THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNITY: A
METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF
COMMUNITY FORMATION

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
DALE JAGER
1976

ABSTRACT

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNITY: A
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OF COMMUNITY FORMATION

By

Dale Jager

This thesis proposes a methodological approach to
the understanding of the community formation process. Much
of the literature on communities is concerned with its
decline in importance as a social unit having relevance in
the everyday lives of urban residents. But the authors
ignore signs pointing to the desire by residents for a
local community which symbolizes shared values, autonomy,
and stability. A community is seen to emerge through the
relationship of the residents to the wider society. The
residents differentiate themselves from residents of other
areas in status terms based on a common life style; com-
munity status is part of the societal-wide stratification
system and helps determine the community's relation to the
political and economic processes. Four stages of community
formation are suggested: (1) a pre-community stage; (2) a
formation of communal sentiments stage; (3) a community vs
wider society stage, and (4) a community organization

stage. Historical material, census data, community documents, maps, interviews, and personal observations by the researcher were drawn on to illustrate how the formation of the Bailey community in East Lansing, Michigan could be analyzed in terms of the four stages. While it was felt that this methodological approach was useful in understanding the particular case of the Bailey community, further research was needed to identify the processes at work in each stage and how they affected the community which emerged.

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A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology

1976

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The quest for local community control in recent
years indicates an increased awareness of the local com-
munity as an entity that symbolizes shared values, a sense
of belonging and stability. The increasing number of
community associations that have emerged in inner-city as
well as in suburban areas to combat perceived threats to
the life styles of homogeneous residential areas support
such an argument. At the same time, people have turned to
communities without a locality (Rubin, 1972) which has
been argued to lead to a further decline of the territorial
community. As Suttles (1972:266) remarks:

    Although this is a growing symbolic representation of
    the local community, I suspect that it is poorly
    realized in most actual communities. To a large extent
    Americans still live where they have to and, in any
    case, have to move so often the community of limited
    liability is the most prevalent form. The coerciveness
    of the work place and other institutions not only
    creates a yearning for community but makes it difficult
    to realize in the residential community. Thus people
    seek for alternatives in other institutions: the
    business community, the student community, the political
    community, and so on. The extent to which these other
    institutions can offer either communion or community
    is limited by their institutional dependencies. They
    cannot be fully liberated and continue to function.
    The focus of the local community, then, will probably

continue to return to the local residential community,
and if people seem shallow and inauthentic elsewhere,
the pressure for a community of sentiment may increase.

Theories to explain the emergence of community are
conspicuously few. The decline of community is a theme
which dominates most studies of the local community. From
the early ecologists to the mass society theorists, the
emphasis has been on the failure of community as described
by Tönnies (1957) and Redfield (1947) to survive in our
modern rapidly changing society.

The cultural ecologists have addressed the question
of community formation and continuity. They have noted the
persistence of community as a product of peoples' senti-
ments. The symbolic representation of the local community
becomes a cultural movement in which residents of an area
are tied through shared values and sentiments. Suttles
(1972) is also interested in community formation and reminds
us that it is in their relations with the wider society that
communities emerge. The continued interest by individuals
toward community requires that social scientists turn their
energies to the development of community theory which
explains its emergence. Toward the development of a theory
of community, this paper will suggest a framework in which
to analyze the emergence of community within the context of
social historical processes.

<u>Theories of the Decline of</u>
<u>American Communities</u>

It is a curious irony that the man who has been
called the father of community was also the first to point
to its decline. This man, of course, was Ferdinand Tönnies.
It was Tönnies (1957) contention that society was moving
from one characterized by Gemeinschaft to one described
by Gesellschaft. Gemeinschaft represented traditional
society and characterized relationships which were intimate
and enduring. People were totally integrated into the
structure of the society. The intimacy of the social
relationships and the structure of the role relationships
provided for a homogeneous culture, the guardians of which
were the church and the family. Bell and Newby (1971:24)
describe Tönnies' community thusly:

> Community encourages immobility and makes it difficult
> for men to achieve status and wealth on the basis of
> their merits. Community makes for traditionalistic
> ways and at the very core of the community concept is
> the sentimental attachment to the conventions and mores
> of a beloved place. Community will reinforce and
> encapsulate a moral code, raising moral tensions and
> rendering heterodoxy a serious crime, for in a com-
> munity everyone is known and can be placed in the
> social structure.

Gesellschaft represented everything that
Gemeinschaft was not. Relationships were impersonal and
contractual, the status of individuals was achieved rather
than ascribed. The mobility of the population was much
greater both from one location to another and from one
status level to another. All of this contributed to a

more heterogeneous culture and consequently to a weakening of the family and church. This decline in the traditional way of life, as Tönnies noted, was the product of increasing industrialization of society and increasing complexity of the division of labor under the new capitalist economy. The primary group relations of individuals implicitly associated with the term community were replaced with rational, formalized, goal oriented behavior and secondary group relationships characterizing the industrial and urban society.

Tönnies typology was subsequently used to characterize the differences in rural and urban life. Rural and urban life styles were seen to be on two ends of a continuum. The rural or "folk society" was seen as the prototype of a "community." Folk society was characterized by Redfield as small, isolated, non-literate and homogeneous with a strong sense of group solidarity (Redfield, 1947:293). The characteristics of social relationships in urban areas were seen through the lenses of the Eden that was lost in the process of urbanization. The Chicago school with sociologists such as Park, Burgess, and Zorbaugh interpreted the way of life in urban areas as something pathological from the small town life relationships.

In 1910-1930, the direction of social change in the United States was toward urbanism. Urbanism was

symbolized by a decline in primary group relations and an
increase in impersonality, isolation and the dominance of
formal organizations. According to Wirth (1935:5) it
"referred to that cumulative accentuation of the character-
istics distinctive of the mode of life which is associated
with the growth of cities, and to the changes in the
direction of modes of life recognized as urban . . . ."
Urbanism, as manifested in the city was the very antithesis
of community. Urbanism, as well as industrialization and
bureaucratization were thought of as gradually resulting
in the "eclipse of community" (Stein, 1960).

For Nisbet, the loss of community was the
essential context within which modern alienation had to be
considered. Community for him was characterized by "a
clear sense of cultural purpose, membership, status and
continuity" (Nisbet, 1962:73). Its existence and its
ability to provide members with a sense of belonging rested
on the twin supports of social function and authority.
But the social functions performed by the family, neighbor-
hood and friendship groups within a system of social
authority are being eroded away as the orientation of our
society shifts toward mass democracy and industrialism.
Power has replaced authority as the institutions of our
society have become larger and more impersonal. There is a
growing sense of alienation as "the traditional primary
relationships of men have become functionally irrelevant to

the larger institutions of our society" (Nisbet, 1966:576)
and have been replaced by secondary relations. This loss
of community has led to its conscious quest by individuals
as they seek escape from the "freedom of impersonality,
secularism, and individualism" (Nisbet, 1962:31) which have
accompanied the rise of mass society. Individuals need a
set of social relationships which provide them with a sense
of status, membership and community and which can mediate
between themselves and their larger world. The large scale
economic and political organizations are too complex and
too bureaucratized to provide for this need. Referring to
this decline, Nisbet (1962:54) states:

> Our present crisis lies in the fact that whereas the
> small traditional associations are still expected to
> communicate to individuals the principal moral ends and
> psychological gratifications of society, they have
> manifestly become detached from positions of functional
> relevance to the larger economic and political decisions
> of our society. Family, local, community, church and
> the whole network of informal interpersonal relation-
> ships have ceased to play a determining role in our
> institutional systems of mutual aid, education, recre-
> ation and economic production and distribution.

Many sociologists have taken exception to this mass
society theory. They argue that community is not declining,
but that the community as well as the larger society, is
going through a series of changes. Janowitz (1952:212) in
a study of the community press, notes that:

> Despite the growth of mass communications and large-
> scale organizations most individuals are not living in
> a "mass society" in which they are directly linked to
> the major agencies of concentrated social power.
> Rather the growth of large-scale organizations has been

accompanied by a proliferation of intermediate
haphazard-like social arrangements and communication
patterns.

The effect on the community is seen in a lessening in
importance of the community's horizontal patterning and a
concurrent increase in importance of its vertical pattern-
ing. Horizontal patterning is defined by Warren (1972:13)
as "the structural and functional reaction of the various
local units (individuals and social systems) to each other."
He defines vertical patterning (Warren, 1972:161) as "the
structural and functional relation of its various social
units and subsystems to extracommunity systems." Much of
the decision-making prerogative concerning the structure
and function of the local community units have been taken
over by state and national systems. Thus, the effect of
the "great changes" on the community is to increase and
strengthen the ties which bind the local community to the
larger society.

Greer (1962:41) notes three important changes:
(1) the increasing use of nonhuman sources of energy,
translated through machines into human values; (2) the
increasing span of the organizational networks in which
men and machines are integrated for productive and dis-
tributive purposes; and (3) a resulting increase in the
amount of productivity for each human participant. These
changes result in a loss of autonomy by locality groups.
The groups are integrated into the larger social order as

functions are transferred to extra-local organizations.
They also result in the exposure of locality groups to
conflicting norms brought in by organizational networks or
the mass media. The consequence of the fragmentation of
the local normative order, is that individuals become
committed to groups centered outside the locality, and
thus, become to a degree independent of their neighbors.

Vidich and Bensman (1968), in a study of a small
town in up-state New York, provide support for these argu-
ments. Springdale is connected with the mass society in a
variety of different forms. The cumulative effect of these
various connections make possible "the continuous trans-
mission of outside policies, programs, and trends into the
community . . ." (Vidich and Bensman, 1968:81). These
extra-community connections are imparted by formal organi-
zations, such as "the Farm and Home Bureaus, the 4-H Club,
the Future Farmers of America and the Boy and Girl Scouts,
as well as the Masons, Odd Fellows, American Legion, Grange
and other branches of national organizations and their
auxiliaries" (Vidich and Bensman, 1968:82-83). They as
well as the mass media (radio, television, and the large
daily newspapers), migration, and the economic system help
to introduce a different culture and to tie the community
to the larger society.

For the individual, these changes have resulted in
a decline in commitment. Greer (1962) feels that what local

community orientation there is centers on the family and the local community organization if one exists. But even these attachments are limited in the amount of social and psychological investment they represent. Greer concludes that similarity of interests rather than residential propinquity have become the basis for the formation of locality groups and thus too, mass society theorists conclude that the local community will decline in importance.

But this thesis has been challenged by cultural ecologists. In a replication of Foley's study, "Neighbors or Urbanites," Hunter (1975) found that use of local facilities in a subcommunity of Rochester, New York, had indeed declined over the twenty-five years since Foley did his original study. But Hunter also found that informal neighboring continued at the same rate found by Foley and that actually an individual's sense of community had increased. The results of Hunter's study indicated that community as a unit of patterned social interaction and community as a unit of collective identity still represented a significant reality even though community as a spatial unit meeting sustenance needs had apparently declined. Hunter concludes with Foley (1952:57) that:

> Contemporary city life, ecologically viewed, involves
> an intricate balance between certain vestigial "local
> community" patterns and an array of "metropolitan"
> level functional-territorial relationships that have
> been emerging as phases of the traditional norms by
> which community life has been lived in the past. But
> these are nevertheless very impelling features of the
> urbanization process.

This position is supported by Firey (1945) in his study of land use in central Boston. He examined three cases which showed that the local area still had significant meaning for individuals: (1) an in-town upper class residential neighborhood known as Beacon Hill; (2) certain sacred sites, notably the Boston Common and the colonial burying grounds; and (3) a lower class Italian neighborhood, known as the North End.

From the three case studies Firey concludes that space has a symbolic quality representing certain cultural values that have become associated with an area. Locational activities could thus be seen as bearing sentiments which could significantly influence the locational process.

Hunter meanwhile concluded that the social and cultural sense of community had increased since Foley's study because it was consciously sought after and because it was consciously created. This is evidenced by the reasons people gave for moving into the area and by the formation of a community association. The reasons for the conscious search for community and its conscious creation Hunter felt lie in a particular set of values the residents held and the community symbolized. Hunter (1975:550) concludes:

> It appears that we are dealing with individuals who are attempting to live a community existence based upon "transcendent values"; that is, values which are counter to existing reality. While most Americans are choosing

to move from the city to relatively segregated suburban
communities with their home/work separation, these
individuals are espousing and living a counter set of
values. However, the result is not the creation of a
"utopian community" . . . for these residents are not
espousing a all encompassing belief system nor attempt-
ing to live in an autonomous and isolated social
system. Rather they have selected a limited set of
values which they are attempting to realize within the
context of ongoing American society . . . . We are
dealing here with a process which appears to be the
transformation of partial ideologies from social move-
ments to communities, or the "communalization of
ideology."

In short, both Hunter's and Firey's studies indicate

the persistence of a "vistigial" unit of community variously

termed a symbolic or constructed community. It is a com-

munity based on sentiment and the symbolic meaning of a

locale. But why does it persist, especially why does it

persist in a rapidly changing urban society. How does one

explain the emergence of local community phenomena observed

by Firey and Hunter.

Suttles (1972) argues that the emergence of com-

munity is not an indigenous process. Rather it is through

their interaction with the larger social environment that

communities emerge (Suttles, 1972:257). For Suttles the

residential urban community is a response to the environment

by territorial populations. The actions of residents can

be seen as an attempt to sort one another out, to construct

a cognitive map of their city which "provide a set of social

categories for differentiating between those people with

whom one can or cannot safely associate and for defining

the concrete grouping within which certain levels of

social contact and social cohesion obtain" (Suttles, 1972:
22). The community is part of the mechanism for social
control, it is a way for residents to come to grips with
the situation they find themselves in. Residential aggre-
gation "inevitably produces proximity and the necessity
of establishing discrete areas as the basis for extending
trust, for sharing guilt by association, for swapping
gossip or private knowledge, and for mobilizing to meet
both the symbolic and material challenges brought on by the
environment" (Suttles, 1972:16).

Status Communities: A Weberian Approach

The ideas of Hunter, Firey and Suttles as well as
the early ecologists can be drawn on to construct an
analytic framework within which community formation can be
understood. Community sentiments are viewed as based on
status differentiation wherein "competition for economic,
political or social interests is viewed as the source of
community formation and communal relationships" (Neiwirth,
1969:148). This Weberian approach explains the emergence
of community in terms of the interactions of individuals
within and with respect to the social structure. It
emphasizes the historical development of community within
a framework of status relationships.

Weber (1968:306) defines status community as "a
plurality of persons, who, within a larger group, success-
fully claim: (a) a special social esteem, and possibly

also (b) status monopolies." The claim for special social esteem is based on possession or control of ideal and material goods and opportunities. Status and status differentiations are a part of our everyday lives. We constantly strive for social esteem based on our possession of control of these privileges in the work setting and in organizations, as well as, in the residential setting.

Communities emerge as individuals differentiate between themselves and others with whom they interact on the basis of status rankings. For residential communities, these other individuals are other residents in the locale. The sentiments then, which they attach to their place of residence can be interpreted as resulting from the residents' claim to a special social esteem.

Residential status communities are composed of residents who have a similar life style. A status community based on style of life according to Collins (1971:1009) "comprise all persons who share a sense of status equality based on participation in a common culture, style of language, taste in clothing and decor, manners and other ritual observances, and preferences in sports, arts, and media." He goes on to say that "subjectively status communities distinguish themselves from others in terms of categories of moral evaluations such as 'honor,' 'tastes,' 'breeding,' 'respectability,' 'property,' 'cultivation,' 'good folks,' 'plain folks,' etc." (Collins, 1971:1009).

The importance of such groupings for Collins lies in the fact that "participation in such cultural groups give individuals their fundamental sense of identity, especially in contrast with members of other associational groups in whose everyday culture they cannot participate comfortably" (Collins, 1971:1009).

The life style of a residential status community is reflected in the daily habits of the residents, familial patterns, the type and level of activities the residents engage in, their neighboring patterns, etc. Life style is also reflected in the fact that the residents are home-owners or renters, and in the quality of the neighborhood as reflected in the appearance of the houses and the area in which they are located. The societal-wide indicators of status, race, ethnicity and income also enter the picture and serve to differentiate among residential groups. Those individuals who feel they share a life style with other residents within the immediate area can be said to have a sense of community.

Community members may strive to monopolize their ideal and material goods and opportunities. The process whereby such status monopolies are formed is called "community closure." Closure as described by Neiwirth (1968: 150) "may be achieved to varying degrees ranging from the total exclusion of outsiders to the admittance of certain new members who fulfill specified conditions." Beacon

Hill studied by Firey (1945) may serve as an example. The residents have considerable wealth and at the time of his study possessed power enough to influence realtors and commercial interests to keep "undesirables" out. They developed a program in which residents would purchase old houses, modernize the interiors and then sell the dwellings to individual families for occupancy. Residents also formed an association enabling them to present an organized voice at hearings to rezone parts of Beacon Hill for commercial development.

Another example of community closure is the attempt by some residential groups to prevent racial or ethnic persons from moving into their community. Molotch (1970) provides another example in his study of Santa Barbarian residents and their attempt to deal with governmental agencies and oil interests after the Santa Barbara oil spill in 1969. The successfulness of such an attempt though depends on the level of influence the community has with other interested parties such as realtors, bankers, and city government officials.

In some instances communal relations are combined with associative ones. In other words, the members form interest associations and delegate the representation of communal interests to their officers. Neighborhood improvement associations are one example. The associations are formed to promote those aspects of the community

on which the members base their statuses. Another example
are community associations formed in response to perceived
threats to the status of the community. Firey (1945:143)
reports that the residents of Beacon Hill had formed such
an organization. Its purpose was to combat the "constant
menace to the character of Beacon Hill, in the form of
business encroachments, and apartment-hotel developments."
Hunter also reports on the formation of a "local community
organization." It was founded as "a community response to
the two pressing 'ecological' problems: (1) noise and air
pollution from the neighboring county airport, and (2)
'block busting' in the area by realtors . . ." (Hunter,
1975:547). In either case the purpose of the association
was to enhance or protect those characteristics which pro-
vide residents with a certain discernible and valued style
of life.

The clarity with which neighborhood boundaries are
defined are dependent on a number of considerations accord-
ing to Suttles (1972:240-242). First, some communities
have well defined boundaries as a result of all the adjacent
communities disclaiming their residents. Second, some
communities have well defined boundaries as a result of the
presence of conveniently available physical barriers such
as railroad tracks, expressways, parks, and blocks of
industry. Third, some will have well defined boundaries
as a result of the gradient of prices which are attached

to residential land usage. These price gradients reflect the desirability of people as neighbors. Fourth, and Suttles feels most importantly, some communities have well defined boundaries as a result of enacted boundary lines imposed on the urban landscape by organizational proclamations.

Residents' perceptions of the boundaries of the community and its associated neighborhood emerge within the process of community formation. As people become familiar with their city and their neighbors they reach decisions concerning which of their neighbors share similar interests and life styles and which not. These decisions lead to the construction of cognitive maps with boundary lines corresponding to features in their neighborhood.

The Stages of Community Formation

In their formation, communities can be seen to progress through four stages. The first is a precommunity stage in which the area is developed. A potential for status differentiation is built into an area simply as the result of the geographic features of the area, the types of houses built, and their age relative to those in other areas. These identifiable features are reflected in the cost of the houses. Housing costs due to the gradient of income which exists in society provides for the division of residences and residential populations according to the cost of housing. Builders and developers working within

the constraints of a societal stratification system where
rewards and resources are differentially allocated help
create through their individual decisions the potential
for status differentiations by residents who subsequently
occupy the housing.

The second stage, within which residents develop a
sense of community based on a common life style, may be
termed the formation of communal sentiment stage. Status
differentiation is not triggered by some specific event but
emerges as part of the dynamics of social life in the area.
The population of an area is in a continual state of change
as people move into and out of the area. Those people
looking for a house have an image of the type of house and
the kind of neighbors they would like. Realtors and housing
advertisements help these people to obtain as much of that
image in reality as they can. These images are in terms
of the ideal and material goods and opportunities which
make up the new resident's style of life. The new resident
desires the residents of that area to which he is moving
to have a life style similar to his own. The old resident
in turn desires the new resident to have a life style similar
to his own. The new and old residents seek neighbors with
similar life styles thus contributing to a distinctive
neighborhood character.

Neighboring continues the formation process. The
effect of neighboring is to draw people together, clarifying

for them their common interests and providing a basis from which they may recognize their common status relative to residents in other areas.

The third stage is an extension of the second stage, but the emphasis is on the community's interactions with the wider society, especially governments and their agencies and business interests. This stage is concerned with the relation of the community to the structure of the wider society and the community's ability to achieve closure and/or to defend itself against encroachment by undesirable persons or by undesirable living conditions such as, the movement of blacks into an all-white neighborhood, on one hand, and the development of commercial or rental property in a homeowner area, on the other. Here the status of the community and its relation to the power structure becomes important. A community may possess enough power so that the decisions by governments or realtors for instance may never adversely affect their neighborhood. Other communities may not possess such power. They like the small businessman in Trow's (1958) study of support for McCarty find their lives subject to the concentrated power of governments and business. Depending on a number of factors including not only educational and occupational levels of the residents, but the architectural design of the housing units (Newman, 1973) the residents of these communities

will organize to combat unwanted changes in their neighbor-hoods.

The fourth stage is obtained when residents organize to protect or improve their neighborhood and their organizing efforts work to enhance their sense of community. For example, residents form an organization to combat threats to the neighborhood but once formed the organization can act back on the residents who formed it by enhancing their sense of community. Working together to defend their neighborhood draws people together. Interaction is increased, individuals become familiar with their neighbors' ideas about the area. The particular life style associated with the neighborhood is articulated. As a result the pride residents feel for their neighborhood increases and their sense of community becomes stronger.

The Weberian approach to community formation pre-sented here utilizes the ideas of the human and cultural ecologists and of Suttles. It stresses the importance of political and economic processes in the formation of community as did the human ecologists and the importance of communal sentiments as did the cultural ecologists. In the Weberian approach communal sentiments are based on the feelings by residents that they share a common style of life. Community sentiments emerge within the context of political and economic processes, the life style of the community helps determine the relationship of the community

to the wider society. This idea is similar to that of Suttles who concerns himself with "how aggregate population characteristics along with more structural features are included into community reputation and help determine its relationship to its environment" (Suttles, 1972:14). This paper goes beyond the human and cultural ecologists and Suttles though in the introduction of the concept of stages through which communities pass in the process of formation. The four stages provide a methodological framework in which to analyze the emergence of community within political and historical processes.

CHAPTER II

A CASE STUDY OF THE BAILEY COMMUNITY

Data and Methods

The Bailey community located in East Lansing,
Michigan can be used to illustrate this approach to com-
munity. There are at least three reasons for its
selection. The first concerns its convenience, the com-
munity is located in the same city that the researcher
resides in. The second related reason concerns familiarity
with the community. The researcher has been a casual
observer of life in the city for nine years and consequently
has acquired much background knowledge about the milieu
within which communal relationships exist. In another
community a great deal of time would be spent learning
about that community, that is, all those features already
known about in Bailey. The third reason concerns the
presence of a strong community association which was formed
in response to a perceived threat to the community. This
enables us to illustrate the four stages of community
formation.

Data for this study come from both primary and
secondary sources. Primary sources consist of interviews

and personal observations. Fourteen interviews were conducted with members of the Bailey community using a snowball technique. Interviews were also conducted with six of the Bailey Community Association leaders. The researcher has also informally observed the happenings in East Lansing since 1966 and has more closely observed the actions within the city in regards to the Bailey community since the spring of 1975. Secondary sources consist of Bailey Community Association documents, various maps of the city obtained from the city planner's office and from Charles Ipcar's unpublished dissertation (1974), summary data from a survey of the residents residing within the Bailey Community Association boundaries conducted by Sue Allen (1975) and included in an unpublished thesis, data from the 1960 and 1970 United States Census, and the observations of John Towar (1933) in a history of the city of East Lansing. (Further comments on the data and methods mentioned here can be found in Appendix A.)

Pre-Community Stage

East Lansing has always been a college town. In 1855 the state legislature passed a bill establishing and endowing the Michigan Agricultural College to be located just to the east of Lansing, capitol of the state. At the time the college was formally opened, May 13, 1857, East Lansing was still farm land except a small portion of land east of Harrison Road between Michigan and Grand River

Avenues where a few faculty and staff employees of the college lived (Figure 1, Collegeville). Most of the faculty lived on campus along West Circle Drive.

In 1887 the Hatch Act was passed appropriating $15,000 annually for agricultural experiments. Many new employees were added to the college payroll as a result and new courses were added to the curriculum. With the expansion of the college came the increased demand for housing. More homes were built in Collegeville and to the east of it. John Towar (1933:41) describes the beginnings of the city:

> In 1898 new homes began to appear on College Delta.
> In 1899 building began on Oakwood and in that year the
> first boarding houses, apart from the college clubs,
> began serving meals off the campus. The campus belt
> had burst, and an embryo city was in its first stages
> of development (Figure 1, College Delta).

In 1908 East Lansing became an incorporated city.

Two things should be noted from what has been said so far. The first, of course, is that East Lansing is a very young city, owing its existence to the college. This is true yet today. A large number of the residents of East Lansing are affiliated with the university as students, faculty or staff. Their patronage keeps the retail businesses in the city solvent. Some people have gone so far as to argue that the city would not exist today if the legislature had not located the college where it did.

The second thing to note is that boarding houses have always been a part of East Lansing's history. With the existence of a relatively young, transient population

Figure 1. —Census Tract, subdivision, Bailey neighborhood area and
Bailey Community Association boundaries.

there is a need for suitable housing. Boarding houses and rooming houses existed to fill this need. Not only students but single faculty and staff members had a need for such housing since they could not afford to buy or build a house or did not plan on settling permanently in the area. Rental housing has since taken over the function of the boarding houses, although a few remain, and has had a direct effect on the city's development and on the character of its neighborhoods.

East Lansing grew slowly until after World War II and the influx of a large number of GI's taking advantage of the GI Bill. The area that is now considered the Bailey neighborhood (Figure 1) was platted in two parts. The part below Ann Street was platted as Fairview in 1904. The part between Ann Street and Burcham Drive was platted as Stratmore in 1925. These areas were not immediately developed, instead houses were built gradually as individual lots were sold. By 1940 there were a number of vacant lots in the Fairview plat while much of Stratmore was open fields. One resident of Bailey who moved there in the late 1930s can remember hunting pheasants in the fields above Ann Street. During World War II parts of Stratmore were planted in Victory gardens as was all the area in what now is Lantern Hills subdivision (Figure 1, Lantern Hills). Stratmore, as one can see from Figure 1, broke from the tradition of laying out streets in a north and south and

east and west pattern. To John Towar (1933:50), "Stratmore carried out the graceful curving of streets with a view to economy of travel, converging to its natural outlets as well as displaying a certain beauty of design." While Towar's description reads like a realtor's advertisement, it does draw attention to the fact that the distinct street pattern was a readily recognizable characteristic of the area which gave it a particular style and made it appealing to certain sets of perspective buyers.

East Lansing's population had expanded to the point in 1922 where a second school was called for. The first school was built in 1901 on the site of the present Central School. The additional school was built on the corner of Bailey and Ann streets and was called the Liberty Hyde Bailey School after Dr. Bailey an internationally known graduate of Michigan Agricultural College. The community thus derives its name from the neighborhood school.

After 1950 the college grew tremendously, from 16,111 students in 1950 to 44,580 in 1975 (Office of the Registrar, 1951, 1975) and East Lansing grew with it. Vacant lots became sites for houses, the pheasants moved out of Stratmore and were replaced by people. Large tracts of land were annexed to the city as the tax base was expanded and as the desire for services by nonresidents increased. As the college grew and life styles changed the

demand for housing by single, transient, students increased.
Many houses were bought up by realtors and other entre-
preneurs and converted to rental housing.

During the 1960s there was a great increase in the
number of apartment buildings built. In 1960, 51.1 percent
of the housing units in East Lansing were renter occupied
(Table 1), by 1970 these had increased to 63.4 percent of
the housing units, an absolute increase of about 4,000
units.

East Lansing passed its first zoning ordinance in
1926 with the intent of regulating land use and providing
for orderly growth. The occupants of rental housing were
recognized as distinctly different from homeowners. As a
result the number of unrelated persons residing in the
same housing unit was restricted to certain maximum levels
in the different zones. A glance at the zoning maps for
1935, 1953, 1960, and 1970 (Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5) makes
it clear that zones in which rental housing were allowed
has been limited to areas in older parts of the city close
to the university. Figures 6, 7, and 8 show the distribu-
tion of student housing in 1960, 1965, and 1970 respectively
as a percentage of the total dwelling units. As one can see
in a comparison of these maps with the zoning maps for 1963
and 1975 that the distribution of rental housing (Ipcar's
student dwelling units) has indeed followed the pattern
intended by city planners.

Figure 2.

CITY OF
EAST LANSING
Michigan

ZONING —1953

MSU Campus

Non Residential

Agriculture
Single Family
Duplex
Apartment
Business

0   1000   2000
Feet
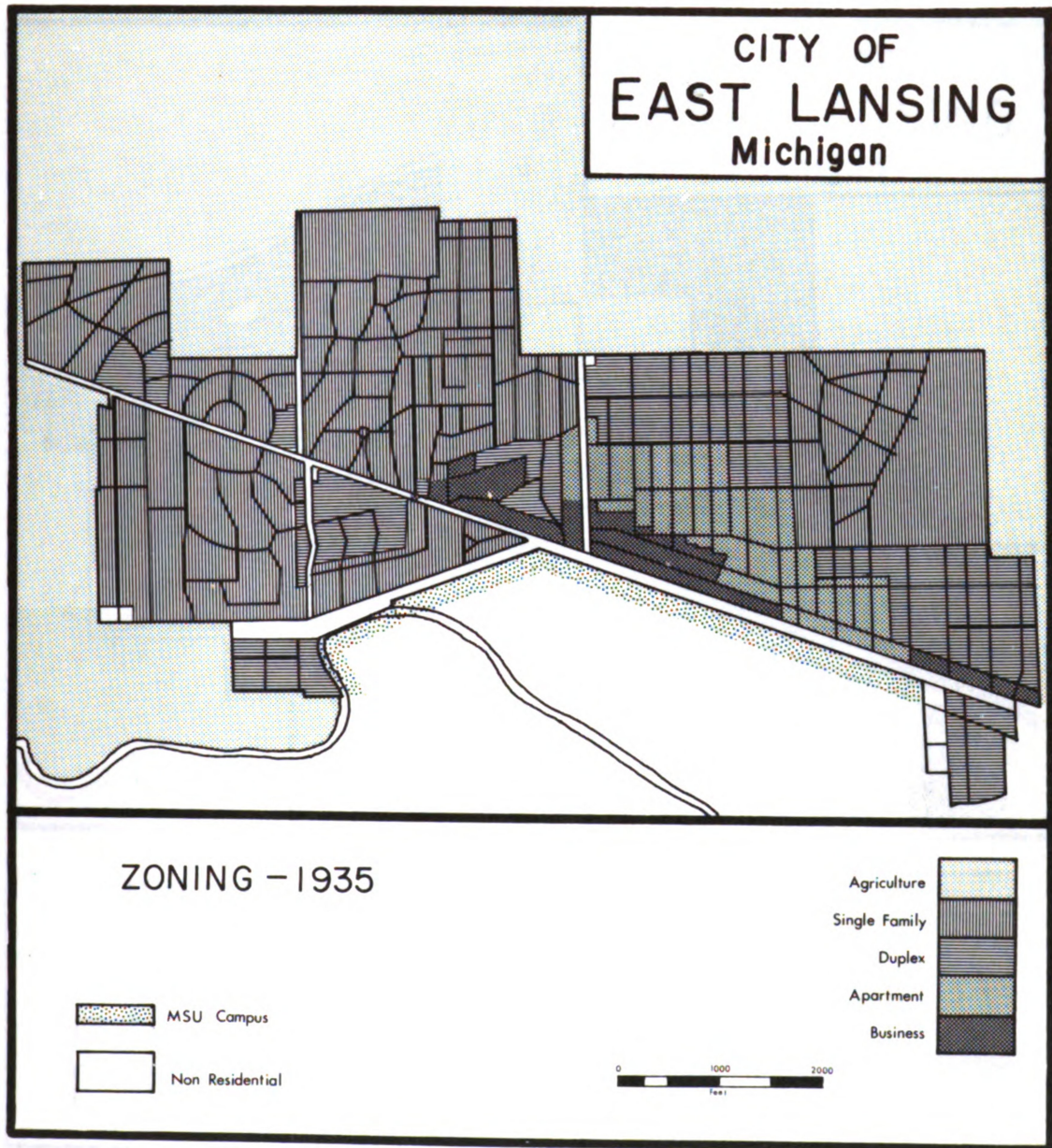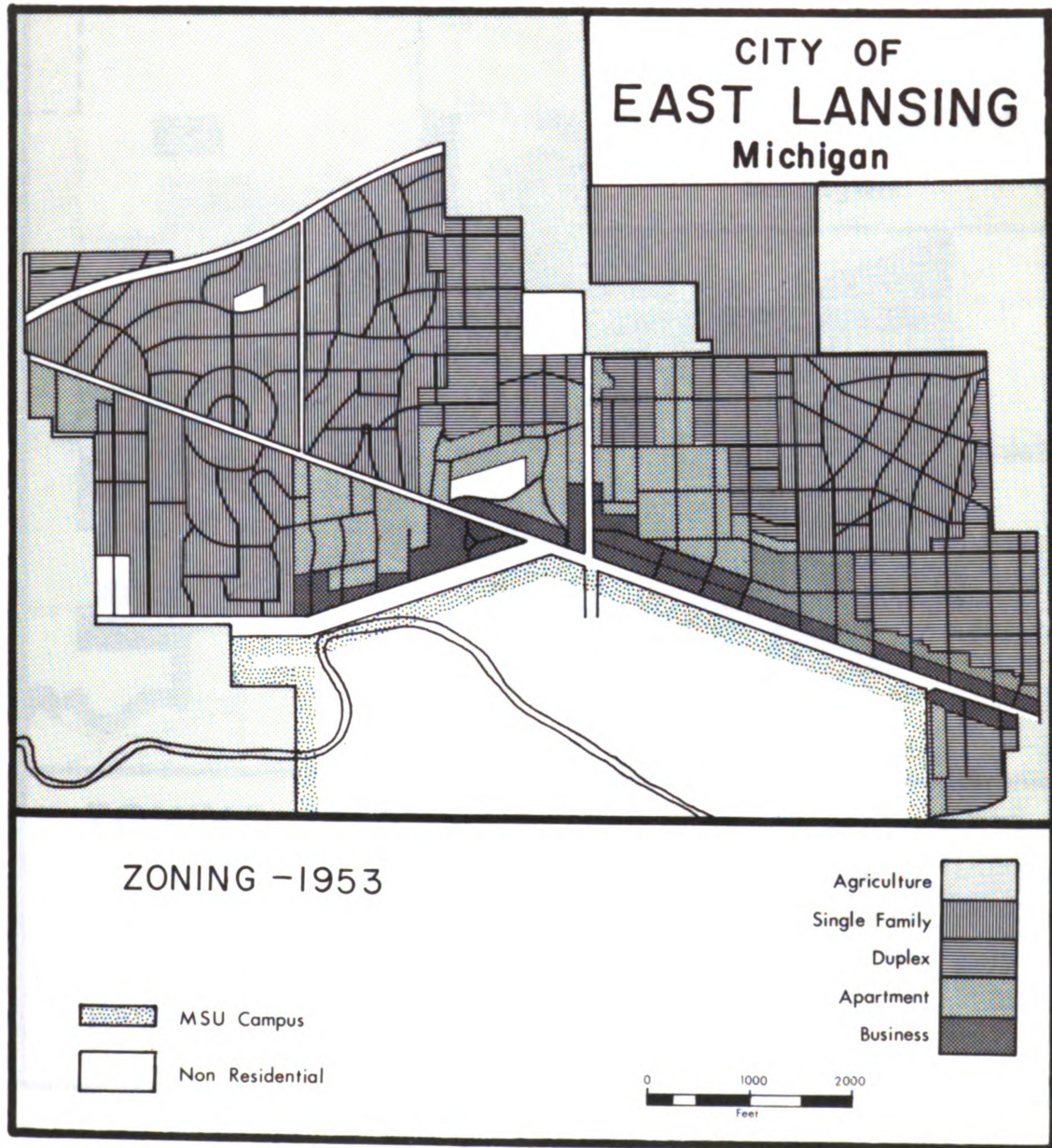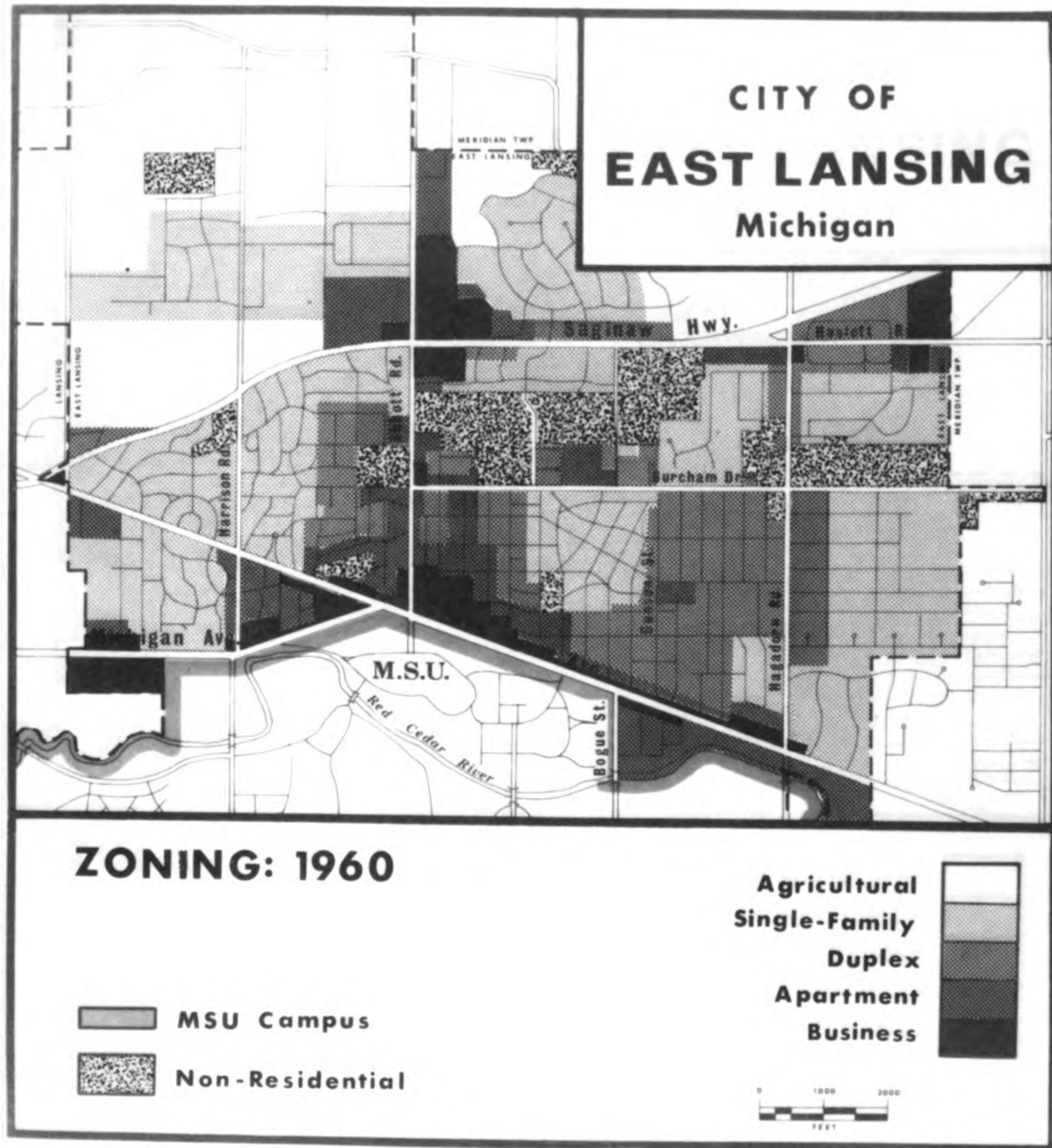
Figure 3.

Figure 4.

Figure 5.

Figure 6.

CITY OF
EAST LANSING
Michigan

Saginaw Hwy.   Haslett Rd.

Abbott Rd.

Harrison Rd.

Burcham Dr.

Gunson St.

Grand River Ave.

Michigan Ave.

M.S.U.

Hagadorn Rd.

Bogue St.

Red Cedar River

PERCENTAGE STUDENT DU'S
1965

< 30
30 - 49
50 - 69
70 - 89
> 89

[ ] MSU Campus

Non-Residential

Figure 7.

CITY OF EAST LANSING Michigan

PERCENTAGE STUDENT DU'S 1970

MSU Campus

Non-Residential

< 30
30 – 49
50 – 69
70 – 89
> 89
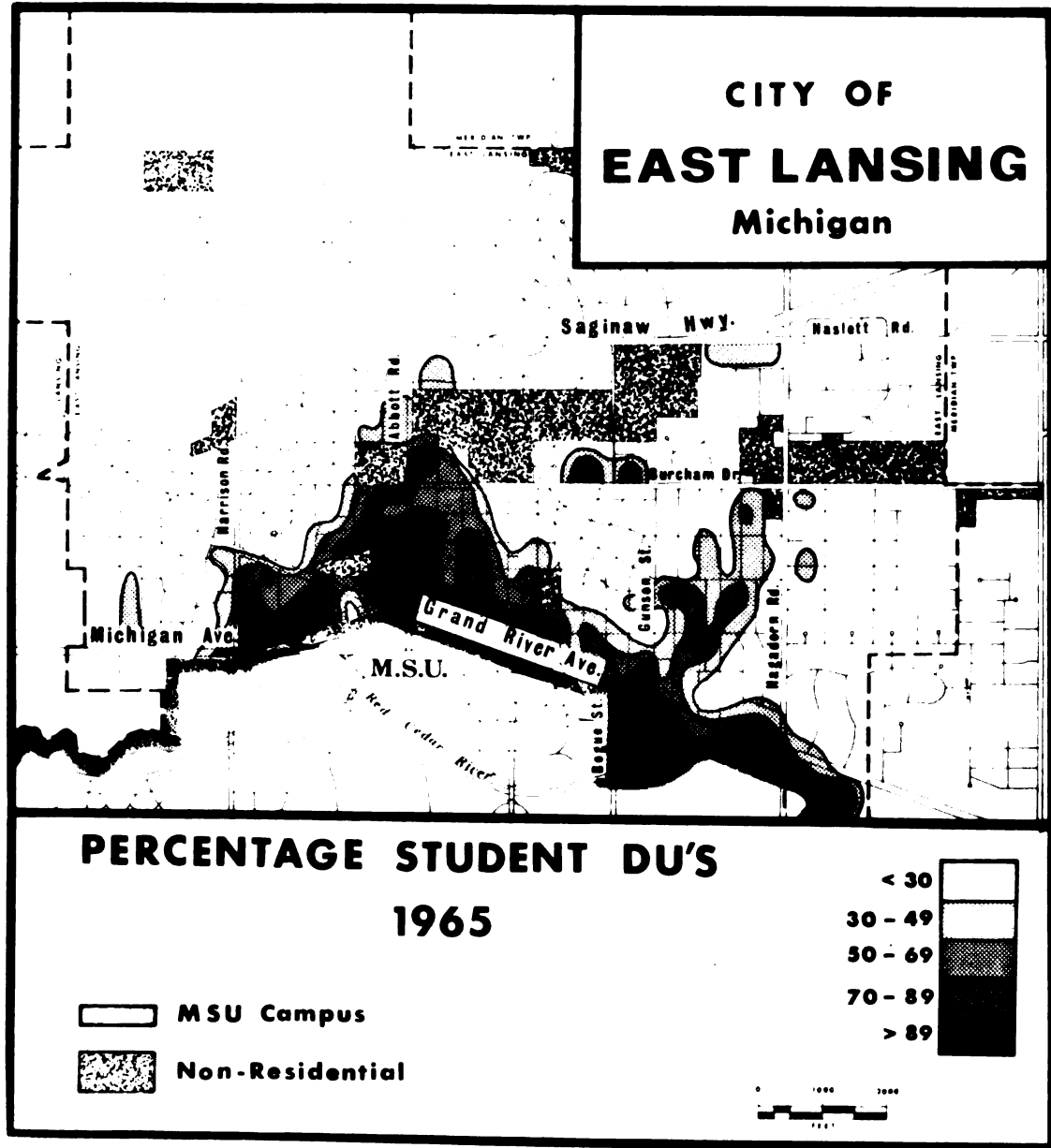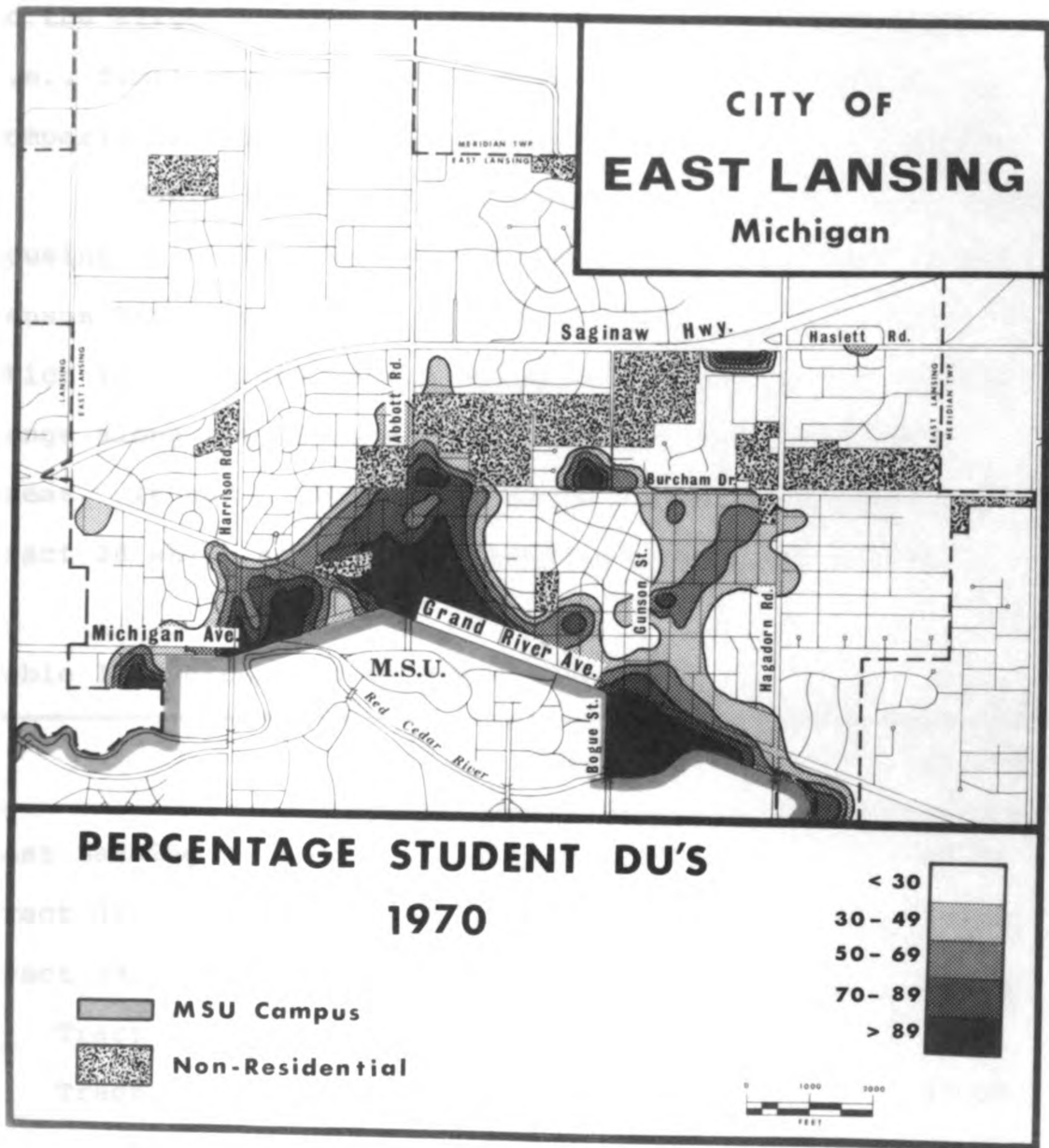
Figure 8.

Rental housing in East Lansing is generally occupied by young, single university affiliated persons in contrast to the slightly older, married, less transient persons, i.e., families, who reside in owner occupied housing. A comparison of Tables 1 through 4 bear out this statement.

Table 1 shows rental units as a proportion of total housing units in selected Census Tracts (see Figure 1 for Census Tract locations) in East Lansing. In 1960 Tract 39 which includes the Bailey neighborhood fell in the middle range along with 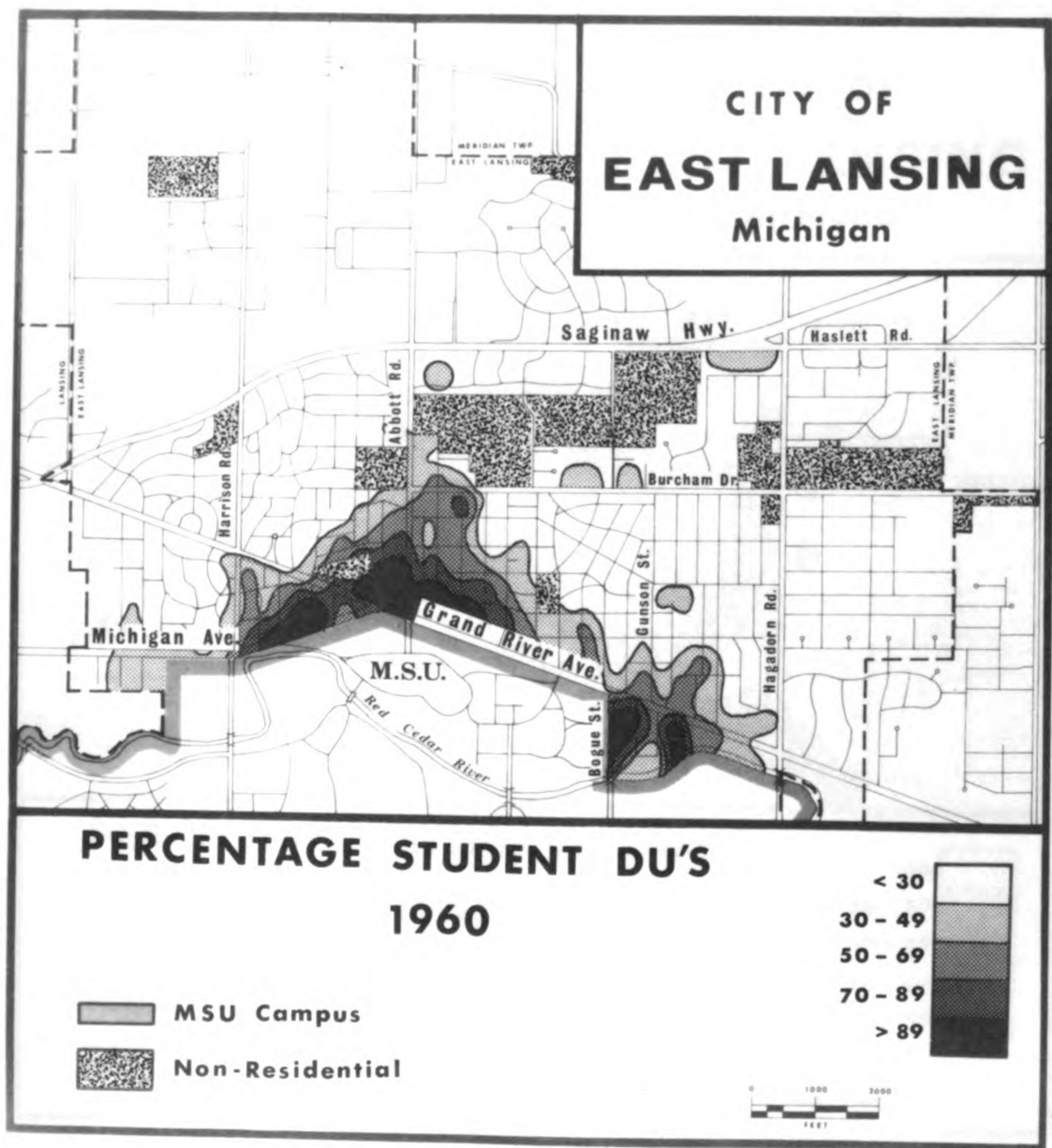Tracts 40 and 43, two other homeowner areas. It had a higher density of rental units than did Tract 38 which had recently been developed and a lower

Table 1.--Percentage of renter units.

	1960 (%)	1970 (%)
East Lansing	51.1	63.41
Tract 38	7.69	42.68
Tract 39	18.4	39.81
Tract 39.01		23.0
Tract 39.02		43.09
Bailey blocks		19.41
Tract 40	22.0	35.28
Tract 41	59.12	75.57
Tract 43	25.02	62.11

Source: United States Census 1960, 1970a, b.

density than Tract 41 within which a large number of single college students resided.

By 1970, the density of rental units had increased in all Tracts shown. Tract 38's density of rental units was now more in line with that of Tracts 39 and 40. The number of rental units in Tract 43 had increased to such an extent that levels of density in this Tract approached those of Tract 41. The breakdown of Tract 39 though, shows that the increase in the number of rental units was not uniformly distributed over the entire Tract. Tract 39.01 did not develop as high a density of rental units as did Tract 39.02. Also, within Tract 39.02 the Bailey blocks had not developed rental housing to the degree the rest of Tract 39.02 had. In fact there had been almost no development of rental housing in the Bailey blocks in the ten years from 1960 to 1970. This conclusion agrees with the findings of Ipcar (1974) as presented in Figures 7 and 8.

Table 2 indicates the stability of residency in the Tracts shown. The figures represent the percentage of persons who have lived in the same house for the previous five years. In 1960, Tract 39 again fell in the middle range. It showed more stable tendencies than did Tract 41, containing large numbers of college students, or Tract 43 but less stable tendencies than Tract 40 which included the more exclusive residential areas of the city.

Table 2.--Percentage of persons in the same house for the previous five years.

	1960 (%)	1970 (%)
East Lansing	22.38	16.49
Tract 38	41.4	23.54
Tract 39	43.72	40.28
Tract 39.01		34.67
Tract 39.02		41.6
Tract 40	52.45	51.64
Tract 41	23.71	14.74
Tract 43	34.67	23.31

Source: United States Census 1960, 1970a.

By 1970 the percentages had decreased for each Tract but not uniformly. Tracts 41 and 43 had even less stable populations than in 1960 due to the increased numbers of college students residing in these areas. Tract 40 had remained relatively the same while Tract 39 had decreased slightly. The figures show that Tract 38 had a decreasingly stable population but solid conclusions cannot be drawn since this area was under development in the 1960s. The same is true about Tract 39.01 since much of it was developed in the 1960s also. Tract 39.02 containing the Bailey neighborhood showed a slight decrease in stability of its population.

Table 3 represents college enrollment as a percentage of each tract's total school enrollment. In 1960 only the newly developed Tract 38 had a lower percentage of college student residents than Tract 39. Even Tract 40 containing the rather exclusive neighborhoods of East Lansing had a higher percentage. The percentage of college students in each Tract increased between 1960 and 1970 due to the increase in college enrollments, the lack of available housing on campus, and the desire by students to move out of the dorms. Tract 39 again falls in the middle range having a higher percentage of college students than Tract 38, a comparative percentage to Tract 40 and a much lower percentage than Tracts 41 and 43. The 1970 Census figures

Table 3.--Percentage college enrollment.

	1960 (%)	1970 (%)
East Lansing	76.98	81.99
Tract 38	10.11	22.17
Tract 39	26.25	42.16
Tract 39.01		3.63
Tract 39.02		49.14
Tract 40	38.56	42.47
Tract 41	84.53	93.78
Tract 43	46.0	73.63

Source: United States Census 1960, 1970a.

also show that the college students in Tract 39 are con-
centrated in Tract 39.02 which includes the Bailey neighbor-
hood rather than in Tract 39.01 which includes the exclusive
subdivision, White Hills.

Table 4 represents the percentage of single per-
sons in each Tract. Again, in 1960, Tract 39 fell in the
middle range having a higher percentage of single persons
than Tract 38, a comparable percentage to Tracts 40 and 43,
and a lower percentage than Tract 41 in which large numbers
of college students resided. The percentage of single
persons had increased in each Tract from 1960 to 1970
corresponding to the increase in college students, the
increase in rental units to house these students, and the

Table 4.--Percentage single persons 14 years old and over.

	1960 (%)	1970 (%)
East Lansing	47.91	63.03
Tract 38	17.41	24.86
Tract 39	28.58	40.65
Tract 39.01		24.32
Tract 39.02		44.41
Tract 40	30.68	34.18
Tract 41	64.36	78.01
Tract 43	31.96	62.27

Source: United States Census 1960, 1970a.

subsequent decrease in stability of each Tract's population. In 1970, Tract 39 had a higher percentage of single persons than Tracts 38 and 40 and a lower percentage than Tracts 41 and 43. Again Tract 39.02 had a disproportionately higher percentage of single persons than Tract 39.01.

It can be seen from Table 1 and Figures 6, 7, and 8, the Bailey neighborhood has been predominantly a homeowner area and, as can be implied from Tables 2 through 4, has had a more stable, older, family oriented population than those areas which surround it, i.e., Tracts 41 and 43. But this is not the only development which distinguishes the Bailey residents from those around them.

In 1916, Chesterfield Hills No. 1 (Figure 1, Chesterfield Hills) was platted. This was the first exclusive section of East Lansing with large homes situated on large lots. Glencarin (Figure 1, Glencarin), platted in 1926, was also built for more well-to-do families as was Touraine (Figure 1, Touraine) platted in 1927. In 1933, Towar (1933:50) wrote about Touraine:

> Touraine, platted by Plummer Snyder in 1927, carries out the modern idea of winding streets and large lots of irregular size. The plat is designed as a restricted, high class residential section, and the character of the houses already constructed carry out most pleasingly the plan of the promoter. Bordered by two gold (sic) courses, with distant views to the west and south, and located at the intersection of two prominent state highways, Touraine is destined for many years to be a desirable place in which to live.

In recent years, White Hills (Figure 1, White Hills) has become the most exclusive section of East Lansing favored as a place of residence by many of the Lansing metropolitan areas business elite and local physicians.

Table 5 shows the median income of families in 1960 and 1970. In 1960, Tract 39 had slightly lower median income than Tract 40 which includes Glencarin and a much higher median income than Tracts 38, 41, and 43. Incomes increased during the 1960s, Tract 39.02 had a higher median income than Tracts 41 and 43 but comparative to Tracts 38 and 40. Table 5 also shows that White Hills subdivision, in Tract 39.01, is indeed an exclusive neighborhood having

Table 5.--Median income of families.

	1960	1970
East Lansing	$ 7,152	$11,630
Tract 38	8,243	16,470
Tract 39	11,970	24,034
Tract 39.01		33,381
Tract 39.02		16,912
Tract 40	12,277	17,138
Tract 41	7,945	11,714
Tract 43	8,365	13,353

Source: United States Census 1960, 1970a.

a considerably higher median income figure than the rest
of the city.

The figures for the median value of owner occupied
housing units in 1960 and 1970 are shown in Table 6.
Tracts 39 and 40 were at the high end of the range in 1960
with less expensive housing being available in Tracts 38,
41, and 43. The estimated value of owner occupied units
increased in the 1960s with the student/renter areas,
Tracts 41 and 43, having substantially lower valued units.
Table 6 shows that the Bailey blocks have housing whose
value is comparable to but slightly lower than the rest of
Tract 39.02 and Tracts 38 and 40.

Table 6.--Median value of owner-occupied housing units.

	1960	1970
East Lansing	$21,200	$29,300
Tract 38	18,900	30,400
Tract 39	25,200	34,900
Tract 39.01		50,000+
Tract 39.02		31,000
Bailey blocks		29,300
Tract 40	25,000	30,500
Tract 41	17,200	21,800
Tract 43	16,700	23,400

Source: United States Census 1960, 1970a, b.

The Bailey neighborhood lying for the most part in Tract 39.02 (Tract 39 in 1960) generally falls in the middle range of values in each of the tables. It has a lower percentage of college students and a lower density of rental units than do the student/renter areas in Tracts 41 and 43 and correspondingly it has a higher median income level, higher property values, proportionately more married persons who tend to move less. Meanwhile, the Bailey neighborhood has characteristics relatively similar to family oriented neighborhoods in Tracts 38, 39.01 and 40 in terms of stability, percentage of college students and percentage of single persons. The median family income and the median property values in the Bailey neighborhood are less than in White Hills.

In describing the neighborhood one would say that the houses are generally two story frame structures, like those in Tract 41, possibly with brick or stone facade as compared to the newer ranch styles and tri- and bi-levels in White Hills, Lantern Hills and Walnut Heights (Figure 1, Walnut Heights) subdivisions. Lots are smaller than those in the Chesterfield Hills and Glencarin subdivisions as well as in the three subdivisions previously named but slightly larger than those in the Oakhill (Figure 1, Oak-hill) area and other older parts of the city. The streets of the Bailey neighborhood curve gently and are lined with large mature trees. This is in sharp contrast to the

Avondon subdivision (Figure 1, Avondon) to the east and the White Hills, Lantern Hills, and Walnut Heights subdivisions where the trees are still young. The houses and the quiet streets give the Bailey neighborhood a pleasant quality which is reflected in the pride residents express in their area.

Summarizing the pre-community stage, as East Lansing developed, social processes have operated to give the Bailey neighborhood and other areas in the city the characteristics which are observable today. The physical features of an area, the need for rental housing and the willingness to provide it, the decisions by builders concerning how to develop a lot or a subdivision, and the decisions by persons to reside in a specific house and their particular life situation have operated to give different areas of East Lansing distinctive characteristics by which they can be distinguished.

Formation of Communal Sentiments Stage

When asked why they moved into the Bailey neighborhood, residents responded with reasons similar to those given to Hunter (1975) in his study: it has a good school, it is close to the university and the central business district, the value of the houses fitted a family's budget, etc. For some of the older residents Bailey was one of the new areas of development in the city. Many lots were available in the late 1930s when one couple desired to

build. For other residents, houses had already been con-
structed and they bought a house which suited their needs.
For some residents the house they purchased was one of the
few houses suitable for their needs on the market. And
for some residents, they chose the Bailey neighborhood
because they were aware of and appreciated the community
which existed in Bailey.

The residents generally like living in the Bailey
neighborhood. Those interviewed said they liked living
there because it is close to the university and the central
business district and well served by the buses; people can
ride the bus to work or can walk if they work on campus.
Being able to walk and not being dependent on autos for
transportation is considered a big plus by the residents.
Entire families enjoy bike riding or walking along the quiet
tree lined streets. The people the researcher spoke with
did not feel this was true about other areas. People in
Okemos are more car oriented one older woman felt, and
expressed her displeasure with the thought of driving to
where she wanted to go. Another woman felt that those who
live in other parts of East Lansing such as Glencarin,
Pinecrest (Figure 1, Pinecrest) and White Hills were too
far away from the university and the stores to be able to
walk.

The area is not seen as pretentious as one woman
phrased it. People interviewed felt that the homes were

moderately priced, the neighborhood relatively safe, and the people friendly and well-educated. It was considered a nice place for families. There is little attempt to keep up with the Jones which some people felt was the case in Glencarin. People habitually compared the Bailey neighborhood to the admittedly higher status neighborhoods of Glencarin and White Hills in terms which devalued the characteristics of the latter two. This supports what Suttles (1972) found in his study of Hyde Park. Hyde Parkers contrasting themselves with North side Chicago residents included in their self-descriptions the "rejection of wealth alone as a criteria for residential selection and an emphasis on counter themes: sentimental loyalties, anti-snobbism, and cosmopolitanism of race and income groups" (Suttles, 1972:249). "People do not lavish money on houses here as in Glencarin or White Hills," one young woman said, "they spend it on travel instead," clearly implying that the Bailey neighborhood was qualitatively better than the other two.

Some people interviewed would have liked to live in Glencarin, the lots were larger and the income of the residents was higher, but the houses cost more than they could afford. But for most people interviewed, Bailey was considered a highly desirable neighborhood to live in. One woman even claimed that some prospective homeowners refused to consider moving to any other area than Bailey.

Many people especially like the age mix of the
area. Almost everyone one asks mentions this fact. They
feel there is a nice mixture of younger families, older
families, retired persons and university students. They
do not feel this is as true in the Okemos suburbs or in
Pinecrest which one woman characterized as being "over-run
by kids." Census Tract figures appear to bear out her
statement. The Pinecrest area, Tract 38, has had a large
percentage of its school aged population enrolled at the
elementary level; 56.55 percent in 1960 and 46.88 percent
in 1970 while the tract in which the Bailey neighborhood
lies had percentages of 44.44 in 1960 and 27.53 in 1970
(United States Census, 1960, 1970a). People interviewed
said they did not prefer extremes in age groups whether of
college student-aged persons in the areas which border
Bailey or of young families who dominate in some subdivi-
sions. In general, then, when asked what they liked about
the Bailey neighborhood, people gave positive responses.
They liked the neighborhood and its residents. Even
though they felt they were a heterogeneous group they still
felt they had something in common.

There is general agreement among the residents
interviewed that Burcham Drive (see Figure 9 for street
locations) forms the northern boundary of the neighborhood.
Throughout the history of East Lansing Burcham Drive has
been an important street. As a section line road it

Bailey Neighborhood

Burcham Dr.

Meadowlawn

Collingwood Dr.

Charles St.

Division St.

Snyder Rd.

Beech

Elizabeth St.

Butterfield Dr.

St.

Sunrise Ct.

Bailey St.

Linden St.

Orchard St.

Dr.

St.

St.

Gunson St.

Sycamore Ln.

Chittenden

Kedzie St.

Durand

Dr.

Ann St.

Collingwood

Albert Ave.

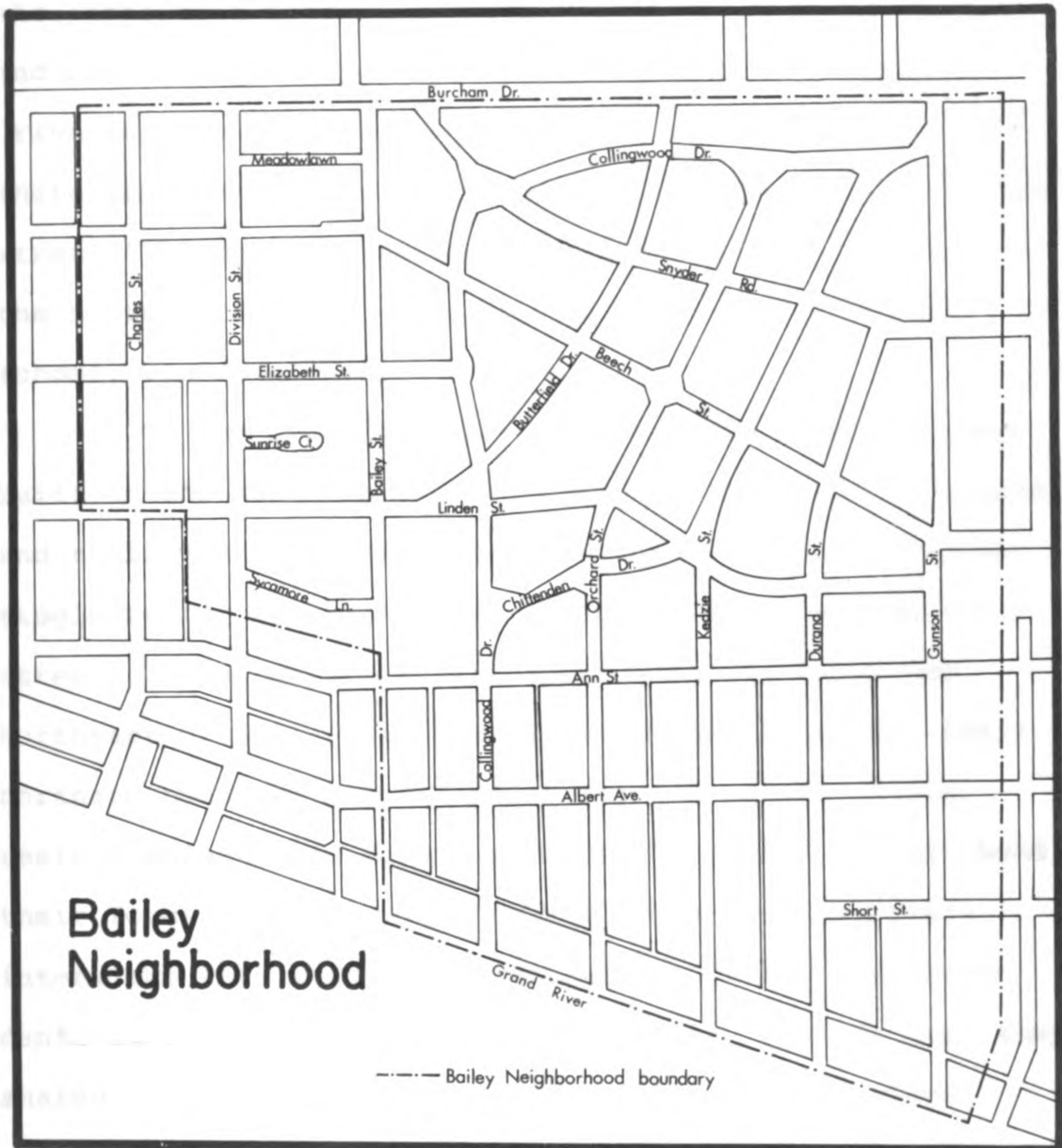Short St.

Grand River

------- Bailey Neighborhood boundary

Figure 9.

predates both the city and the university. Around the turn of the century and through the 1920s the street car line connecting Lansing, East Lansing, Haslett, and, by way of the interurban railroad, Owosso, turned off M.A.C. Avenue and ran east along Burcham Drive. Until 1958 Burcham Drive was the northern boundary of the city and for years there was very little development on the north side of the street. Eventually St. Thomas Aquinas School was built to the north of Burcham and Alton Park, just east of the school, was developed.

In the 1960s a number of apartment complexes were built on the north side of Burcham Drive. These complexes and their youthful residents contrasted sharply with the single family structures and their residents across the street. When Lantern Hills subdivision was developed northeast of Bailey the residents did not feel that their northern boundary had changed. Nor did Lantern Hills residents feel they were a part of the Bailey neighborhood, their focus was elsewhere. Sue Allen stated (personal interview) that when she conducted her interviews, residents of Lantern Hills had said that they did not feel they shared the problems of the Bailey community. A woman resident of Bailey remarked to the researcher that they, the Lantern Hills residents, did not have the same interests as the Bailey residents, they did not want any college students living there, and that their area was different,

having no sidewalks. Thus Burcham Drive, now four lanes wide, remains an effective "physical barrier."

Bailey's other three boundaries are not nearly as well defined. To the east the boundary is Gunson Street for some persons interviewed and Hagadorn Road for a few others. Until 1958 the upper part of Gunson Street was the eastern boundary of the city. In addition the area between Gunson and Hagadorn Road was developed later than the Bailey area. The houses were more cheaply constructed and as a consequence many were converted to rental property or since lots were still available in the 1960s, were specifically developed as rental property. The differential land use has been aided by the zoning of the area east of Gunson Street "single family and duplex use" whereas most of Bailey has continued to be zoned "single family use" (Figures 4 and 5). As the rental housing has increased so has the number of young transient college students as Tables 1 through 4 indicate. Thus the difference in land use, the price gradient, and the difference in life styles of the residents serves to make Gunson Street the boundary for certain residents. Hagadorn Road is like Burcham Drive a major thoroughfare and thus serves as a physical barrier for other people.

Below Beech Street and east of Gunson Street are situated some of the few vacant lots remaining inside the city limits. While there are some residents east of Gunson

Street they are below Albert Street which for people
approximates the neighborhood's southern boundary because
so many of the houses below Albert are occupied by students/
renters. The failure of Ann Street, Short Street, and Frye
Street to run through, each ending at the pre-1958 city
limits, has effectively cut the residents on either side
of the line off from each other. One can easily demon-
strate to oneself how these deadend streets have such an
effect if one walks these streets to their ends. There is
no way to get from one side of the boundary line to the
other without taking a round-about route, since bushes and
fences block a more direct route.

In regards to the southern boundary, East Grand
River Avenue has been a major thoroughfare linking Detroit
and Lansing since before the turn of the century. To the
south is the university campus. In 1905 a subdivision east
of Bogue Street was platted as Bogue's Addition to Fairview
(Figure 1, Bogue's Addition) but in the 1960s after the
area was rezoned "multiple density residential" most of
the area was redeveloped into apartment complexes as
increasing numbers of students sought to live off-campus.
People see this area now as a student area so that East
Grand River Avenue has become the ultimate southern boun-
dary of the Bailey neighborhood.

East Grand River Avenue is not the choice of all
residents interviewed though. Since at least 1935 the

blocks below Ann Street have been zoned differently from those above it. Due to the distinctive nature of the housing market in East Lansing this has resulted in a developmental history of the area between Ann Street and East Grand River Avenue which differs from that of the area above Ann Street. This leads those interviewed who live above Ann Street, seeing the difference between themselves and the residents who live below Ann and Albert Streets, to designate either of these two streets as the southern boundary of Bailey, while those residents interviewed living below Ann and Albert Streets seeing the similarity of interests they have with those residents to the north draw the boundary line to the south of themselves.

The western boundary is not definitive in a way which is similar to the eastern and southern boundaries. Abbott Road having been a major north-south thoroughfare for a good number of years serves as the ultimate western boundary. But since the area between Abbott and Bailey Street is much older than that to the east and since the area has become almost totally student dominated some people interviewed consider Bailey Street the western boundary of the neighborhood.

Over the years zoning for the area west of Bailey Street has changed to reflect different land use. The result of the interplay between the zoning ordinances,

realtor interests and the demand for rental housing has been that as one moves on a line from the corner of Abbott Road and East Grand River Avenue toward the corner of Burcham Drive and Bailey Street one encounters newer, better constructed housing which is owner occupied or, if rental property, occupied by older couples and single persons. These developments have led some people interviewed to designate Division Street or Charles Street as the western boundary. Again though, as in the case of the southern boundary, those persons living on a street excluded by some Bailey residents, feeling a common bond between themselves and the residents of Bailey, establish the boundary to the west of themselves.

Of the people interviewed, there seems to be some who were more concerned with the happenings within Bailey while others showed less interest. As others have found (Suttles, 1972 and Janowitz, 1952) the women and retired persons appeared more apt to have definite ideas about the neighborhood and its residents than others. Retired persons have usually lived in the area for a long time and have watched it change over the years. The retired persons the researcher spoke with have lived in the neighborhood since 1945. They were concerned about what was happening in the neighborhood. The conversion of owner occupied houses to rental in the area below Ann Street was a major issue for those retired persons residing there. One couple, showing

their feelings of frustration over the increase in rental
housing, appealed to the researcher as a sociologist to
explain why this was happening to their neighborhood.

Women appeared more concerned with the neighbor-
hood than men giving more specific answers to the questions.
Similarly, there seemed to be a difference between young
families and older families. Young couples with small
children whom were interviewed appeared more concerned
about the neighborhood than did couples with children
already grown or in adolescence. They gave more specific
examples of the problems the neighborhood faces than did
the older couples.

The Bailey Community vs the
Wider Society Stage

Not everything that is said about the neighborhood
is positive though. As rental housing has expanded into
the Bailey area from the south people have become more
vocal over the undesirable effect they claim it has on the
neighborhood. Those persons interviewed made numerous
comments about these undesirable effects. As students/
renters move into an area the houses deteriorate, the yards
are not kept up. In the winter, the walks are not shoveled,
making it difficult to walk on the sidewalk. Rents are
high, the profitable buying and selling of rental property
has increased the assessed valuation of the property in the
area and, thus, raised property taxes. One woman claimed

that taxes in the Bailey area increased an average of 9 percent in three years as compared to an average of 2 percent in Glencarin over the same period. There is also increased traffic, increased noise and an increase in the number of large dogs running loose endangering the safety of little kids and the elderly.

Not all of these problems can be blamed on the renters. Landlords and realtors were generally blamed by interviewees for letting a property deteriorate and not providing a lawnmower or someone to cut the grass. They were seen as being more interested in the return on their investment than in maintaining the property they own. But the renters came in for their share of the blame. Some interviewees felt that students were only concerned with themselves. They let their dogs run loose and many times, when they moved, would abandon their pets. One older man observed that they do not shovel the walks in the winter even if the house is full of males. "They let their stereos 'blare out' over the whole neighborhood and make a great amount of noise coming home from the bars late at night," another man exclaimed. Students were reported to ride their bikes in such a fashion that it was dangerous to even walk on the sidewalk. To those people interviewed there was clearly a difference in life styles between the students and the older residents.

Problems like these have led many people to move
away from the Bailey neighborhood. Most of the people the
researcher spoke with knew at least one family who had
moved because of the problems in the neighborhood. This,
of course, opens their houses to the threat of conversion
and a further worsening of the situation. In 1971 a group
of predominantly older residents organized to deal with
the housing problem. They called themselves the Bailey
Homeowners Association. Membership was drawn from those
who were concerned about the housing problem. These turned
out to be relatively older persons living in the southern
half of the neighborhood most threatened by the encroach-
ment of rental housing. The immediate issue they focused
upon concerned the overcrowded conditions in a certain
house in the neighborhood. The Association complained to
the city government and spoke at a hearing of the Zoning
Board of Appeals before the problem was satisfactorily
resolved.

One man told the researcher that the Bailey Home-
owners Association was also instrumental in developing the
present city housing code which attempts to deal with the
problem of housing in the city. But once the original
crisis was resolved the organization could not sustain
itself. Subsequently a number of former officers have
abandoned the neighborhood so that at the present time

it is difficult to find anyone who has more than just a superficial knowledge about the Bailey Homeowners Association.

In August, 1973, the city began work on the extension of Ann Street as a necessary stage in the city's "1980 Plan." In the Master Plan it was proposed to extend Ann Street from its present deadend at Milford Street to Hagadorn Road. This would allow the conversion of Ann and Albert streets into one-way pairs providing an alternative route to and from the downtown area.

The development of this alternative route was tied to the redevelopment of the central business district and the construction of a proposed peripheral route to divert traffic from the heavily used East Grand River Avenue. The peripheral route which would parallel East Grand River was to have been located along what is now Linden Street. The area to the south of Linden and between Abbott Road and Division Street would become the new business district. Any houses existing within this area would be removed to be replaced by business establishments. It was felt by those behind the central business district plan that a redeveloped downtown including proposed highrise hotel, open malls, parking ramps and reworked store fronts would help the business district compete with the Meridian Mall being planned for Okemos.

The three-dimensional model of the proposed central business district can still be seen in the city planner's office. The only developments after ten years though have been the improvements of the alleys behind the stores facing East Grand River Avenue, the legalization of liquor sales by the glass within the city resulting in the proliferation of bar-restaurants in the downtown area whose clientele consist mostly of students, the construction of a department store and parking ramp, each conceived before the Plan was adopted and the proposal of a number of projects which have never quite gotten past the planning stages.

The latest of these projects was a proposed building housing offices and apartments over a 24-hour restaurant on the corner of Ann Street and M.A.C. Avenue. Two houses were located on that corner at the time the Master Plan was adopted. The landlord realizing the buildings would eventually be torn down did not attempt to maintain the property and the houses deteriorated. The houses were demolished in summer 1975 to make way for the building but the project has folded. Now the lot stands empty excepting the sign reading "For Sale, For Lease, Call _____."

It was in this context in which the orientation of the city appeared to be toward the realtor and business interests that one day in late summer 1973 a few residents of Bailey while on a bike ride discovered the city street crews pouring the curbing as a first step in extending Ann

Street. The residents were concerned about the implications of the street extension and called their friends in the neighborhood to discuss what could be done. A meeting held in the Bailey School was arranged in which between 30 and 50 people in the neighborhood discussed the problem. It was decided they would attend the City Council meeting the following night and confront the Council with their concerns.

At the meeting they argued that with the extension of Ann Street traffic would increase on the street as would its speed, increasing noise and endangering the lives of their children. They also argued that their property values might drop especially if Ann and Albert street were made one-way pairs. Their feeling was that there were enough streets to carry traffic into and out of the downtown area. They could not see any benefit for themselves if Ann Street was extended. They could see that it would help those living outside of the Bailey neighborhood to get through it and into the downtown area more quickly and easily but they did not feel this was necessary at their expense. They also felt that if Ann Street was extended it would encourage more development of rental housing along the extension and increase traffic still more. The Council for its part appreciated the concerns of the Bailey residents and decided to stop work on the street until the Planning Commission could study the issues. The Planning

Commission recommended that Ann Street not be extended and
the City Council voted to drop the project. The project,
however, remained a part of the 1980 Master Plan, it was
not until early 1975 that the Council finally removed it.

The crisis over the street extension was resolved
but the residents of Bailey who had attended the City
Council meeting did not feel they could relax. They did not
trust the City Council which they felt was realtor and
merchant oriented. But they realized they could not make
their voices heard unless they were organized. A steering
committee was formed from the residents who had first
expressed concern and had organized the original meeting in
the Bailey School. Out of their meetings came the structure
for the Bailey Community Association.

An organizational meeting was held in early 1974
of all residents of the Bailey neighborhood who were con-
cerned about the quality of life in the neighborhood and
who wanted to preserve it. At the meeting a constitution
and by-laws which the steering committee had drawn up were
presented and passed. The constitution provided for an
executive board which would manage the affairs of the
organization. It would have the power to "establish such
policies and procedures as would be required to effectuate
the purposes and objectives of the Association" (Bailey
Community Association, 1974a). Concerning these purposes
and objectives of the Association the constitution stated:

The purpose of this Association shall be to protect and promote the best interests of the residents of the area herein set forth; to preserve the residential character of the area; to promote and encourage a better community and civic spirit and to foster good will and friendship among all the residents of said area; to cooperate with state, county, and city officials and with other civic and public organizations for the general welfare of the entire community of East Lansing (Bailey Community Association, 1974a).

The By-laws provided for the payment of dues by members permitting the Association to meet any necessary expenses. They also provided for the maintenance of several committees which would contribute to the obtainment of the Association's goals. The standing committees and their functions were:

(a) Awareness Committee--the duties of the committee will be

(1) to maintain a current knowledge of issues before the East Lansing council and its appointed Commissions.

(2) to appoint Association members to attend public meetings of the East Lansing Council and its Commissions and to report information of importance to the Executive Board.

(3) to provide the BCA Newsletter editor with information of importance to the membership and the Bailey community.

(b) Communication Committee--the duties of the committee will be

(1) to provide for the printing, packaging, and distribution of the Newsletter.

(2) to handle telephoning assignments at the request of the Executive Board.

(3) to plan and hold any public information programs for the membership and the community at the request of the Executive Board.

(4) to conduct a yearly review of the Association's communication's program and to report to the Executive Board any feelings and recommendations by January 31 of each year.

(c) Priority Issue Committee--the duties of the committee will be

(1) to gather, receive, and study information relating to issues, laws, ordinances, and regulations which have an impact on the community.

(2) to report to the Executive Board the Committee's findings and to recommend actions to be taken.

(3) the following committees will be maintained:

(a) Housing and Zoning Committee

(b) Parks and Recreation Committee

(c) Traffic Committee

(Bailey Community Association, 1974b).

As it turns out, the standing committees are rather loosely organized. The Awareness Committee appoints members to attend various meetings but so does the Executive Board and the special sub-committees of the Priority Issues Committee. The Communication Committee however does discharge its duties, it prints and distributes the Newsletter written by the Executive Board.

The three sub-committees which make up the Priority Issues Committee get at the very heart of the Association's concerns. Traffic has already been discussed. The narrow streets, the limiting of on-campus parking for students forcing them to park on the Bailey neighborhood streets, especially the ones nearest to campus, the lack of parking spaces on rental property and the dislike of autos by residents of the neighborhood continue to make traffic a concern long after the Ann Street crisis has passed.

The Parks and Recreation sub-committee was established because it was felt that there were not enough developed areas for the residents' children to play in. There was only Alton Park and the Bailey school playground. The sub-committee was to study the feasibility of locating a park in the Bailey area.

Housing, of course, has been a problem for the Bailey residents long before the Association was conceived. But the problem had been intensifying for the last number of years. The Bailey Homeowners Association tried to deal

with it but failed. The problem had grown to such pro-
portions that people were afraid for the survival of the
neighborhood. The reason for their concern was fairly
clear.

Rental housing in the form of rooming and boarding
houses appeared first in East Lansing near the campus, in
the delta area and behind the central business district.
Since then, these two areas have become almost exclusively
those of rental housing. Rental housing has also spread
to areas where the assessed valuation of the property was
comparatively lower than in other areas. Thus, two areas
with older homes, the Oakhill (refer to Figure 1 for loca-
tions of subdivisions named) area and the Fairview area were
gradually taken over. In the 1960s many houses in the
Avondon subdivision were converted to rental property
because the area also contained more cheaply made houses.
A comparison of the percent rental units in 1960 and 1970
for Tract 43 clearly indicate the conversion (Table 1).
Since 1970 rental housing has spread into the area east of
Hagadorn Road and south of Burcham Drive and has expanded
over the exclusive White Hills area into the area along
Lake Lansing Road, two other areas of cheaper housing.

The continual demand for rental housing has made
it economically advantageous to convert existing housing
to rental property and in some cases to clear existing
houses to build apartment buildings. Entrepreneurs have

bought houses which would enable them to maximize profits. This has meant that investment has been made in areas with comparatively low assessed value property. In concrete terms this has meant that older and more cheaply constructed houses have been converted to rental property either by converting the structure to a rental unit or by building an apartment building.

The Bailey neighborhood is surrounded by rental housing, many of the residents feel that their area is next. It is becoming harder and harder for young families to buy a house in the neighborhood since speculation had distorted the market so. With good reason then the Association is concerned with the problem of housing. The Housing and Zoning Committee members attend the appropriate City Commission meetings to find out what the city government is doing to alleviate housing problems and what variances are being considered. In open hearings and in casual discussions with Council members and Commissioners they voice the position of the Association.

When the City Council and the Planning and Housing Commissions were studying proposed changes to the zoning and housing ordinances, the committee studied the proposed changes and their possible effect on the Bailey neighborhood and presented their findings to the Association's Executive Board. The Executive Board then prepared a Newsletter explaining the proposed changes and stating the

Board's position. They evaluated each proposal on the basis

of the effect it would have on the quality of the neighbor-

hood. The Board began in part by stating:

> Together they constitute some of the most significant
> changes proposed for East Lansing housing in many
> years. It is very important that we write or phone our
> support to Council. The maximum number of roomers
> permitted in R-2 (single-family) and R-3 (duplex)
> houses may be lowered; landlords may be encouraged to
> rent to tenants without cars; and housing appeal pro-
> cedures might be tightened. City Council's proposed
> changes to the housing and zoning codes represent a
> big step forward for East Lansing . . . (Bailey Com-
> munity Association, 1975).

The Newsletter was sent by the Communication Committee to

all residents within the Bailey Community Association

boundaries urging them to attend public hearings of the

changes and to contact City Council members to express

their opinions.

The Association has done other things to make the

views of the Bailey residents known and to keep its member-

ship informed of happenings in the city. They have spon-

sored "Candidates' Night" a forum which provided interested

persons the opportunity to talk with candidates running for

the City Council about their problems and concerns. City

elections are nonpartisan but since the State Supreme Court

decision allowing college students to vote where they

attend school city elections have become very partisan.

Candidates, the media, and private individuals have

characterized the various candidates as either homeowner

candidates or student candidates increasing the animosity

between the two groups. One of the goals of the Candidates'
Night, along with the more obvious goal of allowing the
neighborhood residents to quiz the candidates on the
issues, was to stimulate dialog among the groups. In
another project the Association and the Planning Commission
have been involved in a study of the Bailey area and its
particular housing and traffic problems with the hope of
recommending solutions to these problems.

The Bailey Community Association claims a much
larger territory than that occupied by the Bailey neighbor-
hood (Figure 1). The area is bounded on the north by
Saginaw Street, on the east by Hagadorn Road, on the south
by East Grand River Avenue and on the west by Abbott Road.
The boundaries were drawn in such a way to provide a sig-
nificantly large population base which the Association
could claim to represent. The Association also wanted to
avoid excluding any interested person from outside the
Bailey neighborhood. The four streets named are major
streets and seemed like logical choices.

But membership is not evenly distributed throughout
the Association area. In March 1975 the membership secre-
tary's list showed 310 members, of these 247 or 80 percent
lived in the area bounded by Burcham Drive on the north,
Gunson Street on the east, East Grand River Avenue on the
south and Division Street on the west. In other words
80 percent of the Bailey Community Association members

reside in the Bailey neighborhood. The percentage increases
to 83 percent if that part of Charles Street above Linden
Street is included within the Bailey neighborhood.

There has been a real attempt to get the residents
above Burcham Drive to join the organization but few have
decided to do so. Most of the population above Burcham do
not feel they share similar interests with those residents
to the south. Their area has no sidewalks, they are car
oriented and they do not want students living near them-
selves. In short, the residents above Burcham Drive feel
that they and their area are different from the people and
the area below Burcham and do not feel they had any prob-
lems which require an organization such as the Bailey
Community Association.

There has also been an attempt to persuade renters
to join since, the leaders argued, they would benefit from
the Association's existence along with the rest of the
residents in the area. But very few renters have ever
joined. Of those that have joined, many have been elected
to the Executive Board. At the time of Allen's study the
renters constituted 14.3 percent of the Executive Board but
only 5.2 percent of the membership (Allen, 1975:81). In a
random survey of the residents within the Association's
boundaries, Allen found that 80.8 percent of the homeowners
had heard about the Association while only 22.4 percent of
the renters had (Allen, 1975:70). Considering from where

its membership is drawn, who these members are, and the
issues which concern them, it can be argued that the Bailey
Community Association represents the interests mainly of
the Bailey community.

The Bailey Community Association's Effect
on the Community--The Fourth Stage

The Bailey Community Association has been in exis-
tence for two years now. In that time the leaders and
members have tried to deal with the problems that concerned
them and have tried to improve the quality of life in their
neighborhood. In the process the existence of the Associ-
ation has had an effect on the neighborhood, its residents,
and on those groups outside the neighborhood which have
dealings with it.

City officials, for example, keep in touch with
the Association's leaders to let them know what is being
planned and to obtain the leaders' opinions. Sue Allen
(1975:51) writes of the Association:

> Its credibility has been increasing and it is undoubt-
> edly considered a force to be contended with in the
> city politics. It is mentioned frequently in the
> press, and recent Planning Commission minutes noted
> that the Bailey Community Association informs its
> members of proposed hearings. A City Council member
> recently sent prospective purchasers of a downtown
> commercial property to an Executive Board meeting;
> advising them to get Association clearance to avoid
> future difficulties, City Council works through the
> Association when neighborhood hearings are organized
> . . . .

The Association and its members can be partially credited with the City Council's decision recently to spend $55,000 of Community Development Funds in or near the Bailey neighborhood.

The effect of the association on the neighborhood has been just as important as its effect on the political atmosphere in the city. People feel they have support now. Before the Association was formed people did not know if they should move, make improvements in their houses, or do nothing at all. The Association has relieved them of that worry. Recently four houses, formerly rental property, have been purchased by families. One couple planning to move out of the neighborhood told their friends before they listed the house with a realtor to give them an opportunity to buy first. Of the persons the researcher spoke with there was a general sense of hope for and pride in the neighborhood. Although there are still problems to deal with, people feel satisfactory solutions are possible.

The Association has become the organization to turn to when problems do arise. If there is trouble with dogs, or noise, or snow on the sidewalks or a drainage problem people call the Association's leaders for help. This has resulted in the establishment of a set of procedures to follow in such cases. If it is a problem such as someone's dog running loose, the complaining resident must try to resolve the problem himself first. If this avenue of

approach turns out to be fruitless then an area leader or
a member of the Executive Board may help resolve the issue.
If the problem seems to occur often as in the case of a
number of large dogs running loose the Executive Board may
establish a sub-committee to study the problem and try to
suggest possible solutions such as lobbying the city govern-
ment to either enforce the laws or pass new ones.

The Association has helped crystallize the Bailey
residents' sense of community. People interviewed felt a
sense of pride in the fact that they could go to the City
Council now to present their concerns and that they would
be listened to. Although the retired persons interviewed
still expressed some concern, the Association has given
them renewed hope that they may stay in the houses they have
lived in for so long. They feel the Association has been
a good thing for the neighborhood, helping the people to
feel less alienated and less powerless. Over a thousand
people attended an "ice cream social" last summer sponsored
by the Association at the Orchard Street Pump House which
has been turned into a community center. It provided
residents an opportunity to "meet their neighbors and feel
good about the community," as one man put it. The effect
of the Bailey Community Association on the sense of com-
munity of an older gentleman was touchingly clear when
reflecting on the event he said, "I hope there will be
more of those."

The Orchard Street Pump House is the newest project
begun under the auspices of the Bailey Community Association.
The Pump House as its name indicates was originally used to
house the pumping facilities for one of the city's wells.
The structure was built in 1934 with WPA money which gives
the building historical significance. But there is some-
thing else about the building which gives it a unique
character, the building was designed architecturally to fit
in with the neighborhood. It is a one story structure of
brick construction with a front porch whose roof is sup-
ported by white pillars. The building is touched off by
wood framed windows and wood trim around the roof. With
the improvements in pumps and the movement of the water
storage facilities to Alton Street the building fell into
disuse.

In the spring of 1975, the City Manager proposed
to the Council that the city tear down the building leaving
only a small section containing the pump standing. This
bothered at least one resident of Bailey who lamenting the
fact that Americans seemed prone to destroy their heritage
persuaded the City Council to give him until September 1975
to come up with alternative uses for the building. With a
number of other interested residents, calling themselves
the Pump House Gang, he formulated a proposal which was
presented to the Council. They proposed that the building
be used as a neighborhood center for the benefit of SCAP,

the School Community Activity Program and the residents

of the neighborhood. Their proposal read in part:

> There already exists an agency in the city that
> develops and supports neighborhood programs throughout
> the city: the School Community Activity Program. Even
> a brief glance at the records of SCAP in recent years
> will reveal marked successes, of which the Recreation
> staff and commission can be proud. As a way of building
> on these successes and at the same time avoiding the
> risks of growth, we are proposing the following experi-
> ment: the development of the Pump House as a neighbor-
> hood center in the Bailey community, a center which
> would be administered partly by SCAP and partly by the
> neighborhood itself. To the extent that the center is
> used by SCAP, it would be organized under already
> existing guidelines. The inclusion of the neighbor-
> hood element is meant to insure both local involvement
> and a significant degree of flexibility and informality.
> It is extremely important that the neighbors feel that
> they can use the center with the minimum of red tape
> and involved planning. It is equally important that
> the neighbors assume part of the responsibility for
> the operation of the center. The anticipated outcomes
> of this experiment are (1) an increased sense of
> identity, cohesiveness, and pride in the neighborhood;
> (2) an amplification, with a more carefully defined
> neighborhood-volunteer element, of the School Community
> Activity Program; and (3) an enhancement of the quality
> of life in the neighborhood. It is proposed that the
> Pump House Center be established on a two-year experi-
> mental basis, the first year of its operation to be
> devoted to a broadly ranging selection of activities
> to determine which activities seem to attract the most
> participation, and the second year to develop more
> intensively those activities which proved most attrac-
> tive during the first year (Mattson, 1975:1-2).

As possible activities they suggested for the

School Community Activity Program; craft classes, consumer

classes, and other enrichment classes such as group music

lessons, discussion groups, etc. For the neighborhood

activities they suggested: (a) a nature corner; (b) a

neighborhood improvement recognition corner; (c) a crafts

corner; (d) a photo display; (e) a bike repair and

maintenance corner; (f) a retired persons' corner; (g)
rotating displays (anything deemed of interest to the
neighborhood); (h) a reading room; and (i) drop-in hours
(Mattson, 1975:4). Activities were also proposed for the
acre of land, appropriately called the Pump House Green,
on which the Pump House stood.

All of these activities are oriented toward the
goals of increasing a sense of identity, cohesiveness,
and pride in the neighborhood and enhancing the quality of
life of its residents. The Pump House, subsequently
approved by the City Council, like the Bailey Community
Association with which it is closely affiliated, help to
crystalize the residents' sense of community and underline
the common interests which they share.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSION AND REMARKS

The political-historical context within which East
Lansing has developed has left its stamp on the Bailey
neighborhood and has helped shape the residents' sense of
community. The dynamics involved in community formation
have been aptly described by Jerry Mattson (1975:1) in the
proposal for the Pump House Center:

> In East Lansing, as in most cities, a neighborhood
> is subjected to a variety of centrifugal forces; its
> inhabitants usually leave it during the day to earn
> their livelihood; it is not a political unit with a
> treasury to enable it to see to its own development;
> problems that arise in a neighborhood usually have to
> be referred to a larger unit, like the city or the
> state; activities that originate in a neighborhood, if
> they are ambitious at all, have to be funded by an
> outside source, which usually means the expansion of
> that activity to accommodate a larger constituency.
> All of these forces contribute to the disintegration
> of a neighborhood, and result in the quite common
> situation, both in large cities and small, of neighbors
> of long standing who rarely interact, who may not even
> know each other's names.
>
> Yet, cities are still made up of neighborhoods;
> people still think of their city large or small, as
> consisting of separate neighborhoods. And a get-
> together, a workday, a response to a crisis--and we
> will all point to these examples with considerable
> pride. This is an important source of identity for a
> great many people, who, for a variety of reasons, are
> not able to be active enough in the larger context,
> the city, to achieve that sense of pride in place.

For some people, in other words, the neighborhood in which they are active may well be the city as a whole; but for the vast majority of people, their neighborhood is a smaller, less tangibly defined entity. For these people, the neighborhood is the more human scale of activity, and programs organized on a neighborhood basis will have a greater degree of vitality.

What this paper has attempted to do is suggest a methodological approach to understanding the formation of community. It was argued in Chapter I that community is formed through the interactions of the residents with the wider society. The community sentiments generated are based on status differentiation, i.e., on feelings by the residents that they share a common life style as opposed to that of persons who live in the surrounding areas. It was further argued that in attempting to understand community formation communities could be seen as passing through several stages. The stages were: (1) a pre-community stage within which political and economic processes shape the neighborhood; (2) a community formation stage within which residents develop a sense of community based on their common life style; (3) a stage centering on the continuing relationship between the community and the wider society, and (4) a community organization stage within which the organized actions of the residents work to enhance the residents' sense of community.

The Bailey community was used to illustrate how one would use this approach in the field situation. Social processes were examined in terms of the four stages of

For some people, in other words, the neighborhood in which they are active may well be the city as a whole; but for the vast majority of people, their neighborhood is a smaller, less tangibly defined entity. For these people, the neighborhood is the more human scale of activity, and programs organized on a neighborhood basis will have a greater degree of vitality.

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The such external social forces, such as ular traffic, the increased demand for actions taken by the city

community formation. The first stage, concerning the historical development of the neighborhood, examined not only how the neighborhood and the city developed physically, but social processes, the development of subdivisions and the individual decisions by builders and developers, the growth of the university and the increased demand for housing, the migration of the population which affected this development, and the resulting demographic characteristics of different areas of the city. In the second stage we saw how the Bailey community has emerged through its relationship with the wider society, i.e., how residents differentiated themselves from residents in other areas in terms of the social statuses associated with these areas. Residents preferred the Bailey neighborhood for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it was a moderate income area with predominantly family oriented residents. The location in relationship to the bus lines, stores, and the university was convenient. Secondly, the residents felt the life style in their neighborhood was unique and valued it over that of persons living elsewhere. They differentiated themselves from other residents living in the higher income areas and from the student/renters living in the areas surrounding their neighborhood.

The way in which external social forces, such as the increased vehicular traffic, the increased demand for rental housing, and the actions taken by the city

government and the business and realtor interests, have
threatened to change the character of the neighborhood and
the way the Bailey residents have responded to such threats
were examined in the third stage. Two organizations were
formed to combat the threats to the neighborhood character.
The first organization, the Bailey Homeowners Association,
disappeared after the immediate crisis had passed, but the
second, the Bailey Community Association, is still active.
This organization has attempted to keep its members informed
of the actions of the City Council and the City Commissions
and has tried to represent the community's interests to
these governing bodies.

In the fourth stage, we examined how the presence
of the Association has helped to crystalize the residents'
sense of community. When residents encounter a problem
such as barking dogs or deteriorating buildings, they call
the Association's leaders for assistance. People the
researcher interviewed never spoke of the problems of the
neighborhood without also telling how the Association has
helped to alleviate them. The Pump House project to provide
a center for community activities has been recently funded.
In the future it may like the Bailey Community Association
increase the residents' sense of community and the pride
they feel for their neighborhood.

This approach to community formation proves its
worth in the case of the Bailey community. Each stage of

community formation can be illustrated. Other communities
one may choose to study have developed in their own unique
context. Thus each stage of these communities' formation
may vary in the details from that of the Bailey community.
The pre-community stage varies according to the political
and economic decisions made at the time of development and
according to the social history of the area since its
development. As time passes, structures deteriorate,
property values depreciate, populations change their com-
positions, governmental policies change, areas are rede-
veloped, each affects future residents and their ability to
develop a sense of community. At the community formation
stage, the degree to which residents feel they share a
common life style differs from one community to another.
Residents may feel a "limited liability" toward their
community, acknowledging only a common residency; they may
have a very strong sense of community, feeling they have
many things in common with their neighbors; or they may
range somewhere in-between.

The degree to which residents feel they may share a
common life style will be affected by their relationship
to the wider society. In this third stage, the relation-
ship of the residents to the wider society may vary from
one in which "the neighborhood is left undefended and open
to invasion by almost any sort of resident" (Suttles, 1972:
239) to one much like that of the Bailey residents or to

one in which the residents have achieved "community closure."
Their relationship will depend on the status ranking of the
residents and their position within the power structure of
the wider society. Residents of some communities organize
to defend their neighborhood or to promote community spirit
while others are too demoralized or lack interest to do
either. Thus, in the fourth stage, the degree to which
residents' sense of community may be enhanced through their
organizing efforts will vary with their situation vis-a-vis
the wider society.

This case study does not mark the end of research
but only one step in the development of a general theory
of community. A number of possible next steps follow from
this one. At each stage of community formation contrastive
studies could be utilized to clarify the dynamics involved
and the relationship of various groups such as governments,
realtors, developers, and other business interests to the
community as a status group and the type of community
formed. The crucial question in these studies concerns the
relationship of the communities' status and power positions
to the degree of communal feelings the residents possess.

APPENDIX A

NOTES ON METHODOLOGY AND DATA

APPENDIX A

NOTES ON METHODOLOGY AND DATA

There are four major types of data which need

further explanation. These are: (1) interviews with resi-

dents of the Bailey neighborhood; (2) maps of East Lansing;

(3) knowledge gained by the researcher through over 9 years

of living in the city, and (4) Census Tract data. I will

explain where I obtained each type of data and make any

comments that need to be made.

Interviews

Two types of interviews were conducted with residents

of the Bailey community. The first type was conducted to

obtain information from specific persons who had knowledge

about the Bailey Community Association. The interviewees

were present or past leaders of the Association. Each of

the six leaders I spoke with was asked to explain how the

Association came into being. They each explained their own

version of the Ann Street extension crisis. One leader was

asked how the Association was organized while three others

were quizzed on the effects of the Association on the

Bailey community. Each person was very willing to talk and

help me in any way possible. The present president and
the former secretary offered to let me see any documents
about the Association such as Newsletters, notes on the
Executive Board meetings, etc. which they had in their
possession. I also attended two Executive Board meetings
to familiarize myself with its operation and to verify the
information I had been given by the leaders I had inter-
viewed.

The second type of interview was conducted with
residents of the neighborhood using the interview schedule
at the end of this appendix. In all 11 interviews were
conducted with 14 residents in the person's home either in
the afternoon or in the evening. Three of these inter-
views were conducted with couples, each contributing to
answering the questions.

The snowball technique was used to obtain interviews.
I began with the names of some of the leaders of the
Association and with the names of a few acquaintances of a
member of my Master's committee. With each person I inter-
viewed I asked for the names of other individuals in the
neighborhood who I might talk with also. Each person would
give me several names of next door neighbors, friends, or
individuals they felt I should speak with either because
the opinions would differ from their own or because they
would express opinions which would be helpful to my endeavors.
From the list of names given me, I would select those persons

I wanted to interview. The criteria for selecting these individuals were a combination of (1) the age group I thought the potential interviewee to be in and the interviewee's sex since I wanted to balance the interviews among males and females within three age groups, under 40, 40 to 60, and over 60; (2) the part of the neighborhood the potential interviewee lived in since I wanted to interview people living in all parts of the neighborhood; and (3) whether the potential interviewee was at home or not.

The first two criteria were used to obtain some semblance of a representative sample of the adult population and the part of the neighborhood in which they lived. The importance of the two criteria follow from the theory I have presented. A person's sense of community is developed in a particular social-historical context, therefore, the person's age, sex, and geographic location will be reflected in his opinions. That is to say, the opinions of persons concerning their neighborhood, what they like about it and what they do not like varies with respect to their geographic location in the neighborhood, their closeness to areas which differ from there own and with respect to their age and family stage and sex, the extent to which they are involved with the happenings in the neighborhood and the extent to which they are affected by the changes in the neighborhood.

As it turns out only a few questions yielded useful information. The most useful were (1) what do you like about the Bailey neighborhood; (2) does this neighborhood have any problems; and (3) do you belong to the Bailey Community Association, why or why not. In answering the first question, people usually contrasted their neighborhood and what they liked about it with other neighborhoods in East Lansing. The second question tapped peoples' concerns about their neighborhood and led them into the third question. The answers to the third question shed light on the effect the Association had had on the person's sense on community. The question about the neighborhood boundaries did help to clarify where people felt their neighborhood boundaries were and how they varied from person to person. Also the specificity with which people answered the questions varied with respect to age and sex with males 40 to 60 being least specific and under 40 females and persons of both sexes over 60 being most specific. The other questions asked yielded similar information obtained with the three questions referred to above or were unanswerable due to lack of knowledge by the interviewee. As it was the answers to the questions by the interviewees yielded little new knowledge after the tenth or eleventh interview hence the termination of the interviewing after the eleventh.

Maps

Zoning maps were obtained from the City Planning Department. They have a large amount of information on the city and its development and are very willing to help if one knows what one is looking for. As can be seen from the zoning maps (Figures 2 through 5) the types of zoning districts have changed over the years. Scott Radway, the present head of the Planning Department explained that land use planning had started out at a very simple level but that over the years planning became more sophisticated. This sophistication is reflected in the increasing number of zones to differentiate between land uses. At the present time there are two single family zones differing only in the size of the lots required, a duplex zone, a multiple density zone, two business zones, an agricultural zone, a community or public zone, a university zone, and a number of zones for various kinds of planned housing developments. But for our purposes we are interested in the combined single family zones, the combined business zones, the duplex zone and the multiple density zone. Thus Figures 2 through 5 have been labeled accordingly.

The plat boundaries (subdivisions shown in Figure 1) were obtained from the City Engineering Department. They have records on all land which had been platted in East Lansing including who owned the land and when it was platted. These are original copies of the county clerk's

records. I have also run across a number of other maps of East Lansing. The Michigan State University Library has a few maps of Ingham County for 1874 and 1895. The location of farms, the names of the owners and even the location of the farm houses can be obtained from the maps.

There are also a number of maps of East Lansing available in the Michigan State University Library as part of theses and dissertations done to fulfill degree requirements. This is where Charles Ipcar's maps were obtained. At one time, I do not know if it is still done today, the College of Engineering required a senior project. Some students selected projects which concerned certain engineering problems in the city of East Lansing such as the surveying of a proposed addition to the city, an assessment of its fire protection capabilities as reflected in the ready supply of water, the redesign of the city's sewer system, the investigation of the city water supply and the analysis of the stresses on the city's water tower. Many of these theses contain maps of the city at the time the theses were written variously showing streets, lot lines, sewer lines and waterlines. The maps and the theses are useful for gaining a sense of how the city developed physically and indirectly of the social processes which were evolving.

Personal Knowledge of the Researcher

Much of my sense of the Bailey community and
neighborhood, the community's problems and the social-
historical context in which the community exists has been
gained from my experiences as a resident of the city and
as an active participant in the social-historical processes.
Participation has included reading about issues and events
in the local newspapers, attending City Council meetings
where issues were discussed by various residents of the
city, and being a member of the Housing Commission from
September 1974 to June 1975 during which time I gained first
hand knowledge of the opinions of the city's residents.
Being a renter, I am well aware of the problems associated
with rental housing and have tried to understand the pro-
cesses behind the rental housing situation and the people
involved for my own sake.

Census Tract Data

A word of caution is needed concerning the Census
data. Tract boundaries are set by the United States
government to delineate areas which are similar in regards
to a set of criteria which the Census Bureau finds signifi-
cantly informative for its needs. These boundaries need
not coincide with the boundaries of a community and in the
case of the Bailey community they do not. In this case the
community crosses over the boundaries (Figure 1) but most

of the community lies within one particular Tract. One can
assume that data for tract 39.02 characterizes the Bailey
community also.

There is one other word of caution. By 1970,
Tract 39 had been split into two Tracts, 39.01 and 39.02,
as Figure 1 indicates, due to the development of White
Hills, a rather exclusive subdivision. This makes it rather
more difficult to trace the developments and changes in the
measured characteristics of a Tract, consequently the
tables include the statistics for both Tracts 39.01 and
39.02 separately and as a weighed average. Tracts 44,
44.01, and 44.02 have been excluded from the tables because
the large amount of university married housing in the
Tracts distorts the statistics. Tracts 42 and 44.03 have
also been excluded from the tables because these Tracts
are on campus.

Block data is only available for 1970. The blocks
included in the tables in the "Bailey blocks" are only
those blocks in Tract 39.02 which are below Burcham Drive.
Neither Tract data nor Block data is being used in this
case to give an accurate description of the Bailey neigh-
borhood and community but to point to the development of
the city and how in its development residents and the
Tracts they reside in exhibit different characteristics.

(1) How long have you lived in this house? _____ years

(2) Where was the last place you lived before you moved here? _____

(3) Why did you move?

(4) Why did you choose this neighborhood (area) of East Lansing to move to?

(5) Do you have much to do with people in this neighborhood? In what way? Yes ____ No ____

(6) Generally speaking, how do you feel about living in this neighborhood? _____

(7) What do you like about it?

(8) What don't you like about it?

(9) What do you think are the special characteristics of the neighborhood as a community?

(10) OT--Has the sense of community changed while you have been living here? How?   Yes _____ No _____

(11) NC--What was your image of the community before you moved here?

After living here for a while, do you find this true? Why not?   Yes _____ No _____

(12) How would you compare this area with others in East Lansing?

(13) Does this neighborhood have any problems? Yes _____ No _____

(14) Is there any means to deal with these problems?
What are they? Yes _____ No _____

(15) Do you belong to the Bailey Community Association?
Why or why not? Yes _____ No _____

(16) What do you see as the purpose of the Bailey Community
Association?

(17) Do you know what the Bailey Community Association has
been involved in?

(18) What is your opinion concerning these things the
Association has been involved in?

(19) Do you think it should be involved in other things
besides these? What other things? Yes _____ No _____

(20) Do you think renters should belong to the Bailey
Community Association? Why or why not?

Yes _____ No _____

(21) What do you think about residents near McDonald
Middle School wanting to join the BCA?

(22) Does this area have a name? _____

(23) Do other areas of East Lansing have names?

(1) _____   (5) _____

(2) _____   (6) _____

(3) _____   (7) _____

(4) _____   (8) _____

(24) Could you draw on this map what you picture the
boundaries of your neighborhood to be?

Yes _____ No _____

(25) Could you draw on this map what you consider the
boundaries of other neighborhoods to be?

Yes _____ No _____

Do you know anybody else I could contact to learn more about
residents' feelings about Bailey?

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

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