I. DESCRIPTION OF THE SCOTLANDVILLE COMMUNITY

Scotlandville is located in East Baton Rouge Parish, about 5 miles north of the central business district of the city of Baton Rouge. It was, until 1976, an unincorporated area of industrial and suburban development; it was self-contained and isolated both geographically and, to an extent, culturally from the city of Baton Rouge.

In 1960, the population of Scotlandville was 18,433, of which 3,676, or 20%, was White and 14,575, or 80%, was Black (U.S. Census, 1960). According to the U.S. Census (1970), the total population of the state of Louisiana was 3,643,180, of which 2,241,298, or 70%, was White, 1,086,839, or 30%, was Black, and 858 persons belonged to other races. The population of Scotlandville in 1970 was 22,557, of which only 1,850, or 8.2%, was White; the rest of the population—numbering 20,677, or 91.8%—was Black (U.S. Census 1970). This means that within one decade, the racial imbalance in Scotlandville intensified by more than 11%—that is to say, there was a 50% decrease in the White population.

Scotlandville is culturally distinctive. A study by Modjeski and Masters (1971), made to prepare a report about the extension of Interstate 110 through Scotlandville, revealed that there is a strong
sense of community in Scotlandville that is continuously reinforced by the overwhelming factor of its racial homogeneity. According to this report, if given the opportunity to leave Scotlandville, less than 20% of the residents interviewed indicated that they would do so, and 97.5% believed that Scotlandville was a good place to live. “This is evidently a combined function of economic independence, long-term residence, racial security and kinship ties” (pp. 55-58). The authors go on to say that the statistical evidence indicates that Scotlandville is a stable community of multi-bonded relationships within a generally homogeneous population. A later study by Steptoe and Poister (1973) supported the above contention. They found that “only 12 of the household heads (out of 210) or less than 7% expressed some degree of willingness to move outside of the area” (p. 5).

An additional point about the stability of residents of the Scotlandville community was home ownership. Although the median annual income of the people of Scotlandville was $6,538, about two thirds that of Baton Rouge, the percentage of home ownership in the two communities was nearly equal: According to Steptoe and Poister (1973), 38% of those interviewed owned their homes, and 31% were buying their houses (p. 5). The home owning level had been significantly influenced by the fact that about 20% of the applicable household-head participants in the labor force were professional workers, mostly University and public school teachers.

For years, the people of Scotlandville complained about the low caliber of municipal services, employment opportunities, recreational facilities, public transportation, housing conditions, police protection, lighting, and street cleaning, as well as the general appearance of the area. Although the community people had strong feelings about the unfavorable conditions in which they were living, because of the absence of effective leadership and the absence of “visible targets and goals,” (Parenti, 1970, p. 510), little was done to improve conditions.

The people of Scotlandville were paying 18 mills taxes for three services provided by East Baton Rouge Parish—fire protection, street lighting, and garbage collection. Although many residents of the community felt that these services were inadequate, in the
absence of concerted community action, little was done to improve the quality of these services. The Scotlandville fire protection district taxed at the 10 mills limitation on a property assessment of slightly more than $14 million and received $142,578 in 1971. In the November 1972 election, Amendment 28 was proposed to allow the district to levy up to an additional 5 mills with voter approval. The amendment was defeated by a mere 67 votes: 31,736 voted for the fire protection district tax proposal; 31,803 voted against it. Ten of the 27 employees were paid with federal funds (State Times, 1972, pp. 1-A and 11-E).

Complaints about police protection were commonplace among the people of Scotlandville. A study by Dr. John Moland (1972) revealed that in the five Black subdivisions of greater Baton Rouge, including Scotlandville, only 2% of the Black residents felt that Blacks were treated as fairly as Whites by the police department. However, 72% of the White respondents felt that Blacks were treated as fairly as, or fairer than, Whites by the police department. Moland concludes that the greater the difference between the feelings of Black and White respondents, “the greater distance between them and the more sharply differentiated the in-group-out-group relationship” (Moland, 1972, pp. 7-8). Four years later, in 1976, however, the findings from a questionnaire I circulated only among the faculty and staff members of Southern University seemed to contradict Dr. Moland’s conclusions. The major difference between the two studies was that Dr. Moland had targeted all “five Black subdivisions of Greater Baton Rouge, including Scotlandville,” but I targeted only the faculty and staff members of Southern University and found that only one out of 102 respondents saw police protection and police behavior as problems for blacks (Danesh, 1976, p. 5). The respondents’ perception of “police protection and police behavior” thus seems to be a reflection mainly of class rather than race. Most Southern University employees are middle-class or lower-middle-class people, who normally have easier access to law enforcement agencies and receive better treatment from them. Furthermore, middle-class people, as a rule, have fewer encounters with law enforcement agencies than the general population.
In 1973, then East Baton Rouge Parish Sheriff Al Amiss and then Mayor-President W. W. Dumas recommended that a branch office of the sheriff's department be established in the Scotlandville area. Recognizing the community feeling, the sheriff thought the Scotlandville residents would prefer to have predominantly Black deputies working out of the branch office and said he intended to keep that in mind in making personnel assignments.

II. THE LEGAL IMPLICATIONS OF SCOTLANDVILLE'S INCORPORATION

For a number of years, some concerned citizens had been trying to incorporate Scotlandville in the hope that some of their problems could be resolved. They claimed that the parish government was not interested in giving some relief in response to the immediate needs of the people of the community. However, the creation of a new incorporated place in East Baton Rouge Parish had, at the time, some legal problems that would first have to be solved. The Plan of Government of the Parish of East Baton Rouge and the City of Baton Rouge, which was adopted on August 12, 1947, and became effective on January 1, 1949, in Section 1.05 of Chapter 1 (General Provisions) prohibited the creation of new incorporated places in the parish. The only incorporated places recognized by that provision, besides the city of Baton Rouge, were “the incorporated town of Zachary and the village of Baker” (*Morning Advocate*, 1995, p. 8-A), which, of course, already existed. The main reason for the inclusion of the prohibition of an additional incorporated place in East Baton Rouge Parish’s 1947 plan of government, many Blacks maintained, was to frustrate Scotlandville’s 1946 move for incorporation.

In 1946, some concerned community people made the first unsuccessful attempt to incorporate Scotlandville (A. Belton, personal communication, May 12, 1972). Although the desire for establishing a local self-government never died down, the next serious attempt for incorporation did not begin until about one quarter century later, in 1970. Since 1972, Scotlandville had been repre-
Presented in the 12-member City-Parish Council by a councilman. Nevertheless, a number of residents still believed the parish government was not doing enough to resolve the problems of the Scotlandville community. Some of those problems had been dealt with at a very slow pace; others remained, probably because of the absence of concerted community action.

III. MOVEMENT FOR INCORPORATION

Before 1970, no attempt was ever made to question the constitutionality of Article 1.05. Therefore, the creation of a new incorporated area in East Baton Rouge Parish would have required changes in the parish charter through referendum. To change Article 1.05 through referendum proved not to be easy for the people of Scotlandville.

The efforts of the Second Ward Voters League to change Article 1.05 were frustrated in the February 1972 general election. An amendment designed to remove Article 1.05 was placed on the ballot to pave the way for Scotlandville residents to decide whether they wanted to incorporate as a municipality outside of present City-Parish government. It was defeated by 3,803 votes; 21,566 votes were in favor of, and 25,369 votes were against, the proposal (State Times, 1972, pp. 1-A and 2-A). Participation on the part of Scotlandville residents was low. Less than 25% of eligible voters participated in the referendum; 1,545 voted for the proposal, and 531 voted against it (Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc. [PAR], 1972a, p. 3).4 Only about 54% of the eligible voters in East Baton Rouge Parish participated in the referendum.

During the November 1972 election, Amendment 29 was introduced to consolidate the city of Baton Rouge with the parish. The purpose of that amendment was to authorize complete consolidation of the council (PAR, 1972b). The consolidation plan was rejected by the voters, with 19,351 voting for the proposal, and 40,596 voting against it. “Mayor President Dumas campaigned against the amendment” (State Times, 1972 pp. 1-A and 11-E). The
result of the above series of events was that Scotlandville could be neither consolidated nor incorporated.

During the 1972 gubernatorial campaign, Edwin Edwards promised that, if elected, he would change the 1921 constitution of the state of Louisiana. The Louisiana constitution, with 236,000 words, the longest in the nation (Grant & Nixon, 1968, pp. 122-123) and probably the most confusing, did indeed need to be changed. A constitutional convention soon started to work. Because Article 1.05 of the charter of East Baton Rouge Parish had become notorious, the local government section of the proposed new constitution, among other things, provided for the “creation of local government if the majority of the people of a community desired it,” prohibited the legislature from passing special laws aimed at a particular parish or city, and prohibited the local government from preventing a community from incorporating (Jackson, 1974, pp. 3-4). The last provision was mainly designed to pave the way for incorporating Scotlandville if the community chose to do so.

Shortly after the adoption of Louisiana’s new constitution on April 20, 1974, and several months before the constitution went into effect on January 1, 1975, leaders of the Second Ward Voters League made a decisive move to prepare the community people for the eventual incorporation of Scotlandville. The League’s determination to make Scotlandville’s incorporation a reality alarmed another Black community organization, the Scotlandville Area Advisory Council, which openly started downplaying the incorporation idea. Thus, besides city hall and the chamber of commerce, which had been against the incorporation of Scotlandville all along, for the first time, some Blacks also voiced their opposition to the incorporation idea, claiming that there were not enough financial resources in Scotlandville to support a municipality.

IV. ANNEXATION MOVEMENTS:
A SEVERE BLOW TO INCORPORATION

On January 14, 1975, the attorney for the owners of North Park Shopping Center filed a petition to annex that area to the city of
Baton Rouge. Although the movement for annexation seemed to be sudden and unexpected, some city officials, without providing any documentation, claimed that the owner of the North Park area had requested such annexation years before and that the idea was not new.

The annexation process moved very quickly. On January 13, the parish clerk wrote a letter to the public works department asking that an engineering description be drawn and recommendations for annexation of the proposed area be made. The department gave its consent and recommendations on January 17. On January 20, the consent of the planning director was received. On January 23, the fire department gave its consent and asked for a total of $250.00 per year for fire protection. On the same day, the police department offered to provide police protection to that area with an additional cost of $39,231.75. Thus, the total annexation cost to the city was estimated to be only $39,481.75, whereas the city-parish government was collecting tens of thousands of dollars in sales taxes from that shopping center.

The seven members of the city council—five Whites and two Blacks—voted along racial lines. The five Whites voted in favor of annexation, and the two Blacks, Joseph A. Delpit and W. T. Winfield, voted against it. Councilman Winfield later, on a radio talk show, charged that “a system of racism” led to the annexation of North Park Shopping Center (Morning Advocate, 1975, pp. 1-A and 6-A).

The annexation of North Park Shopping Center deprived Scotlandville of one of its major sources of revenue. The council’s next move was the annexation of the Ryan Airport area, which the parish already owned. On February 26, the day of the North Park annexation, Councilman Dykes introduced Resolution 5315 to annex the Ryan area to the city of Baton Rouge. The annexation was claimed to be in the public interest, and a public hearing was called for March 12. Another resolution, also sponsored by Councilman Dykes and adopted promptly by the council, proposed that, because the parish owned the airport and the Plank Road right of way, annexation should proceed in accordance with Revised Statute 33:180.
At the March 12 public hearing, the council adopted Ordinance 3345, extending the city limits to include Ryan Airport (*Morning Advocate*, 1975, p. 1-B). Again, the vote on the annexation of Ryan Airport was divided along racial lines.

Supporters of the incorporation of Scotlandville saw a direct link between the Scotlandville move for incorporation and the actions of city officials to prevent it through the annexation of North Park and Ryan Airport (Beard, 1975, pp. 6-7), a charge denied by city hall. City officials had never denied that they were against the incorporation of Scotlandville, but they justified their opposition on the grounds that incorporation of Scotlandville was not only against the general welfare of East Baton Rouge Parish, but it was not even in the best interest of the Scotlandville community. They rejected “the theory that the North Park and Ryan Airport annexations had anything to do with the Scotlandville Plan” (Beard, 1975, p. 6). But considering the fact that city officials were consistently against the incorporation of Scotlandville, and bearing in mind that the unexpected and hasty movement to annex North Park and Ryan Airport came at a time when the chance for the incorporation of Scotlandville was stronger than ever before, one cannot help but assume that there must have been some relationship between the city’s move for the annexations and the community’s move for the incorporation of Scotlandville.

After the annexation of North Park and Ryan Airport to the city, Ward 2, District 2, Black Councilman Jewel J. Newman, whose council district encompassed Scotlandville, said he was leaning heavily in favor of a new proposal to have Scotlandville annexed to the city of Baton Rouge. Annexation, he said, “appears to be the best bet for Scotlandville citizens” (*Morning Advocate*, 1975, p. 1-B). He pointed out that “he expects annexation petitions to begin circulation soon in the area.” Without Ryan Airport and North Park, Newman warned, Scotlandville could not make it “as a city.” Scotlandville’s annexation to the city, not its incorporation, was “the only alternative,” he said (Beard, 1975, pp. 7-8; *Morning Advocate*, 1975, p. 1-B).

The annexation of North Park and Ryan Airport to the city of Baton Rouge was followed by some further annexations, and, as
was predicted, those annexations killed the incorporation move-
ment altogether.

V. THE ANNEXATION OF NORTH PARK
AND RYAN AIRPORT AND THE
COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS THEORY

Annexation as a tool for urban expansion has a long history and
seems, at first glance, to be “the most logical means to achieve
political integration” (Johnson, Ogden, Castleberry, & Swanson,
1972, p. 290). It has been used as a practical response to the
demands of urban growth by extending the boundary of an incorpo-
rated entity to mainly the rural or residential areas. Among six
methods of attacking metropolitan problems that were considered
during the 1955 Governor’s Annual Conference, annexation “had
received the most frequent use or advocacy.”

In any annexation project, the consideration of the “community
of interests” should be given the highest priority. Therefore, in
annexation hearings, the testimony of all interested parties should
be introduced to show that the “city and fringe area” sought to be
annexed are actually an uninterrupted homogeneous community
(Bain, 1966, p. 45).

It appears that, in the annexation of North Park and Ryan Air-
port, the community of interests theory played no part. An exami-
nation of those annexations reveals that at least three major inter-
ested parties could be identified: (a) The city-parish government,
(b) the owners of North Park Shopping Center, and (c) the Scot-
landville community people.

In the case of North Park, which was used mainly by the Scot-
landville community for shopping, the wishes of out-of-state own-
ers overrode the desires and dreams of about 30,000 community
people. Not a single person from the community spoke in favor of
that annexation. The owners apparently initiated an annexation
petition, and the city went along with that request.

As far as the annexation of Ryan Airport is concerned, Ryan was
not even adjoined to the city. Ryan Airport has been an integral part
of Scotlandville since its establishment. The residents suffer the noise, the pollution, and the hazards associated with living in an airport area. But, once again, the desire of a single owner, in this case the city-parish government, overrode the interests and wishes of the whole community, and, without a single person from Scotlandville supporting the annexation movement, Ryan Airport was annexed to the city of Baton Rouge.

As the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals argued in the unsuccessful proceeding by the city of Falls Church against Fairfax County et al. regarding the community of interests principle, generally annexations are brought about by the growth of cities from within, caused by expansion of industrial development through the enlargement of manufacturing plants located within their borders or the bringing in of new enterprises. In such cases, the population, at times, becomes overcrowded, and people move beyond the limits to live. These citizens moving from the city to the suburbs continue to work in the city, looking to the city for their livelihood (City of Falls Church v. Board of Supervisors of Fairfax County, 1951).

The North Park and Ryan Airport situations were quite the opposite. The annexations were not done because people moved from the city of Baton Rouge to North Park or Ryan Airport to reside. Actually, nobody lived in North Park; it was solely a shopping center without a single house or apartment.

In Louisiana, the prevailing annexation procedures that let mainly the majority of property owners and the city council make the determination to annex may not be the best approach to annexation. For example, if the city is the "ultimate judge of when annexation is to be granted, there are no safeguards to keep it from acting strictly in its own interests by annexing only the areas it desires and leaving out less attractive areas" (Bain, 1966, pp. 221-222). This is probably the case with Scotlandville. After the annexation of attractive North Park and Ryan Airport, the city annexed the attractive Southern Heights, Banks, and Woodaire areas. The mainly poor and underdeveloped areas located to the north of Harding Boulevard had to wait several more years to be annexed.

Virginia's long experience with judicial proceedings "supports the conclusion that the use of courts as arbiters of annexation is
much more desirable than any procedure that would permit self-interest to determine or to influence the decision of the agency charged with making the final determination" (Bain, 1966, p. 233).

Tennessee 1995 annexation procedure law authorizes "annexation by a vote of the city council, subject to possible appeal to the court for approval or disapproval according to standards of community welfare and progress" (Grant & Nixon, 1968, p. 471).

In the annexation of North Park, the wishes of a single corporation, which happened to coincide with the desire of the city government, prevailed; in the annexation of Ryan Airport, once again, the wishes of a single owner—in this case, the city-parish government—prevailed. Totally disregarded were the wishes of almost a total community of people, as though they did not exist.13

In its determination to make Scotlandville's incorporation a reality, the Second Ward Voters League, in late 1974, arranged a series of panel discussions for the purposes of informing and educating the residents about the nature of the issue and the complications involved and generating informed community support for incorporation. The League thus, as "an organizer," took a major step in setting "visible targets and goals" and in testing the "chance of success" (Parenti, 1973, p. 510). The first panel discussion was held on November 17, 1974. The topic was "Should Scotlandville remain as is, or seek to become a self-governing municipality?" There were six panelists, including me. Each panelist examined the issue from a different angle.

After the presentations, the questions raised by some participants indicated the existence of a deep-seated split on the incorporation issue—not on the merit and substance of the matter, but, more important, on the personalities involved (News Leader, 1974, pp. 1-A and 4-A). Community leaders had been divided on the incorporation issue since the 1972 municipal election, but that division had not seemed serious. According to the newly adopted, single-member district plan, in 1972, for the first time, Scotlandville became eligible to elect a parish council member. In that election, Jewel Newman was elected, and Acie Belton, long-time leader of the Second Ward Voters League, was defeated. Because the movement for incorporation had originated from the League,
Councilman Newman and the group to which he belonged, the Scotlandville Area Advisory Council, seemed reluctant to support the incorporation idea, although the Advisory Council always maintained that financial considerations were the main reason to be cautious about incorporation. It therefore became clear that the incorporation of Scotlandville would be much more difficult than originally expected. The split among the community leaders on this issue had the ill effect of creating further dissension rather than unification, a unification that was needed then more than ever.

The closer the idea of incorporation came to reality, the more the opposition to it intensified. City hall and the chamber of commerce, which had never welcomed the incorporation concept, felt some support from some Black community leaders. Gradually a type of informal alliance emerged; finally it became powerful enough to first frustrate and then bury forever the almost 30-year-long incorporation aspirations.

After the Ryan Airport annexation, Councilman Delpit said that he intended to file a protest of both annexations with the justice department’s civil rights division. Councilman Winfield indicated that “he might join Delpit in the complaint” (Morning Advocate, 1975, p. 1-B). Councilman Newman, however, stated that he would not. As Beard (1975) suggested, Councilman Jewel Newman may “have held the key.” According to Beard, Newman stated that he was contacted by the justice department on all annexation requests and that as of yet he had heard no word from Washington (Beard, 1975, pp. 7-8). Because the annexed areas were parts of Councilman Newman’s jurisdiction, had he objected to the justice department about the implications of the annexation, the council’s actions in this regard might have been declared a violation of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

VI. INCORPORATION ATTEMPTS CONTINUE

The annexation of North Park and Ryan Airport did not prevent the supporters of incorporation from following their plan, and, after several years of preparation and deliberation, in a letter dated
March 20, 1975, the officers of the Second Ward Voters League finally asked the parish clerk for the formation of a petition to incorporate Scotlandville. According to Louisiana law, at least 25% of the voters owning 25% of the property should file a petition asking for incorporation, and the list of the property owners should be verified and certified by the assessor’s office.

The question of who should bear the cost of verification became another issue. This controversy, among others, delayed action on the incorporation process for more than 3 months. Finally, on June 25, 1975, the city council allocated $14,830.50 for that purpose.

Another problem the supporters of incorporation had to overcome was the notorious Article 1.05. From the beginning, the parish attorney’s office voiced the opinion that Article 1.05 of the East Baton Rouge charter, despite the provisions of the new Louisiana constitution, still stood, that Scotlandville could not incorporate (Morning Advocate, 1975). The controversy on the validity of Article 1.05 died down with the opinion expressed by the state attorney general that the residents of Scotlandville could incorporate “regardless of a prohibition in the city-parish Plan of Government” (State Times, 1975).

In July 1975, the Baton Rouge Area Chamber of Commerce, another powerful and influential group, strongly challenged the Scotlandville incorporation idea. Its opposition was presented in the form of a financial feasibility report initiated by the chamber and done by the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc. (PAR) (1975). Comparing Scotlandville’s budget with the “current budget for an actual city of approximately the same size” (pp. 4-5), making several assumptions and adjustments, and “excluding grants such as federal revenue sharing from the anticipated revenue, and presenting two alternatives, PAR’s report concluded that the incorporation of Scotlandville would substantially increase property taxes, especially those paid by homeowners” (pp. 5, 6, and 10). Then, questioning “whether incorporating an area with a high level of need but a relatively low tax base from which to finance necessary services is the best way to improve the structure of local government and the delivery of services” (p. 9), the report suggested that “the consolidated city-parish government approved . . .
in 1947 and implemented in 1949 is thought by many to be far superior to a fragmented local government structure (p. 10). Attempts to end the dealing on a piecemeal basis with common problems succeeded in the 1982 election, when voters approved, in a referendum, the unification of the city and parish governments.16

PAR’s report provided further justification to those Black leaders who were reluctant to support incorporation. Acie Belton and James Edward, the supporters of incorporation, strongly criticized the report. Councilman Jewel Newman, on the other hand, declared that the annexation of Scotlandville to the city (not its incorporation) was the better alternative.

Besides PAR’s bleak financial report, two other financial feasibility reports had been published earlier, both in substance and in outlook different from PAR’s. Whereas PAR’s report got plenty of publicity, the other two reports were ignored and remained obscure. The first feasibility report was published in late 1974 by the Second Ward Voters League (n.d.). It described the conditions of Scotlandville and itemized in detail the estimated revenues and expenditures, should Scotlandville be incorporated. Even without the revenue sharing and state supplements, the revenue in comparison to expenditures would have left the Scotlandville municipality with a $12,237.60 surplus. The League’s report received very little attention.

Another financial feasibility study, titled An Exploration of the Question of Incorporating Scotlandville, was done by Roosevelt Steptoe (1974), then director of economic research at Southern University. To estimate anticipated revenues, Steptoe utilized “the financial affairs of one of the incorporated cities for the fiscal year, 1973” (p. 5), located in East Baton Rouge Parish, with a “population in the neighborhood of 6,000, as opposed to the 26,000 of Scotlandville” (p. 5). On the basis of the study of this East Baton Rouge Parish comparison city, after detailing some possible advantages of Scotlandville’s incorporation, Steptoe suggested that “the preliminary finding at this point is that the potential combined economic, political and social benefits of incorporating Scotlandville far outweigh the burdens of doing so; though there will likely be some initial financial hardships” (p. 15).
Steptoe's (1974) feasibility report, which initially was hailed by Representative Richard Turnley as proof that the future city of Scotlandville was functional (*State Times*, 1974, pp. 1-A and 8-A), soon, like the Second Ward Voters League’s report, was ignored even by Turnley himself. Blacks opposing the incorporation of Scotlandville, including Councilman Newman, preferred to remain silent. But, about a year later, when PAR’s report was published, the opponents of the incorporation decided that they should take for granted, of the three feasibility studies, the PAR report.

VII. THE SOUTHERN HEIGHTS
ANNEXATION AND ITS AFTERMATH

Despite the annexation of North Park and Ryan Airport, Councilman Newman’s strong statement that “those who believe he’s an ardent supporter of incorporation are mistaken” (*Morning Advocate*, 1975), the complications and delays caused by city officials in the preparation of the incorporation petition, and PAR’s negative report, the supporters of incorporation were moving slowly to finalize the process. But, once again, they were caught by surprise when residents of the Southern Heights area, one of the most prosperous sections of Scotlandville, filed a petition to be annexed by the city of Baton Rouge.

On January 19, 1976, T. T. Williams, a faculty member at Southern University and president of the Southern Heights Property Owners Association, wrote a letter to the East Baton Rouge Parish clerk indicating the desire of the residents of Southern Heights to be a part of the city and requesting that steps be taken to effect this purpose.

At the April 28, 1976, council hearing (Minutes of the Baton Rouge City Council Sessions), Williams, representing the proponents of annexation, stated that “a valid petition had been filed by the residents of Southern Heights to be annexed into the city of Baton Rouge” (ordinance 3544), and he urged “favorable action by the Council.” Williams said “the residents would like to become
part of the mainstream of the city.” Acie Belton, opposing the annexation of Southern Heights, stated that

the citizens of Southern Heights are the most elite and affluent citizens of the community, many of whom work at Southern University. Belton stated that these persons advocate that Southern University remain a black university and continue to be ruled by blacks. Belton noted that, on the other hand, they are rejecting the incorporation of the Scotlandville community, which is predominantly black and ruled by non-blacks. (Minutes of the Baton Rouge City Council Sessions)

After bringing the council up to date on the status of the petition for Scotlandville’s incorporation, Belton (cited in Minutes of the Baton Rouge City Council Sessions) pleaded with the council that, because the petition for incorporation of Scotlandville “is now in the Registrar of Voters office awaiting certification, action on the annexation of Southern Heights should be postponed.” Belton stated that, at the beginning, the incorporation of Scotlandville “was a black-white fight, now it had become a black-white-black fight.”

Williams (cited in Minutes of the Baton Rouge City Council Sessions) rebutted Belton by saying that, several years ago,

there was discussion in Scotlandville about becoming a separate state and they opposed that action, just as they now oppose the incorporation. Williams stated that they are not running away, but the thrust is toward becoming part of the mainstream by being annexed into the city of Baton Rouge.17

The motion to continue debate failed for lack of a sufficient number of affirmative votes. The chairman then called for a roll call vote on the substitute motion to delay action on annexation for 30 days. The motion failed because six councilmen voted against it, and one councilman, who had introduced the motion, did not vote. A roll call vote was then called for regarding the original motion, which was adopted by six votes, with one councilman abstaining, and thus Southern Heights was voted to be annexed to the city of Baton Rouge (Minutes of the Baton Rouge City Council Sessions, 1976 and Morning Advocate, 1976, p. 1-A).
VIII. CONCLUSION

The annexation of the Southern Heights area to the city of Baton Rouge\(^8\) inflicted the most severe blow to the incorporation movement and dashed almost any hope of the Scotlandville community's being a self-governing entity. The annexation process initiated by the well-educated, middle-class Southern Heights residents convinced the rest of the community that the University community, all along, had not been concerned about the interests of the community as a whole.

Whether this annexation movement was a psychological shock to the mind of the average person in the community remains a debatable issue and could be an interesting topic for psychologists and sociologists to study. For the purpose of this article, it will suffice to conclude that the intellectual Blacks, by their annexation initiative, implied that they did not want to be part of an incorporated community. Williams and his fellow educators placed more value on being citizens of the city of Baton Rouge than on remaining part of an incorporated Scotlandville community.

After the annexation of Southern Heights, some residents of the Banks and Woodaire areas, who found themselves squeezed between the two parcels of the city (from the south by Airline Highway and from the north by Southern Heights), petitioned to become part of the city of Baton Rouge (*Morning Advocate*, 1976, pp. 1-A and A-A). Later, other parts of Scotlandville were also gradually annexed to the city of Baton Rouge.

NOTES

2. According to the U.S. Census (1970), Zachary had a population of 4,964 with 1,385 housing units, and the population of Baker was 8,281 with 2,231 housing units. Scotlandville had a population of 22,557, with 5,436 housing units (1970 U.S. Census, Housing Characteristics).
3. The movement for incorporation was led mainly by Dr. W. W. Stewart, the then dean of the college of education at Southern University, and Horatio Thompson, a prominent local businessman. The signed petition was submitted to Governor Jimmie H. Davis for action. The governor was not in favor of incorporation and therefore kept the petition inactive until a
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new East Baton Rouge plan of government was adopted in 1947; Article 1.05 of the plan prohibited the incorporation of any new areas in East Baton Rouge Parish.


5. North Park Shopping Center is a small area of about 45.724 acres, or 0.5582 square miles, located at the southeastern corner of Scotlandville, between Plank Road and Airline Highway. The shopping center was subsequently deserted and totally abandoned.

6. This information was given to me by some city officials through personal interviews.

7. According to the "Rules and Procedures for Annexation," among the "steps to follow in annexing," the party is required to present request to clerk in writing. But Donald E. Bradford's written request for annexation is dated January 14, 1975, whereas Parish Clerk Rosemary Broussard's letter to Assistant Director Robert Law of the department of public works is dated January 13, 1975, a day before the written request was made.

8. City officials refused to provide the exact amount of sales tax generated from the shopping center on the ground that they did not have the consent and permission of the businessmen involved.

9. The statute provides for the annexation of an area owned by a public body on its petition. The ordinance may be adopted "without the necessity of compliance with any of the procedures of advertisement, petition by residents, public hearing, or other procedures."

10. Later, it became clear that he was talking about the middle-class and upper-middle-class Southern Heights residents who petitioned to annex Southern Heights to the city.

11. His views were later echoed by others (see Southernites, 1975).

12. The other five were city consolidation, city-county separation, federation, transfer and joint handling of functions, and metropolitan special districting (see Bollens, 1956).

13. At least under certain special circumstances, such as those mentioned above, annexation should ultimately be decided by an independent third party, preferably by judicial process or some other independent agent, to make sure that, among the conflicting interests, the interests of all groups are taken into account.

14. The area had "an estimated population of 30,000 and about 9,500 registered voters" (Morning Advocate, 1975).

15. The cost of preparing the petition was $1.50 for each property owner, which means that the total number of property owners was estimated to be 9,220. This information was obtained from the office of the Parish Clerk through personal interview.


17. It is not clear what Williams meant by "discussion in Scotlandville about becoming a separate state." Probably, he was referring to an article in the Morning Advocate titled "Scotlandville Separatism." That article in no place implied that some community people wanted to make Scotlandville a separate state; the essence was about the incorporation (see Tillman, 1971).

18. The annexation was delayed by litigation and did not become effective until the end of 1977.
REFERENCES

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