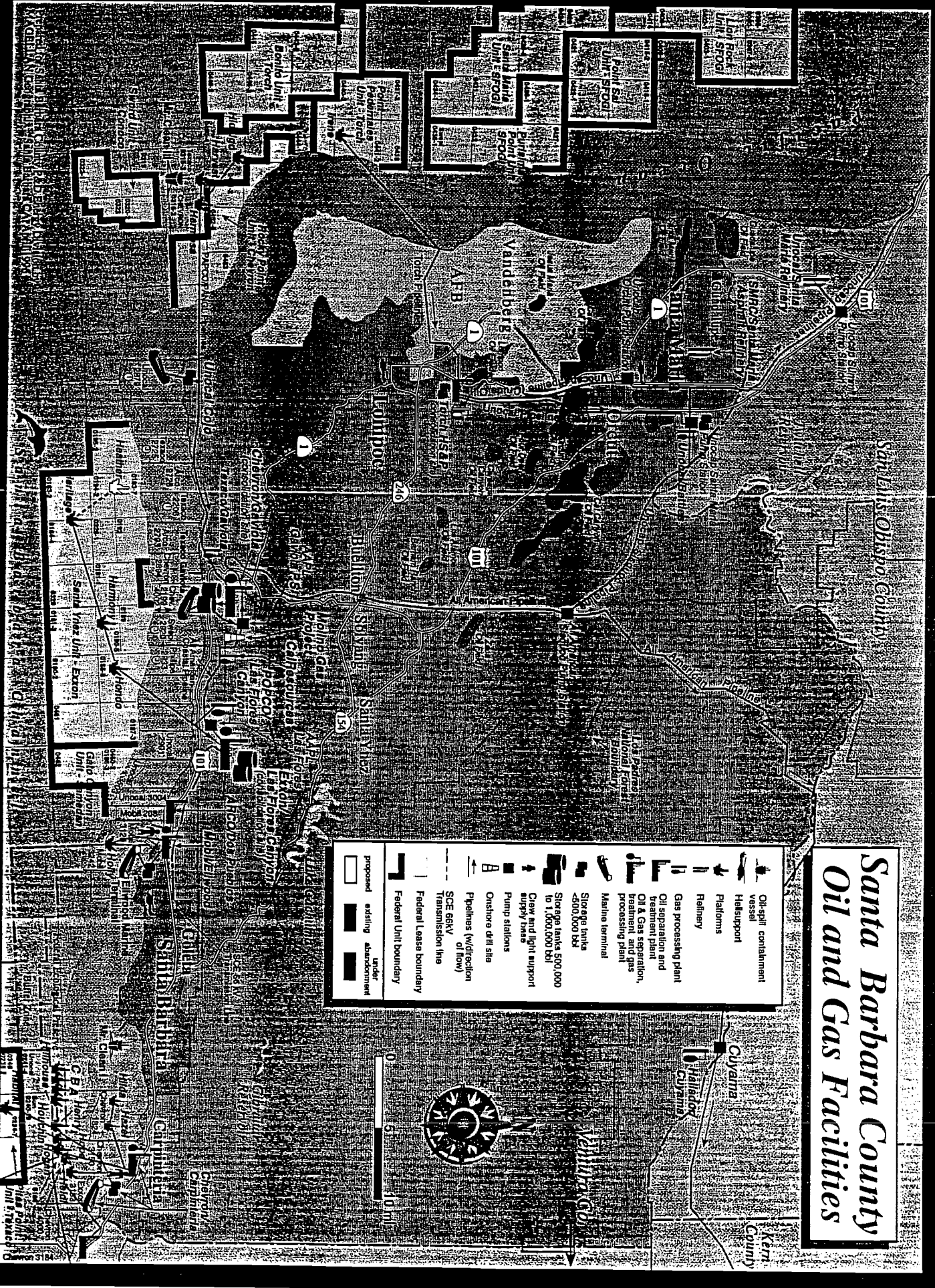
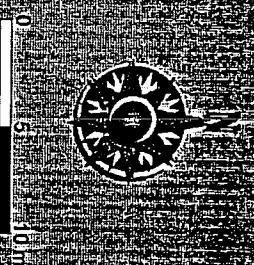
- Rates of new leasing and drilling (locals want slower pacing to allow for planning and impact amelioration). In response to local complaints, both the state and federal governments have responded with moratoria on new Channel oil activities at various time points. The federal government first ordered an immediate shut-down of all new initiatives immediately after the 1969 spill (as did the state); the federal government then resumed activity at the end of 1970; in 1973 the state lifted its ban on new drilling; the federal government instituted a new one-year drilling moratorium in 1983, another in 1988, extended for another year twice again, finally shelving, in 1992, any more lease sales for five years.

- Areas to be excluded from oil activity. The city won its concession from the state for the sanctuary along its coast, only partially honored by the additional two-mile buffer provided by the federal government along the same boundary. Although recommended by the Nixon Administration (in 1971), Congress rejected proposals for canceling at least 35 leases to substantially increase the sanctuary. Turning the Channel Islands into a national park (in 1980) led to another marine sanctuary extending seaward six miles from the islands. The state cleared some ocean from future drilling by offsetting Arco's costs in forgoing drilling and production at its tidelands lease offshore in Goleta so as to spare UCSB and neighboring communities noise and viewshed problems.

The array of offshore facilities that came into being is depicted in Map 2. A way to summarize the complex outcomes of the many events in litigation, environmental review, and legislation around these controversies is well represented by a statement made to us both by a local environmentalist and by an oil industry businessperson: "You win some, you lose some." The industry, in the end, gained access to virtually all the drill sites that the federal government leased to them, albeit at a somewhat higher cost than they otherwise would have had to face without mitigation. The local government, although losing the fight to get oil out or keep oil out, created a system of mitigation that kept many aspects of development under their control.

Santa Barbara County Oil and Gas Facilities

	Oil-spill containment vessel
	Helicopter
	Platform
	Raffiner
	Gas processing plant
	Oil separation and treatment plant
	Oil & Gas separation, treatment and gas processing plant
	Marine terminal
	Storage tanks 500,000 to 1,000,000 bbl
	Storage tanks 450,000 to 500,000 bbl
	Crew and light support supply sites
	Pump stations
	Onshore drill site
	Pipelines (Wildfire SCE 66KV or less)
	Transmission line
	Federal Lease boundary
	Federal Unit boundary
	proposed
	existing
	abandonment
	under

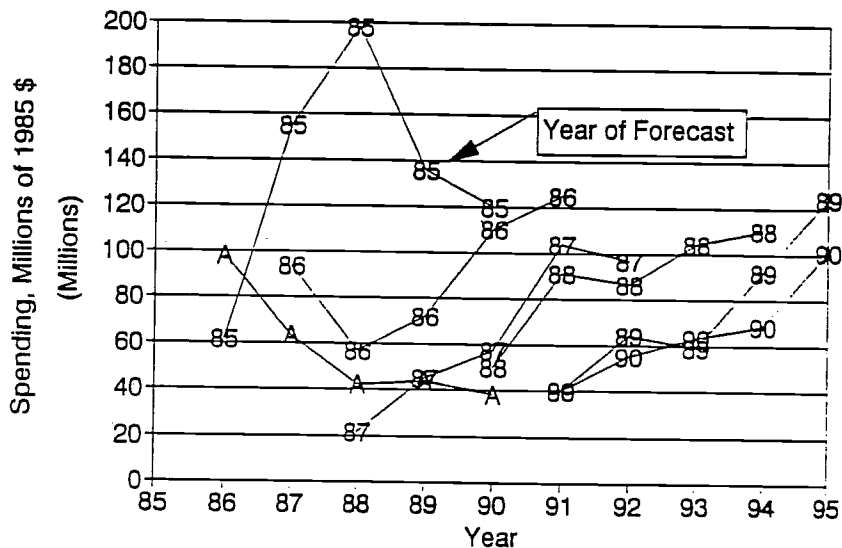


Specific impacts turned out to be less than originally anticipated, in large part because the anticipated scale of OCS activity never materialized. This outcome in turn was primarily due to the falling price of oil (the Channel's oil is especially low-quality), the local political milieu, and better opportunities around the globe. As shown in Figure 1, earlier forecasts for the years 1986-1990 dramatically overstated the volume of oil activity. These forecasts were based on earlier Environmental Impact Reports and industry projections. The county tended to use "worst case" projections. Public reaction likely would have been at least somewhat less strong if the actual outcomes had been the anticipated ones.

What does seem apparent is that the industry had never before had to deal with such resistant locals, and locals of Santa Barbara had never had to deal with so large-scale a challenge. Each "side" regarded the other, at least at various times along the way, as intransigent, unreasonable, and threatening essential values of health, safety, patriotism, and economic well-being.

This document is not the place to specify the actual outcome of oil development in the county, other than to note the general increments to local economies, especially in the North County, over the years. But it can be noted that the coming of oil over the decades has done little to alter the shape of social and economic life different from the first impacts early in the century. The South Coast's trajectory, with its economy heavily reliant on local social and natural amenities, remains intact. The North County's trajectory, much less dependent on such amenities, also remains intact.

Figure 1: Forecast and actual impacts of OCS development, Santa Barbara County



V. Today, Tomorrow, and Trajectories of Local History

We emphasize that despite our detailed descriptions of the exceptional nature of some parts of the county, there are – both in the north and south – poor people as well as rich, along with substantial diversity in racial and ethnic groups (the latter predominately Latino; less than three percent of Santa Barbara city and county populations is African-American). Because Santa Barbara city itself is not a suburb of a larger metropolis, it holds its own service class within the area. Although somewhat dispersed into neighboring communities of Goleta and Carpinteria (a small city south of Montecito), the working classes live in the same general areas along with their employers (although usually not in the same neighborhoods). People who perform the entire array of jobs found in an urbanized area of any significant size are found in this county, within the South Coast as well as North County, and within the city of Santa Barbara itself.

Our job has been to indicate the distinctive qualities of places in order to explain their different reactions. We come back to the key goal of this report: to indicate the kind of distinctions that are present and how they work together to give a place a different sort of character over time. But cutting across all social levels, races, and ethnicities are people whose lifestyles and beliefs do not correspond to the traits we have emphasized. In the city of Santa Barbara, there are bowling alleys, cults, right-wing groups, and fundamentalist Christians (the first local "March for Jesus" took place in Santa Barbara in May 1995, drawing about 2,000 marchers from Santa Barbara and Ventura counties). Also not conforming to the Santa Barbara image of chic are the Latino people who work in the economic "backstage" – as in the kitchens of the hotels and sophisticated restaurants (whether northern Italian, Thai, or California nouvelle). With its enormous internal differentiation, Santa Barbara city compares to the great headquarter metropolises of the world, "global cities" like New York, London, or Paris, in which the most sophisticated occupational tasks and consumption patterns co-exist, indeed are made possible by the presence of low-cost labor living in quasi-Third World conditions (see Sassen 1991). Recall the Santa Barbara data: large numbers of highly educated people with much wealth living in a city whose median income is not very high.

The presence of so many low-income and minority people, especially in the city of Santa Barbara, presents at first glance a particularly inconsistent element. Here, as elsewhere, poor people and minority poor have low voting turnouts – apparently a consistent pattern in the area.⁴⁵ But the Latino population still makes up a significant proportion of the population (31 percent in the city; 38 percent in the

⁴⁵In 1920, for example, Spanish-surnamed voters accounted for only 3.2 percent of registered voters in the city of Santa Barbara, while adult population levels were at least three-fold that proportion (Camarillo 1979: 187).

county).⁴⁶ Although the stereotype of minority people, as with working class populations in general, is that they are too preoccupied with survival to "care" about the environment, voting patterns from the city's Latino precincts indicates strong support for candidates who carry the environmentalist banner. While it is not possible to know whether the appeal of these candidates derives from their stands on ecology or their more liberal stands on social issues, the pattern conforms with some survey data showing minority and poor people sympathetic to "green" policies.⁴⁷

Among those who do vote, there has been a particular tendency for Republicans to cross party lines and vote for candidates who espouse the "good environment" line, which tends to mean voting for Democrats. By 1990, the city of Santa Barbara's Republicans outnumbered Democrats as registered voters (23,975 versus 16,970), but even after the 1994 GOP sweep of the national congress, local citizens elected (in 1995) all Democrats for the mayor and all open city council seats (the elections are officially nonpartisan). By contrast, the two parties were almost even in Santa Maria in 1990 but without any significant break in the pro-development and pro-oil stance of local government.

Referring to her city of Santa Barbara, former mayor and long-time civic leader Sheila Lodge spoke of a "Golden Crescent" of consistent voters – literally a crescent taking in the neighborhoods *around* downtown, from the "Riviera" to the "Upper East," San Roque (at Outer State Street), to the Mesa. These are largely single-family, middle and upper-middle class districts, with a majority Republican registration, but for the most part supportive of environmental protection. These patterns highlight the fact that traditional party identities and national political trends cannot be easily applied to Santa Barbara county politics or explain policy differences within the county.

Organizations, organizations, organizations

We have made repeated reference through this report to the large number of environmental organizations in the South Coast. This is part of a larger pattern or organizational richness that has likely been a force in the past and will continue to be one in the future. In our interviews, a recurrent theme among informants asked to indicate how Santa Barbara was "different," was that it had so many "good organizations." These groups are in place to carry out its citizens' preferences, and

⁴⁶ Precise estimates of the Latino population are difficult to determine because of shifting and problematic definitions by the Census as well as changing self-designations among the relevant populations.

⁴⁷Statewide surveys (Smith 1995) indicate a slight tendency for Hispanics and African-Americans to have more favorable attitudes toward offshore oil than other residents. For more general evidence, see Van Liere and Dunlap (1980) and Davis (1992).

there is a significant difference in the number and type of such organizations between the north and south county areas.

Social scientists and historians of American culture have often focused on the American tendency toward creating associations, quite apart from official political and economic forms. Thus, alongside parties, corporations, and trade associations, Americans join recreation, charity, and service groups collectively called "voluntary associations." Their members participate on a voluntary as opposed to paid or coerced basis (as with some military units). To the degree people are organized in these associations, they have mechanisms to respond to changes affecting their communities, whether from acts of nature or from other human beings. They have means to communicate with one another and take action, outside established institutions of government and business.

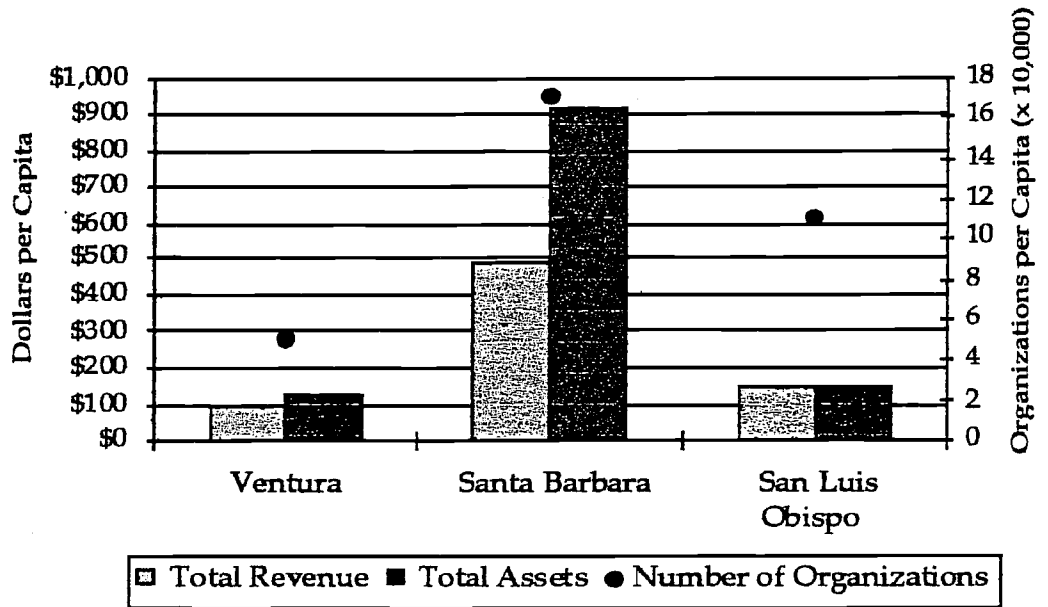
Many of those we interviewed, regardless of their own walk of life or political leaning, agreed that Santa Barbara had more than its share of voluntary associations. We examined the voluntary sector in Santa Barbara in a systematic way by comparing it in size and other attributes to the analogous sector in the neighboring counties of San Luis Obispo and Ventura, as well as variations within Santa Barbara County between Santa Barbara city and Santa Maria. In all cases, we standardized our numbers to take into account the different size of population in the areas we were comparing; we use per capita measures to draw our conclusions. We are hence comparing *organizational densities*.⁴⁸

The results were unambiguous. By virtually any measure, Santa Barbara County and its South Coast, in particular, has the strongest voluntary sector.

Chart 8 gives an overview of the total density by county.

⁴⁸ We look at the most recent data from Santa Barbara County (as well as comparative data from San Luis Obispo and Ventura Counties) as published in county human resource directories (in Santa Barbara, *The Community Resources Information Services (CRIS) Directory* for 1995, published by the Family Service Agency of Santa Barbara; in San Luis Obispo, the 1994-95 *Human Services and Support Groups Directory*, published by Hotline; and in Ventura, *Blue Book: The 1995 Directory of Health and Human Services throughout Ventura County*, published by Helpline, a non-profit organization under the umbrella of Interface Children, Family Services), the *Yearbook of California Charitable Organizations* (published by the National Center for Charitable Statistics, 1989), and supplemental sources (the *Santa Barbara Area Foundations & Funding Sources* directory, published by Charitable Funding Services, 1992, and the Chamber of Commerce listing of nonprofit organizations in San Luis Obispo County).

Chart 8: Organizational Density of Tri-Counties



Source: Data gathered by authors. See footnote 48

A first noticeable difference is in aggregate revenues and assets among the counties' voluntary organizations: Santa Barbara County stands clearly above the other two counties (as represented by the two columns of Chart 9).⁴⁹ The second measure is one of organizational density – the number of organizations per capita in each county. Santa Barbara County once again is considerably denser.

The comparison between the county's two principal cities shows that the city of Santa Barbara that has more than twice as many organizations per capita as Santa Maria. The picture in terms of revenues and assets, however, is even more skewed, with nearly eight times greater resources in Santa Barbara than Santa Maria. That the city of Santa Barbara's dominance is not simply due to the fact that it is the county seat is revealed by the fact that Ventura County's official county seat, the city of Ventura is not dense and indeed, pales compared to the outlying city of Ojai located inland as well as compared to Santa Barbara city.

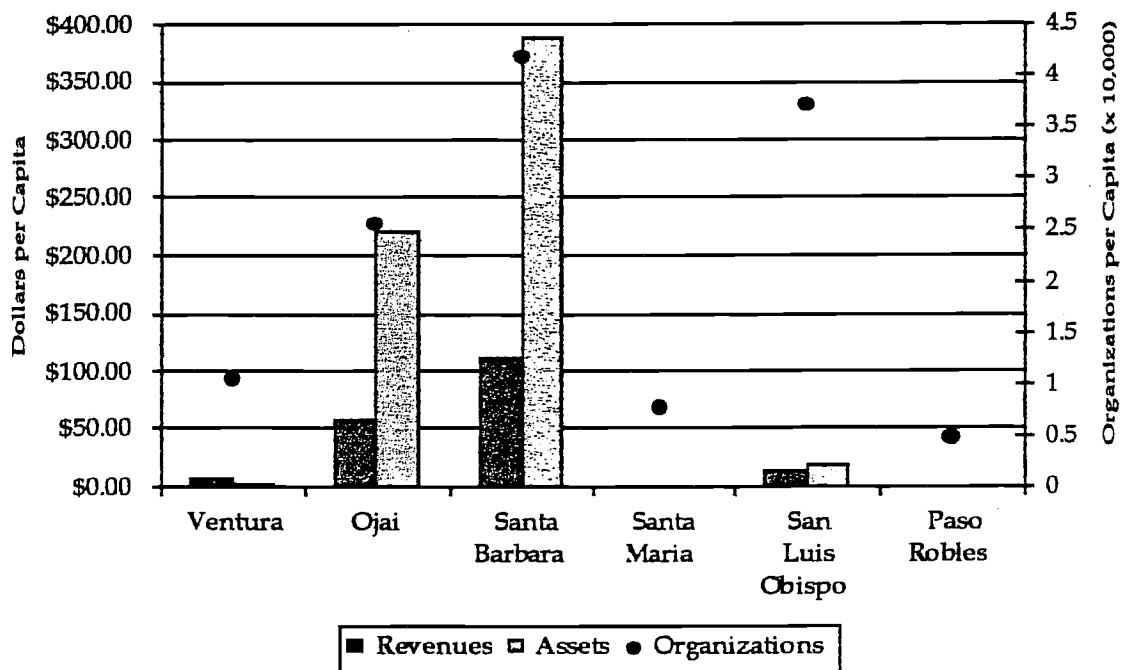
We examined the possibility that although Santa Barbara may be the leader in the aggregate, there are certain areas in which its density is especially great but other

⁴⁹ Revenues include all public contributions, program service revenues (subscription fees, counseling fees, etc.), and other revenue (interest, rents, gain or loss on sales, etc.) received by the organization. Assets refer to the dollar value of an organizations assets including cash, accounts receivable, savings, loans due, inventories, investments, land, buildings, and equipment. These two measures describe both the amount of support and the net worth of the organizations, an important distinction because these are very different sorts of moneys. While support is clearly critical to maintaining an organization, its assets are also critical for expanding an organization's functions.

realms in which it may not be a leader at all. This would be consistent with Wolpert's (1988) notion of a "balanced generosity," in which one type of community may be strong in, say, arts organizations while another compensates with strength in, say, social service organizations. We compared organizational densities among places in terms of: 1) Health and Human Services; 2) Arts and Cultural Organizations; 3) Recreation and Leisure; and 4) Counseling and Support Organizations. We used these categories because they came closest to the breakdowns we found in organizational directories for the counties (some adjustment was necessary to deal with some inconsistencies in how organizations were classified from county to county).

Chart 9 displays the density of Arts and Cultural organizations in two communities in each of the three counties.

Chart 9: Arts and Cultural Organizations in Tri-County Communities



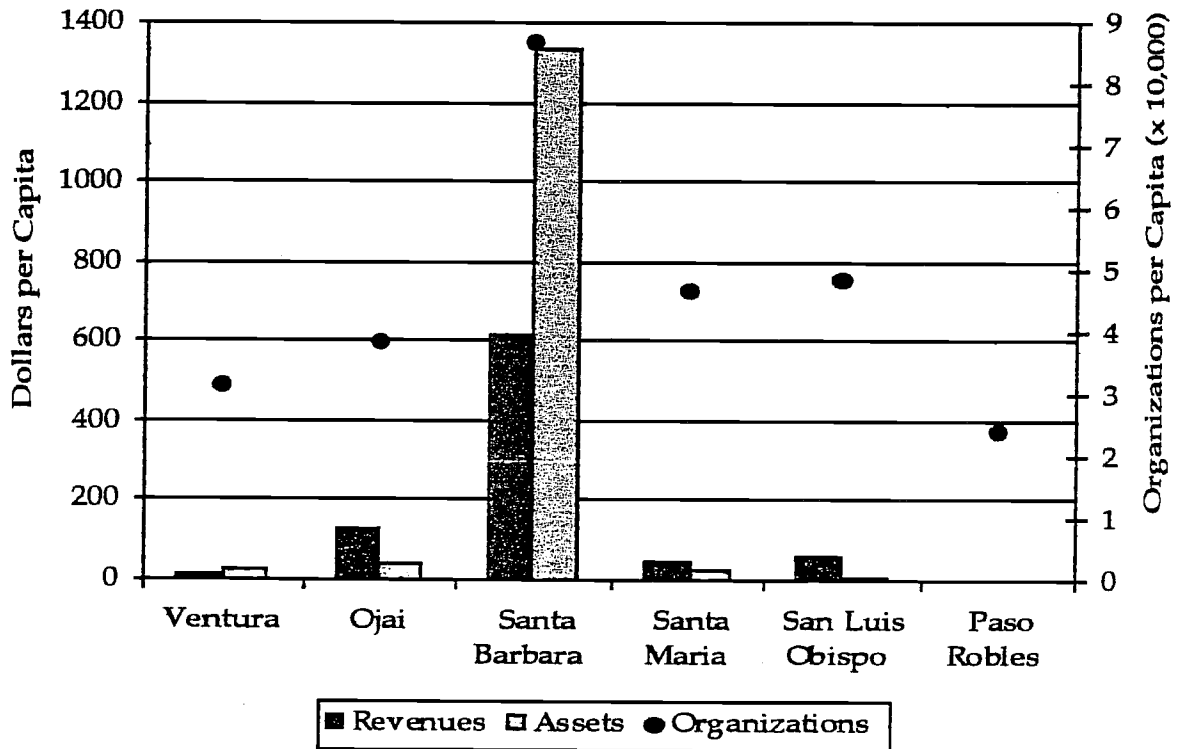
Source: Data gathered by authors. See footnote 48

Not surprisingly, when we examine the Arts and Cultural category, the data show Santa Barbara strongest, whether in regard to revenue/assets or number of organizations per capita.

Contrary to the "Balanced Generosity" hypothesis, Santa Barbara again exceeds the densities of the other two counties by a large margin in all categories. The fact that these two charts look almost the same suggests that density is not the result of any "trade-off" between the two types of organizational priorities (Chart 10

displays the densities of Health and Human Service organizations in the communities of three counties).

Chart 10: Health and Human Services Organizations in Tri-County Communities



Source: Data gathered by authors. See footnote 48

When we compared the city of Santa Barbara with Santa Maria, we again see no evidence for the Balanced Generosity concept. Differences are great, and they persist across all realms.

Perhaps it is no surprise to learn that the traditions of Santa Barbara, coupled with the great wealth of a minority of its population, has had the effect of creating these major differences in voluntary organization.⁵⁰ For our purposes, the differences reflect distinctive tendencies and capacities to respond to outside forces. Beyond the resources reflected by the organizations themselves is the effect of them in combination and in interaction with one another. On the basis of our interviews, we believe that organizations – even those active in different spheres – will be in interaction in ways that facilitate local response.

Some types of community projects require involvement across spheres. For example, Access Theater is a production company oriented toward improving

⁵⁰This is important for those suggesting America's welfare functions devolve to the private and local spheres; the inequalities among places would likely be exaggerated by such policies.

attitudes and resources for the physically challenged (the key actor, writer, and producer has severe physical challenges). Initially funded by the Fund for Santa Barbara, a source of start-up dollars for "social change" projects, early productions were sponsored by public school support groups. Health and social service organizations provided audiences and generated other financial support. But this is a theater company, yet involved with schools, social service groups, and health associations. As another example, tackling problems of youth violence involves school support groups, public health associations, youth organizations, and sports associations.

Another "linking" example is the Santa Barbara Flag Project – an organization whose only purpose is to fly "color flags of local community service and government agencies on the Santa Barbara Harbor Breakwater, Stearns Wharf, and City Hall." The project arranged for local artists to design a flag for each participating organization, and these organizations ran the gamut across the arts, welfare, health, environment, and social service range. A total of 43 flags were created, each in consultation with the community group for which it stands. In this way, each organization gains by having a design specific to it (one which could be repeated as logo on stationary, publicity, vehicles, etc.) and a flag to fly at the city's ceremonial spaces. Another outcome is still an additional asset to the city's beauty, made possible by the stirring sight of so many color flags arrayed at important locations – like the great arc of flags that stretch out to sea on the breakwater and surround the city's harbor.

The tendency of community groups to engage with one another has cumulative effects. When something occurs that disturbs the community, prior contacts have been forged and there are pre-existing networks through which news can travel and action be taken. Many people involved in "doing good" as a significant part of their lives already know each other, have experience in mobilizing others, and have the kind of minimal administrative skills and political knowledge through which to be effective. Many of these groups are also closely networked with environmental organizations, sometimes with that as an explicit goal – e.g. the Fund for Santa Barbara supports and has on its board leaders of environmental, civil rights, social service, arts, and health organizations. The much larger and more traditional (founded in 1928) Santa Barbara Foundation is among the oldest and largest (43rd place) of the country's 400 community foundations (almost all above it in the rankings draw on much bigger populations). As with voluntary organizations in general, members of the middle and upper-middle classes are most likely to participate, and, within those class sectors, persons with higher levels of education (Milbrath 1965; Verba and Nie 1972; Warren 1963). Again, these are also the people most likely to vote and have the most influence over others' voting behavior (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955).

The high profile of Santa Barbara's civic groups also translates into raising the profile of the city in national and international circles. The city's Art Museum is a major institution with an endowment of \$48 million, a collection of 17,000 objects,

including major collections of Greek and Roman sculpture as well as Asian artifacts and French impressionists. Other major institutions include the local Museum of Natural History, Historical Museum, Botanic Gardens,⁵¹ the Music Academy of the West, Zoological Society – each well-funded. There are many more institutions of smaller scale including a showcase for contemporary art, a world-class private manuscript library, a surfboard museum, and various important homes that have become civic-owned facilities. Associations exist as well to promote the symphony, the civic light opera, grand opera, dance, and live theater. There are few cities in the U.S. of comparable size that have anything like this matrix of institutions.

Still another array of local groups supports various units of UCSB, Westmont College and the extremely well-organized community college. Separately and together, through their collections, buildings, publications, and programs that attract visitors from distant places, these institutions advertise Santa Barbara to the world in a certain kind of way. This, in turn generates still more migration of the sort of people for whom these assets matter.

In all these groups, as is generally the case elsewhere as well (Daniels 1986), there is a strong tendency for women to play especially important roles. Organizations like the League of Women Voters appear to have been an important "training ground" for local volunteers and leaders, including a number who went on to political office (such as the city's recent mayor, Sheila Lodge, whose combined tenure on the planning commission, city council, and mayoral chair lasted 20 years).

⁵¹The Botanic Gardens, founded in 1926, also operate two other facilities, both extraordinary gifts of wealthy philanthropists: the Alice Keck Park gardens, a city park bequeathed by the oil heiress for whom it is named, and "Lotusland," the garden estate donated by Ganna Walska.

Local scenes

Along with formal organizational structures, community response is also facilitated when people are held together by a common sense of place, a sense that is encouraged not only by history, landmarks, and legends, but also by concrete circumstances. A first mark of coherence is the large proportion of residents who live and work in the immediate area. With the obvious exception of the Vandenberg base, residents' work commutes are the shortest of those living in any city or town in the county (see Table 19).

Table 19: Median one-way commute times, 1980-1990 (in minutes)

	1980	1990
Buellton	*	25.4
Carpinteria	*	18.3
Guadalupe	16.4	19.7
Lompoc	18.4	24.2
Mission Hills	21.3	25.2
Santa Barbara	15.6	15.9
Santa Maria	15	17.8
Santa Ynez	21.5	23.7
Solvang	19.9	20.2
Vandenberg AFB	12.8	11.4
Vandenberg Village	17.4	20.1

Source: U.S. Census.

* Indicates data not available

The history of Santa Barbara's development, quite by intention, has preserved a central city core with a main street that serves virtually all social groups and merges with residential neighborhoods and the tourist areas at the beachfront. Downtown is the location of the majority of the South Coast's movie theaters (15 screens) and the concentration point for its concert halls, live-theater venues, retailing establishments, restaurants, taverns, and nightclubs. It's where both city and county government are headquartered, along with the central library, the Greyhound Bus Station, the flop houses, the most visible panhandlers and wandering homeless, the service agencies, and the book shops (three of which are very large, have their own cafes, and stay open late into the night). Downtown has the "social feeling" of amiable hubbub and promenade that besides being still another draw for tourists provides an opportunity for meetings, including by chance. Santa Barbara's downtown is often cited as one of the few downtowns in America that has succeeded in these regards; it has been offered as a model for the country by prominent architects and planners (Gebhard 1982). Downtown has all manner of special events, including once a year festivals like the annual Fiesta that attract thousands with parades, shows, parties, and dancing in the streets; Summer

Solstice is an arts event that also generates thousands of parade viewers and participants in associated downtown activities. An annual Film Festival increasingly gains international attention.

Again, a contrast with the North County brings home the larger point. Throughout the 1970s, the city of Santa Maria replaced much of its historic downtown core with a modern shopping center, anchored by three department stores in the "Town Center Mall" (see Photos 7 and 8). This was a strategy to enhance the local tax base, in part by increasing the city's share of sales tax revenues. Extensive parking, including a three-story parking structure, was part of the project. On an opposite corner, existing structures gave way for a HUD-assisted residential high-rise for senior citizens. All four corners of the previous downtown have now been replaced and with it almost all vestiges of the historic buildings serving this old agricultural center. The redevelopment plan met little organized resistance, although some downtown merchants regarded the mall as a threat to their businesses. Indeed, none of the locally-owned displaced stores (including a drug store, shops selling western clothing, home electronics, hardware, a bakery and various eateries) survived the change. Despite promises that space would be reserved for local merchants, only three relocated, each subsequently going out of business. New malls have had similar impacts in Santa Barbara and elsewhere throughout the country, but seldom leading to such a complete remake as occurred in Santa Maria.

In contrast to the South Coast's relationship with development, what was missing from Santa Maria was an organized preservation sentiment. As a docent at the Santa Maria Historical Society Museum told us, "The city has had no real preservation society, as far as I know; that's pretty obvious by looking at it." Some of the buildings the city chose to tear down would have been prized in other cities, like its Carnegie Library and a 1940s theater near the northwest corner of what became the redevelopment site. The city has made efforts at self-promotion, as with its annual Strawberry Festival, 4th of July Fair, and celebrated barbecues. A recent *Sunset* magazine article featured Santa Maria as having "the best barbecues in the world" (Fish 1995: 14). But Santa Maria's attractions have not yet generated a very extensive audience from outside the region. As lamented by a business supporter we interviewed, although the barbecues are now commemorated in a special "Barbecue Hall of Fame" room in the Historic Society, none of the local restaurants have featured barbecue on their exterior signs. This tradition thus goes unmarked for casual visitors.

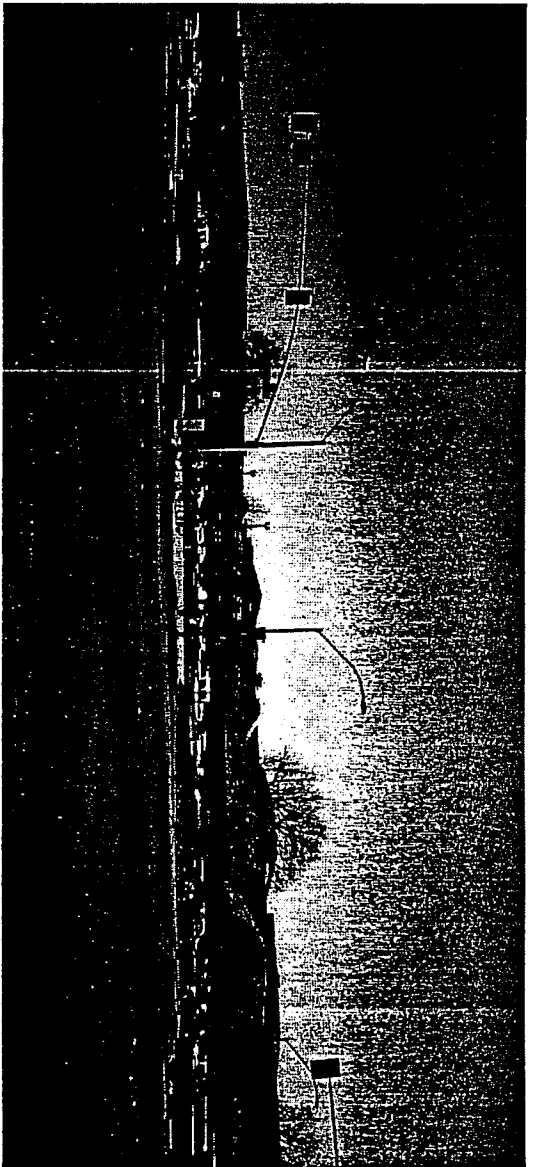


Photo 7: Santa Maria's Town Center Mall. Photo by Krista Paulsen.

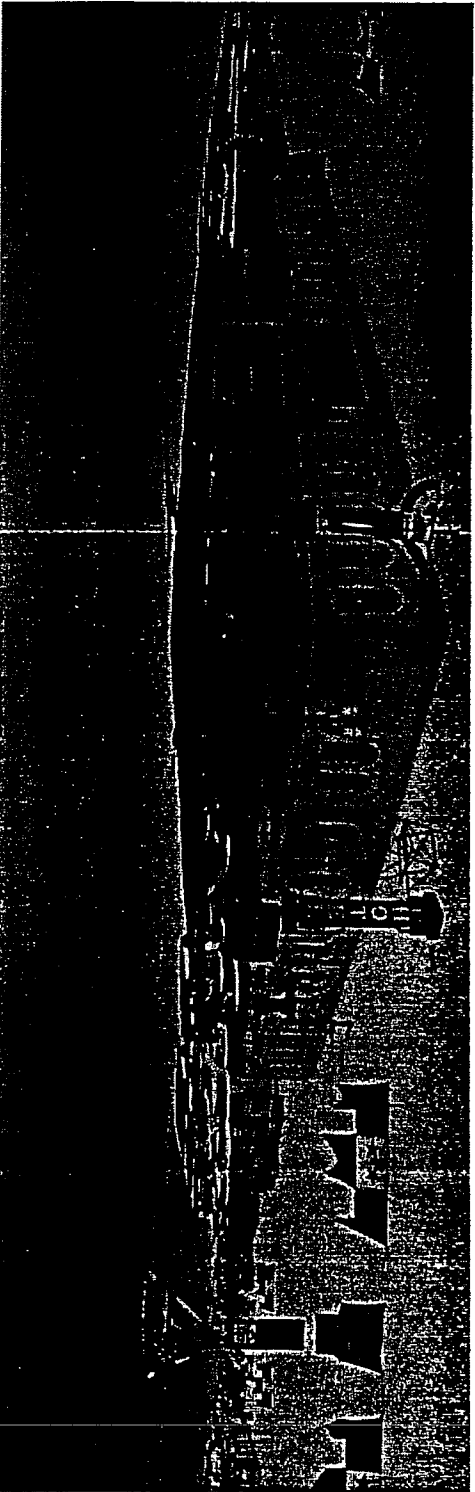


Photo 8: Site of Town Center Mall, showing prior usage (1955). Photo provided by Santa Maria Historical Museum.

Shopping malls such as the Town Center Mall have been widely noted as providing a weak kind of "civic space" compared to traditional downtowns, less likely to foster chance meetings, stimulate community organizing, or induce political activism (Kowinski 1985). In some cities, they are actually being torn down or sharply modified to restore a traditional shopping street ambiance. Of course, the North County has long had other venues for social gathering besides its downtown – the long standing barbecues and dining rooms at the Santa Maria Inn along with other restaurants and meeting places – but these have been spread across the landscape in a manner that contrasts with Santa Barbara city's more concentrated form.

Synergy, locality, and the Santa Barbara County factors

The social and economic factors that make up a locale are not an additive list of ingredients to be totaled up, but a system of interacting qualities that together provide a certain kind of place character. Santa Barbara's economic base, as it moves forward, is still suffused with the elements that shaped its role in the prior eras: the social and climatic ambiance that appeals to those with the means to make good on their life-style preferences. The tourism industry thus remains a strong sector, and as we have seen, the biographies, predilections, and efforts from the past endure in edifices, landscapes, and organizations that, once created, continue having an effect. But other groups play an increasingly important role. UCSB grows as the county's largest employer, with total wage expenditures at about \$200 million, a 1995 student body of 18,000, and over 5,600 employees (the number of employees grows faster than the numbers of students because research has been growing more than enrollment). It functions as an engine of high-technology development (particularly at its prominent engineering school) through its rapidly growing research prowess (extramural grants steadily increase, at the rate of approximately 10 percent annually). The students are politically quiet these days, with very low rates of voting (7.7 percent turnout in the November 1995 elections in the UCSB-Isla Vista precincts of 17,000 registered voters – see Wallace 1996b) but they are still a presence and may rise again.

For its high technologies in place, the South Coast has been dubbed "Silicon Beach." Also in the sphere of cutting-edge economic development are local firms engaged in real estate and finance, a number of which do not deal locally but use Santa Barbara as a base for coordinating business elsewhere in the world. Of the 11 publicly traded corporations located in the county, seven are in the high-tech-information sector (including two medical technology firms); the others are in finance (two), with one each in manufacturing (ultra-performance sportswear) and oil (a firm that manages oil properties globally) (Ross 1995). All but one are located on the South Coast (the odd one out is in the tourist-oriented "Danish village" town of Solvang). The area now has also become home to some people who can use Santa Barbara as home base for jobs and firms that interact with others via

electronics and periodic flights to other places. This includes the arts – writing, music, painting, sculpture, photography – as well as information-based jobs like producing investment-advisory letters, corporate reports, and software development. Perhaps canceling out its once-reputed staid atmosphere ("Santa Barbara is a place where old people go to visit their parents"), Santa Barbara was recently dubbed one of "the newly deputized hip spots" in a *Los Angeles Times* article describing Southern California's attraction to the fashion and modeling world (Robinson 1995: E1).

Arising from and also stimulating this kind of urban character are the shops and services appropriate for this kind of occupational and social settlement. This means restaurants with experimental cuisine, movie theaters, museums, and art galleries, and in a way particular to the late 1980s and 90s, coffee houses where people can order espresso and its variants. To document Santa Barbara's distinctiveness in its consumption patterns, we used a computer phone directory data base (roughly equivalent to "yellow pages") to compare Santa Barbara city with the six other major towns that make up the three adjacent counties of Santa Barbara, Ventura, and San Luis Obispo. We isolated seven types of establishment that indicate cutting edge patterns of technology, culture, and consumption. These are (we indicate their government SIC code after each): Architectural Services (8712), Book stores (5942), Commercial Art and Graphic Design (7336), Museums and Art Galleries (8412), Counseling Services (8322), Bicycle Shops (7699B/5941A), and Computer Programming Services (7371). We counted the number of such establishments within each city and created a ratio to population size to determine which cities had the most of each type of establishment on a per capita basis.

While it is possible to quarrel with our selection of indicators, the pattern is clear. We learned that Santa Barbara was highest in these categories compared to any other place. It was first in architects, counseling services, and computer programming. In the two art categories (Commercial Art and Graphic Design/Museums and Art Galleries), as well as book stores, it was surpassed only by the tiny art colony town of Ojai in Ventura County.

The presence of these sorts of services and establishments not only serves the "needs" of those of a particular market segment, but serves notice to them and others that this place has the sort of character they may think appropriate for working and making their lives. The presence of so much of this type of activity may also put off other types of businesses and potential residents.

Here is one example of how diverse factors of culture, economy, environment, and social ties work in tandem to form a coherent development trajectory. Bega Lighting is a firm that designs and builds flood lighting projects around the world (e.g. DC National Cathedral, Mexico City subway system). It was started in Santa Barbara because the founder (partnered with Bega of Germany) was inspired to start a business after visiting his daughter, then a student at UCSB. He said he decided, "This is a great place; I've got to find a way to live here" (quoted in

Ross 1994: B4). Bega has since donated the \$100,000 lighting installation for the Santa Barbara County Courthouse, providing even more glamour for a local landmark already known around the globe. The local ambiance and social networks of its residents (e.g. Storke, et al.) attracted the University, the University attracted the daughter, the daughter (along with the ambiance) attracted the father, who attracted the business. The business "gives back" a little, further enhancing the ambiance.

These networked and subtle effects – between the presence of the university, the kind of industries that settle in, and the sorts of beautification that take place – constitutes an ongoing story. It has also played a role even in the oil sector. We have elsewhere noted that while many local oil support companies have undergone crisis, or even disappeared as oil production declines, the richness of the Santa Barbara "industrial atmosphere" permitted numbers of firms to diversify out of oil and/or to use their Santa Barbara base to develop businesses of national or even global scope. Thus a small firm engaged in diving operations to service offshore oil came to develop the standard diving helmet now used in diverse applications around the world. Another turned his company's work in undersea communications into an electronics firm that operates globally and has almost nothing any more to do with the oil industry. In other cases, the relatively strict safety and pollution standards in the Channel stimulated companies that applied their skills to training workers in various industrial and government sectors or inspection of pipelines and other industrial equipment for clients far and wide (see Molotch, et al. 1994).

Because of these sorts of adaptations, the modern Santa Barbara oil industry (dating from the late '60s forward), which never accounted for a very large proportion of the local economic base, did not have dire consequences even as it entered decline. The usual "boom-bust" scenario associated with the extraction industries was not, for these twin reasons, the outcome. That it was not highlights something about the locality: people want very much to be there, and there is a rich array of services – design, engineering, graphics, advertising, and venture finance – to make economic success in certain cutting-edge spheres. This provides a clue to the industrial and economic future of the region.

The nature of the existing residential population also provides clues to the kinds of political and environmental decisions that will likely be made. Even as the county government shifted to the right in the early '90s – in part from the local recession, in part from the national shift in the same direction, in part perhaps because of an inability of local environmentalist governments to cope with a five-year drought – the oil industry does not loom as an attractive option. Even for pro-growth sectors of the electorate and civic leadership, oil is still not an especially relevant element. Heavy industry, extraction functions, and – perhaps most important of all – platforms on the scenic skyline are not helpful for making the pleasant and thriving dynamic operate.

For the North County, there is also a synergy that takes place, one we have also emphasized throughout this report. Oil and agriculture are, in the main, mutually supportive industries. The coming of the military has not introduced an inconsistent element. The military has worked at being a good neighbor, both to the oil corporations as well as residents. Vandenberg functions as the UCSB of the North County in that its payroll is of similarly large magnitude (\$144 million), and its employee number (including active duty military and civilian workers of all sorts) is comparable to that of UCSB (well above 8,000 workers). It also has a large number of retirees living in the region; upwards of 5,000 in Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo counties (Vandy Facts Card 1994). As with the university campus, Vandenberg is entering new realms of high technology, with its space station applied to civilian needs. Although still at the early stages, the North County may become the site of its own spin-offs in communications and other industries needing access to satellite facilities.

As the North County grows in significance, it is possible, by one scenario, that the entire county will become less resistant to development in general and to oil in particular. Although environmentalists succeeded in electing all their preferred candidates in the 1995 Santa Barbara City elections, county politics and those at the water boards have shown no similar pattern. Politics remains acutely polarized outside the city with the coming of a conservative political organization at least as omnipresent and well-funded as the environmentalist side. North county business people, tied heavily to oil and agriculture, have created COLAB (Coalition of Labor, Agriculture and Business) to provide what is likely the most effective mobilization of conservative forces in county history. COLAB defends North County interests, including demands for a larger share of the public pie. Most important is their battle against regulation, in which they are joined by some South Coast business groups as well. Together, they perceive regulation, especially on land use matters, as hatched by South Coast environmentalists and "bureaucrats."

In part due to the conflicts over offshore oil itself, in part to growing knowledge of how ecological problems span distance, north and south perceive their interests as inconsistent (offshore oil has both economic and ecological consequence county-wide in a way not perceived at earlier times or for other industrial sectors). COLAB's intensity may in part be attributable to its supporters having been suppressed so long, with less deference afforded the kind of business actors ordinarily among the most prominent. It is also perhaps the case that regulation for so extensive a period draws in an ever-widening circle of individuals who experience "interference" in their business affairs. Hence, Santa Barbara County's polarization over environmental issues has doubtless come to be more complete and bitter than elsewhere. The stakes are high and the lines well drawn.

There are signs that, even on the South Coast, oil is less the "outlaw" it was once considered to be. Although its views have shifted from time to time in recent years, the *News-Press* has come to be supportive of the industry and its expansion proposals. The paper took a positive tone in regard to Mobil's 1994 "Clearview"

project which would have replaced a declining tidelands well with new wells slant-drilled from an onshore tower (access to an appropriate onshore site has frustrated the project).⁵² The *News-Press* has also took a dim view of a 1996 voter's initiative that requires a public vote to approve any new onshore oil facilities. The initiative was moderate compared to those passed by virtually every oceanfront county to the north in that it only mandates a public vote if a proposed project lies outside the existing areas where facilities are allowed. This degree of moderation probably indicates a fear among environmentalist sponsors that a tougher stance against oil would not now be acceptable to the electorate. But the fact of its supporters' success in gaining passage indicates that many on the South Coast are still extremely wary of the industry.

To understand this persistent opposition, unflagging at least among some, it may be useful to take seriously the "way of life" concerns that have been articulated so often in the locality's history – in the form of essays, proclamations, poems, landscape paintings, newspaper editorials, and testimony at hearings. The idea of a place having elements of the "sacred" is increasingly accepted by anthropologists as not limited to earlier peoples but present in contemporary settings as well. At least at certain times and places, it is reasonable to think that citizens conceive of some uses of land as a pollution – not just in a technical ecological sense, but in a deeper psychological sense of a profane defilement of the sacrosanct (Douglas 1966; Rappaport 1968). In this vein, the presence of oil insults the very idea of Santa Barbara – at least as that idea has been held by residents in the city and its immediate environs. By the lights of a significant number of such people, oil has further proven itself unreasonable and untrustworthy; those who have led the county in industry negotiations can recite a litany of what they regard as unkept promises, misleading representations, and gross insensitivity.

The South Coast's messianic fear of oil may be somewhat eroding, but this does not mean that even a rising North County would transform oil politics. As time goes on, declining oil production throughout the county, particularly *compared to growth in other sectors* means that economic dependence on oil declines as a proportion of the total economy. Educational levels throughout the county are rising, as is the proportion of jobs taken up by people who rely on such education. Perhaps symptomatic, the former oil town of Orcutt has emerged as an upper-middle class suburb. Rather than generate enthusiasm for oil, growth in the North County may instead imply a kind of merging of attitudes toward the state orientation, which is less favorable (see Smith 1995) than attitudes in the North County have historically been toward oil. Perhaps more than a symbolic change, Unocal – once so important to the economy, philanthropy, and social life of the

⁵²The paper moderated its position in the late '80s and today treats oil with equanimity. The paper editorialized moderation in response to Supervisors' 1995 opening to oil and failed to provide significant coverage of the event. It castigated UCSB faculty committees for opposing Project Clearview.

North County – sold off all its California properties to an independent oil company in 1995.

The nature of even some traditional North County industries is thus changing. Besides the exit of Unocal, change is afoot in agriculture. Wine grape production is sharply rising; virtually non-existent before the 1980s, by 1990 they were the county's fourth largest agricultural product (broccoli, strawberries, and lettuce were in the top positions). By that year, there were 30 wine makers and 10,000 acres under wine grape cultivation (Graham, et al. 1995: 83); by 1995 the number of makers was up to 40. At least at the management level, wine making uses a highly educated work force consisting of "farmers" who are more likely than their counterparts in say, lettuce, to be urban in origin and to have the sorts of life style and travel habits associated with sophisticated city people (among the North County's most important vintners is the husband-wife team of Brooks and Kate Firestone, he the scion of the Ohio tire company). Some doctors and lawyers and many other people with some capital (occasionally to their financial detriment) have "got into the romance of wine" in the county (Graham, et al. 1995:65). Grape growers are "in a different culture than most American farmers" also in the sense that winemakers often object to pesticides, and have led the movement toward integrated pest management in the fields (Graham, et. al. 1995: 67). This industry thus injects a level of ecological awareness otherwise less prevalent in North County agricultural circles. Organic farming represents another new variant of an old industry in the region, albeit at a smaller scale; there were 45 organic growers in the county registered with the Agricultural Commissioner in 1995 (Chase, et. al. 1996).

Wine-making bolsters a tourist economy, drawing many thousands of visitors on daily wine-tasting excursions (the county's wineries have published maps for tourists; some have rather elaborate visitors' centers). Wine advertises a place near and far by the labels, reviews, and write-ups that are circulated among wine consumers, including life-style connoisseurs of whatever level. Because Santa Barbara county wines are higher-end premium wines, and now internationally recognized as such (some are major prize winners), the effect is quite strong. This agriculture sector thus aligns, in cultural and political terms, with the South Coast more than it does with traditional North County agriculture. While Firestone is a moderate Republican now representing the district in the State Legislature, other winemakers are reliable contributors to local environmental causes.

The North County thus increasingly has eggs in other baskets besides oil and traditional agriculture; the significance of oil would be less, under any production scenario than it was in the past. In addition, the South Coast continues to grow in a direction inconsistent with uncontrolled petroleum development. Although predicting the future is not in our charge, the safe bet is that there would be strong and effective opposition should renewed efforts be made to exploit oil resources, especially offshore and particularly in ways that would impact the South Coast. It is certain that any such effort would have the best chance of success if it took place

under the most careful and conscientious attention to ecological resources, the local economic base, and – most importantly – citizens' valued way of life.

- Community event
 - Oil industry/development event
- [Italics indicate non-local event]*
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Appendix A: Santa Barbara County Timeline

(Digits following year indicate month of event.)

- 1542: Explorer Juan Cabrillo sees asphalt springs in Santa Barbara area.
- 1769: Spanish explorations of the region begin (Graham et al 1994: 2).
 - 1769 Explorer Juan Crespi sees Chumash people caulking canoes with local tar.
- 1782: Presidio established.
- 1786: Mission Santa Barbara established.
- 1848: United States acquires California.
- 1850: California granted statehood.
- 1850: City of Santa Barbara is incorporated. First city council consists of three prominent Californios (Fuller and Olson 1980: 11; Villanueva 1990: 3).
- 1860s: Farmers and ranchers begin settling the southern foothills of the Santa Maria Valley (Nelson 1987: 54).
 - 1865: Santa Barbara County's first boom in oil exploration and speculation, short-lived as results prove disappointing (Johnson and Nye 1979: 188).
- 1872: Stearns Wharf is built (Graham et al 1994: 16).
- 1872: Journalist Charles Nordhoff describes Santa Barbara's beauties and climate for *Harper's Magazine*, launching Santa Barbara as health resort (Starr 1990: 247; Graham et al 1994: 17-19).
- 1873: State legislature creates Ventura County out of Santa Barbara County (Fuller and Olson 1980: 76).
- 1874: Lompoc founded as a temperance colony (Starr 1990: 246; Fuller and Olson 1980: 76).
- 1874: Town of Grangerville (often misspelled Grangeville; later renamed Central City, then Santa Maria) is laid out (Carlson 1957: 48, 122).
- 1874-7: California's first major resort hotel, The Arlington, constructed, establishing the area's reputation as a tourist center (Starr 1990 247, 256).

- Community event
 - Oil industry/development event
- [*Italics indicate non-local event*]
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- 1880s: Montecito laid out, largely given over to avocado-growing, but attracting elite visitors (Fuller and Olson 1980: 11, 14).
- 1880s: Santa Barbara's first beautification committee is organized (Fuller and Olson 1980: 76).
- 1882: Santa Ynez is established as commercial center (Davison 1955: 72; Fuller and Olson 1980: 11).
- 1882: Pacific Coast Railway links the Santa Maria Valley to southern San Luis Obispo County (Nelson 1987: 89; Simon 1990: 18).
 - 1886: Natural and crude discovered in Summerland; the first oil well in Summerland is drilled the following year (Fuller and Olson 1980: 76).
- 1887: Railroad comes to Santa Barbara from the south.
 - 1890: Alcatraz Asphaltum Company (also mining in Carpinteria and the Sisquoc Ranch) opens Goleta asphalt mine, located on current site of UC Santa Barbara. (Tompkins and Ruiz 1970: 84-86).
 - 1890: *Union Oil Company incorporated in neighboring Ventura County (Johnson and Nye 1979: 188).*
- 1892: The Santa Barbara Club is organized, the first country club on the South Coast. Two years later, the Santa Barbara Hunt Club and the Santa Barbara Country Club are organized (Myrick 1987: 135, 159).
- 1894: Mission Revival architectural style arrives in Santa Barbara, with San Francisco architect's Arthur Page Brown's designs for five Garden Street residences (Starr 1990: 275).
 - 1899.08: Montecitans tear down an oil derrick constructed on the beach (*Santa Barbara Morning Press*, 8/3/99; see also Myrick 1987: 144-145).
- 1901.03: The Southern Pacific Railroad closes "the Gap" in Santa Barbara County with its first northbound train from Los Angeles to San Francisco (Tompkins and Ruiz 1970: 91-92).
 - 1901.8: Western Union Oil Company brings in the first successful well in the Santa Maria Valley, Western Union #3 (Simon 1990: 21).
 - 1902.6: On W.W. Orcutt's recommendation, Union Oil Co. leases Hartnell property for oil exploration, followed by the Hobbs, Fox,

- Community event
 - Oil industry/development event
- [Italics indicate non-local event]
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- and Folsom leases south of Orcutt, and the Lompoc Monocline – a total of 70,000 acres leased within one year (Simon 1990: 21).
- 1903: *California became the nation's largest oil-producing state, with more than 3,000 producing wells (Johnson and Nye 1979: 188).*
- 1903: *State regulations established for casing and plugging wells (Johnson and Nye 1979: 190).*
- 1903.01: Santa Barbara's Potter Hotel opens, attracting "the great names of American capitalism..." (Starr 1990: 257).
 - 1904: Union Oil town of Orcutt established (Nelson 1987: 17, 25-26; Simon 1990: 22-23, 82).
 - 1904.12: Union Oil's "Old Maud" well blows out, produces one million barrels in its first 100 days (Simon 1990: 80; Johnson and Nye 1979: 191; Carlson 1957: 129).
 - 1906: *Western Oil and Gas Association (WOGA) is created as the industry's trade organization (Johnson and Nye 1979: 188).*
- 1908: Santa Barbara National Forest established (to be re-named Los Padres National Forest in 1936) (Blakley and Barnette 1985).
 - 1908: Santa Barbara Chamber of Commerce, fearing oil pollution, officially opposes construction of an oil pipeline on Stearns Wharf (Johnson and Nye 1979: 190).
 - 1908: West Cat Canyon oil field is discovered near Los Alamos by the Palmer Union Oil Company with its Palmer #1 well, which "all but surpassed Old Maud's production" at 6000-10,000 barrels daily (Nelson 1987: 19; Frank and Lambert 1985: 24).
- 1911: Community of Solvang settled.
 - 1915: The Palmer Union Oil Company finds the first substantial strike in the East Cat Canyon field (Franks and Lambert 1985 25).
 - 1917: Casmalia oil field (between Point Sal and San Antonio Creek) discovered by the Doheny Petroleum Company (Frank and Lambert 1985: 24).
- 1919: Ed Craig, a worker in the oil industry, builds the huge barbecue pit at the Santa Maria Club; Santa Maria's barbecues are to become "famous all over the state" (Carlson 1957: 225).

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- [*Italics indicate non-local event*]
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- 1919.07: Santa Barbara holds its first modern-era fiesta days festival, "La Primavera," eventually becoming the annual "Old Spanish Days" (Myrick 1987: 211).
- 1920: Solvang established out of the Atterdag College, anchoring a Danish Colony in the Santa Ynez Valley (Davison 1955: 87-89).
- 1920: Santa Barbara Community Arts Association organized (Starr 1990: 287-279).
 - 1920: Production in Orcutt hills reaches peak (Nelson 1987: 20; Simon 1990: 38).
 - 1921: *California Mineral Leasing Act reserved to the state all mineral rights to state lands and offshore tidelands, and established regulations for offshore development* (Johnson and Nye 1979: 190).
 - 1922: A wildcatter well by the Puritan Oil touches off 10-year boom at La Mesa, adjacent to Santa Barbara city.
- 1922.03: Local leaders form the Plans and Planting Committee, a section of the Community Arts Association leading to the city's comprehensive building-zone ordinance (Starr 1990: 279).
 - 1923: *Amendment to California Leasing Act allows California Surveyor General to deny offshore permit applications under certain conditions* (Lima 1994).
 - 1924: *State Legislature passes Oil Pollution Act, prohibiting discharge of oil into sea and navigable waters* (Johnson and Nye 1979: 191).
- 1925.06: Santa Barbara earthquake devastates many buildings (including courthouse) and creates large oil slick in the Channel (Starr 1990: 287-288; Johnson and Nye 1979: 191).
- 1925.07: Board of Architectural Review established in Santa Barbara, serves as vehicle to "Hispanicize" the reconstruction of the city (Starr 1990).
- 1925, 1927, 1931: A series of bond issues results in city purchase of entire beach and water frontage; private philanthropists assist the effort. Santa Barbara is declared by its newspaper "one of the very few cities on the West Coast in which the beach and water frontage of the city is entirely owned and controlled by the people" (Days, 1977: 14, 15; Graham et al 1994: 54).

- Community event
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- [Italics indicate non-local event]*
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- 1926: El Capitan oil field discovery prompts a "rush" of permit applications, many of which are denied by the Surveyor General prompting a lawsuit by oil men (Johnson and Nye 1979: 190).
- 1927-37: *Boone v. Kingsbury* opens oil fields to development after State Supreme Court holds Surveyor General's permit denials to be unconstitutional (Lima 1994; Johnson and Nye 1979: 190).
- 1927: Ellwood oil field discovered 15 miles west of Santa Barbara (Johnson and Nye 1979: 190).
- 1929: Santa Barbara County Courthouse is opened at final expense of \$1.25 million (Carlson 1957: 194-5; Starr 1990).
- 1929: The Santa Barbara Foundation established with \$250,000 endowment; soon raises over a million (Starr 1990; Graham et al 1994: 56).
- 1929: Montecito residents push for and receive a county zoning ordinance (the first in California history) to restrict lot sizes to one acre minimum (Tompkins 1989: 71).
 - 1929: Responding to anti-oil protest of drilling in the Mesa neighborhood, the Santa Barbara city council opposes oil drilling within city limits (Johnson and Nye 1979: 190).
 - 1929: *State Legislature enacts moratorium on offshore exploration and leasing* (Lima 1994).
- 1930s: Storke and other Santa Barbara boosters secure New Deal funds for Santa Barbara projects, including the National Guard Armory, the County Bowl, the stone retaining walls on Cliff Drive, the Laguna Park grandstand, the municipal bath house, El Cielito Reservoir and other projects (Tompkins and Ruiz 1970: 132).
 - 1934: Oil production expands into the "Santa Maria Valley" field (as distinguished from the nearby Orcutt field) (Uhl 1987; Simon 1990: 22).
 - 1934: *Federal attention brought to ownership of offshore oil leases after Joseph Chamberlain denied an offshore lease claim and appeals to Congress* (Johnson and Nye 1979: 192).
 - 1937: The Santa Maria Valley's Adams #1 well comes in, producing about 3000 barrels a day (Uhl 1987).

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- [Italics indicate non-local event]*
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- 1937: Union Oil Co. opens its Battles Absorption Plant to clean and separate natural gas from Union Oil Co. production sites in the Santa Maria Valley (Uhl 1987).
- 1938: *California State Lands Act allows offshore oil development with restrictions (Lima 1994).*
- 1938: *Legislation asserting federal ownership of offshore lands dies in House Judiciary Subcommittee (Lima 1994).*
- 1942: U.S. Army Camp Cooke completed. The economy of the Santa Maria Valley becomes dependent on an outside economic source, the military, for the first time (Nelson 1987: 94; Simon 1990: 17).
 - 1943: Oil production in the Santa Maria Valley reaches unprecedented heights during W.W.II (Uhl 1987; Nelson 1987: 17, 94).
 - 1947: U.S. Supreme Court rules in favor of the federal ownership of offshore lands in U.S. v. California. (Lima 1994; Johnson and Nye 1979: 192).
 - 1947: Interim Agreement of the State Lands Commission (SLC) allows California to continue administering offshore lands within three mile limit, with the approval of the Secretary of Interior (Johnson and Nye 1979: 192).
 - 1947.05: Santa Barbara voters defeat referendum to amend City Charter to require public vote for permitting oil development (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, May 5, 1947). • 1948: Three large seismic exploration explosions in the Channel cause local fishermen's complaints; Governor Earl Warren halts seismic exploration, then reauthorizes it with stricter regulations (Johnson and Nye 1979: 192-3).
 - 1948: The Cuyama Valley field opened. Soon New Cuyama is established as an Arco company town (Fuller and Olson 1980: 78; Title Insurance and Trust Co. 1964: 50).
- 1950.08: Inoperative since the end of W.W.II, Camp Cooke reactivated to train armored and infantry divisions for the Korean War (Simon 1990: 46; Nelson 1987: 98).
 - 1950: *Revenues from offshore development are placed in a federal trust fund instead of accruing to the State of California (Johnson and Nye 1979: 192).*

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- [Italics indicate non-local event]*
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- 1951.05: City of Santa Barbara referendum to authorize onshore drilling near airport is approved by near three-to-one margin.
- 1952: City of Santa Barbara adopts ordinance to ban oil drilling and exploration in the Channel (Johnson and Nye 1979: 193).
- 1952.07: Union Oil director Herbert Hoover, Jr., tells Santa Barbara audience oil development consistent with environmental concerns and that immediate development was needed due to Korean War. Santa Barbarans begin to mistrust the federal government's offshore oil policies after President Eisenhower appoints Hoover to be his advisor on oil policy (Johnson and Nye 1979: 193).
- 1953: *President Eisenhower signs Submerged Lands Act and Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act, which divides authority over offshore area between state and federal government at 3 mile mark (Lima 1994).*
- 1953: County Air Pollution Control District established (Graves and Simon 1980).
 - 1953.01: After Humble Oil applies to explore in the Channel. Santa Barbara city and county appeal to States Land Commission for authority to restrict offshore development. AP and UPI give national news coverage to Congressional testimony by Santa Barbara officials (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, January 2, 1953; *Santa Barbara News-Press*, January 11, 1953).
- 1954: UCSB opens its Goleta campus (Fuller and Olson 1980: 78).
 - 1954: Santa Barbara city and county lobby the State Legislature to grant them a development-free offshore sanctuary and the authority to restrict offshore development through zoning (Johnson and Nye 1979: 194; Lima 1994).
 - 1954: Union Oil Co. buys Orcutt refinery from Sunray Oil and builds another facility at Santa Maria to process heavy crudes (Welty and Taylor 1958: 213).
 - 1955: State legislature passes the Shell-Cunningham Tidelands Act (1) granting tidelands authority to State Lands Commission, (2) creating the development-free Santa Barbara Oil Sanctuary and (3) authorizing development elsewhere in the Channel with a 200-day waiting period after drilling application (Lima 1994; Johnson and Nye 1979: 194).

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- [Italics indicate non-local event]*
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- 1955: Union Oil Co. opens Nipomo Mesa refinery.
- 1956: County adopts Comprehensive Zoning Ordinance (Graves and Simon 1980).
 - 1956.12: State Lands Commission issues first permit for an offshore lease, near Summerland; exploration confirms the presence of oil (Lima 1994: 194-195).
 - 1956: Santa Barbara County prepares local ordinances in anticipation of Channel oil development (Lima 1994: 192-193).
 - 1957: City of Santa Barbara moves to annex the offshore Sanctuary before pending state law prohibits such action. Four years later, the city settles a state lawsuit by agreeing to annex only surface but not submerged land in the Sanctuary (Lima 1994: 204-208; Johnson and Nye 1979: 195).
 - 1957: *Amendments to Shell-Cunningham Tidelands Act create sliding royalties scale which is decried as exorbitant by many oil firms. State tidelands leasing suspended for one year until amendments are approved (Welty and Taylor, 229; Lima 1994).*
 - 1957: Richfield Oil Company constructs Rincon Island to support an oil rig one-half mile from shore (Johnson and Nye 1979: 195).
 - 1958: County Board of Supervisors approves construction of a Carpinteria onshore processing plant (Lima 1994: 201).
 - 1958: Humble Oil Company (later Exxon) erects Platform Hazel, the first offshore oil platform in California in the Summerland oil field (Johnson and Nye 1979: 195).
- 1958.10: Camp Cooke transformed into Vandenberg Air Force Base, a major national missile center touching off a north county growth boom (Graves and Simon 1980; Nelson 1987: 97).
- 1959: Twitchell Dam is completed to provide flood control and water supplies to Santa Maria Valley (Fuller and Olson 1980: 79).
 - 1959: Cuarta and Conception offshore oil fields are discovered in the Channel (Johnson and Nye 1979: 195).
 - 1960: Naples gas field discovered (Johnson and Nye 1979: 195).
 - 1961: Coal Oil Point oil field discovered (Johnson and Nye 1979: 195).
- 1962: Hancock College in Santa Maria opened (Fuller and Olson 1980: 79).

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- 1962: Alegria, Caliente, and Molino oil fields are discovered (Johnson and Nye 1979: 195).
- 1964: City of Santa Barbara General Plan adopted.
- 1965: County Supervisors approve first General Plan for Santa Barbara County (Graves and Simon 1980).
 - 1965: U.S. Supreme Court rules on state and federal rights in the Channel. Federal government prepares to issue first Channel lease (Lima 1994: 232).
 - 1965.05: City of Santa Barbara voters approve Charter amendment outlawing oil drilling within city limits by three-to-one margin (drilling had already been outlawed by a 1953 City Council ordinance (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, May 4-6, 1965)).
 - 1965.12: County Board of Supervisors reject proposal for South Ellwood onshore facilities. Supervisors order a comprehensive facilities siting policy (Lima 1994: 238).
 - 1966: Point Conception, South Ellwood, and Carpinteria oil fields discovered. All Channel state tidelands, except the Sanctuary, are leased (Johnson and Nye 1979: 195).
 - 1966.12: Federal leasing in Channel begins with sale to Phillips Petroleum of Drainage Tract in the Carpinteria Field.
 - 1967: Platform Hogan, the first offshore platform in federal OCS waters in the Channel, is installed.
 - 1967.03: *The tanker Torrey Canyon runs aground in England,*.
 - 1967.04: County adopts consolidation as onshore oil facility siting policy (Lima 1994).
 - 1967.09: Federal government creates a Federal Ecological Preserve, two miles seaward from the Santa Barbara Oil Sanctuary (Johnson and Nye 1979: 197).
- 1968: City of Carpinteria incorporated (Graves and Simon 1980).
 - 1968.02: U.S. Bureau of Land Management (BLM) holds Lease Sale P-4, the first large-scale federal OCS sale, raising \$602.7 million (Johnson and Nye 1979: 198; Lima 1994: 253).
 - 1968.03: Dos Cuadras Field discovered.
 - 1968.08: Army Corps of Engineers approves Union Oil Co. permit to construct Platform A over Santa Barbara protests. Platform

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installed same year, along with Platforms B and Houchin (Johnson and Nye 1979: 198; Sollen forthcoming: appendix B).

- 1968.11: County-wide referendum overturns County Supervisors' approval of onshore facility at Carpinteria.
- 1969.01: Blowout occurs at Union Oil Co.'s Platform A in Dos Cuadras oil field. Get Oil Out! (GOO) is founded to oppose oil development in the Channel. Drilling is suspended pending review of regulations (Lima 1994: 272, 274; Johnson and Nye 1979: 198-99).
- 1969.02: *President's Panel on Oil Spills reports that oil spills will happen, but technology to prevent spill damage was only five years away (Johnson and Nye 1979: 212).*
- 1969.02: U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution holds hearing in Santa Barbara. Congress subsequently fails to pass any bills banning offshore oil drilling (Easton 1972: 121).
- 1969.03: President Nixon visits Santa Barbara and inspects the polluted beaches. Secretary of the Interior Hickel announces expanded federal buffer zone around state sanctuary and new and tougher drilling regulations (Easton 1972: 119)
- 1969.04: Cities of Santa Barbara and Carpinteria, Santa Barbara County, and the State of California join class-action lawsuit against Union Oil and its partners for the blowout. The defendants eventually settle for \$9.45 million, \$4.5 million of which is directed to the state (Johnson and Nye 1979: 208).
- 1969.04: Angry Santa Barbara citizens hold rally at waterfront and march onto Stearns Wharf, the support base for oil operations (Easton 1972: 143).
- 1969.06: Environmental Quality Advisory Board created by Santa Barbara City to halt oil pollution in the Channel (Johnson and Nye 1979: 186).
- 1969.07: Legislature expands sanctuaries but fails to pass bill banning oil drilling in state waters of Channel (Lima 1994: 285).
- 1969.08: Federal District Court refuses injunction against further drilling (Easton 1972: 170).

- Community event
 - Oil industry/development event
- [Italics indicate non-local event]*
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- 1969.11: "Sail-in" protest off Santa Barbara blocks emplacement of Platform Hillhouse (the first new platform since the oil spill), but platform installed by year's end (Easton 1972: 178-180).
- 1969.12: So-called "second oil spill" blackens channel beaches at Christmas. Loss of local tourism revenue due to oil spill estimated at \$24 million (Graves and Simon 1980: 23).
- 1969.12: *Nixon signs Tax Reform Bill reducing tax depletion allowance and eliminating "ABC loophole" for oil companies.*
- 1970.01.01: *Wave of environmental legislation enacted. The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) become law,; President Nixon establishes the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. The Federal Water Quality Act and Clean Air Act pass.*
 - 1970.01.13: County brings criminal charges related to the oil spill in District Attorney David Minier v. Four Oil Companies. The charges result in token fine of several hundred dollars, causing local outrage. Federal Appeals Court later quashes two injunctive pleas by the city and county against federal policies (Johnson and Nye 1979: 228).
 - 1970.01: State Lands Commission lifts moratorium on existing development in tidelands (except for waters off Santa Barbara). First annual Environmental Rights Day observance held in Santa Barbara, based on the Santa Barbara Declaration of Environmental Rights (Johnson and Nye 1979: 216; Easton 1972: 194).
- 1970.04: *First Earth Day observed (Easton 1972: 224).*
 - 1970.07: *First public hearing on federal OCS development held in New Orleans (Easton 1972: 234).*
- 1970.11: Voters overturn Supervisors' approval of proposed subdivision of Goleta's rural El Capitan ranch (Graves and Simon 1980: 105).
 - 1970.12: Federal government allows resumed drilling in Channel.
 - 1971.01: Exxon (formerly Humble Oil) submits initial plan of operation for Santa Ynez Unit development (Johnson and Nye 1979: 184).
 - 1971.01: Interior Department conducts first public hearing in Santa Barbara regarding new platforms. Santa Barbarans protest (Easton 1972: 246-247).

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- [Italics indicate non-local event]*
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- 1971.01: State Lands Commission lifts ban on new development in tidelands (Johnson and Nye 1979: 216).
- 1971.01: Nixon Administration announces support for cancellation of at least 35 leases, representing 50 percent of the total remaining in federal waters, and for creation of a cross-channel marine sanctuary. Congress fails to act, however (Easton 1972: 279).
- 1971.09: President Nixon rules against additional platforms in the Dos Cuadras field (Easton 1972: 285).
- 1972: County creates Environmental Quality Advisory Agency along with Technical Review Staff (Graves and Simon 1980).
 - 1972.04: Draft environmental impact statement (EIS) prepared for Exxon's Santa Ynez Unit Plan of Operations, the first federal OCS project in the Channel to go through the NEPA process (Johnson and Nye 1979: 219-20; Lima 1994: 309).
 - 1972.11: *Proposition 20, the California Coastal Zone Conservation Act, is adopted by California voters and creates the California Coastal Commission (CCC) and six regional commissions. The Federal Coastal Zone Management Act and Clean Water Act also enacted (Johnson and Nye 1979: 217-18).*
 - 1973: *First Energy Crisis begins. Oil shortage due to OPEC embargo leads to a drive for greater American energy self-reliance and independence through new energy sources and conservation (Lima 1994).*
 - 1973: Nixon Administration withdraws support for Channel energy reserve (Lima 1994: 301).
- 1973.05: Voters support Goleta Water Board imposes hook-up moratorium by two-to-one vote (Goodwin 1992; Warner and Molotch 1992: 126).
- 1973.07: County abandons practice of accepting EIRs prepared by developers (Graves and Simon 1980: 35).
 - 1973.12: State Lands Commission lifts ban on renewal of Channel drilling (Johnson and Nye 1979: 216).
- 1974: Santa Barbara city planning task force issues report on the "Impacts of Growth" (Warner and Molotch 1992: 125).
 - 1974.07: Platform Harry removed.

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- 1974.05: Interior Department announces plans for accelerated OCS leasing, to include the use of "blanket EISs," documents which could be used for future developments without subsequent individual project EISs (Johnson and Nye 1979: 220).
- 1974: Santa Barbara City Council bans oil support activities at wharf.
- 1974.01: Exxon (formerly Humble Oil) requests county rezoning of Las Flores Canyon for Santa Ynez Unit (SYU) onshore facilities. County OEQ subsequently prepares EIR for rezoning (Graves and Simon 1980: 189; Lima 1994: 312).
- 1974.02: Arco announces plans to resume drilling on Platform Holly in the Channel, prompting GOO appeals and conflicts over EIR procedures (Graves and Simon 1980: 222-227; Johnson and Nye 1979: 218).
- 1975: City of Santa Barbara amends the General Plan and Zoning Ordinance to reduce allowable densities in residential areas and sets a population goal of 85,000 (Warner and Molotch 1992: 125).
 - 1975.02: Interior Department releases several blanket EISs: two draft EISs for its accelerated leasing program and for OCS Lease Sale 35, and in June a draft EIS for Channel leasing and a draft ES for Channel oil and gas development (Johnson and Nye 1979: 220).
 - 1975.02: Santa Barbara County Board of Supervisors approved rezoning of Las Flores Canyon to allow siting of Exxon facilities. RCC also approved the project, but the decision was appealed to the CCC (Graves and Simon 1980; Lima 1994; Johnson and Nye 1979: 237).
 - 1975.04: SLC approves Arco drilling proposal. The Regional Coastal Commission (RCC) approves Arco's plans, but a GOO appeal results in CCC's denial on October 15 (Johnson and Nye 1979: 218).
 - 1975.05: Countywide referendum by the Stop Exxon Committee to reject Supervisors' rezoning of Las Flores Canyon narrowly defeated (Graves and Simon 1980: 194; Johnson and Nye 1979: 237).
 - 1976: County Grand Jury report accuses OEQ coordinator accuses Reynolds of "bureaucratic self-interest" and his reforms of county EIR process as unjust. A 2nd report next year is less accusatory (Graves and Simon 1980: 47, 49).

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- 1976: Exxon's Platform Hondo installed.
- 1976.03: *State updates the California Oil Spill Disaster Contingency Plan , creating a State Operating Authority and designating the Department of Fish and Game as lead agency .*
- 1976.03: CCC denies Exxon's Las Flores onshore facility permit, prompting the company to build offshore facility (Johnson and Nye 1979: 237).
- 1976.07: Court ruling overturns CCC, approves permit for Arco's expanded drilling at Platform Holly (Johnson and Nye 1979: 218).
- 1976.12: At behest of County Supervisors, Joint Industry/Government Pipeline Working Group established, to consternation of local environmentalists (Graves and Simon 1980: 238).
- 1977: Environmentalist Bill Wallace elected to County Board of Supervisors.
- 1977: Santa Barbara County designated "non-attainment" in several air quality categories (Graves and Simon 1980: 70-71).
 - 1977: Union Oil's Platform C installed, after eight-year delay.
 - 1977: California Coastal Commission selects Point Conception as best site for a Liquid Natural Gas (LNG) port.
 - 1977.01: Oil storage tanks leak at Coal Oil Point (Sollen 1977).
 - 1977.01: Supervisors approve Arco's Ellwood expansion with significant air quality conditions. Exxon agrees to terms, Arco given permit (Graves and Simon 1980: 239-240).
- 1977.03: Santa Barbara city voters endorse 85,000 population limit.
- 1977.11: Supervisors raise OEQ to full department status as Department of Environmental Resources (DER) (Graves and Simon 1980: 50-51; Warner and Molotch 1992: 126).
 - 1977.12: Chevron applies for permit to build subsea pipelines from Platform Grace (in federal waters) to operating Platform Hope (in state waters) and expand its Carpinteria operations (Graves and Simon 1980: 319).
 - 1978.05: 25 local Chumash Indians occupy LNG site at Point Conception (Fuller and Olson 1980: 79).

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- 1978.06: County voters pass two advisory measures (O & P) proposing a population growth rate of .9% per year for the South Coast.
 - 1978.08: *Congress passes Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act amendments ,requiring OCS developers to meet county air standards (Graves and Simon 1980: 72).*
 - 1978.10: Interior announces Lease Sales 48 (with tracts wholly in the Channel) and 53 (with tracts partly in the channel).
- 1978.11: Proposal to divide county defeated at the polls (Simon 1990: 58).
 - 1978.11: Federal court dismisses GOO's effort to stop Exxon's offshore facility (Graves and Simon 1980 210).
- 1979: County voters reject joining the State Water Project.
 - 1979: Platforms Grace (Chevron) and Henry (Sun Oil) are installed in Santa Clara Unit and Carpinteria Field, respectively.
 - 1979.01: Chevron agrees to implement County DER's Carpinteria-to-Rincon pipeline. County approves pipeline permit (Graves and Simon 1980: 329-330).
 - 1979.06: \$527.8 million Bid for tracts in Lease Sale 48.
 - 1979.07: GOO lawsuit to stop Platform Grace defeated in federal court (Graves and Simon 1980: 333).
 - 1979.09: County Planning Commission approves Chevron's expanded Santa Clara Unit project, ending two-year permitting process (Graves and Simon 1980: 334).
- 1980: County completes Regional Growth Impact Study.
 - 1980: Congress establishes Channel Islands National Park and Santa Barbara Channel Islands Marine Sanctuary extending seaward six miles from the islands.
 - 1980: Ellwood processing plant expanded.
 - 1980: Gas processing plant proposed for Las Flores Canyon.
 - 1980: Chevron opens pipeline to Ventura (Sollen 1980a).
 - 1980: Union Oil's Platforms Gilda and Gina erected off Ventura County in the Hueneme and Santa Clara fields, respectively (Sollen forthcoming: appendix B).
 - 1980.06: OCS Lease Sale 68 set for 1981. BLM gives "highest priority development" designation to the buffer zone adjacent to

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- the Santa Barbara Ecological Preserve, and recommends its inclusion in OCS Lease Sale 68 (Meade 1980).
- 1980.12: OCS Lease Sale 73 set for 1983. Sale would exempt Channel Islands sanctuary and the ecological preserve.
- 1981: \$2.088 billion bid in Lease Sale 53 for federal tracts off Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo Counties. A Federal Judge blocks leases on 29 tracts off San Luis Obispo County, in response to a suit filed by the State and GOO (Sollen forthcoming; appendix A; 1981b).
- 1981: Texaco's Platform Habitat installed off Carpinteria.
- 1981.03: Exxon moors its floating processing plant to avoid Coastal Commission restrictions (Thermos 1981).
- 1981.03: President Reagan calls for review of the ban on Channel Islands drilling (Sollen 1981a).
- 1982: \$117.9 million bid in Lease Sale 68 for tracts from the Channel to the Mexican border.
- 1982.9: Arco caps oil and gas seepage area off Coal Oil Point with 2 steel pyramids as part of an emissions trade-off (Oltman 1982).
- 1982.10: Chevron exploration discovers and confirms huge size of the Point Arguello oil field (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, October 21, 1982).
- 1982.11: Santa Barbara voters amend city charter (Measure K) to require "land development (not exceed) public services and physical and natural resources" and for future rezonings to require a "super-majority" (five of seven city council votes) (Warner and Molotch 1992: 125).
 - 1983: Santa Barbara County creates Resource Management Department's Energy Division to deal with explosive growth of oil development.
 - 1983: Las Flores Canyon gas plant opened. In December, deadly hydrogen sulfide enters residential gas supplies (Harper and Steiger 1983).
 - 1983: Union Oil's dehydration facility speeds through the county's permitting process, eventually located in Lompoc area (Kronman 1986).

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- 1983.01: Getty Oil proposes a Gaviota oil facility and a Gaviota-to-Bakersfield pipeline (Sollen 1983a).
- 1983.09: Eight fishing and environmental groups sue CCC for authorizing tidelands leases (Aguirre 1983).
- 1983.10.20: *Congress approves buffer zone 20 miles along the Southern California coast, with a one-year drilling ban (Santa Barbara News-Press, October 21, 1983).*
- 1983.11: Lease Sale 73 (Santa Maria Basin) brings \$16.0 million in bids (Sollen forthcoming: appendix A).
- 1984: EIR released for Exxon's expansion project (which includes construction of an onshore processing facility and storage tanks).
- 1984.04: Supervisors unanimously approve county policies requiring offshore operators to transport oil by pipeline (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, April 17, 1984).
- 1984.08: In Lease Sale 80, oil companies bid \$62.1 million for 25 OCS lease tracts in the Channel (Sollen forthcoming: appendix A).
- 1985: County Board of Supervisors approve Hyatt Hotel Project in four-to-one vote. Hyatt also approved unanimously by California Coastal Commission (Warner and Molotch 1992: 127).
 - 1985: Three offshore platforms installed in Santa Maria Basin: Harvest (Texaco) and Hermosa (Chevron) in the Point Arguello field, and Irene (Unocal) in the Point Pedernales field.
 - 1985.03: *Interior Department announces plans to slow leasing of OCS tracts (Santa Barbara News-Press, March 21, 1985).*
 - 1985.07: County Planners approve Chevron (formerly Getty) Gaviota onshore processing facility (*Santa Barbara News & Review*, August 1, 1985).
 - 1985.08: Sierra Club sues Chevron in Santa Barbara Superior Court to block Gaviota oil and gas plant (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, August 11, 1985).
- 1985.11: County voters reject Measure A (which would subject all new onshore industrialization to public vote) but approve a second advisory measure which mandates that the County Board of Supervisors consolidate all onshore industrialization to two sites: Las Flores Canyon and Gaviota.

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- 1985.03: Santa Barbara city voters approve a permit for controversial Red Lion Inn on the waterfront (Warner and Molotch 1992: 125).
- 1985.11: Two pro-growth candidates defeat slow-growth candidates for the Goleta Water Board. New majority vows to relinquish responsibility for growth management (Warner and Molotch 1992: 127).
- 1985.11: Supervisors unanimously support a target Goleta population growth rate of .9%. (Warner and Molotch 1992: 127).
- 1986: Santa Barbara city council bars new development projects requiring new water (Warner and Molotch 1992: 125).
 - 1986: Chevron's Platform Hidalgo installed in the Point Arguello field of Santa Maria Basin (Sollen forthcoming: appendix A).
 - 1986.07: Construction begins on Unocal's dehydration facility two miles north of Lompoc. Unocal agrees to offset air emissions in OCS waters (Kronman 1986).
- 1986.08: Price of oil plummets in 8 months from \$22 a barrel to \$6, resulting in massive oil well closings in Santa Maria Valley.
- 1987: County supervisors decide to include non-residential development in growth management EIR. Public hearings are held in the early months of 1989.
 - 1987: Celeron completes pipeline connecting Las Flores Canyon facility to Texas refineries (Cartiere 1987).
 - 1987: Chevron's Platform Gail installed in the Sockeye field off Ventura County (Sollen forthcoming: appendix A).
 - 1987: Price of heavy crude oil surges again, spurring Unocal and Texaco to reactivate wells (Mann 1987).
 - 1987.03: Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties sue CCC over approval of Platform Julius in March (Dalton 1987a).
 - 1987.05: SLC rejects Arco's Coal Oil Point project (Dalton 1987b).
 - 1987.06: County and Exxon reach accord over the Santa Ynez Unit project after Exxon compromises on air pollution (Dalton 1987c).
 - 1987.09: The tanker PacBaroness spills oil off Point Conception, the biggest spill since 1969 (Hauser 1987).
- 1987.11: Goleta voters elect a trio of water board candidates on a slow-growth ticket, shifting the majority again (Warner and Molotch 1992: 127).

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- 1988.01: SLC approves Exxon Gaviota project after a seven-year delay (Dalton 1988).
- 1988.07: *Federal one-year OCS moratorium announced (Mecoy 1988).*
- 1989: City of Santa Barbara enacts a housing mitigation program requiring developers to replace any housing units that they demolish and to provide for the "new demand units" (Warner and Molotch 1992: 126).
 - 1989: Exxon's Platforms Heritage and Harmony are installed in the Santa Ynez Unit (Sollen forthcoming: appendix B).
 - 1989: OCS Lease Sale 95 of 5 million acres opposed by local groups; sale held up by a task force investigation (*Santa Barbara Independent*, July 6, 1989).
 - 1989.05: Unocal joins with other oil companies in routing tankers outside the Channel (Cannon 1989).
 - 1989.08: CCC denies Chevron's tankering plan (Weyermann 1989).
- 1989.11: City of Santa Barbara voters approve Measure E by 11,784 to 9,285, setting limits on commercial development to 3 million square feet for 20 years (Warner and Molotch 1992: 126).
- 1989.11: Slow-growth candidates take over the Board of Supervisors, as incumbents are defeated in two districts by slow-growth rivals. Board passes a Goleta growth management ordinance (Warner and Molotch 1992: 127).
 - 1989.12: SLC declares oil sanctuary from Newport Beach to northern Santa Barbara County, barring development of all unleased tidelands (Joseph 1989).
 - 1990.01: Arco's efforts to build two offshore platforms (for Coal Oil Point project) is stopped when court upholds 1987 permit denial (Joseph 1990).
 - 1990.02: British Petroleum agrees to route tankers outside the Channel, in the wake of an oil spill at Huntington Beach (Estrada 1990).
- 1990.02: City of Santa Barbara declares a Stage III drought, putting severe restrictions on water use (Warner and Molotch 1992: 126).
 - 1990.04: *Interior Department announces lease policy shift to increase coastal exploration and drilling, in April (Shabecoff 1990).*

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- 1990.05: *Federal offshore oil task force recommends a "go-slow" approach to development.*
- 1990.11: County rejects Chevron tankering plan. Chevron uses pipelines instead of tankering at Point Arguello (Little 1990).
- 1991.11: EPA issues new regulations on oil drilling, affecting ten channel platforms (Lankford 1991).
- 1991.01: Arco drops plans for Coal Oil Point rigs.
- 1991.05: Chevron sues Santa Barbara County over tankering plan denial (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, May 11, 1991).
- 1991.06: *Federal OCS drilling ban extended by one year (Santa Barbara News-Press, June 20, 1991).*
- 1991.06: In the midst of severe drought, county voters in all but Lompoc, Mission Hills and Vandenberg Village approve joining State Water Project.
 - 1992.01: *President Bush extends one-year OCS oil-drilling ban (Santa Barbara News-Press, January 24, 1992).*
 - 1992.05: *Department of Interior announces that Channel OCS Lease Sales are to be shelved for 5 years (Parker 1992).*
 - 1992.08: Chevron tankering is allowed (Walker-Klein 1992).
 - 1993: SLC approves oil tanker loading at Gaviota.
 - 1993.01: SLC announces its intention to reopen Coal Oil Point field (Welsh 1993).
- 1993.03: Montecito voters reject reducing community's State Water entitlement.
 - 1993.04: Mobil Oil takes over Arco's Platform Holly and Ellwood developments (Green 1993a).
 - 1993.06: Mobil proposes to remove Platform Holly in exchange for approval of the "Clearview" onshore slant-drilling project (Green 1993b).
 - 1993.08: First tanker arrives for Point Arguello oil (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, August 10, 1993).
 - 1993.08: Chevron, Exxon, and others agree to use the All-American pipeline instead of tankering (Green 1993c).

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- 1993.12: Mobil announces plans to abandon oil piers near the Santa Barbara-Ventura County line.
- 1994.01: 23-count civil complaint filed against Unocal for diluent leak at Guadalupe Dunes (Finucane 1994).
- 1994.02: County rejects tankering request (Welsh 1994).
- 1996.02: Mobil withdraws Clearview application after UCSB refuses access to land needed as slant-drilling site (LePage 1996a).
- 1996.03: Santa Barbara County voters approve (by 53.7 percent) initiative requiring voter approval for future onshore projects. (LePage 1996b).

Appendix B:

Federal OCS Lease Sale hearings -- a case study

This section describes our in-depth case study of two federal OCS lease sale hearings – for Lease Sale 53 (in San Luis Obispo on June 27, 1980) and Lease Sale 68 (in Santa Barbara on July 28-29, 1981) – including the public comments received there and newspaper coverage, to measure the content and pervasiveness of attitudes in Santa Barbara County concerning offshore drilling and the oil industry. Quantitative and content analyses of the draft EISs, the hearing transcripts, and additional written statements concerning the draft EISs and the lease sales in general provide a useful way to measure and compare the sentiments of various groups in the county, at one point in time, towards offshore oil drilling (Gundry and Heberlein 1984). Additionally, this case study examines newspaper coverage of the hearing to indicate how the printed media depicts and influences the county's sentiments. The case study looks at: the draft EIS documents; who commented in the county (e.g. government units; spokespersons from environmentalist groups, oil industry organizations, or other associations; the general public); whether their statements were generally supportive or opposed/critical of the draft EIS and the proposed lease sale (and the home community of each type of commentator); which themes or substantive concerns they addressed; and how two county newspapers covered the hearings and the lease sale in general. The findings reported here are culled from our larger comparative case study of equivalent "local" OCS lease sale hearings in San Luis Obispo and Ventura Counties; where relevant, comparisons will be made to those two counties.⁵³

We looked for and coded six categories or themes in this case study – environment, air quality, way of life, national energy needs, physical infrastructure, and economic base⁵⁴ – as they were addressed in hearing

⁵³ San Luis Obispo's equivalent "local" hearing was the 1980 Draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) hearing for federal OCS Lease Sale 53, held in San Luis Obispo on June 27, 1980. Ventura County's equivalent "local" hearing was the same 1981 Draft EIS hearings for federal OCS Lease Sale 68 discussed in this appendix, which, as the closest hearing, Ventura County officials and residents participated in. The Lease Sale 53 and 68 hearings were chosen for comparative analysis because of their similar stage in the administrative process (public review of first Draft EIS for the initial federal proposal of OCS tract leasing) and their roughly concurrent time period (1980-81, which was the first federal offering of new OCS tracts since the 1969 Santa Barbara Channel spill). For a more detailed discussion on the hearings, public comments, and media coverage of the lease sales in San Luis Obispo and Ventura Counties, see our respective reports on those counties.

⁵⁴*Environment* includes almost every concern for offshore oil drilling's impact on the physical environment: endangered species, other plant and animal species, water quality, and sensitive

transcripts and written statements (quantitatively measured as lines of text). Freudenburg and Gramling (1994) used these categories were in a comparable quantitative study of public responses to offshore oil drilling. A seventh category, *Legitimacy/procedure*, represents this case study's addition to this line of research. Critical comments on the inadequacy and undemocratic nature of the environmental impact analysis process and what opponents perceived as the larger intentions of the BLM, the oil industry, the Department of Interior, and even the U.S. government for the lease sales emerged as a robust theme in our tri-counties research. This theme's significance here suggested that such claims should not be subsumed into the more concrete categories, as they had in prior research.

The Lease Sale Draft EIS: In addition to providing scientific estimates of potential impacts on the local environment, air quality, economic base, infrastructure, and way of life, the draft EIS serves another important yet less visible function. Specifically, it lays the ground for future comment by various groups (government units, the oil industry, environmental organizations, the public, etc.) not only through the scientific evidence it presents but in what it neglects or fails to say. In the latter regard, two themes are largely absent from both lease sale draft EISs; we discuss them here to frame our subsequent analysis of the hearing, comments, and newspaper coverage. First, national energy needs, as a brief section at the beginning of each document indicates, provided the rationale for the entire lease sale. While this theme's treatment in the draft EISs was so terse that it literally approached 0 percent of both documents, national energy needs proved to be

environments. Statements predicting probabilities of impact upon the environment (e.g. oil spill models, drilling cut analyses) were coded under this category, as were statements about indirect environmental threats (e.g. seismic fault mapping, concerns for the use of oil tankers, fear that oil might contaminate the cooling systems of the Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor). Finally, sentiments considered "biocentric" or generally environmentalist were coded under this category. *Air quality* includes statements concerning air quality, its measurement, and the impact offshore oil drilling could have upon air quality. *Way of life* concerns for offshore oil drilling's impact upon social and sentimental facets of the "quality of life" in the affected communities: the "character" of a community, aesthetics (i.e. visual impairment of the coastline by offshore platforms), recreational uses of the coast and other impacted areas, residents' health and well-being, etc. The unity of categories that are typically implied when people state "I moved here to breathe clean air..." or "the beauty of this region is appreciated by both tourists and local residents..." – that is, when human actors recognize the connectedness of specific concerns for impacts upon their residence and measure them in personal terms – is coded here as way of life. *National energy needs* includes statements about the political and policy-oriented goals for offshore oil development which presumably are the reasons the Lease Sales are being proposed: to reduce the need for imported oil, to protect national security, to fuel the growth of the national economy, etc. *Infrastructure* includes statements about impacts upon public services and facilities as provided by local governments, housing, schools, land use, planning, ports, highways, and local roads. *Economic base* includes concerns about local economies, employment, and revenues resulting from offshore oil drilling. Comments about the potential impacts and benefits of drilling upon commercial fishing and tourism, two major industries for much of the tri-county area, are coded here.

an immensely provocative subject for both supporters and opponents of the lease sales, many of whom devote a significant proportion of their comments to this very issue. Second, a substantive discussion of legitimacy/procedural themes is absent in both draft EISs. This is perhaps predictable; as a technical document, the draft EISs tended to either reduce this theme to strictly technical issues or refer the commentor to its lengthy citations of laws and provisions, which address the responsibilities of the BLM and the rights of the public in the EIS process. However, as witnessed in subsequent comments and newspaper coverage, legitimacy/procedural questions proved to be a very salient theme that framed not only Santa Barbara County's response to the draft EISs and the lease sales, but its attitudes towards the oil industry and offshore oil drilling from the lease sale on.

Who commented: In letters and oral statements, 6 Santa Barbara County parties used the LS 53 draft EIS comment period, and 51 Santa Barbara County parties used the LS 68 draft EIS comment period, as the occasion to express their sentiments about the document, the lease sales, and the general prospect of offshore oil drilling in the county, for a total of 57 county commentors. Of the 57 commentors, 11 represented local or county government agencies, one represented a local oil industry organization, 24 represented organizations,⁵⁵ 7 represented oil industry organizations, and 15 spoke or wrote on their own behalf as unaffiliated county residents (i.e. the public). Among the equivalent "local" lease sale hearings in the tri-counties, Santa Barbara County brought forth the greatest number of non-oil organizational representatives of any county in the comparative tri-county case study.⁵⁶ The high turnout of organizational representatives illustrates the organized character of Santa Barbara County oil opponents – one facet of the county's consistently high organizational density (see "Organizations, Organizations, Organizations" above).

Supportive/opposed: Of these 57 commentors, 29 (or 51 percent) expressed opposition to the lease sale and/or criticisms of the draft EIS; 28 (or

⁵⁵ The Santa Barbara County organizations represented included: League of Women Voters, Lompoc Valley Chamber of Commerce, Building Trades Council, Santa Barbara Painters Union, Get Oil Out (two commentors), Carpinteria Valley Association, Save Our Shellfish (two commentors), Scenic Shoreline Preservation Conference (three commentors), California Abalone Association, Nature Conservancy (two commentors), Coastwatch, Environmental Defense Center (two commentors), Sierra Club, Network, Santa Barbara Chamber of Commerce, Santa Maria Developers Association (two commentors), Friends of the Earth, and Santa Barbara Indian Center (two commentors).

⁵⁶ In equivalent hearings, San Luis Obispo County was represented by 128 commentors, in which 15 represented local or county government agencies, 1 represented an oil industry organization, 11 represented other organizations, and 101 represented themselves (i.e. the public). 29 commentors were Ventura County was represented by 15 commentors, in which three represented local or county government agencies, five represented oil industry organizations, three represented other organizations, and four represented themselves (i.e. the public).

49 percent) expressed support of the lease sale and/or the draft EIS; and no one gave a "neutral" statement. Here it should be noted that, among equivalent lease sale hearings in the tri-counties, Santa Barbara County was the most evenly split in its attitudes toward the lease sale: by comparison, of 128 commentors from San Luis Obispo County, 92 percent were opposed/critical, six percent were supportive, and two percent were neutral; of 16 Ventura County commentors, 13 percent were opposed/critical, 69 percent were supportive, and 19 percent were neutral. Santa Barbara County's north/south split in oil sentiments was particularly in effect during the LS 68 comment period, as most of the opposed/critical commentors were South Coast-based, while speakers from Santa Maria and Lompoc were consistently supportive.

Themes of comments: Our analysis here focuses most prominently on the LS 68 hearing, where the volume of Santa Barbara County comments was greatest. Among county opponents' comments, the primary theme sounded by government units and environmentalist organizations was the environment, accounting for 37 and 64 percent of comments, respectively. The prominence of this theme is perhaps to be expected, given the nature of the environmental impact analysis process and the controversies in the county surrounding threatened species, drilling muds, and the technological capacity of the oil industry to safeguard the marine environment. Governmental units also gave voice to legitimacy/procedural issues (22 percent) with an emphasis on procedure; for example, government representatives critiqued the BLM's perceived failure to incorporate or respond to earlier governmental comments solicited in the prior EIS "scoping" period. Finally, governmental units expressed themes of national energy needs (20 percent), and, to a lesser extent (10 percent or less) the county's physical infrastructure, economic base, air quality, and way of life.

Most opposed commentors from Santa Barbara County spoke through some sort of organizational affiliation, environmental or otherwise. For environmentalist organizations, the environment was (not surprisingly) the most dominant theme; environmentalists expressed all other themes cursorily (under 10 percent) except for legitimacy/procedural issues (18 percent). Santa Barbara County is perhaps unique among the tri-counties in that groups whose organizing principles may not include oil or the environment per se actively participate in the offshore drilling debate. During the LS 68 comment period, these groups took up divergent sides of the debate, from the anti-oil League of Women Voters to the pro-oil Santa Maria Developers Association; their comments reflect these divergent interests. Whereas the environment was a primary concern for these groups (57 percent of comments), they also sounded an almost even concern for legitimacy/procedural issues and national energy needs (13 and 12 percent).

The last theme reflects the prominence of lease sale supporters in the organizational category (e.g. economic development associations).⁵⁷

In Santa Barbara County, commentators representing themselves were relatively few – again, only 15 individuals, or 27 percent of county commentators – and were as likely to be north county oil supporters as South Coast opponents. The relative prominence of lease sale supporters among members of the public reflects the converse of the South Coast's organizational density – the comparative *lack* of north county organizing. This phenomenon also explains the prominence of national energy needs among these speakers: advocates generally restated in their own words the same rationale for energy development (domestic energy independence, national security, etc.) that the EIS makes note of in its introduction. Supporters secondarily invoked the benefits to the county's economic base (12 percent) that the lease sale could provide (primarily jobs and revenues).⁵⁸ Public oil opponents, by contrast, distributed their comments across a wide range of themes. These commentators were concerned with the environment (28 percent); also of importance were concerns for way of life (16 percent), a "resource" that oil opponents argued was threatened by further offshore oil development. Public opponents also sounded legitimacy/procedural themes (11 percent), for example, regarding the oil industry's and federal government's perceived dismissal of county offshore drilling concerns and of "democracy" in general.

Newspaper coverage: The case study looked at the amount and content of coverage by the *Santa Barbara News-Press* and the *Santa Maria Times* regarding the lease sales, as found in news articles, editorials, and letters to the editor published in a ten day period around the hearings, from two days before to seven days after. An important note: while many papers covered both hearings, much of our descriptions of newspaper behavior is based upon the hearing closest to the newspaper's home, where coverage is likely to be heaviest (i.e. Lease Sale 68 for the *News-Press*). One finding is striking: in comparison to the San Luis Obispo County newspapers, the depth of coverage provided by the *News-Press* and *Times* is average to negligible. The *News-Press* (Santa Barbara County's major daily newspaper) devoted 334 column lines of coverage to Lease Sale 68; the *Santa Maria Times* (also a daily paper) provided *no* coverage of this event, although it did provide 158 column lines for the LS 53 hearing at San Luis Obispo, 30 miles to the north. By comparison, the *Five*

⁵⁷Notably, the Santa Barbara Chamber of Commerce spoke out against Lease Sale 68. In this respect, the chamber was unlike all other tri-county economic organization except the San Luis Obispo Chamber of Commerce.

⁵⁸A note of comparison: under this category, the Santa Barbara County fishermen who commented on Lease Sale 53 were generally supportive of the lease sale and the oil industry's assurance that fishing would not be negatively impacted. This contrasts with the unanimous opposition to offshore oil drilling expressed by San Luis Obispo County fishermen.

Cities Times-Press-Recorder devoted 546 column lines of text, and the *San Luis Obispo Telegram-Tribune* devoted 443 column lines, and the *Ventura Star-Free Press* devoted 423 column lines, to "their" lease sale hearings.

In regards to the content of coverage (in news articles as well as editorials and letters), the *Santa Barbara News-Press* devoted almost 70 percent of its LS 68 coverage to the comments of offshore drilling opponents. This is one way in which the *News-Press* amplifies anti-oil sentiments; compare this coverage, for example, with the fact that 65 percent of the LS 68 speakers (including oil industry and other non-county speakers) spoke in support of the lease sale. The *News-Press* also amplified a particular theme of opponents, legitimacy/procedural issues, by the prominence it gave to state Assemblyman Gary Hart's comment that the BLM's accelerated OCS development had made a "sham" of democracy; Hart's comment not only dominated in column lines of coverage but stole the day's headline ("Hart, Lagomarsino protest channel oil lease policy"). Hart's prominence in the *News-Press* coverage also conforms to another pattern of news reporting, the "habitual access" of government representatives and other privileged newsmakers to newspapers.⁵⁹

Conclusion: Table 20 shows the proportions of comments devoted to environment (Env), air quality (AQ), way of life (WOL), legitimacy/procedure (L/P), national energy needs (NEN), infrastructure (Inf), and economic base (EcB) themes in the Lease Sales 53 and 68 draft EISs; the oral statements of all speakers at the "local" draft EIS hearings in Santa Barbara; the oral and written statements of Santa Barbara County commentators regarding the lease sales and their respective draft EISs; and the coverage of the *Santa Barbara News-Press* and the *Santa Maria Times* regarding both lease sale hearings.

⁵⁹We are hesitant to interpret the media effects of the *Santa Maria Times* due to the paucity of data to analyze. Its lack of LS 68 hearing coverage could be seen as a pro-oil issue amplification; specifically, its silence on a local event that other papers (from even outside the county) found newsworthy can be interpreted as the paper's support for the status quo of accelerated OCS development. However, another interpretation could attribute its lack of coverage to accident or other external factors, such as a lack of reporters on that news day.

Table 20: Proportions of comments and themes regarding Lease Sales 53 and 68 in Santa Barbara County (lines of text from documents and transcripts)

	Env	AQ	WOL	L/P	NEN	Inf	EcB
Lease Sale 68 and Lease Sale 53 draft EISs	60% [13110]	5% [1157]	9% [1997]	0% [0]	0% [31]	9% [1874]	17% [3614]
Lease Sale 68 hearing in Santa Barbara	55% [2576]	3% [120]	4% [205]	11% [494]	16% [766]	3% [135]	8% [381]
Santa Barbara County commentors	45% [1580]	2% [88]	5% [195]	16% [562]	21% [764]	4% [151]	7% [270]
<i>Santa Barbara News-Press</i>	31% [122]	0% [1]	7% [28]	50% [197]	9% [2]	1% [4]	8% [33]
<i>Santa Maria Times</i>	38% [26]	3% [2]	7% [5]	6% [4]	22% [15]	0% [0]	25% [17]

Source: BLM, Final EIS,⁶⁰ *Proposed 1981 Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Lease Sale, Offshore Central and Northern California: OCS Sale No. 53*; BLM, Final EIS, *Proposed 1982 Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Lease Sale, Offshore Central and Northern California: OCS Sale No. 68*; BLM, *Public Hearing on Draft Environmental Statement for Proposed Outer Continental Shelf Lease Sale No. 53, Central and Northern California: San Luis Obispo, California, June 27, 1980*; BLM, *Public Hearing on Draft Environmental Statement for Proposed Outer Continental Shelf Lease Sale No. 68: Santa Barbara, California, July 28-29, 1981*; letters from Santa Barbara County regarding Lease Sales 53 and 68, held at Minerals Management Service library, Camarillo, California; *Santa Barbara News-Press*, 6/25-7/5/80 and 7/26-8/4/81; *Santa Maria Times*, 6/25-7/5/80 and 7/26-8/4/81

As this quantitative data indicates, Santa Barbara County concerns regarding offshore oil drilling stayed relatively focused on substantive issues raised in the draft EISs, such as the environment, local infrastructure, economic base, and air quality. An analysis of comments made by opponents in government, organizations, and the general public indicates their frequent use of a technical/scientific language of environmental impact analysis that, among all three counties, most closely matches the caliber (if not the conclusions) of statements found in the draft EIS. Whether opponents are

⁶⁰ A methodological qualification: Strictly speaking, the final EISs for the lease sales were the product of public responses to two previous versions of the EISs, and so the documents coded in this case study were published at the *end* of the respective EIS/public comments/media coverage sequence investigated in the comparative tri-county study. While there is room for some speculation that the final EIS might have produced fewer questions of legitimacy and procedure from the public than its draft versions in fact produced, there are two reasons why we feel coding the final EISs was justified. First, we did not code the public comments sections of the final versions, and so what remained was structurally the same document as the draft versions. Second, the final versions of the lease sales' EISs reached the same conclusions of negligible environmental impact and showed the same naiveté about the social impact of the EIS process itself which resulted in the public outcry in the first place. That is, despite their modifications in substance, the Final EIS was essentially the same document used to reach the same conclusions as the draft EIS was.

talking about air emissions "parts per million" or offshore drilling's impacts on fishing, most offshore drilling opponents achieve a level of sophistication in their comments, presentation, and larger strategy that is unparalleled in San Luis Obispo and Ventura Counties. This most likely reflects the organizational density of Santa Barbara; this pervasiveness of sophisticated public comments requires the diffusion of information achieved by organizing across many spheres – not just government, but environmental, "good government, " and other stripes of organization.

Yet the comments of Santa Barbara County oil opponents also indicate that technical and bureaucratic proficiency did not replace alarm, concern, or other sentiments beyond the purview of the substantive issues addressed in the lease sales' draft EISs. Like their counterparts in San Luis Obispo County, commentators of all stripes also raised less scientifically manageable issues about national energy needs, way of life, and especially legitimacy/procedure. As our qualitative analysis of their comments and additional interviews corroborate, the emergent legitimacy/procedure theme expressed opponents' concern (and often anger) that the county might be on the short end of OCS decision-making conducted far from the Central Coast, and that this decision-making failed to consider local concerns that county representatives had raised in preliminary scoping and environmental impact analysis (particularly for LS 68), as well as earlier oil industrialization controversies. Way of life arguments also strayed beyond a scientifically proper discourse, invoking the unity of social and natural amenities that cannot be measured simply as "aesthetics" (the BLM's term) yet which constitute another "resource" threatened by offshore drilling. By contrast, offshore drilling supporters regularly invoked national energy needs beyond its brief mention in the draft EIS to reinforce legitimacy and assert the need for further OCS development.

Through the filter of the major daily newspaper, the legitimacy/procedure theme continued to loom large in representations of the county's attitudes toward offshore oil drilling. This case study's tracking of the treatment of themes, through quantitative and qualitative methods, from document to comments to newspaper coverage makes visible the Santa Barbara County pattern of *issue amplification*. The finding that legitimacy/procedure and, to a lesser extent, way of life emerged and were sustained during the lease sale hearings as a prominent "counter-argument" among county commentators is more than academic. Legitimacy/procedural issues conveyed at this hearing would parallel subsequent themes of county opposition to offshore oil drilling. The perceived failure of the federal government and the oil industry to address this theme during the lease sales and future events would lead to the call among county offshore drilling opponents to exert stronger control over the decision-making process.

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List of those consulted or interviewed
(Partial list)

Persons are listed according to the county with which they are most knowledgeable (usually the county where they live or work). Many informants, however, provided useful information on other communities or counties with which they were familiar.

Santa Barbara County:

Robert Almy, Former Manager, County Resource Management
Douglas Anthony, County Energy Division
Dorothy Benford, Santa Maria Historical Museum
Barney Brantingham, Columnist, *Santa Barbara News-Press*.
Ross Brunetti, Engineer, California Division of Oil and Gas.
Melinda Burns, Reporter, *Santa Barbara News-Press*.
Andy Caldwell, Director, Coalition of Labor, Agriculture and Business (COLAB)
Richard Chenoweth, Santa Maria Historical Museum
Larry Crandell, Real estate developer, civic volunteer.
Kevin Drude, County Energy Division
Fred Eissler, Scenic Shoreline Preservation Conference
Scott Ernathius, Geologist, Mobil Corporation.
Michael D. Fox, Former Attorney, Environmental Defense Center.
Carla Friske, Office of State Senator, Jack O'Connell.
David Gebhard, Professor Architectural History (late), UCSB
Jean Holmes, League of Women Voters.
George Hobbs, Former Mayor, Santa Maria.
Olga Howard, Santa Maria Citizens Planning Association
Joyce Howerton, Mayor, City of Lompoc
Barbara Hutchins, Office of Planning and Development, Santa Maria
Robert Kallman, Former MMS official, Former County Supervisor
Joan Kerns, President, Get Oil Out.
Robert Klausner, businessman, civic volunteer.
Linda Krop, Attorney, Environmental Defense Center.
Stephan B. Logan, Building Contractor, Board of Directors, South Coast Congregate
Care.
Sheila Lodge, Former Mayor, Santa Barbara
Morton Maizlish, President, Board of Realtors.
Mark McGinnes, Lawyer, UCSB Lecturer, Environmental Studies.
Michael McGinnis, Dames and Moore
Stephan L. Miles, Attorney.
Paul Mills, Former Director, Santa Barbara Museum of Art.
Toru Miyoshi, Former county supervisor, City Council Member, Santa Maria
Donald Olson, City Planner, Santa Barbara
Luis Perez, County Energy Division
Michael Powers, Deputy Director, Santa Barbara County Association of
Governments.

Gail Rappaport, Attorney, Former Board member, Center Stage Theatre.
Albert Reynolds, Former Director, County Office of Environmental Quality.
Lesley Ridley-Tree, Director, Santa Barbara Museum of Art, philanthropist.
Jim Ryerson Former Official, County Air Pollution Control District
Darwin Sainz, Unocal official, rancher..
Francis Sarguis, Attorney, Former President, Get Oil Out.
Patricia Schewczyk, Santa Barbara League of Women Voters
Mark Schniepp, UCSB Economic Forecast Project.
Robert Sollen, Former environmental reporter, *Santa Barbara News-Press*
John Stahl, Official, Molino Oil Corporation.
Robert Campbell-Taylor, County Assessor's Office
Alexander Velto, Realtor (late).
Gaye Warren, Western States Petroleum Association (WSPA)
Glenn Wharton, businessman, Board of Directors, Fund for Santa Barbara.
Nick Welsh, News Editor, *Santa Barbara Independent*.

San Luis Obispo County:

Joseph Amanzio, Professor of Architecture, Cal Poly
Patricia Beck, County Planner
Phyllis Beggs, Finance Director, Pismo Beach
Richard Boyle, Official, Unocal.
George Brand, Former Editor, *San Luis Obispo Telegram-Tribune*
James Bray, Official, Unocal
Jerry Bunin, county reporter, *San Luis Obispo Telegram-Tribune*
Ellen Carroll, County Environmental Coordinator
Allan Cooper, Professor and Director, Architecture, Cal Poly
Ken Curtis, City Planner, Pismo Beach.
Sheree Davis, Director of Governmental Affairs, SLO Chamber of Commerce
Bill DeJarnette, President, Grover City Chamber of Commerce.
Evelyn Delany, County Supervisor
Jerry Diefenderfer, Former County Supervisor, Rancher, Paso Robles
John Euphrat, County Planner, Energy Division.
Janet Farris, Local Historian, Avila Beach.
Nicholas Ferravanti, Businessman, Activist, Paso Robles
David Garth, Executive Director, SLO Chamber of Commerce
Brian Haley, Department of Anthropology, UCSanta Barbara
Walter Harris, Associate Director of admissions, Cal Poly
Ampie Hayberg, County Auditor's Office
Mike Hodgson, Editor, *Five Cities Times-Press-Recorder*.
Jean Hubbard, South County Historical Society
Daniel Krieger, Professor of History, Cal Poly, President, County Historical Society
Bonnie Krupp, Institutional Studies Office, Cal Poly
Kurt Kupper, Former County Supervisor, Director, ECOSLO.
Sam Leonard, County Assessor's Office
Dorine Liberto-Blanck, City Planner, Arroyo Grande.

Howard Mankins, Former County Supervisor, Former Mayor of Arroyo Grande,
rancher
Ken McCall, Reporter, *San Luis Obispo Telegram-Tribune*.
Carolyn Moffett, Port San Luis Harbor District.
Robert Nimmo, Former State Assemblyman, former State Senator, Atascadero.
Gerard Parsons, Former Commissioner, Pt. San Luis Harbor
David Ryal, Director, Pismo Beach Chamber of Commerce
Kenneth Schwartz, Former Mayor of SLO, Professor of Architecture, Cal Poly
Sandy Sidah, Records & Information Office, Cal Poly
Sandy Silver, civic activist, Mothers For Peace.
Ernest Smith, Rancher, Smith Drilling, Paso Robles, .
Marcia Stillman, County Assessor's Office
Michael Stover, Editor, *San Luis Obispo Telegram-Tribune*.
Thomas Sullivan, City Planner, Grover City.
William Weldon, Unocal

Ventura County:

Jeff Attebury, Unocal
Lee Bafalon, Attorney, Chevron.
Pat Baggerly, Environmental Activist
Russ Baggerly, Aide to County Supervisor.
Doris Black, Civic Volunteer.
Phil Blackburn, Staff, Texaco
Linda Brewster, Mayor, Fillmore.
Mark Capelli, Staff, California Coastal Commission
Steve Chawkins, Columnist, *Ventura Star*.
Bill Clawson, Tourism Bureau, Ventura.
Terry Covington, California Coastal Operators Group (CCOG).
Joseph DeVito, Mayor, Ojai.
Glenna Deane Dovey, Oxnard League of Women Voters
David Eaton, Former County Supervisor.
Don Gluyas, Unocal.
Stan Greene, Citizens to Preserve the Ojai
Dorothy Haaze, Fillmore Historical Society
Edward Hall, Petroleum Geologist, Unocal.
Jean Harris, Ormond Beach Task Force
Charles Johnson, Ventura County Historical Society
Gene Kjellberg, County Planner
Barbara Kornlyo, Staff, Texaco
Ed Laughman County Assessor's Office.
Judy Lazar, City Council member, Thousand Oaks.
Cynthia Leake, Civic volunteer, Ventura.
Bernard Leavitt, Civic volunteer, Ventura.
Isabel Leavitt, Civic volunteer, Ventura .
Greg Mansfield, Reporter, *Ventura Star*

Lou Mazarrio, Staff, County Planning (oil division).
Robert McKinney, City Council, Ojai.
John McWherter, Former Ventura City Council member
Spence Mitchell, Petroleum Geologist
Jim Monahan, Oil supply company owner, Former Ventura City Council member.
Neil Moyer, Texaco, Former member, County Air Pollution Control District.
Jeff SanMarchi, Editor, *The Voice* (Ojai/Ventura independent newspaper)
John Sterling, Staff, Patagonia Incorporated
Greg Stratton, Mayor, Simi Valley
Burton Swope, City Editor, *Ventura Star*
Paul Tebble, Staff, Patagonia Incorporated.
John Thompson, Oil industry businessman (compressor repair)
Judith Triem, Historian, Ventura County.
Richard Warchol, Reporter, *Ventura Star*.
Dorill Wright, California Coastal Commissioner (Pt. Hueneme).

Non-local Informants:

Svein Andersen, Professor of Business, Oslo University (Norway)
David Brown, State lands Commission
Gray Brechin, Dept of Geography, UC Berkeley.
Faye Cox, Staff, Texaco
Avery Guest, Population Reseach Center, Univerity of Washington, Seattle.
Dan Haifley, Former Director, Save Our Shores
Brenda Hearing, Carnegie Foundation Library (Columbia University)
Susan Hershberger, Shell
Paul Langland, ARCO
Paul Leonard, Deputy Assistant Secretary, US Department of Housing and Urban
Development, Washington DC.
Shaun-Michael Morse, Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco
William Tanner, Exxon



The Department of the Interior Mission

As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.



The Minerals Management Service Mission

As a bureau of the Department of the Interior, the Minerals Management Service's (MMS) primary responsibilities are to manage the mineral resources located on the Nation's Outer Continental Shelf (OCS), collect revenue from the Federal OCS and onshore Federal and Indian lands, and distribute those revenues.

Moreover, in working to meet its responsibilities, the Offshore Minerals Management Program administers the OCS competitive leasing program and oversees the safe and environmentally sound exploration and production of our Nation's offshore natural gas, oil and other mineral resources. The MMS Royalty Management Program meets its responsibilities by ensuring the efficient, timely and accurate collection and disbursement of revenue from mineral leasing and production due to Indian tribes and allottees, States and the U.S. Treasury.

The MMS strives to fulfill its responsibilities through the general guiding principles of: (1) being responsive to the public's concerns and interests by maintaining a dialogue with all potentially affected parties and (2) carrying out its programs with an emphasis on working to enhance the quality of life for all Americans by lending MMS assistance and expertise to economic development and environmental protection.