This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

How is Z Community? The Phenomenology of Community

presented by

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has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Sociology

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Date April 28, 1978

HOW IS Z A COMMUNITY? THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF COMMUNITY

By

Linda Stoneall

A DISSERTATION

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology

1978

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ABSTRACT

HOW IS Z A COMMUNITY? THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF COMMUNITY

By

Linda Stoneall

This dissertation combines a delineation of major paradigmatic elements of the concept of community with a case study of a specific community, Z.

The concept of community is clarified by examination of the elements of the concept of community according to the perspective of four major sociological theories: functionalism, human ecology, conflict, and phenomenology. These elements include metaphor, key sub-concepts, the genesis of community, the location of community, the dynamics of community, and the methodology. It is argued that phenomenology is most appropriate for studying the particular setting, Z.

The setting Z, which was examined through participant observation which included interviews, observation, collection of life histories, and maps gathered over a period of twelve months residence, is presented ethnographically in terms of the demography, history, physical setting, and characteristic of core families in Z. The setting proves to be lacking in consistent boundaries, local institutions, and centralization. Z seems to be a limiting case of functionalism, human ecology, and conflict theories because they seem unable to account for the fact that Z is considered a community even though the requisites specified by these theories are not present.

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Linda Stoneall

Z is analyzed phenomenologically in terms of perceptions and situations. In Z community is viewed in terms of senses of community. Community is not a monolithic whole, but is perceived differently by various people. Specifically, there is a sexual division in senses of community. Also, senses of community go in and out of existence according to situations of opposing, helping, and sociability which temporarily unite people under the label of community. It is hypothesized that perceptions and situations which were more visible in Z, are also important processes in other communities.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For this dissertation I am greatly indebted to the people of Z whose openness, cooperation, and concern for me and this project not only made this study possible, but also made it very enjoyable. I especially thank: the Bellands, L. Briel, J. Bouvier, the Cornues, the Dantumas, A. Erikson, the Gethans, L. Happ, G. Hardwick, S. Hatch, the Haydens (especially Kay), the Johnsens (especially Frieda), the Krebs, J. Kromwall, the Laudenbecks, the Lottigs, the Masseys, C. Martin, L. Mergener, the Merwins, I. Miller, the Nichols, the Palmers, the Pankonins, F. Patten, the Polyocks, the Porters, the Schwabes, the Snuddens, the Smiths, the Speckmans, the Tibbits, the Wahlsteadts, the Walshes, the Wissells, N. Wilson, and the Yorks.

Of the Z residents, those who helped me the most include my parents, Rex and Madge Stoneall. My father's care and continuance of "the farm" have provided a legacy to me, as well as credentials for being a long-term Z resident. My mother's outgoing friendliness made it possible for me to know many people in Z.

Many people at Michigan State University contributed to my professional growth and making this dissertation possible. Above all is Peter Manning. In addition to his published works, his suggestions, criticisms, and assistance as my dissertation advisor throughout the course of study have been invaluable. Not only is he a great role model, but also his concern has helped me in many ways.

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Barrie Thorne and Bo Anderson, in addition to Peter Manning, taught me to appreciate the complexities of everyday life and nurtured my interest in phenomenology. Barrie Thorne especially helped develop my awareness of the importance of feminist dimensions in the study of society. I have learned about teaching as well as about communities by working with Marilyn Aronoff and Elianne Riska. I appreciate their helpful comments on the dissertation. Finally, I would like to thank Fred Waisenan for helping me secure an NIMH Traineeship which partially financed the fieldwork.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is an investigation of how senses of community exist when few remnants of the phenomena labelled as "structure" by functionalists and human ecologists remain. A phenomenological approach is utilized to delineate the mechanisms by which the individual residents construct and maintain personal senses of community. Thus senses of community are continually reconstructed in particular situations by the members involved rather than by institutional and ecological macro-structuring.

What does the concept "community" mean? Sociologists continue to have difficulty defining community and, despite the importance of community studies, a number of potentially relevant theoretical issues have not been adequately addressed. Specifically, how is it possible that senses of community can be sustained by individuals if the material bases for the community are minimal? What are the experiential or phenomenological components of community that exist even in the absence of geographical or institutional boundaries? A working definition of community as a process which is invoked in particular situations and leads to certain emotional definitions about a particular place will be defended as the most powerful in explaining the setting of interest, here called Z.

Z is lacking many attributes of communities discussed in the

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literature, such as integrated local institutions (though voluntary organizations remain strong community institutions in Z), consistent boundaries, and a centralized political unit. People who consider themselves part of the Z community may live on either side of a state line, have several different mailing addresses, and be serviced by different telephone exchanges. The center, a village, meets very few of the educational, service, or marketing needs of the residents. Thus the setting of Z raises many issues about the community process not previously considered and facilitated the discovery of perceptions and situations as important elements of community. These elements are hypothesized to be active in other communities.

In order to explain Z as a community, an extensive review of the literature on communities was undertaken only to reveal the conceptual ambiguity and the difficulty in defining community. In order to clarify the concept of community, sub-categories of the concept were developed and organized under four major sociological theories: functionalism, human ecology, conflict, and phenomenology. These theories are presented in Chapter II. It is argued that the phenomenological approach is most appropriate to the setting and incorporates aspects of community that have been previously overlooked.

The argument of Chapter III is that field methods were most appropriate for examining the phenomenology of community. In order to understand and analyze how people perceive the community and build meanings of community in interactions, it was necessary to know the people directly and have first-hand experience in the community itself. In Chapter IV, the temporal and spatial dimensions of Z are discussed through an examination of physical, demographic and historical

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data. Chapter V focuses on participatory and historical characteristics that are used to differentiate between the core families and outsiders and marginals. The characteristics examined in Chapter V are further developed in Chapter VI which examines individuals' perceptions and experience of the Z community. The cognitive processes revealed in the way people draw maps of Z, the way they shop, and the way they talk about Z are analyzed. Finally, the situational dimensions are discussed using the concepts of opposing, helping, and sociability, the major behavioral situations in which community is activated.

To reiterate, the goal of this dissertation is to theoretically clarify and empirically examine phenomenological components of community. The major argument is that individual residents have different senses of community which have been influenced by history, territory, and community institutions. In addition, the Z community is a series of dramas played out in certain situations (namely, helping, opposing, and sociability) which residents label as symbolic of community. The thesis analyzes how perceptions and situations are relevant to the creation and maintenance of community.

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CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY

This chapter shows the advantages of using a social constructionist perspective to analyze Z in light of criticisms and inadequacies of a structural-functional approach, an ecological approach such as the Chicago school, and conflict approaches. These approaches are called "paradigms" as analogous to the original sense of that word which is a grammatical model comparing verb and noun forms across different types of conjugations and declensions. Thus each theory of community has a different analogy, emphasizes different concepts, sees the genesis, location and process of community differently and employs divergent methodology for analysis just as Latin noun forms have different case endings. The utility of the paradigms is heuristic--to reveal conceptual dimensions of community which are less evident in collecting lists of definitions (e.g. Hillery, 1955). Four paradigms and their boundaries are arbitrarily considered. For example, the participant observations studies by the Chicago school are excluded from human ecology, and radical and conservative approaches are combined in the conflict section. In reality, community studies are not such clear-cut divisions, but the divisions are emphasized here to bring out salient dimensions of the concept of community for different paradigms. This allows a clarification of the concept so that it may be seen which elements are relevant to a particular setting.

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As a means of reviewing the literature, four paradigms of community are presented in Table 1-1 to make salient their particular elements and emphases of research. Each paradigm has a number of elements for dealing with community. These include metaphor, concepts, genesis of community, the location of community, the process of community, and methodology. These provide separate frameworks that guide the investigation of community.*

Functionalism

First the functionalist approach to community will be discussed by relating the parts as delineated in the paradigm, Table 1-1 and by presenting criticisms of this approach. In subsequent sections on other theories, functionalism will be compared to human ecology, conflict, and social constructionist approaches. Functionalism has dominated sociology (for example, Parsons, 1951; Merton, 1968) and so it is not surprising that most community studies are functionalist. Many community studies are not explicit about theory; concepts and definitions are assumed rather than overtly discussed. On the other hand are text books and theories of community (for example, Bernard, 1973; Bell and Newby, 1971; Stein, 1964; Warren, 1966) relating several community studies. The majority of both of these use a functionalist approach and organize the data on the community around the institutions and ranking systems of a particular community. Structural-functionalism was originally used by anthropologists for studying small, isolated communities of tribes or peasants. This perspective was brought to

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*This approach of organizing themes of research into conceptual frameworks has been inspired by Nanette Davis' work on deviance (1975).

Table 2.1 Major Paradigmatic Elements of Theoretical Schools in Community Analysis

Table 2.1 Major Paradigmatic Elements of Theoretical Schools in Community Analysis

	Functionalism	Human Ecology	Conflict	Social Constructionist
I. Metaphors	Organismic: necessary for survival; maintenance of system	Plant and animal communities; response to physical symbiosis	Economic: a resource maintenance unit	Building, creating, made by people; drama
II. Concepts				
A) Values and normative structure	Over-arching and agreed upon, united community; ends and means	A response to environment; diverse. Shared because of common residence	Central, conflicting ideology	Constantly negotiated in face to face interactions; values as choice points within a given range
B) Boundaries	Determined by values; "boundary maintenance"	Physical	Political	Perceived; may change with situation
C) Institutions	Necessarily integrated for preservation of community	Accomodated to spatial relationships of human beings	Hierarchy; economic and political	Significance created in particular situations "reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors"
D) Ranking System	Necessary to have reward system to maintain community	Achieved by competition among groups	Central in classes, institutions and power	How people place themselves; identify; perceptions of different ranking systems

Table 2.1 (Continued)

	Functionalism	Human Ecology	Conflict	Social Constructionist

Table 2.1 (Continued)

	Functionalism	Human Ecology	Conflict	Social Constructionist
E) Situation	- - - -	- - - -	Decision-making; relations of production	Circumstances of particular time, place, persons
F) Territory	"A place"	Determines social structure	Area to be controlled; allocation of resources	Perceived and used in construction of community
G) History	Evolution	Cycles	A determining force	Reconstruction of meaning by actors; having been present
H) Interactions	Role patterns that contribute to the functioning of the community	- - - -	Powerful/powerless; between classes; conflict	Communication and validation of created community
III. Genesis of Community	Normative structure; order, continuity	Demography plus group process	Formation of political entity	Individual's situations and interactions
IV. Location of Community	In insitutions as roles, norms, values	Physical territory (usually urban)	Infrastructure	Cognitive mapping; peoples' perceptions; a state of mind about the physical location; everyday life.

Table 2.1 (Continued)

	Functionalism	Human Ecology	Conflict	Social Constructionist

Table 2.1 (Continued)

	Functionalism	Human Ecology	Conflict	Social Constructionist
V. Process/Dynamics of Community	Toward equilibrium	Cycles of competition, succession, accomodation	Thesis, antithesis, synthesis; change	Individual cognition, defining, typifying, conversing (opposing socialization, helping)
VI. Methodology	List values; demonstrate institutions go together	Determine zones of city and population characteristics within each	Historical documents, reconstruction of macro conflicts. Data: income, housing, class composition	Reconstruct participants' typifications and enactment of community

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United States communities by the Lynds (1929, 1937), Warner (1941), West (1945), and others.

The work of a functionalist may be defined as relating the parts to the whole with the theoretical orientation that "all major social patterns operate to maintain the integration or adaptation of the larger social system" (Cancian, 1968: 29). For example, Warner defines a community as a "working whole in which each part had definite functions which had to be performed or substitutes acquired if the whole society were to maintain itself" (1941: 12).

Metaphor. Metaphors are symbolic summaries of the image a social scientist has in mind when thinking about community. The analogy with which functionalists envision a community is that of a living organism. The parts of a community are different just as the liver and heart are different, yet they interact to keep the organism alive; so the institutions of a community are integrated to maintain the community and keep it alive with special sustaining, distributive, and regulating systems. The biological metaphor is also taken from Darwinism in seeing societies evolve and grow toward greater differentiation and adaptation. Sorokin (1928) analyzes bio-organismic theories in sociology and summarizes Spencer in the following way:

> He indicates that the social and the biological organisms are similar in the following important respects: both have phenomena of growth; in the process of growth both exhibit differentiation in structure and functions; in both there exists an interdependence of their parts; both are composed of units (cells and individuals); destruction of an organism or of a society does not always mean the destruction of the units of which they are composed; both have a special sustaining (alimentary) system, a special distributive system (vascular and circulatory system in an organism and arteries of commerce in a society) and a special regulating system (nervous system in an organism and governmental systems in a society) (1928: 202).

Concepts. Values and normative structures, institutions and ranking systems are the most important concepts for a structural-functionalist who studies communities. A functionalist sees a community as goal-oriented toward the values of a society which are reached by means of the normative structure. Values are conceptions of the desireable and criteria for judgment, action, and choice, whereas norms are rules of conduct. Values are more general than norms and not as dependent on specific situations. Values, as standards for establishing what should be regarded as desireable, provide the grounds for accepting or rejecting norms (R. Williams, 1968: 283). The values are over-arching and hold people together in a community. For example, in Middletown, the main value is making money and people do this through jobs, the norm.

Institutions are sub-parts of a society which function to meet collective needs. The parts of a community, which are generally institutions such as governmental, economic, religious, educational, occupational, are integrated, the parts fit together. Institutions are defined by Hughes in two different ways:

> The term may be applied to features of particular societies which have outlasted many biological generations and have survived many catastrophes and changes, as to the festivals of the turning of the seasons, known to us as Easter and Christmas. Institutions thus last and last and outlast. On the other hand, institutions may be considered as universal and timeless, springing up wherever humans live in communities: kinship and marriage, control over production and distribution of goods and services, performance of sacred rites, regulation of conflict, provision of sanctions for the breaking of rules, and assignment of persons by sex, age, or other characteristics to categories which define duties and privileges toward others. Institutions in this sense, since they spring up anew in various forms, are generic rather than historical (1969: 125).

Functionalists consider both these kinds of definitions for institutions

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in a community--as patterns which last beyond particular individuals and as normative agencies to meet group needs. Hughes points out that sociologists are more interested in how institutions are established and maintained than in how they are defined. The Lynds (1924) drawing on social anthropology set the pattern for studying communities in terms of institutions by organizing their material under: getting a living, making a home, training the young, using leisure, engaging in religious practices, and enjoying in community activities.

Functionalists (e.g. Davis and Moore, 1945) see ranking systems as necessary since they are found in all societies. According to the functionalist perspective, ranking systems provide rewards of prestige, income, education, and other values of society to recruit and maintain people in the jobs that are most necessary for society. They assume social inequality is universal and necessary and that because of a problem of motivating people to important tasks, reward systems are established. Warner's main project was to delineate the different ranks in Yankee City as determined by what people have and how others value them. Values and norms, institutions and ranking systems are all directed toward the survival of the community, preventing it from "dying."

History is seen in terms of evolution, adjustment and adaptation of the organism as the community moves toward some modern, more complex end. Like a living organism, a community may grow and exhibit differentiation in structure and function. Many theories of community discuss implications of these changes as losses of intimate, communal ties (e.g. Stein, 1964; Redfield, 1941).

The organism analogy also implies a membrane, holding the organs in and therefore some kind of boundary, generally determined by the

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values for a community. Boundary maintenance expresses the autonomy of a system.

> The definition of a system as boundary-maintaining is a way of saying that, relative to its environment, that is to fluctuations in the factors of the environment, it maintains certain constancies of pattern, whether this constancy be static or moving . . . From a certain point of view these processes are to be defined as the processes of maintenance of the constant patterns (Parsons, 1951: 482).

Deviance functions in providing the bounds of normality. In fact, boundary is rarely mentioned and the communities are studied within the legal city limits (as in Yankee City, Middletown, and Elmstown).

Interactions, although not centrally important to a functionalist, may be seen as patterns organized into roles that in turn contribute to the continuance of the group. Any idea of territoriality is minimal for functionalists; a place or location is assumed and no reference is made to the situational aspects of interaction.

Genesis. Functionalists are not much concerned with the origins of communities, though the community itself may be seen as residing in the abstractions of the normative structure and in institutions as roles, norms, and values, the location.

Process. Though functionalism is primarily a static approach, it considers the process of a community as toward equilibrium. The community is a self-regulating, feedback system that brings deviants back in toward homeostasis.

Methodology. Sociologists of a functionalist perspective have studied communities by living in the community for an extended time; they participate in events and talk to people, with the end of collecting as much data as possible. Warner's team even stopped people passing through to get their impressions. Dean describes her methods

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for comparing five communities:

> Much of our method was anthropological. That is, we spent as much time as we could just wandering about, soaking up the community atmosphere. We stayed in the principal hotel if there was one, read the local papers regularly, collected documents from the Chamber of Commerce and drank in the hotel lounge (1967: 21).

Warner ignores any written documents--histories, diaries, periodicals, statistical records--of Yankee City, but others who have studied other communities, use such materials, as for example, the Lynds did. The data are gathered with the end of understanding the whole of the community which is described in terms of its units, that is, institutions, and how these are integrated. The unstated purpose is usually to demonstrate social order and unity.

> For the most part, functionalists' work depends largely on the ability of the observer to consider functions performed by partial structures, correlations, integrations, and so on . . . Social phenomena are viewed as if they are unfolding toward the achievement of definite ends (Davis, 1975: 91).

The functionalist, then, in presenting the data on community, abstracts from it in order to give a picture of unified parts.

Criticisms of Functionalism

Functionalism may be criticized from a number of points--its tautological reasoning, methodological problems, taking the organismic analogy too seriously, considering communities as isolated and yet representative of the entire society, failing to consider change, and failing to show how the community is socially constructed.

First, functionalist reasoning is tautological; that is, saying parts of the community are necessary for its existence and proving it by the fact that the community is still existing, is circular: community → integrated institutions → community. It is a vacuous explanation.

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Functionalism contains implicit assumptions of what is needed for survival without being definitive about what is necessary. A functionalist would have to list all the substitution possibilities and the conditions that could fulfill any particular function. It is also difficult to list all the values of a society which are rarely entirely agreed-upon.

Functionalism has been cirticized for taking the organismic analogy too seriously, for example, by Sorokin:

> If we take off these analogies and the identification of society with an organism from these theories, there remains very little in them. Their originality and specific nature disappear; and through that, disappears the school itself (1928: 208).

The analogy becomes problematic at times in deciding where one community ends and another begins, or how a community ~~is~~ be be judged "sick" or "dying."

The functionalist assumption of communities as isolated and autonomous does not usually hold, as Vidich and Bensman have demonstrated:

> Since the work of Vidich and Bensman it has been increasingly impossible to conceptualize communities as 'isolates,' for they showed that it was only possible to make sociological sense of what was going on in Springdale by viewing the community within the framework of large-scale bureaucratic mass society rather than as the polar opposite of urban society (Bell and Newby, 1971: 116).

Warren also distinguishes the vertical axes of community which relate such community institutions as the Catholic church, YMCA, and other similar organizations to national or international controls (1966). On the other hand, communities are sometimes assumed to be representative of the entire American society when in fact, no sampling procedure was utilized, but rather, convenience of the place to the

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researcher determined the choice of a study site. Warner is especially guilty of this and once claimed "all America is Jonesville." This relates to further problems of methodology.

The field work technique for community studies is faulted (for example, by Bell and Newby, 1971; and Effrat, 1973) for being noncumulative and unscientific because it is dependent on the researcher's personality and lacks replicability.

> In field research, much of the material gathered is impressionistic, difficult to quantify, and subject to filtering by the researcher's own predilections before the perceived data are recorded; different researchers also organize their material differently, focus on different issues, etc. Moreover, each researcher's personality, sex, ethnicity, social class, etc., give that person more access to some segments of the population than to others, and make some pieces of information or some interpretations seem more believable to him or her than others (Effrat, 1973: 13).

Another aspect related to the methodology are the imprecise definitions and the assumption of community. The functional definitions are loose so that almost anything could be defined as maintaining the system. For example, Mills criticizes Warner's definition of class: "Warner's insistence upon merely one vertical dimension led to the consequent absorbing of three analytically separable dimensions into one sponge word, 'class'" (1963: 41). This leaves many confusions and inadequacies in Warner's analysis of community. Effrat points out that community is often pre-defined rather than being subject to empirical investigation:

> By not leaving "communityness" itself completely open to investigation, researchers make it difficult to ever completely characterize the fundamental components of a community, and hence to clearly tell a community from a noncommunity, other than on the basis of size (1974: 14).

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Another criticism is that functionalism does not adequately deal with change. Change is seen as something wrong with the system which must be brought back into line. Functionalists ignore contradictions and conflicts. As such, functionalism has a conservative bias, tending to support the status quo.

Finally, the functionalist approach to community fails to consider how consensus on values and norms is negotiated and how institutions and senses of community are constructed in the symbols and actions of everyday life.

> Systems goals are conceived of as unitary processes, but generalizations about goals in an abstract, post hoc fashion ignore the process by which specific organizational goals are created, struggled over, and negotiated (Davis, 1975: 91).

The anthropologist Buraway in a recent book review points out that "for Parsons, value consensus is somehow given and primordial" (1977: 16). In considering a macro-level integration, the functionalist approach is holistic and abstract, and often lacks grounding in concrete situations. It does not say much about ordinary people in everyday life where few interactions are based on internalized norms.

> While most critics agree that internalization of the sort envisioned by structural theorists does occur, they also note that relatively little routine interaction appears to be guided by deeply internalized norm sets . . . The vast bulk of everyday life is experienced as open and negotiable (Stokes and Hewitt, 1976: 840).

Functionalism does not deal with openness and negotiability in community and ignores the common individual.

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Application to Z

One of the characteristics of Z is its disintegration and loss of local institutions. While it was once a commercial center that bought and sold to the people of the community, it also provided educational, religious, and recreational facilities, all of which have decreased. A single governmental and political unit is lacking, children go to several different school districts and this year the church has decided to relocate. More and more people are going elsewhere for jobs, as fewer people work a greater proportion of the land. To do a community study like Middletown or Yankee City is impossible in Z because such a community does not exist there. To use an approach which shows an integration of institutions is not appropriate in a setting lacking in local institutions. This lack of application to Z, coupled with the other criticisms of functionalism lead to my rejection of this approach as a major orienting device for understanding Z. However, certain points do seem valid as all societies do have ranking systems and have institutionalized patterns of behavior. Hence, the concept of institutions as drawn from functionalism will be used in considering certain strong institutions in Z--marriage, family, and voluntary associations--but the emphasis will be on the social construction of community since this process is more visible due to the lack of formal structures of community such as those functionalists consider (governmental, educational, economic, commercial). It is hypothesized that social construction processes are present also in places like Yankee City and Middletown.

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Human Ecology

Human ecology is the study of the adaptation of human groups to their environment (Hawley, 1950). McKenzie defines human ecology with slightly different words: "the spatial and temporal relations of human beings, affected by the selective, distributive and accomodative forces of the environment" (1924: 63), while Loomis says ecology is the "specification of the space dimensions of pluralities" (1967: 657). These definitions share seeing humans as populations organized and related to other human beings spatially and environmentally. Human ecologists are primarily concerned with the effect of time and space on human aggregates. They view the environment as the primary determinator of human behavior and of the nature of groupings. This approach to human communities emerged at the University of Chicago during 1910 to 1920 with the attempt to explore the urban settlements and communities which developed in a period of rapid industrialization. The traditional human ecology school is perhaps best represented by Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, Roderick McKenzie, and Harvey Zorbaugh who in their research explored the spatial structure of the city. The concept of the "natural area" (Park, Zorbaugh) as the basis for community in a territorial sense was also the underlying assumption for the human ecologists' view of the community in a moral sense. In the latter sense the community was seen as based on primordial solidarity; that is, the existence of ties among "natural" categories based on such characteristics as race and ethnicity.

In the following discussion, some of the central concepts in human ecology will be examined by delineating the elements of the paradigm found in Table 1.1 and comparing the human ecology approach

with functionalism.

Metaphor. Like functionalists, the metaphor for human ecologists is biological, but instead of comparing the community with a single organism, the analogy is with a group of organisms, plants and animals in an ecological system. Park calls the analogy "the web of life in which all living organisms, plants and animals alike, are bound together in a vast system of interlinked and interdependent lives" (1952: 145). Park defines community as having the following dimensions:

> a collection of people occupying a more or less clearly defined area . . . the community will always have a center and a circumference, defining the position of each single community to every other. Within the area so defined, the local populations and the local institutions will tend to group themselves in some characteristic pattern, dependent upon geography, lines of communication, and land values (1952: 66).

A human community is viewed as a natural phenomenon in a changing urban landscape. Park speaks of areas of population segregation in cities as "natural areas" such as slums, ghettoes, ethnic neighborhoods. They are natural because they are spontaneous and unplanned with a natural history of growth and decay. This aspect of the metaphor is identical to the organismic analogy of functionalism (1952: 79).

Concepts. Actually the main concepts and contribution of the human ecology school is in the processes of competition, invasion, succession; human ecologists show that community is not a static entity, but ever-changing with new populations. These will be discussed under the process section. As Table 1.1 indicates the main concepts for ecologists are territory and boundaries, physical outlines that are either natural or human-made. Whereas boundaries are determined

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by values for functionalists, for ecologists physical boundaries such as lakes, railroads, manufacturing plants and other land use are important. Somewhat closer to the functionalist view, is the notion that the dominant area of the city, the central business district, determines the spatial arrangements of the surrounding areas (Hawley, 1968: 334). Thus, the physical attributes (such as land, space use, distribution of different types of people), determine the community, although some ecologists with a functionalist affinity such as Hawley see less concrete boundaries as a result of dominant influence.

> Within a "community," such as the city, physical factors serve to attract or to repel populations and utilities, to condition and partly to determine land values, and to impede or to facilitate movements of the various elements, thus influencing their disposition and their relationship to each other. In this way they make up the framework, the pattern, of the city (Alihan, 1938: 55).

The territory, the physical-spatial aspect of community, is central to ecologists because it is the territorial basis for an emerging social structure. Ecologists are less abstract than functionalists in that the former explicitly take into account the concrete spatial aspects of community. People are studied in aggregate units within the physical, spatial entity and population and demographic data are supporting evidence for the theory. Typical ecologists present maps of urban areas in order to relate types of social behavior in neighborhoods to a specific ecology. For example, Cavan (1928), Reckless (1926) and Dunham (1937) show distribution rates of such things as suicide, crime, and psychoses in different parts of Chicago. Another example is Burgess's concentric circle theory of Chicago which described the "zone in transition" as the slum because of its close position to the center of the city.

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Burgess's contribution to human ecology is the delineation of the structure of cities which he conceived in concentric circles. Each of these circles contain "natural areas" which are repatterned with each succeeding wave of growth.

> Every community as it grows expands outward from its center. This radical extension from the downtown business district toward the outskirts of the city is due partly to business and industrial pressure and partly to residential pull. Business and light manufacturing, as they develop, push out from the center of the city and encroach upon residence. At the same time, families are always responding to the appeal of more attractive residential districts, further and even further removed from the center of the city (Burgess, 1925: 50).

Burgess distinguishes five distinct zones: central business district, area of transition, workingmen's homes, residential, and commuter zones. "They (zones) are assumed to have centers and rims and the boundaries which frame them are either physical and geographical factors or land values" (Alihan, 1938: 145). Chicago school ethnographers have concentrated on the zone in transition by studying, for example, hobos (Anderson, 1923), ghettos (Wirth, 1928) and the taxi dance hall (Cressey, 1932).

Although the concepts <u>institutions</u> and <u>values</u> are not as emphasized by human ecologists as they are among functionalists, there is some consideration of these. Some degree of consensus in values is assumed to exist, although this is because of shared residential territory and a common response to the environment. Similarly, institutions are accomodations to spatial relationships of human beings.

> Every social movement may be described as a potential institution. And every institution may in turn be described as a movement that was once active and eruptive, like a volcano, but has since settled down to something like routine activity. It has, to change the metaphor, defined its aims, found its place, and function in the social complex, achieved an organization, and, presumably, provided itself with a corps of functionaries

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> to carry on its program. It becomes an institution finally when the community and the public it seeks to serve accept it, know what to expect of it, and adjust to it as a going concern. An institution may be regarded as financially established when the community and the public in which and for which it exists claim as a right the services to which they have become accustomed (Park, 1952: 245).

Definitions of institutions and values by human ecologists are virtually non-existant. However, the discussion quoted from Park above illustrates the process orientation; human ecologists consider institutions and values as changing with the different waves of invasion and succession. Park does suggest institutions are necessary to community; the reason why there is no sense of community in the zone in transition is because there are no local institutions.

Ranking systems invoke the human ecologists' concept of dominance. Ranking systems refer to one's location in the city with the dominant or fittest group obtaining the best position. Instead of seeing ranking systems abstractly as reward systems necessary for the system, ecologists such as Park see them as a result of competition of aggregates. Different parts of a city or community are more or less desireable and through competition, certain groups get the more desireable parts. These groups are called dominant. The process is taken from an analogy with the survival of the fittest from Darwinian evolution which suggests a process of ferreting out and ranking with the dominant species analogous to the dominant class or group in social terms.

> Thus the principle of dominance, operating within the limits imposed by the terrain and other natural features of the location, tends to determine the general ecological patterns of the city and the functional relation of each of the different areas of the city to all others (Park, 1952: 152).

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it is able to control and maintain the community (until a new succession) (Hawley, 1968: 329).

Rather than seeing history as goal-directed, like an upward-moving line, as the functionalists see it, the ecologists see history in terms of cycles, repeating competition, succession, and accomodation to a particular physical place (cf. process section). The processes appear as impersonal or "subsocial" forces.

In discussing human ecology, I have emphasized only the ecological side of the Chicago school and of Park who in fact closely examined interactions and situations, for example, in considering deference and demeanor in race relations (1950). The process notion implies interaction, but strict ecologist interactions tend to be described in terms of groups and aggregates. Specific situations are only touched on taking the ecological side of Park. Human ecology has been narrowed to exclude Park's students who studied parts of Chicago (such as Cressey, 1932; Shaw, 1966) because although these were closer to the phenomenological approach advocated here by considering situations and perceptions, they contain less information about community. The emphasis is on deviance and very minimally on community.

Genesis of community. The genesis of the community for ecologists is in demography plus group processes for ecologists rather than in the normative structure and order and continuity as it is for functionalists. Ecologists require a concentration of people in order for a community to exist.

Location of community. Ecologists view the community as located in the physical territory whereas functionalists believe institutions are of prime importance. Ecologists consider how natural features

such as rivers and mountains as well as human-made spatial dimensions like roads, railways and specialized land use influence the location of people and the nature of the community.

Processes of community. The dynamics of communities for ecologists is found in the cycles of competition, invasion and succession.

> The cycles are thought of as initiated in a "catastrophic" manner, so that change takes place, not as a continuous, uninterrupted process, but rather as spasmodic upsets of the existing equilibrated pattern (Alihan, 1938: 139).

McKenzie distinguishes five ecological processes: concentration, centralization, segregation, invasion, and succession. Succession is the main process and defined by McKenzie as a process of group displacement (1925). Succession has several parts. First, invasion, a new group enters an occupied space, usually a transitional area. Then there is competition for land and services accompanied by the processes of centralization and segregation.

> The early stages are usually marked by keeness of competition which frequently manifests itself in outward clashes. Business failures are common in such areas and the rules of competition are violated. As the process continues, competition forces associational groupings. Utilities making similar or complementary demands of the area tend to group in close proximity to one another, giveing rise to subformations with definite service functions (McKenzie, 1925: 76).

Competition is the struggle for existence, as Park and Burgess claim, it is "the process through which the distribution and ecological organization of society is created" (1924: 508). Human ecologists emphasize competition as an unconscious force resulting in a pluralistic notion of power rather than conflict which is a zero sum game. In the final stage a new group is dominant in the particular place and an equilibrium is maintained until a new invasion. While functionalists minimize change, change is important to ecologists, though

when the competition is over and succession has taken place, a temporary equilibrium may occur.

Methodology. Human ecologists (excluding the participant observations studies in Chicago) rely on statistical data, primarily using the census and other data collected through survey techniques. They also delineate zones of a city, as Burgess did, or of a county as Galpin (1915) did. The latter used the method of asking shop keepers, bankers and the like to indicate on maps the extent of their service area. The end result is a model relating population variables with spatial arrangements.

Criticisms of Human Ecology

Wilhelm's (1964) critique of the human ecology approach focuses on three aspects: fallacious or inadequate explanations; mixed order of data; and problems with aggregate data. I shall summarize his critique, including agreement by other authors.

1. Explanations. Wilhelm accuses ecologists of tautological reasoning. "After positing data relevant only to the ecological complex as 'analytically distinguishable elements,' neoclassical materialists then proceed to explain their ecological data by the identical 'ecological complex'" (1964: 140). Ecologists take a severely limited definition of problems and data allowing for very little of the social or psychological aspects of such things as social organization to be considered relevant. Thus by radical limitation of the problem, they're able to obtain very high inter-correlations among variables. Ecologists (such as Hawley and Duncan) show an inter-relationship among population, social organization, environment and technology and then

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explain the relationship by this same complex of variables. However, this tells us nothing about other variables that might bear on these same matters.

In the same vein, Bell and Newby (1971) argue that the location of a community in a certain zone of the city does not provide a sufficient explanation of its existence:

> Common location in the physical structure of a community may be a starting place for an investigation, though few modern sociologists would now treat this factor as a sole, or at least as a very important independent variable, or for that matter as an independent variable at all (1971: 94).

Bell and Newby also blame the human ecologists of the Chicago school for generalizations; that is, assuming that all cities are like Chicago without having taken a statistical random sampling.

Using the physical, ecological complex and the subsocial forces as the explaining variables are not sufficient to understand land use patterns as Firey (1945) found in his study of urban differentiation in Boston. There, sentiments and symbols and conscious choice by individuals determined land use in certain parts of the city. Bell and Newby also note the lack of consideration of individual choice by ecologists: "The Chicago school in general fails to take account of the general tendency in industrial societies toward individuation and the extent to which people positively choose city life for what it can offer" (1971: 100). The political struggle over land use is also ignored.

In studying Lansing, Form (1954) points out the need to consider social structures in addition to spatial and cultural factors determining land use. In urban zoning, powerful groups--government, realtors, big business--determine zoning patterns. "A brief survey of . . .

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urban zoning points to the greater adequacy of the sociological over the traditional ecological analysis for understanding and predicting land use changes" (1954: 137). Human ecologists (such as McKenzie) assume that the concept of dominance explains land use, but it does not provide an analysis of the relationship among organizations, the members of which negotiate land use. Pahl (1975) points out that the physical does not determine social behavior; urban renewal has not changed poverty. Rather, the physical and spatial is a result of the unequal distribution of power in society.

Alihan (1938) carefully examines the definitions and logic of human ecologists both among themselves and individually and she finds many contradictions and lack of clear distinctions. For example, human ecologists distinguish community and society, yet when Alihan compares and contrasts the usage of these concepts, the distinction becomes elusive. Like Sorokin's critique of functionalism, Alihan shows problems in taking the biotic analogy too seriously. For example, the logical conclusion of the waves of succession is that the most stable part of the city ought to be closest to the center since it dominates, yet that tends to be the most unstable area.

> The contrast between the chameleonic character of the concepts and the rigidity of the relation between them has inevitably resulted in a peculiar discrepancy between the descriptive and the interpretative phase of the theory of human ecology (1938: 247).

The conceptual apparatus with the plant community analogy does not always fit smoothly with the empirical descriptions made by human ecologists.

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> In this complex, we find the neoclassical materialists indiscriminately blending the non-material elements of social organization with the material components of technology, geography and population. While these writers define all ecological variables external to the acting individuals, this cannot provide a rational basis for their insistence that material elements, such as the environment, determine the modes and/or content of social organizations. In no instance do we find an ecological materialist offering a common basis for the possibility of interaction between physical and social data (1964: 140).

3. Third, Wilhelm faults ecologists for excluding social values. Determining forces are assumed to be preordained and impersonal when in fact the nature of urban life involves individual choices. Aggregate data cannot tell about individuals without committing the ecological fallacy which generalizes from the group to the individual. Wilhelm argues also that the methodology of ecologists in using census data will lead them to focus on summation of discrete units rather than a collective representation. Census data has been collected for governmental requirements, not for development of ecological hypotheses. For human ecologists--even more than with functionalists--community as a human construction and outcome of social interaction is ignored.

Ecologists, like functionalists, take for granted the unification, established boundaries, and a name for the community. They do not question that the community is a single entity, unified by a central government. The fact that boundaries are set and fixed and that a single name exists for the area is unproblematic to functionalists and ecologists. What they do not offer is an explanation for a community which is cross-cut by conflicting boundaries, which is not a single entity, but includes several different political units, each having a different name. Functionalists and ecologists do not deal

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with such problems and hence, they cannot explain the community around Z. Communities with these types of contradictions, crossing state and county lines, are not unique, yet they are rarely chosen for sociology study. Few rural sociologists who are more likely to find such communities in rural areas, have addressed this issue. The conventional approach of rural sociology has been to take legal political communities and study them as if their boundaries were obvious to all rather than questioning the boundaries.

Application to Z

In spite of these criticisms, spatial patterns are an important aspect of communities and all community studies contain some description of the place. Bell and Newby (1971) note the positive aspects of the human ecology approach in providing "sharp and accurate descriptions of the spatial aspects of communities" (1971: 34). The spatial may provide constraints on people: "What ecology can do is to give some indication of the spatial constraints within which choices are made" (1971: 101).

Spatial and physical boundaries are defined by individuals and given meaning in historically rooted situations. For Z, a lake may provide a northern-most boundary; it is unlikely that residents would include the opposite side of the lake as part of the community. Furthermore, along the lake (on both sides) is resort housing owned and used (mainly in summer) by people who are defined by Z residents as not part of the community (they usually come from an urban area). The lake is not only physical, but a temporal and cultural phenomenon as well. Outside the lake, there are roads, railway lines, and towns,

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which are physically constraining, but none of which provide agreed-upon boundaries. Neither can it be said that the community around Z is a geographic entity with high density in any single center. Only 28 families live in Z and almost 100 more on surrounding farms which are widely dispersed. While physical boundaries and concentration aspects of community are largely inapplicable here, the physical presence of lake, land, and scattered settlements cannot be ignored. The physical setting constrains choice to some extent and is used in the construction of community, as will be examined in Chapter VI, "Perceptual Dimensions of Community."

Conflict

Whereas human ecology has been narrowly construed, the conflict approach presented is inclusive of both its radical and conservative dimensions. The human ecology discussion excluded participant observation studies from the Chicago school because they seemed less relevant to the study of community. On the other hand, the dearth of community studies using a conflict approach makes it necessary to broaden this field. Both radical and conservative approaches address community issues.

Conflict approaches to community are distinguished from other approaches by the particular aspects of the community they emphasize. Conflict theorists ask different kinds of questions about a community than functionalists do. A conflict sociologist studying community would ask such questions as what are the divisive elements of the community? What is conflictual, contradictory, antagonistic, rather than what is harmonious, integrative, or consensual? Thus the conflict

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approach emphasizes discord, power and power groups, oppression, issues, and resource allocation in contrast to the functionalist emphasis on order and norms.

Within these commonalities, two branches of conflict diverge, a radical Marxian approach and a conservative approach which has many affiliations with functionalism. Strasser, in tracing the history and setting of sociology, argues that sociologists fall into two camps--either conservative or progressive which may in turn emphasize order or conflict. "Unlike the technological interest of Structural-Functionalism and Conservative Conflict Theory, the emancipatory interest of progressive theorists springs from the idea of liberation of men from social system constraints" (Strasser, 1976: 21). Strasser equates social emancipatory interests with progressive ones which are critical of society. Progressive thinking is directed toward change and future possibilities.

> A social science interested in social emancipation, on the other hand, not only purports to produce nomological knowledge, but also tries to uncover theoretical statements that possibly express unalterable laws of social action, which, in fact and in principle, are subject to change. These sociologists' emancipatory concern with knowledge leads them to the thesis that the processes of cognition are inseparable from the creation of society and cannot therefore function only as means of maintenance and reproduction of social life, but serve equally to establish the very definitions of this life (Strasser, 1976: 10).

Social emancipationists recognize the creation of society (and of sociological thought) as an extension of people rather than a thing unto itself. Being concerned with "the materialization of theory, not with its confirmation," (1976: 11) they seek to release individuals from social ties and traditions by critically examining society.

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political economy of cities or relate community to historical settings (Katznelson, 1975). Less radical are those studies which address specific issues in communities such as housing (Rex, 1967) or community recreational board disputes (Frankenberg, 1957). Factionalism has also been examined in Third World societies where kinship is truncated, which promotes a polarity in a community; however, factionalism is not dominate in Z. Somewhat in between the more and the less radical are those studies of community power (such as Hunter, 1953; Dahl, 1961) or community class structure (Warner, 1963; the Lynds, 1937). The aspect of conflict theory that applies to Z is even more conservative whereby conflict with outsiders promotes communal solidarity.

In discussing the paradigm the boxes have been filled with elements from the radical element of conflict theory. Conservative conflict fits more with the functionalist paradigm, though it is discussed here because of elements missing from functionalism (especially the idea of conflict itself). In delineating the elements of conflict theory, I shall qualify them with conservative conflict theory.

Metaphor. The metaphor for a conflict approach to community is an economic image rather than biological ones of functionalism and ecology. Rather than seeing a community as a single organism or a group of organisms, the community is a resource-managing unit whose course is not smooth, but full of struggles. One starts with a scarcity of goods, a finite amount of resources including prestige and status, which in turn leads to an allocation problem--who is to get what? Certain groups attain control over the resources and extract surplus values from the rest of the population. When conflict has strengthened bonds and promoted an awareness of boundaries, the

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organismic metaphor of community becomes applicable.

Concepts. Of the concepts that have been included in previous paradigms, ranking systems and institutions are most important, but perhaps more central than these are the concepts of power, decision-making and class which pervade every other concept and which are tangential or lacking in other approaches. Opposed to this is the conservative conflict approach which emphasizes shared values, norms, and institutions. Katznelson, in discussing community conflict, feels the best definition of political power is given by Polantzas as "the capacity of a class to realize specific objective interests" (quoted by Katznelson, 1975: 16). This definition may connect the structural and volitional aspects of community.

> For at any given moment the political capacity of a class to secure its interests depends not only on its position with respect to production and on the nature and scope of contradictions generated by the accumulation process, but also on the accumulated heritage of previous political decisions ..., the relative capacity of competing ideologies and meaning systems, available mechanisms of physical coercion, and the pattern of political institutionalization by which subordinate and dominant classes are connected (1975: 17).

Decision-making implies those arenas where power is executed or appointed. Class refers to the amount or source of income in Weberian terms, or for Marxists, on one's position in the mode of production and in social relations of production. People may be ranked according to power, class or status (the latter referring to life-styles, consumption patterns or claims to respect). Mills criticizes the functionalist approach of Warner for not distinguishing different aspects of class. Mills refers to class as the "sheerly economic" in all its gradations and sources; status is the prestige dimension of ranking; and power is "who can be expected to obey whom in what

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situations" (1939: 41). Ranking systems are necessary and beneficial to society according to functionalists (Davis and Moore, 1945), but are oppressive and self-destructive in conflict theory. Functionalists view ranking systems as indispensible not only because they are found in every society, but also because they provide rewards for recruitment and maintenance of personnel in carrying out the needed tasks of society. The implication is without ranking systems, the essential occupations of a society would be unfilled, so hierarchies exist to give some people more prestige, income, and better styles of life. For functionalists, stratification is a vertical arrangement of people and positions.

On the other hand, a conflict approach looks at ranking systems as built into the structure of society, rather than as a placement of individuals. One group or class controls the scarce assets and uses their monopoly to dominate the rest. The rich are rich because they exploit the poor. So in Yankee City, Middletown, we see certain classes controlling the means of production.

Ranking systems for ecologists are also based on a scarce good everyone wants, but rather than including all or the most important resources of an area, ecologists focus on land or areas of cities. Instead of being attained by outright conflict or oppression, a milder form, competition, achieves the desired end. Human ecologists view conflict as a fight over space and it is an equitable fight where all sides know and agree upon the rules. Human ecologists, unlike conflict theorists, ignore oppression and the prevention of other groups from making changes. There is less emphasis on the political system.

Though they discuss institutions and view class relations within

institutions, conflict theorists do not define them. Instead of seeing each institution as equally necessary and focusing on how all the institutions go together, conflict theorists emphasize political and economic institutions (because that is where power and decision-making occur and they have the most effect on classes and conflict). As for functionalists the institutions may be integrated, and as for ecologists, they may be adapted to spatial relationships but these are not especially important facts to conflict theory. More significant is the action, in terms of antagonisms and contradictions in the arena of economic and political structures. "This theory [conflict] emphasizes organizations as political authority systems and their consequences for conflict and change" (Davis 1975: 196).

Conflict theorists believe order arises out of struggles, rather than out of agreed-upon norms and values.

> The concept of order which is so central to the organismic, integration, or order model, refers to an image of society as a system of action unified by a shared moral code and as a functionally integrated system which is held in equilibrium by recurrent processes. . . . The conflict approach, on the other hand, studies society as a more or less organized struggle between groups over valued goods and services, expressed in terms of material wealth, power or prestige. Accordingly, order is seen as emerging from these conditions of social organization and not from a value consensus (Strasser 1976: 20).

Commitment to this social order is a variable to conflict theorists, rather than a constant given as for functionalists. Gouldner points out that these different interpretations of rules are often bases for conflict (Strasser, 1976: 173). These differing interests or values of sub-groups are referred to as ideologies and relates to my concept, senses of community. The first step in any change is a cognitive awareness of one's position, yet ideologies preclude an understanding

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of one's true interests. Conflict with outsiders may draw attention to the community's norms and beliefs since they differ from others.

History for conflict theory is somewhat similar to what it is for functionalists and ecologists in that history goes through stages toward a specific goal, but rather than going towards greater complexity or toward another group entering a place, Marxists view history as headed toward a communist state by passing through asiatic, ancient, feudal and bourgeois states through built-in structures of contradiction which eventually destroy the first four stages. For Marxists, a theory of history is essential. "Historical specificity is the hallmark of Marx's approach . . . Marx maintained that, although class struggle has marked all history, the contenders in the battle had changed over time" (Coser 1971: 44). History is perhaps more taken into account as important for understanding community and conflict than in other paradigms since the stage of history of a community and the particulars of the historical development of a particular place are important determinants of its nature along with the resources and power distribution.

> While social technologists, especially those of structural-functionalists persuasions, tend to have an a-historical conception of social reality, those scientists who profess social emancipation view it as having history, that is, as involving directed change (Strasser, 1976: 21).

Katznelson (1975) criticizes non-conflict community studies for being presented within a historical and relational void. In his paper, he discusses the historical transformation of feudal to capitalistic communities. The main thrust of this was the separation of communal and production relations, the removal of the work place from the community which in turn mediates the accumulation process.

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> The penetration of cash and market relations into all spheres of life is the major factor that accounts for the shattering of holist communities and the differentiation of social life into spheres of production (the realm of capital) and market relations (the realm of money) (1975: 8).

This separation further obscures class relationships. The community is left as a consumption unit where the major relationships are money relationships.

Territory and boundaries are also related to power and resource allocation. The boundaries may be political--those lines drawn on maps, allotting physical territory to political entities such as nations, states, counties and cities. The territory itself is the area to be controlled, so formal governmental structures enact restrictions within the controlled territory. The relation of the community to the place is somewhat opposite what it is for ecologists who believe the spatial arrangement determines the social structure. Conflict theorists would see the social structure as imposed on the spatial resources. For functionalists, the place is just there and less important than for the other two.

Conservative conflict theorists such as Erikson (1966) demonstrate how boundaries are defined by conflict with others. Erikson points out that boundaries are more than geographical--they are cultural and moral as well. Boundary maintaining devices indicate "where the line is drawn between behavior that belongs in the special universe of the group and behavior that does not" (1966: 11).

Interactions and situations are examined by conflict theorists rather than being ignored as they are by ecologists; interactions are considered more concrete than the functionalists' abstract role mechanization. Not all interactions and situations are important, but only

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those which manifest conflict or involve power and decision-making. Frankenberg analyses a number of disputes--for example that occurred while he served on the football club--which illustrate the complexities that bring in all sorts of intrigues, indignations, and personal affronts.

The genesis of community may be found in the formation of the political entity. A group of people do not become a community until they have an official charter, constitution, or whatever. By the time this has occurred, a power elite is entrenched and a hierarchy established. Rex's discussion of Sparkbrook's history and Frankenberg's discussion of Pentredwaith's history both begin when Sparkbrook or Pentredwaith become a titled place distinct from the estates the land had once been. The Puritans start with their official charter in the new land. It takes more than a concentration of people (ecology) or that these people share values (functionalism) for a community to form.

Location of community. Community may be seen as located in the infra-structure of society rather than in the institutions or the physical territory. An infra-structure is those conditions--primarily economic--that are believed to determine the dominant cultural themes of a society. That is, community may be seen to exist in the underlying conditions of society, which to a Marxist, is mostly in the means of production, now capitalism. Capitalism is manifested in communities by class relations.

The process of community is conflict and change or a Marxian thesis, anti-thesis, synthesis. Like social constructionists and also somewhat like the ecologists, most conflict theorists see change

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as a constant process of community. Conservative conflict theorists view the process of conflict as preserving communal traditions.

Methodology. Like the other approaches to community, the methodology for a conflict approach may involve participant-observation. Frankenberg and Rex both spent considerable time living in the communities and talking to people, but the specific things they observed and the kinds of questions they asked distinguish them from what the Lynds did in Middletown or Warner did in Yankee City. Rather than attempting to be wholistic and enmass as much data as possible on the whole community, Rex and Frankenberg were specifically looking for points of conflict, so they concentrated on group confrontations and decision-making processes (which primarily took place in political domains). It is somewhat inconsistent that the examples we have of community conflict (Rex and Frankenberg) use participant observation because participant observation is almost equivalent to focusing on consensus.

However, Douglas (1976) points out techniques of using participant-observation that go beyond consensus, which he calls "investigative research."

> The investigative paradigm is based on the assumption that profound conflicts of interest, values, feelings and actions pervade social life. It is taken for granted that many of the people one deals with, perhaps all people to some extent, have good reason to hide from others what they are doing and even to lie to them. Instead of trusting people and expecting trust in return, one suspects others and expects others to suspect him. Conflict is the reality of life; suspicion is the guiding principle (1976: 55).

Here a researcher becomes like a detective which means not always being cooperative, in order to get the truth behind deceptions and fronts. Participant observation data is a dominant basis for

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functionalist studies of communities whereas conflict theorists have utilized a greater variety of data--historical documents, and census data used, for example, to show the mal-distribution of income and other collective goods such as health care.

Criticisms of Conflict Theories

Three areas of criticism involving the relation of community to society, the macro emphasis, the limitation of political and economic institutions, will organize a discussion of a conflict approach to community. Following will be a discussion of its inadequacies for Z.

A radical conflict approach makes it difficult to look at a single community. The conflict generated in a community usually has economic relationships to the larger society and is not simply a product of the particular location. It becomes imperative to understand a community using a conflict approach by placing it within the larger economic setting of the political economy. Katznelson advocates the need for analysis "to assess the importance of community as a locus of political struggle and of urban community organization strategies as aspects of a politics of social transformation" (1975: 1). The way he specifies this is through considering the place of communities in world wide production and markets which makes communities places of accumulation and reproduction of the workforce.

C. Wright Mills agrees with this when he says "the political economy as well as the status system of the nation can neither be deduced nor projected from a series of smalltown studies" (C. Wright Mills, 1963: 52). The focal point is not the local place. Thus in

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addition to gathering data on a single community, one would also have to have a complete understanding of the political economy. This would include how communities change with the development of capitalism and how each occurrence, in particular the economic and political aspects of the community are a result of its relationship to the political economy. Vidich and Bensman have somewhat suggested this in Small Town and Mass Society by attempting to link the behavior in the community to the community's place in the economy. Warner also shows the changes through which Yankee City goes until its economy and industry become controlled and managed by people who never lived in Yankee City.

Undertaking a holistic approach of the whole capitalist world in relation to a single community, is clearly too great an undertaking for one study and has yet to be done. Instead, the few studies made using a conflict approach focus on a small element of the political economy--as Rex does on housing. Although Marx argues for a wholistic study with detailed histories, there has not been such a study of a community; we do not have such a massive, integrative approach. It is impossible to analyze a community with reference only to that single place; so Frankenberg and Rex are both forced to make reference to greater Britain and to the world economy, but without telling us enough about the latter and its relationship to the community.

A related problem is that the conflict approach has implications of a macro-level force determining all types of social relations. Blumer (1969) makes this criticism in noting the assumption is often that people are a product of the forces of society rather

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> Such sociological conceptions do not regard the social actions of individuals in human society as being constructed by them through a process of interpretation. Instead, action is treated as a product of factors which play on and through individuals. The social behavior of people is not seen as built up by them through an interpretation of objects, situations, or the actions of others (1969: 84).

Manning concurs with Blumer in criticizing a conflict approach for simplifying "the complexities of social meanings, it tends to see politics as a reflection of interests and not the converse" (Manning, 1973: 2). The conflict approach fails to take into account the two-way nature between economic structures and individuals' perceptions of them. This points to a disagreement at the individual level such that the impact and nature of the economic structure and of conflict itself is filled with ambiguities, disagreements, and negotiated meanings. This criticism of a conflict approach is that it does not take enough recognition of the individual and interactions. Interpersonal conflict is also possible (as Goffman makes poignant) and though alienation is another Marxian concept, these have rarely been examined in relation to community. Stein (1964) is an exception to this when he touches on alienation in considering urbanization, bureaucratization, and industrialization. The kinds of conflict tend to be examined at the group level, but conflict is also analyzable interpersonally.

By narrowly focusing on visible and institutionalized economic and political structures to the exclusion of other structures and individual interpretations, the conflict approach focuses on male-dominated stages and thus ignores arenas where women may influence

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community. McCormack points out that the political culture is a male one:

> In the executive offices, legislatures and parliaments, judiciaries, and senior levels of the civil service, men have what approaches perfect monopoly. They make the laws, enforce them, hear the appeals, and adjudicate them. . . . Men not only dominate political life, as journalists and political writers, they also interpret it, frequently drawing on the language of masculine sports to describe the news or present the background (1975: 25).

Because women have been denied political and economic authority, they are rarely seen in community power studies, yet they do have a vital influence in communities. Studies which focus on the formal power structures of community and ignore the informal ones leave out women. One of the goals of this study is to show the great importance women do claim in doing community. Particularly in rural settings where there is more informal influence since formal structures are lacking, women are more apparent. The women are not passive in Z. Women are an integral part of the farm and family businesses (as discussed in Chapter IV) and they have a great deal of control over the home and children, as their traditional realm. In addition, women are active in promoting interactions and community activities; they participate equally as much if not more than men in the manifestation of the community of Z in opposing, sociability, helping, and shopping. While the political structures in Z are fragmented and not taken seriously, they do provide sociability and entertainment for men in a similar way that women promote community by getting together in social clubs.

Application to Z

The political economy does have direct bearing on Z as seen in the recent change from predominantly dairy farming to predominantly

cash crops such as soybeans, hay, sweet corn, peas, which are due to a combination of good prices on crops plus less daily attention needed by them. Although the police chief was interviewed and sessions of Linn township meetings were observed, issues of power and politics were not dealt with in Z, partly because I was not looking for them, but more, because they were minimal to the people or to the community. There was no single governmental entity encompassing the place; rather, people on opposing sides of state lines and township lines considered themselves united in common community projects. The governments that do exist are not that significant.

Although there is a range of income, there is no extreme poverty or wealth (as indicated in Chapter IV on occupations and other demographic data, people view themselves as "equal"). On the other hand, Z residents do come in contact with another class of the people, the wealthy lake residents and at times this leads to conflict. The major resource is land, which admittedly is a scarce item, but distribution does not appear as a problem. Much of the land was claimed by ancestors at a time when land was abundant. This land stayed in the family, passed on to particular family members through an ideology that denotes the son who stays to help his father as being most deserving of the farm. However, decision-making and power outside of the community, primarily in the federal government, has exerted major changes in the distribution of land through high property taxes, inheritance tax, and insurance rates, promoting a loss of families' land to outsiders and a turnover in businesses. This does lead to some sorts of conflict, a conflict which fosters community by mobilizing people (to be discussed in Chapter VII "Opposing").

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In addition to formal political pressures from outside on the community, the economic infra-structure determines processes also. For example, the farmers are dependent upon a national, even world-wide market for selling their raw products and for buying machinery and other needs, yet they have no say in determining prices or other policies that directly affect them. These economic pressures have not promoted any senses of community--people do not get together to combat economic inequality on the world market. No unions or protests arise in Z; there are no co-ops or farm bureaus. The only exception to this are the complaints lodged about milk inspectors who are "city slickers" making unreasonable, often ridiculous demands on farmers and farmers feel the inspectors know very little about farming.

In spite of the arguments disclaiming the radical conflict approach with its emphasis on power and decision-making as important to Z, it will be argued (in Chapter VII) that conflict in the form of opposing outsiders is a major dynamic force in the community. The community has existence and form and promotes togetherness and a defined unit when the people of Z face, conflict, talk about and complain about the following: the city people who come to use the lake, the foreigners who are buying land, and political pressures that directly affect the people of Z. Examples of people mobilizing around the latter are when the Air Force Academy threatened to locate in Z, and more recently, a state-enacted negative income tax that taxes people in Z and applies the funds in another part of the state, and the threat of a huge subdivision on the lake. In these situations, people are united and the latent force of community receives manifest existence because of conflict with outsiders. Internal conflict

remains anonymous and subdued. Within the community itself, there is no ostensible hierarchy of institutions with economic and political ones at the top. Instead, the most important institutions appear to be those which promote sociability.

Though there are perceptable changes in the community, as mentioned in land-holding and changes in technology, the overall impression of Z, even to insiders, is that of stability, permanence, order, and non-change.

Social Construction

The social construction of reality concerns how meaning systems of individuals impose a structure within the physical and institutional constraints of any given community. Phillipson defines this field of sociological analysis as "anywhere the sociologist can obtain access and can examine the way the 'social structure' is a meaningful ongoing accomplishment of members" (1972: 162). Social constructionists analyze the interaction between orientation and situation (Holzner, 1968: 15-16); between subjective reality and objective reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1967); between the "mental template of its structure" and the environment (Suttles, 1972: 7); between "the existence and character of persons and objects" and "the ways in which human beings conceptualize, talk about and define them" (Gusfield, 1975: 24). This approach overlaps with phenomenological sociology (Schutz, 1967; Psathas, 1973) existential sociology (Tiryakian, 1971; Manning, 1973), ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967), and to some extent, symbolic interactionism (i.e. Denzin, 1970) in similar sociological and philosophical traditions (Tiryakian, 1968; Psathas, 1973; Wagner, 1973).

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Individuals impose an order on what is happening using the guideline given by their particular society. "The process here is the one that constructs, maintains, and modifies a consistent reality that can be meaningfully experienced by individuals" (Berger and Kellner, 1970: 51). The individual interprets the socially constructed world uniquely, but within the range of typifications agreed upon by society.

> This order, by which the individual comes to perceive and define his world, is thus not chosen by him, except perhaps for very small modifications. Rather, it is discovered by him as an external datum, a ready-made world that simply is there for him to go ahead and live in, though he modifies it continually in the process of living in it (Berger and Kellner, 1970: 52).

The individual creates meaning by perceiving and interpreting the given world through interactions with others. Though individual differences in interpretations exist, the constraining and reifying nature of the given world is strong. The substrata of everyday assumptions provides the range of variety possible without requiring endless modification. Each individuals' framing pattern becomes firmly established and unquestioned and is not easily changed.

In this section, social constructionism will be considered as an orienting device for analyzing the community rather than as a theory that yields hypotheses. Social constructionism as an orientation rather than a formal theory is consistent with other community studies, with the local setting, and with the methodology of participant observation. Micro interactions which Phillipson characterizes as "the way particular men in particular social contexts together construct their social worlds" (1972: 162) are of primary importance for considering meaning systems. However, when community is viewed as an ecological or demographic phenomenon apart from what the local people

perceive, an examination of micro interactions is of minimal value. Other studies which leave out meaning systems and interactions would see very little in the Z area, certainly nothing to call a community. When the community is defined phenomenologically in terms of senses of community, then symbolizations of the community and the ways people express their senses of community become crucial for understanding. The problem is not why a community exists in terms of the integration of institutions or an outcome of class conflicts (it does not exist in these senses), but rather, how it exists. The suggested answer to this problem is largely that the community is socially constructed through cognitive mapping and symbolic expression in talk. Social construction will be considered according to the dimensions of the paradigm (Table 1.1) with comparisons to structural-functionalism, ecology, and conflict theories.

Metaphor. The metaphor of social constructionism borrows from the humanities and arts rather than from the sciences (biology and economics) as functionalism, human ecology and conflict have. The metaphor for social constructionism is construction itself, reminding one that society itself is made by people. The image invokes building and creativity, though these are not always intentional or deliberate. Community is like an artistic creation.

Another phenomenological image is the dramaturgical model. Applied to community, this would mean a community is seen as a place, or a backdrop in which actors play out roles. People enact community in Z in three types of situations: opposing, helping, and sociability.

The social construction metaphors emphasize the centrality of meaning systems, as Phillipson says:

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> Social action flows from and is sustained through meaning--that is, from the first-order constructs through which the actor makes sense of his world. As the life-world comprises such meanings, sociology, if it is to provide organized knowledge of social reality, must come to terms with the meanings from which social action emerges (1972: 143).

Tiryakian also emphasizes meaning systems; he observes that existential sociology "requires the sociological observer to uncover the subjective meanings manifested in historical phenomena and to relate one set of meanings to another" (1965: 679).

The social constructionism of Berger and Luckmann (1966) is a phenomenological perspective which explores ways in which the individuals' experiences are organized to make action meaningful. Through seeing a certain way and talking a certain way, individuals know each other and construct continued interactions with one another, a sort of community. If the interactions are labelled as a community by the residents, there is community (senses of community) in spite of the abandoned buildings and the appearance as a ghost town. Different aspects of the rural setting--isolation, low population density, and agricultural occupations--are taken into account as people build their typifications, that is, categorizations of experiences.

Concepts. Following the metaphor, the three most important concepts for the social construction of community are all subsets of meaning systems. They include situations, interactions and perceptions. Discussion of these will be followed by the social construction perspective on concepts important to the other paradigms. The community is not "something out there," not a monolithic whole that exists either as an abstract system of inter-related parts, nor even a concrete physical entity. Rather, it goes in and out of existence

as situations demand and as people talk about and symbolize community.

Manning notes "the existential perspective argues for the need to take into account the situational and problematic nature of meaning" (1973: 205). He emphasizes that in some ways the definition of the situation is critical in the situation, as well as are other objective features.

> A general outline of elements of the situation would thus include information recognized from the actor's point of view (e.g. social and physical objects, knowledge of internal states and feelings), an interpretative framework (arising from the actor's biography and including knowledge of typical occurrences) and a set of expectations or possibilities for the behavior of self and others (1973: 214).

Situational behavior may be defined as "the analysis of social conduct in terms of time, place, persons and meanings involved in the social act" (Davis, 1975: 231). Situations are incidents of daily life. While a person is in many situations in a day, which persons and places co-exist with the event help a person perceive or define that event as communal. Situations, which are of little concern to functionalists or ecologists, and only specialized situations of decision-making are important to conflict theorists, cannot be seen apart from interactions and perceptions.

Situations consist of social symbols which often include people and interactions. Manning says "Man creates meaning within social relations and his relationship to the world is established by his mode of perceiving his spatial temporal position in that world" (1973: 209). Interactions are communication and validation of the created community, some of which interactions may sediment into roles that maintain the system; the starting point for a social constructionist community is interactions as validation of the community rather than as a system

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of roles as functionalists see. Because social order is a social fabrication, it needs to be validated with other individuals in the same socially constructed world. The whole process is one of an interaction between the subjective and objective, between individual and society. In their interactions, individuals impose an order which exists because they perceive it to be so. In the social construction of community, language is both a part and symbol of society and is a tool for elaboration. It is the symbol of the society that determines the process of construction providing ready-made typifications, but it is also an instrument for modifying and elaborating the process. It is in conversations primarily that people validate the social construction of reality.

> It validates over and over again the fundamental definitions of reality once entered into, not, of course, so much by explicit articulation, but precisely by taking the definitions silently for granted and conversing about all conceivable matters on this taken-for-granted basis. Through the same conversations, the individual is also made capable of adjusting to changing and new contexts in his biography. In a very fundamental sense, it can be said that one converses one's way through life (Berger and Kellner, 1970: 53).

Berger and Kellner emphasize the need to match definitions of reality by talking them through; without some common definitions, conversation will become impossible and relations endangered.

Meanings are created in situations through relations with others, but necessary for all of these is an awareness. "Being in the world... involves an awareness of being in that particular place, time, and concrete situation" (Manning, 1973: 214). Perception is individual cognition and definition done in the confines of the limits given by the society one is born into. Some subsets of perception are

intersubjectivity and reciprocity of perspectives, natural attitude and cognitive mapping.

Intersubjectivity and reciprocity of perspectives are shared consciousness of situations.

> The term intersubjective is used to describe some aspects of our mutual interrelatedness as beings in the life-world; intersubjectivity points to the inherent sociality of consciousness and to the experience of the world by self and others as a world in common (Phillipson, 1972: 125).

This implies an interchangeability of standpoints; if people changed places, they would have the same experience.

The natural attitude implies people going about their everyday lives without questioning anything.

> The natural attitude is the naive attitude of the situated ego and is characterized by the mundane practical reasoning of everyday life in which his worlds, social and natural, are indubitable, simply there, and taken-for-granted (Phillipson, 1972: 127).

With a natural attitude and with shared perspectives, people interact and "see" meanings.

Cognitive mapping is used by Suttles (1972). Cognitive maps are simplified images of the city which

> serve us well by reducing the complexity of the urban landscape to a range of discrete and contrastively defined ecological units despite the general continuity, gray areas, and constant changes in any section of the city. . . . A cognitive map of our urban environs is useful for precisely the reason that it simplifies to the point of exaggerating the sharpness of boundaries, population composition, and neighborhood identity (1972: 4).

Cognitive mapping is a tool for dealing with the "intensification of nervous stimulation" as Simmel characterizes metropolitan life (1970: 410); people create order and make sense out of the diversity of city life by attaching moral meanings. People cognitively map their

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community and attach moral meanings to places and things in order to cope and find safety in a city. "It is out of such primitive conceptions of space, distance, and movement that the community--and other spatial groups--is constructed" (Suttles, 1972: 234). People may pay specialists to stabilize boundaries and keep undesireables out, but at points of confrontation and in contrast with other communities, the community is defended as separate. Suttles' emphasis is on the perceptual--that people perceive, simplify and characterize neighborhoods or communities as discrete.

> Local communities and neighborhoods, like other groups, acquire a corporate identity because they are held jointly responsible by other communities and external organizations. Thus, I suggest, it is in their "foreign relations" that communities come into existence and have to settle on an identity and set of boundaries, which oversimplfy their identity (1972: 12-13).

This is similar to conflict theory in that conflict with other groups creates an in-group feeling; but here perception of the differences is stressed. The contrast and differential relations with other types of people must be meaningful to the people involved for them to use this in creating community. Sennett (1970) attempts to combine conflict and social psychology with a psychoanalytic or Eriksonian standpoint by emphasizing the importance of perceptions for individuals in finding meaning in cities. Sennett notes that while in outline the city appears as an undesireable place to live, the city does permit growth and achievement of autonomy through differences among people.

Cognitive mapping has to do with the way people perceive or imagine or organize spatially their experiences; Suttles takes the one-sidedness of the Human Ecology perspective on the physical and

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group attributes and shows the interaction between that and individuals' perceptions and definitions of the tangible aspects of the city. Whereas ecologists assume "reality" of the physical environment, those concerned with cognitive mapping attempt to see how people attribute meanings to the environment that surrounds them. The physical existence plus the perceptions by individuals are both necessary for making senses of community. The physical attributes "exist," but whether they serve as boundaries or symbols of the community, depend on the people there.

I have shown the importance of meaning systems in particular situations, interactions, and perceptions for the social construction of community. Other approaches to community may be faulted for omitting these, but social constructionism by its ability to balance subjective and objective and "interpret the dialectic between the institutionalized and non-institutionalized" (Tiryakian, 1967: 689) also takes account of concepts that are central to other theories.

The primacy of perceptions and situations for social constructionists colors how they view other aspects of community. For the most part, values are irrelevant (rather than determining the community or being a response to the social structure). Rather than seeing society or community as adhering to a set of shared values, individuals create and negotiate rules or norms as they go about their everyday business. Rules are processed for each specific setting. This is not to say that there is no order, rather, that the order is worked out by interacting actors and it is important to understand the situated context. Berger and Luckmann carry out the motif of society and reality as being socially constructed, but it is also objectified and

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reified, partly for purposes of communication and convenience. Objectified means something is capable of being shared with other people. Berger and Luckmann say: "Human expression is capable of objectivation, that is, it manifests itself in products of human activity that are available both to their producers and to other men as elements of a common world" (1967: 34). When social objects or perceptions become reified, they are objectified to the point where people forget they were social creations in the first place.

> Reification is the apprehension of human phenomena as if they were things, that is, in non-human or possible supra-human terms. Another way of saying this is that reification is the apprehension of the products of human activity as if they were something else than human products--such as facts of nature, results of cosmic laws or manifestations of divine will. Reification implies that man is capable of forgetting his own authorship of the human world, and further, that the dialectic between man the producer, and his products is lost to consciousness. The reified world is, by definition, a dehumanized world. It is experienced by man as a strange facticity, an opus alienum over which he has no control rather than as the opus proprium or his own productive activity (Berger and Luckmann, 1967: 89).

Because in the Z setting, community is problematic and reification barely occurs, this process is more visible; members have to create senses of community or they do not exist. This is not to eliminate the importance of reifications which are necessary for indicating what social realities are enduring.

Institutions are "recriprocal typifications of habitualized actions by types of actors" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967: 64). They are not necessarily accomodated to the physical nor are they entities which exist apart from personal interactions and which must be integrated with all other such entities to maintain the system.

People may place themselves differently with various people

and situations, and perceive different ranking systems which may be tenuous but social constructionists do not see ranking systems as necessary nor always achieved by competition. The power problem of conflict theorists is sometimes considered when there are conflicting definitions of reality and which definition takes precedence. Marxian class consciousness is one of many kinds of consciousness a social constructionist may consider.

Boundaries and territory are also perceived and defined with different situations. They are not as concrete as ecologists would have them, nor are they abstractly part of values, but a process connecting place and people. According to social constructionists, people may further have a sense of territoriality by whom they see as insiders or outsiders.

History is that part of their biography actors reconstuct, the having been present. Individuals may see history with any of the patterns the other paradigms have presented: stages of conflict theory, cycles of ecological theory, or evolution as functionalist theory; the importance for any one of these is self awareness.

The Genesis of Community. The genesis of community is in people's interactions and their definitions of the interactions and accompanying situations as community. This implies community could have greater primacy for its members than other approaches; that is, a social constructionist view of community demands less. Functionalists require interaction of institutions, a fully maintaining community; ecologists require a density of people and the physical attributes of a community such as roads and other communication systems, while conflict theorists require political institutions of allocation

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systems. Interactions and situations could be seen as pervasive and primary throughout all of these.

The Location of Community. The location of the community is in external items for the other paradigms--in the institutions for functionalists, in physical space for ecologists, in production relations for conflict theorists--while for social constructionists, community is located in an interaction between internal and external states. Community is primarily a state of mind, but this state of mind is constrained by external events--by the physical environment, by institutional arrangements, and economic factors. Social constructionists emphasize everyday life rather than urban environments or abstract institutions.

The Process of Community. The process of community is dynamic for social constructionists rather than static and in this it shares greater affinity with human ecologists and conflict theorists than with functionalists. The dynamics are primarily at the micro level rather the turnover of groups as human ecologists and conflict theorists envision. The process of community is constant and constantly changing as individuals define, typify and converse, whereas for functionalists, community as a process only comes into being when something goes wrong. It is the process of individuals more than the process of groups as ecologists and conflict theorists emphasize, who also see static periods for communities.

Methodology. A social constructionist lives and participates in the community in order to reconstruct participants' typifications and enactment of community. The social constructionists' task is to describe the participants' meaning systems and analyze how these are

constructed.

> His interest is in how members and sociologists together make sense of and accomplish the social world through various kinds of languages (oral and embodied) in situated interactions. Methodologically the problem is to review these mutual processes of reality negotiation, construction and maintenance. This requires the capture of natural language use in its natural settings. The recording of language interactions together with detailed ethnographic descriptions of the settings, the participating members and the sociologists' own background relevancies and stocks of taken-for-granted knowledge, offers one kind of approach (Phillipson, 1972: 141).

The sociologist provides second order constructs of first order typifications, that is, the everyday reality. The test of validity of the sociologist "rests on how far the sociologists' idealized and formalized second order constructs truthfully reconstruct the essential processes of meaning construction" (Phillipson, 1972: 149). The sociologist must remain "true to the things themselves" so that there is a direct correspondence between the "reality" of participants and the "reality" the sociologist reconstructs in writing about community.

Cricicisms of Social Construction

There are no definitive critiques of phenomenological sociology nor of the substantive area of its application to community (which is still in the developmental stages). Criticisms on social construction have centered on specialized problems, either philosophical (for example by Heap and Roth, 1973) or on specific substantive areas, namely the area of deviance and labelling theory. Social constructionism is criticized for lacking permanent dimensions and failing to go beyond face to face interactions (for example, cf. Psathas, 1973). The binding nature of obligations is often treated as ephemeral which may not be the case as people struggle to maintain something permanent.

There are limitations to cognition and social psychology in dealing with the political economy and other possible major determinants of society.

Labelling theory is the most extensive use of phenomenology in sociology and applies to deviance, that is, "concern with how society, through its social control agents, negatively reacts to and victimizes moral offenders, lower classes and minorities" (Davis, 1975: 165). Taking the criticisms of labelling theory can show us a parallel to the criticisms that may arise if social constructionism were applied exclusively and extensively to the substantive area of communities. There is a correspondence in that both labelling theory and the strict social construction of communities would ignore historical structures and fail to consider stratification. In so far as the study of community uses only social constructionism, Davis' conceptualizations of the criticisms of labelling theory raises issues of criticisms to the social construction of communities. Davis critiques labelling theory for ignoring historical and structural frameworks. Labelling theorists fail to seriously consider stratification as perpetuated by economic and political relations. Because of this, labelling theory has no explanation of social control.

> The micro-settings they study are too restricted to embrace the interplay of competing groups, out of which codes are proposed, interpreted, and negotiated and new forms of social and legal controls are constructed (1975: 179).

Labelling theorists do not show how powerful organizations develop and impose certain definitions of deviance. An exclusive consideration of micro interactions in a community contest would also ignore political-economic dimensions and historical constraints. This

problem of focusing on micro studies in interaction is characteristic of the phenomenological approach.

Phenomenological sociology is also criticized for its methodology. Participant observation, production of ethnographies, and other descriptions are labelled "unscientific," that is, critics claim phenomenologists are not following the scientific method of drawing hypotheses from a body of propositions or theory and then rigorously testing the hypotheses under controlled conditions. For example, Bell and Newby claim that community studies are no better than novels because they are subjective, non-cumulative, and innumerative which makes them non-comparable. The validity of community studies is in question because there is no way to duplicate the results. "Interpretations have been developed after the observations were made and are not tests of prior hypotheses. So observations, findings, data are subject to retrospective selection, if not downright falsification" (1971: 80). How can interpretation of empirical data be made before the data is available? Even numerical data is interpreted after it has been collected and is equally liable to falsification. Science is not always so rigorous nor are testing situations so controlled.

There is much debate in sociology over the extent to which it can and does correspond to a "hard" science such as physics. Those who tend toward a rigorously scientific sociology are seeking an absolute truth and forget that even notions of truth are social constructs.

> We eliminate the idea of absolute methods, substituting a multiperspectival conception of methods which argues that

> our choice of methods must always be made in the light of the degree of reliable truth we are seeking and the problems we face in the concrete settings we are studying. We shall see that this method makes the researcher, the live and socially situated individual, the ultimate "measure of all things" (Douglas, 1976: 4).

Douglas notes the need to fit the method to the problem and the setting which makes different types of observations and data collecting techniques necessary. Any one of these methods are necessarily filtered through researchers' lives and their motives for studying communities; the point is to recognize this rather than burying one's head in hypotheses and surveys as a way of avoiding the fact that actual people are doing the study. It seems most pertinent for understanding meanings and definitions of situations that one both directly and indirectly experience these for a first-hand view of how communities are socially constructed.

> Sociologists have found that they must know what social meanings are involved in any group's activities and must use these in any attempts to explain those activities. They have also found that in determining what these social meanings are they necessarily rely, at some level, upon their own common-sense experience in society. There is no other way to understand or get at internal, meaningful experience. As a result, their own subjective experience is ultimately the basis of all their imputations of meanings to the people they are trying to understand scientifically. . . . Rather than trying to eliminate the subjective effects, the goal must be to try to understand how they are interdependent, how different forms of subjective interaction with the people we are studying affect our conclusions about them (Douglas, 1976: 24-25).

No one is denying that predictions and experiments are not valid levels of science, but the problems confronted by social scientists are not easily answerable by such. There is a need to be eclectic and also there are ethical issues involved in social science. It is questionable whether social scientists should create a community to manipulate the people in it for scientific reasons.

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Application to Z

Social construction remains the main approach in this study of community, although I have supplemented it from parts of all of the other approaches and thereby overcome some of the criticisms of the social construction approach. I think I have made it clear that I disagree with the criticisms made of the methodology of the social construction approach. Situations of cognitive mapping and behavioral dimensions of community which are primarily interactions, provide the substantive chapters of this dissertation.

Suttles' concept of cognitive mapping can be applied to Z as physical entities are taken into account in determining the unique character of the community. People have been asked to draw maps of the community of Z to see the overlap and differing perceptions of what is to be included. Here the people's interactions and cognition actually do impose a focus to the community--there is little else which does this--though Suttles' approach would stress the juxtaposition of Lake people next to the Z people. In urban settings, cognitive mappings of other people are based on obvious, immediate characteristics of clothing, speech, and nonverbal actions which Suttles calls communication devices (1968), while in the rural setting, the superficial may be useful for knowing whom to exclude, but the most important things such as who one's ancestors are and how long one has been here, are out of sight. Hence, for the rural setting, it becomes even more necessary than with a city to discuss historical rootings.

Around Z, there is no consistent name for the community, though in interviews people assert the existence of a community. For example, they say that clubs and individuals should help "local people" rather

than contributing to foreign or national charities. That everyone perceives a community (though not all in the same way) expresses a sense of it more important than shared values or interests which are difficult to determine and never unanimous.

In Z, the community is primarily lodged in the talk of people--hence, their talk and how it helps constitute the community is one major consideration as an indicator of the senses of community. People converse about the community, about one another, about "outsiders" as they interact in particular situations. It is in these particular situations that Z obtains manifest existence as a community. People create the community by getting together for opposing, sociability, helping and shopping--all behavioral dimensions of community which are the major substantive areas of community to be examined--along with the perceptual dimensions.

Overview

This final section of the theory chapter shall serve as a transition to the following chapters. In this final section (of the theory chapter), I shall summarize the features of the paradigm that best complement the setting. This overview is an eclectic approach, borrowing from more than one theory. I have delineated four major theoretical areas on communities: functionalism, human ecology, conflict, and social constructionism. Another area, network, is probably the vanguard for future community studies, but thus far, it has not attained the stature of the other areas, though it will be used at times in this summary section and in parts of the dissertation. (Cf. Table 1.1 for elements of the paradigms as followed here.)

Metaphor. Analogies of communities with organisms, groups of plants and animals, economic allocation systems, and as a creative process have been considered with the latter most application to Z. The constraints of the setting are that Z as a community is lacking many of the parts necessary to make it an independently functioning organism, nor may Z be seen as completely similar to changing plant and animal populations since similar types of people (farmers, village merchants, and lake people) have remained there from its founding. The organic metaphor about selection is overdrawn. Since Z is lacking major conflicts and the political and economic structural processes are not played out a great deal in the communal arena, conflict images are also inappropriate. Z is a creative process of meaning systems, an entity that goes in and out of existence as interactions, situations, and perceptions demand.

Concepts. Of prime concern are those concepts taken from social construction--interactions and perceptions. Next we shall consider functionalist concepts of values, norms and institutions followed by the ecological dimensions. Ranking systems and history as most important to conflict theorists are the final concepts to be discussed.

Interactions. According to Schutz,

> An interaction exists if one person acts upon another with the expectation that the latter will respond. . . . Every interaction is, therefore, based on an action of affecting another within a social situation (1967: 158).

In communities, individuals interact to communicate and validate senses of community, the socially created communal realities. The concept of interaction is used in a number of community studies. The points to be made are: generally only specialized interactions

are considered rather than ordinary, everyday interactions; network theory is based on interactions and may describe communal ties without territorial bases; interactions are important for community longevity and sustaining neighborhoods. A great many definitions of community specify social interactions or common ties. To be sure, people are interacting in Middletown, suburbia, and ecological zones of the city and though we are told of friendship patterns and even specific personalities like Biggy Muldoon of Yankee City, there are no details of daily life or specific patterns of interaction. Not only are people together in a place (the ecological approach to community), they also know each other and communicate.

Network theorists would consider this whether the people all live near one another or not. The nature of networks--mesh or connectedness and spread or range--is used to analyze a situation and also to explain some other variable such as Bott's conjugal segregation (1971). Bott examined the networks of twenty married couples and found that where the networks of the couples tend to overlap, there is less conjugal segregation whereas when the networks do not overlap, the couples act more separately. Hunter considered interactions important in community longevity and sustaining neighborhoods. One factor of community for Hunter is patterned social interactions which includes chatting with neighbors, exchanging favors, exchanging things, visiting informally, asking neighbors for advice and having parties. There has been an increase of this in the neighborhood he studied (1975).

Perceptions. Wagner delineates perceptions as focusing on

> the processes in which a person's manifold notions and conceptions of the realms of his social preoccupations, activities,

> and social partners are gradually sedimented and "constructed," each of them taken as a unit in itself (1973: 71).

This aspect of community is the way the community is thought about and whether it has a name or separate culture. Feelings would include senses of community--that is, people say and act as though there were a community, are able to name it, and share a sense of loyalty and belonging. Physical and even the institutional settings evoke feelings in people of it being theirs. In talk, people express feelings and values.

Minar and Greer (1969) say that community is a state of mind that involves interdependency and loyalty (1969: 60). Hunter describes this aspect as a "meaningful symbolic unit in the social and psychological life space of its residents" (1975: 539). According to Hunter, people express a sense of community in cognitive identification of and affective identification with the local community. Ross finds that people name and delineate the boundaries of communities in cities and attach class and ethnic values to each (1962).

Lynch actually asks people to draw maps and collects symbols, pathways, edges and other views of the city with the end of improving planning. However, Lynch evaluates the maps people draw by how accurate they are, thereby missing the importance of individuals' perceptions. He tends to see the physical as real and any variations from the physical as inaccurate or anamolies that need to be explained.

These are all related to cognitive mapping. Perceptual situations (cognitive mapping) and interactional situations (opposing, sociability, helping, are the two final chapters (Chapter VI and VII)) which consider the ways in which senses of community are created and

defined. These processes proceed within certain constraints, drawn from other theories, of institutions, space, and conflict. These constraints will be considered as background chapters for understanding the existential dynamics of the community, Z.

Values, Norms, Institutions. Values are conceptions of the desireable and criteria for judgment, action, and choice, whereas norms are rules of conduct. While values and norms are shared to a great extent in Z, this fact is not greatly informative. More important for the problem of community is the inclusiveness of life worlds of individuals which may or may not be grounded in a particular place or time.

The focus of almost all community studies is institutions which Hughes characterizes as

> universal and timeless, springing up wherever humans live in communities: kinship and marriage, control over production and distribution of goods and services, performance of sacred rites, regulation of conflict, provision of sanctions for the breaking of rules, and assignment of persons by sex, age, or other characteristics to categories which define duties and privileges toward others (1969: 125).

The concept of institution has been used in a variety of ways and draws from the tautological metaphor of the functionalist domain. Bell and Newby define community as an interrelationship of social institutions in a locality (1973: 19). Within the physical territory are institutions that provide subsistence, work, recreation, education, religion, and political agencies. Of these institutions, class and political institutions are emphasized the most, as in community power studies such as Hunter's Community Power Structure (1953). Minar and Greer say the political is the most important because "the political community precedes, limits, and to a large degree determines

the character and quality of the larger human condition" (1953: xii).

Most studies assume a unified political unit. Generally the small town is the unit which is governed by a single government. Political boundaries imply consistent systems, organizations of government, education, taxing, judicial, laws and policing. Often the boundaries themselves are legal as city limits and zone.

Suburban studies such as Crestwood Heights (1956), the Organization Man (1957), and Levittown (1967) have followed the pattern of discussing institutions, though in them, not all social relations are locality bound. Yankee City's main project was to classify people into classes with the intention of seeing how class affects individual behavior. Vidich and Bensman (1958) show the relation and dependence of local institutions or urban and national ones. Hunter (1975) looks at whether people shop, go to church, movies, doctor, bank or work within five blocks from home in considering community as a functional spatial unit meeting sustenance needs. He found a decrease in this over the past 50 years in the community he studied.

Of institutions, families and social clubs are most prominent within Z; people must seek other places to meet most other institutional needs. Hence, a chapter (Chapter IV) on families includes information about family histories, family relations in daily life, and family occupations. Social clubs are considered primarily under the interactional situations of sociability (Chapter VII).

Ecology. Ecology concerns the spatial and physical dimensions of communities as well as the distribution of people and services. Outside of strict ecological studies of communities, almost all community studies include some description of the place, but without

making it the central aspect of community. For example, Warner in Yankee City (1963) starts out telling where Yankee City is located, how the streets, railroad and river run, what is the state of houses and where different residential and commercial types are located. He delineated twelve ecological areas of the city based on size and condition of the house, the amount and payment of rent, class membership, property values, crime and delinquency, percent of foreign-born, distribution of ethnic groups, and recognition by members of the community. Hunter (1975) notes that being non-suburban, racially integrated, and near a university were factors ecologically important to his community.

A place, then may be considered basic to a community, but when it carries the idea of all-encompassing, consistent boundaries, it ignores the sense of community that exists around Z. While density of population and cycles of different kinds of people are inapplicable to Z, constraints of territory and boundaries are important as people use the lake, roads, and the agricultural setting to typify their place as a community. Seasonal variations in the nature of the community are also more poignant in the country as lake people come and go and land use changes. These will be described in Chapter IV along with certain demographic dimensions and further considered in Chapter VI on perceptions of community as people selectively use the space and physical dimensions for creating meaning systems about community.

Rural ranking systems exist, but they are more subtle than elsewhere. "Subjectively, then, rural stratificaiton systems are less refined and less detailed than urban stratification systems and

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reflect more consideration of class relations--the possession of land and control over property" (Manning, 1975: 321). Amount of land owned generally distinguishes rural classes; in Z the belief in equality has factual correspondence in similar land values. Duncan and Artis find "wealth and a high material standard of living, activity and leadership in community organizations, religious worthiness, positive moral characteristics, and good education" to be the principal criteria of higher standings in another rural setting (1949: 48). In Z, as we will see in Chapter IV plots of land tend to be roughly equivalent as is their value. Perhaps this size and value is an underlying basis for belief in equality in interactions, as it might not be in other areas where land values vary such as Plainville or the south (West, 1945, Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, 1944). On the other hand, if we looked at the greater economic system Z participates in, as conflict theorists would have us do, we find limits on Z by external market relations which control prices and demands of certain products throughout the world and that people of Z occupy a lower working class position and a relative deprivation of wealth with respect to national and international hierarchies. We shall see in the interactional situations of opposing outsiders, people of Z compete and conflict with other groups in the vicinity and thereby provide an identity and cohesion to Z.

Historical dimensions are of concern and derived from the conflict approach. Concern with history is obviously crucial for communities; actual community studies consider history to lesser or greater extents. For example, the Lynds concentrate on the period from 1890 to 1924 and Warner includes a history of Yankee City. Succession in

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ecological niches is a crucial concept in the Chicago school. Evolution of communities is the basis of many theories of community. Stein (1960) considers trends in urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization. This is consistent with Toennies' Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft change (1957), Durkheim's mechanical to organic solidarity (1949) and Redfield's fold-urban continuum. Hunter's (1975) article is a test of whether such changes have occurred; though local facility use has declined in the community he studied, interaction and a sense of community, that is, identification of and with the local community, are stronger than ever. He found that even when communities change, they do not necessarily lose a sense of community as some theories might predict.

People also use biographies for selectively interpreting parts of community. Here the general history of the place will be considered in Chapter IV and biographies in Chapter V.

The genesis of community is taken primarily from social constructionism as the Z community seemed to start with interactions situated in founding a local church, as will be seen under history (Chapter IV) and sociability (Chapter VII).

The location of community for Z also derives for the most part from the social constructionist approach as people take into account institutions, the physical setting, and the economic infra-structure to form a state of mind defining these as communal.

The process of community consists of cognitions and interactions (from the social constructionists). These are activated in certain situations which are defined as communal. This is very close to the process of networks in which the dynamics of community would

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be the activation and mobilization of networks. As Mitchell says: "Specific persons or categories of persons are called upon to provide goods, perform services or contribute support for the person who is at the center of the network" (1969: 39). This is the main consideration under the concept of helping (Chapter VII).

The methodology involved in this study was participant observation; to a greater or lesser degree, personal observation is part of all science and varies from experiments and Human Ecology surveys to personal idiosyncrasies (Douglas, 1976). To some extent I was asking questions such as "what holds this community together?" rather than "what is divisive?" I did participate in the institutions as much as possible--social clubs, church, school, town board meetings, the local store--not to view them as institutions, but to see individuals interacting and to collect topics of conversations. These topics of conversations were used as indicators of participants' typifications. The process of defining and participating in the community was further explored in about 50 in-depth interviews in which people presented life histories, specifics of communal participation and cognition, and finally, drew maps of what they felt the community consisted. Long-term history and change was also explored in old county history books and other historical and census data. All of these are discussed in detail in Chapter III.

The following is an overview of the paradigms and their utility, and preceeds summary remarks.

Functionalism. The concept of institutions as drawn from functionalism will be used in considering certain institutions of marriage and family and voluntary associations, as will be discussed in Chapters

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V and VII, are the dominant institutions. The emphasis will be on the social construction of community since this process is more visible due to the lack of formal structures of community such as those functionalists consider (governmental, educational, economic, and commercial). Because formal institutions are not as visible we are able to see the otherwise less visible processes such as subtle defining of community.

Human ecology. While physical boundaries and concentration aspects of community are largely inapplicable here, the physical presence of lake, land, and scattered settlements cannot be ignored. The physical setting constrains choice to some extent and is used in the construction of community as will be examined in Chapter VI, "Perceptual Dimensions of Community."

Conflict. The most important concept drawn from the conflict approach (outside of the necessity of considering history) is what I have called opposing; these are situations of confronting outsiders which compel people to mobilize a coherent image or provide contrasts with Z which in turn foster a separate identity for Z.

Social Construction. Suttles' concept of cognitive mapping is applied to Z as physical entities are taken into account in determining the unique character of the community. In Z the community is primarily lodged in the talk of people--hence, their talk and how it helps constitute the community is one major consideration as an indicator of the senses of community. People create the community by getting together for opposing, sociability, helping--all behavioral dimensions of community which are the major substantive areas of community to be examined. The perceptual dimensions are also discussed

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This review of the literature encompases definitions of community in terms of physical, institutional, interactional, perceptual, and temporal dimensions. Those aspects that are emphasized in most community studies--boundaries, institutions, power structures--are either at a minimum or are contradictory in Z. For example, political boundaries such as state lines and county lines are not isomorphic with other boundaries such as mail districts. Interaction, perceptions, and a shared past, then, take on great significance as tools for creating and maintaining a community. In short, the most useful approach for this research is phenomenological: "community" refers to <u>senses</u> of belonging and being together which are socially <u>constructed</u>, guided by perceptions, and shaped by the talk of interacting people.

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on three areas: sources of data, the focus of the study, and the impact of the research on the community. The main thrust of this research is the identification and refinement of sociological paradigms of communities or conceptions of communities, rather than the testing of hypotheses. Accordingly, qualitative field methods and fieldwork (rather than surveys or experiments) have been the techniques employed for empirically identifying the way in which people bound or make sense of their common relations, often called community. As already suggested, theorists often begin with a common sense, unquestioned idea of what community is and then go out and measure community, provide indexes of the thing. I am inverting the procedure and asking how can we get at this tacit sense of community?

Sources of Data

Field methods consist of a number of different techniques, the foremost being participant observation. Manning refers to field research as data gathering "by individuals participating in (directly or indirectly) social life for the purpose of reporting it scientifically" (1975: 3). In my field work I observed, used key informants, employed intensive interviews, collected maps drawn by residents,

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read official documents, and collected life histories. Each is discussed in turn.

Participant Observation

The nature and problems of participant observation have been discussed extensively in the literature (Becker, 1960; 1970; Bruyn, 1969; Cicourel, 1964; Denzin, 1970; Douglas, 1976; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Johnson, 1976; Junker, 1960; Lofland, 1971; McCall and Simmons, 1969; Wax, 1971; Wiseman, 1974; Cavan, 1974; Webb, 1972). All these argue for the selective use of techniques that fit a problem. One participates and observes to try to make sense of a total situation, total in the sense of trying to employ as much information as possible to characterize a given social situation. Participant observation is the opposite of experimentation which tries to get the fewest possible impacts and establish a particular effect. Field work is most relevant to the exploratory kind of theory building I am doing which is more criticizing and explicating theory rather than testing hypotheses.

I was a participant observer in the Z community in two primary structural settings. First, I was a resident in the community which actually entailed a number of roles. I lived in the community collecting data for one year, from September, 1975 to August 1976. I had previously spent thirty summers living in the community and so I knew a number of people. I have continued to visit the community about once a month in the year up to this writing. As a resident, I was also a daughter because I lived with my parents who have lived in the community a number of years. In fact, my father was born and

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raised there, as was his father, and he has always spent at least part of every year of his life there. My mother had contact with the community since her marriage and in addition, is very active socially. She provided my entrance into most of the social clubs by introducing me and my project. Thus, my father provided me with the credentials and status of a long-term (several generations) resident while my mother's participation gave me roles and access to activities. In addition, I was also a mother of school-aged children and participated in the school and learned of children's view of the community through my children.

In other structural settings, I was able to step back and take a social scientific perspective and self-consciously take notes for characterizing the setting. People knew that the reason why I (as a researcher) was spending the year in the community was to collect information about the community to use in my studies and possibly to collate this material for the residents. My mother introduced me to her friends as "studying community living." Most people interpreted this to mean that I was writing a history and they referred me to and equated me with other amateur historians in the community. My role as a researcher was not covert and people were not surprised to see me taking notes at meetings and were most cooperative in being interviewed. At the same time, I took different distances from the participant roles and different perspectives on my roles than people there. At times my perspective of the role was discrepant from the expectations of the role. For example, some people were thinking of me as a friend when in fact I was primarily a researcher. At other times the expectations and my perceptions were congruent, for example,

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The particular settings I participated in ranged from formal to informal. In all of these, formal or informal, I was primarily collecting conversations to determine the enactment of community in everyday life. In order to maximize my participation in conversations, I focused on key episodes. So for example, I participated in as many club meetings as possible which consisted primarily of informal talking and spent less time attending church where the service was the main activity and there was very little interaction among the worshippers. I attended the meetings of almost all the women's clubs (including Garden Club, Neighborly Club, Church Women's Association, Homemakers). I was also on the Bicentennial committee and went to the town board meetings, and a church book discussion group. These all involved monthly meetings which lasted about three hours each. In addition I observed card parties my mother held and attended one senior citizen's card party. The sex segregation in certain events excluded me; so for example, I did not participate in hunting, bowling, fire fighters, or the farmer's coffee club. It is important to note that during the year in which I was a participant-observer, I observed changing seasons which revealed not only the cycle of activities of farming families, but also the influx and exit of large numbers of summer tourists. From April through July I worked for about 15 hours a week in the local grocery store; the store was a gathering place and many conversations occurred there. Because I lived with a family, I was privy to many informal events such as telephone conversations and visits. I also regularly called and visited friends in the community to keep in touch with communal events. I took

elaborate notes on all of these communal events.

I have notebooks with four major divisions. The first I called "Daily Tidbits" which were daily information I picked up by overhearing conversations or talking to friends. I either took these notes while the conversations were occurring, or immediately after. The second division in my notebooks was for interviews. As much as possible, I wrote verbatim notes while interviews were occurring. I also tape-recorded most of the interviews and transcribed them. Third were notes on social events such as club meetings. I usually took a few notes during the meetings and later added details, although at times I recorded word for word conversations. When I worked at the store, I covertly scribbled notes on scraps of paper which I kept in my pocket and later typed out the details. Fourth were memos to myself, trying to explain what was happening or development of particular concepts.

The field work ended for both theoretical and practical reasons. First, a year in the field had enabled me to view all the seasonal changes and a complete cycle of communal events. Also, social patterns were repeating themselves and I saw little new information on the subjects in which I was interested. Second, I had the practical concerns associated with returning to Michigan State University in order to earn money as a teaching assistant and also to enroll my children in a school at the beginning of the school year.

Key Informants

Informal participant observation mentioned in the previous section (over-hearing conversations and "Daily Tidbits") overlaps

with what I have called key informants. These four people were unwitting informants because they did not always realize they were being informants: I frequently engaged them in conversations, a not unusual practice in the community. The first informant was a close relative to me who came to Z when she married 42 years ago. She was very active in the community and knew many people. In addition, she had a very good memory and could review past events for me including "scandals" (such as suicides, insanity, etc.) and other information other people would not tell me. The second informant was a man who had been born and raised in the community and although he had lived outside the community, he maintained ties in Z and returned every summer. I could ask this man about past events and somewhat obtain a male viewpoint of the community. The third informant was a good friend my age whom I have known since childhood. She has spent all her life in the community, now lives in the village and had a keen perception of what was happening. However, since she did not participate in any groups, I could not ask her about them. The fourth informant was a neighbor, a young woman who married into the community ten years ago and who belonged to some of the organizations. I was able to obtain a younger woman's view of the community from her, and also, since she did not like Z, a negative view of it. The validity here is relational. Since I knew these people a long time, we could talk and since I viewed things the same way, I didn't question what they told me. If I talked with others at the same length, I may have found something different about the community, but that is doubtful since I was in a network of informal talk representative of a large number of people. Since the setting was fairly non-conflicting and

non-open, talking with a few people in depth told me about a great number of people. By regularly talking informally with my parents and a few friends, I was able to elicit descriptions and record daily events of family and community lives. I also asked these people to explain and clarify the meaning of events which I did not completely understand.

Interviews

I formally interviewed 61 people according to a schedule I had prepared (cf. Appendix A). Most of these were tape-recorded and lasted from one to three hours, most tending closer to three hours. I used a snowball technique for drawing a sample of persons to interview. Denzin suggests one way of sampling social relations by asking respondents who are their significant others:

> the snowball technique is a variation on the general sociometric method of having persons list the persons they feel closest to within a specified social structure. I prefer to term it the 'significant other' method, because this more accurately reflects the rationale for examining social relationships (1970: 93).

This method of sampling not only provides a sample of respondents, but itself replicates the community. This method actually reproduces the structure of the community and increases the likelihood of obtaining the communal networks. Hence, snowball sampling was chosen in part because it allowed me to a sample that followed lines of contact, networks of friends. I talked initially with a few people I knew best--parents, friends, neighbors, and then interviewed people whom the originals referred to. For example, people would say, "You really ought to talk to - ." Their criteria of referents were generally people who knew the community well as a result of family history,

long participation, or from wide spread acquaintance in the area. Later at the store I met people I had heard of and my meeting them at the store provided an opportunity to interview them. In most cases I called people to be interviewed and set up appointments with them in their homes. They already knew of my project, either from my introduction in the clubs or from having been told by friends, so I felt there was no need to explain the project further. However, most people did not really know what was going to happen until I started asking questions and their misunderstanding of my project is evident in the example of the woman who said, "I'm not a Linn girl," (implying I should not interview her) even though she had lived in the community over 50 years. Also when I actually proceeded with the interview, people were sometimes surprised at how much they did have to tell me.

In 14 cases husbands and wives were interviewed together, but 32 other people were interviewed alone. Table 3.1 refers to some of the demographic characteristics of the people interviewed.

Table 3.1 Age and Sex of Z Residents Interviewed

Age	Women	Men	Total
20-40	6	2	8
40-60	6	6	12
60-80	16	11	27
80+	5	4	9
Total	33	23	56

More women (33) than men (23) were interviewed, partly because there are more widows, partly because some men were reluctant to talk to me. Most of the people I interviewed are older. Nine were over 80 and 27 were between 60 and 80. More older people were interviewed partly to obtain histories of the place from people who had experienced the history first hand, but also because those 60-80 tended to be the most active in the community and to know the most people.

A mapping of people interviewed reveals 20 live in the village which is about a third of the adults who live in the village. Twenty-six people interviewed live on farms which is probably less than 20% of the farm population. However, I interviewed all the families immediately surrounding the village and many of the other families are related to those interviewed. One farm couple lives in Southern (state). Two women no longer live in Z, but in LG, however, they both spent a good part of their lives in Z, and one has written some of its history. Another woman is a "lake person," that is, from a metropolitan area who recently started living year around in her summer home; however, she is active in the community and so provided both an insider and outsider viewpoint. Three other couples plus one man are retired farm families that recently moved to the lake area. Some of these interviewees may be considered to fall outside the community ecologically, but from my viewpoint, they seemed relevant. In saying they were relevant, I am drawing on my own idea of who was in the community.

In addition to the 56 people interviewed, five others not included in the table were business persons in the community including the police chief. These interviews consisted of finding out about

the history of the business, the number and residency of employees, and the source of materials and customers. Other people such as the Z minister, governmental leaders and club leaders were long-term, well-known residents who participated in the longer interview mentioned previously.

Life Histories

Part of the intensive interviews consisted of eliciting life histories of people which included their family history, how they came to Z, schooling, marriage, children, occupations and the details of their participation in the community (cf. Appendix A for specific questions). What people told me in interviews was supplemented with scrap books, diaries, and old letters which people showed me.

Maps and Mapping

At the end of the interviews, I asked people to draw maps of what they felt the Z community consisted. What I normally said, although I did not ask in a standardized method was, "Now I want you to draw a map of what you feel is included in the Z community." Forty-two people complied. I gathered eight other maps at club meetings. Table 3.2 shows the age and sex of those who drew maps. Thirty-two women and 18 men drew maps. The majority of each were 60-80 years old. People were also asked where they went for services such as groceries, bank, and doctor to fit cognitive mapping with behavioral patterns. Another way of defining the community was where people said they were from. I asked: "When strangers ask you where you're from, what do you say?"

Table 3.2 Age and Sex of Z Residents Who Drew Maps of Z

Age	Women	Men	Total
20-40	9	2	11
40-60	9	5	14
60-80	14	11	25
Total	32	18	50

Documents

Finally, I used official written materials which included plat books and census materials which I obtained from the northern county, but was unable to obtain from the southern. Several history books of both counties were available to me through personal ownership and the LG library. I also had access to old elementary school records in Linn township (former one-room schools) and old township records. Newspapers from W and LG sometimes have news about Z such as township reports, club meetings, marriages, deaths and births. I saved these during the year I was there and read several old copies from the library and personal owners.

This material was collected between September 1975 and August 1976. Though I write in the enthnographic present, in fact I have not included events which occurred after August 1976. I have kept in touch with informants who have reported that the store was sold, the minister moved out of Z, a new church was built, as well as several births, deaths, and changes of ownership. This is a limitation of any chronicle of on-going events. One must cease to observe in

order to begin to write.

Focus

It was not possible for one person in one year to gather all possible data on this community. I did not attempt to construct a complete "picture," or develop my study through a "total" emersion in the community. Instead, I focused on gathering key data which seemed to me salient in explaining this particular community. These data include cognitions, meaningful sources of a sense of being involved in the relevant moral units of the system, that is, particular activities and associations, and history as perceived by families. Other information which was available to me such as changes in land-holding and control patterns was beyond the scope of my project. As indicated in Chapter II, I drew certain key concepts from the literature which were relevant to Z and did not try to apply all the concepts which have been developed for the analysis of communities. I studied the major ethnographies and consider these of particular importance: Suttles (1972), Lynds (1928), Warner (1963), and Vidich and Bensman (1968). The concepts used are drawn from varying theoretical sources (cf. Chapter II). Not only are the works mentioned above the "classics," that is the best-known community studies, but in drawing from them and reacting to them (that is, criticizing them in light of Z), I was able to better understand Z as a community and also qualify and refine the ethnographies as theories. For example, the way I studied community may be contrasted with Vidich and Bensman.

Vidich and Bensman present a negative view of Springdalers as people who are duped into thinking they have a community when in fact

the controls and economic determination come from the mass, urban society. As vulgar Marxists, Vidich and Bensman present community sentiments as false consciousness. One reason for their "anti-community" approach may have been their lack of rapport with Springdalers caused by Vidich and Bensman's own very cosmopolitan, urbane attitudes.

In contrast with Vidich and Bensman, I had rapport with Z residents for a number of reasons. I had lived there off and on since infancy, I was a fourth generation to live in Z, and my mother remained active in the community and could introduce me to a number of people. I was interested in how people did maintain senses of community, in spite of mass society. Like labelling theorists of deviance, I championed the "underdogs" and present their viewpoint.

My Impact on the Community

I do not consider my overall impact on the community as being very visible. Other people had collected information on the community and other daughters have participated in clubs. Sometimes I was deferred to or copied because of my education. Other people interested in the history followed my example in talking to the older people in the community and looking into old documents. My work was facilitated by it being the Bicentennial year when people were especially thinking about history as well as having the current events of the year recorded. I was specifically asked to do this and the township published a pamphlet I wrote, "The Town of Linn at the Bicentennial" summarizing the history and current status of the community.

In interviewing people, I was forcing them to be reflexive and

perhaps think about things they took for granted. Most people were elated about my project because they felt now people would know about Z. It would no longer be the case that "nobody ever heard about Z." Their elation was primarily out of pride in their community, but I suspect subconsciously they felt my writing about it may legitimate it more and overcome some of the contradictions (cf. Chapter VI). People of Z seem to expect the end result will be a compilation of personal histories with each persons' qualities and achievements mentioned by name. Hence, my abstract, sociological community study will not meet their expectations and may lead to disappointments. Some problems may arise if the dissertation is read by members of the community to the extent that opposition and other characteristics of the community I have delineated are interpreted as negative.

As indicated in the second chapter, I have abstracted and organized community studies into paradigms of conceptual thought for the purpose of exploring these concepts in a setting that is not typical of community studies. Field methods were most amenable to exploring the setting in relation to theories. Through researching a community as a participant-observer, I discovered diverse kinds of action which can expand and specify concepts of communities. Hence the theoretical focus and the methodology have congruence. Conversely, if I had tried to take one theory such as Burgess' concentric zone theory, and deduce propositions, I would have been unable to generate much of the types of information I did. Nor would I have been as fruitful in uncovering problems with theories. Here the setting is multi-centered and depending on different kinds of action, the community expands and contracts in symbols. Field methods were necessary for finding this out.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMMUNITY

This chapter consists of several descriptive dimensions of the community of Z to provide the reader with necessary background material for understanding the stage against which community is played out and perceived by local residents. The concept of community connotes a place; therefore, some general discussion of the place is necessary. While the elements of the place are not as important as the way people perceive them and what they do with them, it is essential that these elements be discussed first for understanding the blocks with which community is constructed. Accordingly, the physical and political setting as well as demographic and historical elements of the Z community will be accounted for here. It shall be shown that these physical and demographic dimensions of the Z area do not themselves make up a community. Rather, they lack a central focus and the community consists of expanding and contradictory boundaries which may cross current political and physical demarcations.

Physical and Political

Community studies usually provide a physical description of the community. Here, that is more difficult to do since the place as a single, unified entity does not exist physically. What I will do in this section is to describe the general area "objectively"

with data from official maps, atlases, and other statistical documents. These should provide the referents to the "subjective" perceptions of community as found in Chapter VI. This physical description will give the general location of Z, its climate, resources, the general lay-out of Z and its position from other towns plus further divisions within the community.

Z is located in the northern midwest, 50 miles from one of the great lakes. It is in a rural area that straddles two states, just south of a resort lake. This area the Lynds (1929) call the East-North-Central group of states that includes Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

The climate is varied, hot and humid in the summer and very cold in the winter, with clearly recognized spring and autumn. Average temperature for spring is 45, for winter 23, for autumn 32, and for summer 65. Average rainfall is 30 inches annually. Electric storms are common in the summer and snow is abundant in the winter. Tornadoes have been sited in the area, the worst recorded ones in 1883 and 1967. Droughts are remembered in 1934 and 1976.

The terrain, 500 feet above sea level, is generally flat, with slight undulations and it slops gently downward toward the local lake, here called Lake Gladys, located to the north of Z. Lake Gladys is a deep, glacial lake, spring-fed. It is generally oval-shaped with the longest part going from east to west and measuring 7 1/2 miles. Another evidence of the glacier are the big rocks, often used for housing foundations. In addition to the lake, the Nippersink creek passes through many of the farms.

The area was originally heavily wooded, primarily with oak, with

a few prairies. Most farms still have their own woods and trees thrive in uncultivated places such as fence lines. The soil is the best natural resource here, being black and very rich, it makes this one of the most fertile lands in the United States. Once primarily dairy farms, they recently are changing to cash crops. The fields are used for pasture, hay, corn, oats, and soy beans, with a few truck farms. The land around the lake is primarily resort housing owned and used (mainly in the summer) by people who are not defined as part of the community by Z residents. They usually come from Southern Metropolis. Except for the towns, the rest of the land is agricultural. Most farms have two houses and several out buildings. Acreage size varies from about 80 acres to several hundred. There is about one-half mile between farms (houses).

A railroad runs southeast and northwest. It goes through Z itself. Roads generally run straight east and west or north and south with the exception of one that goes near the lake which follows an old Indian trail. There is one state highway that runs north and south, and two county trunks. Only one road is not asphalt. There is a stateline road, but it does not extend the whole length of the community. Some of the division between the two states is found in the middle of fields.

Z itself is the name of a small, unincorporated village, which flourished from 1900 until the late 1940s and is now dying as a commercial center, though somewhat growing in residents and light industry. Z consists of 40 houses, a town hall, a post office, tavern, church, grocery store, lumber store, feed mill, railroad, boat company, cement block factory, bird feeder, and construction company (cf. map

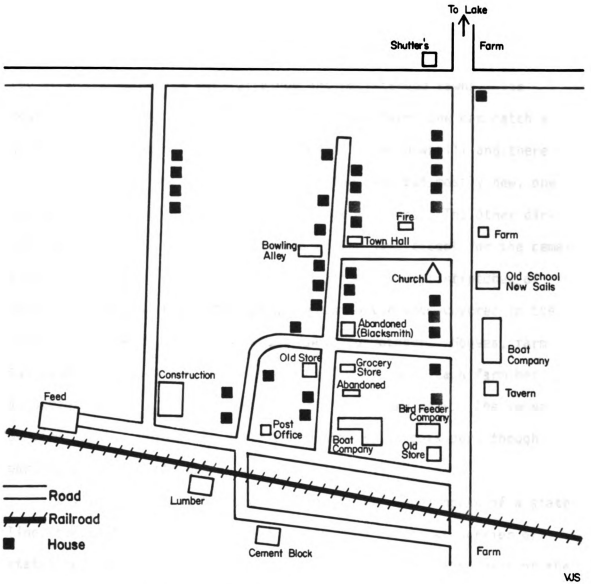

Figure 4.1 Map of Z Village

and pictures).

Now I would like to provide my own description of the general line of vision in various directions out of the village. Going north of the village is the most distinguished because of the lake. Immediately out of the village are mostly fields with hay and corn and a few cows (Holsteins and Black Angus) grazing. The impression is one of vast expanses of open space. One passes old farm houses with their red or white barns and out-buildings and well-tended lawns. The houses are neat and well-kept. Near the last farms one can catch a glimpse of the lake. Then the road begins to go downhill and there are many houses close to one another, a few old, but mostly new, one story homes. Occasionally there are large mansions. The other directions out of the village are generally the same except for the cemetary to the south. Again, the view is primarily vast stretches of various fields which are desolate, barren, often snow-covered in the winter and growing crops from about April to October. Houses, farm buildings and trees and fences break up the fields. Each farm has a "street light" but otherwise at night it is very dark. The sweep of view is thus relatively undifferentiated to an outsider, though particularized by members of the community.

Z village is slightly over one and a half miles north of a state line, hence, the community itself crosses the political barrier of stateline since some farms south of the stateline are also part of the Z community. These states will be called Northern and Southern. Both Northern and Southern are organized by counties which in turn are divided into townships. Northern county consists of 16 townships of six square miles each and constitutes a square of four townships on each

side. The county contains an area of 576 square miles or 368,640 acres, two-thirds of which is arable land, the surface of the lakes and some small tracts of swamp lying along the creeks and streams comprising the remaining portion.

The northern township of Linn holds its monthly meetings in the town hall of Z. Linn Township extends to the northern side of the lake, though few people would consider that part of the Z community. However, some people who live in townships to the west and east of Linn consider themselves part of the community. The political boundaries are easier to cross than the physical one of the lake. The cemetary for Linn is actually located in rural Southern and is called the Linn-H Cemetary. The county seat of Northern, E (population 4000) is about 15 miles northwest of Z. Other Northern towns near Z are the town of Lake Gladys (LG, population 5000), 9 miles northwest, and W (population 1600) 5 miles west. University Town (population 173,000) is 60 miles northwest and Northern Metropolis (population 717,000) is 50 miles northeast.

Southern county is larger than Northern with an area of 610 square miles or 390,685 acres, 76% of which is farms. There are 2,144 farms with an average size of 150 acres. Southern townships which are part of Z include H and a small part of A. Though H has a township government, the village government of H with a mayor is more noted. The town of H is 3 miles southeast from Z center and has a population of 800. Dairyland (population 5000) is 10 miles southwest of Z and Stockwood (population 10,000 and the county seat) is 15 miles south. Bigtown (population 17,000) lies 50 miles west and Northern Metropolis (population 3,000,000) is 70 miles southeast.

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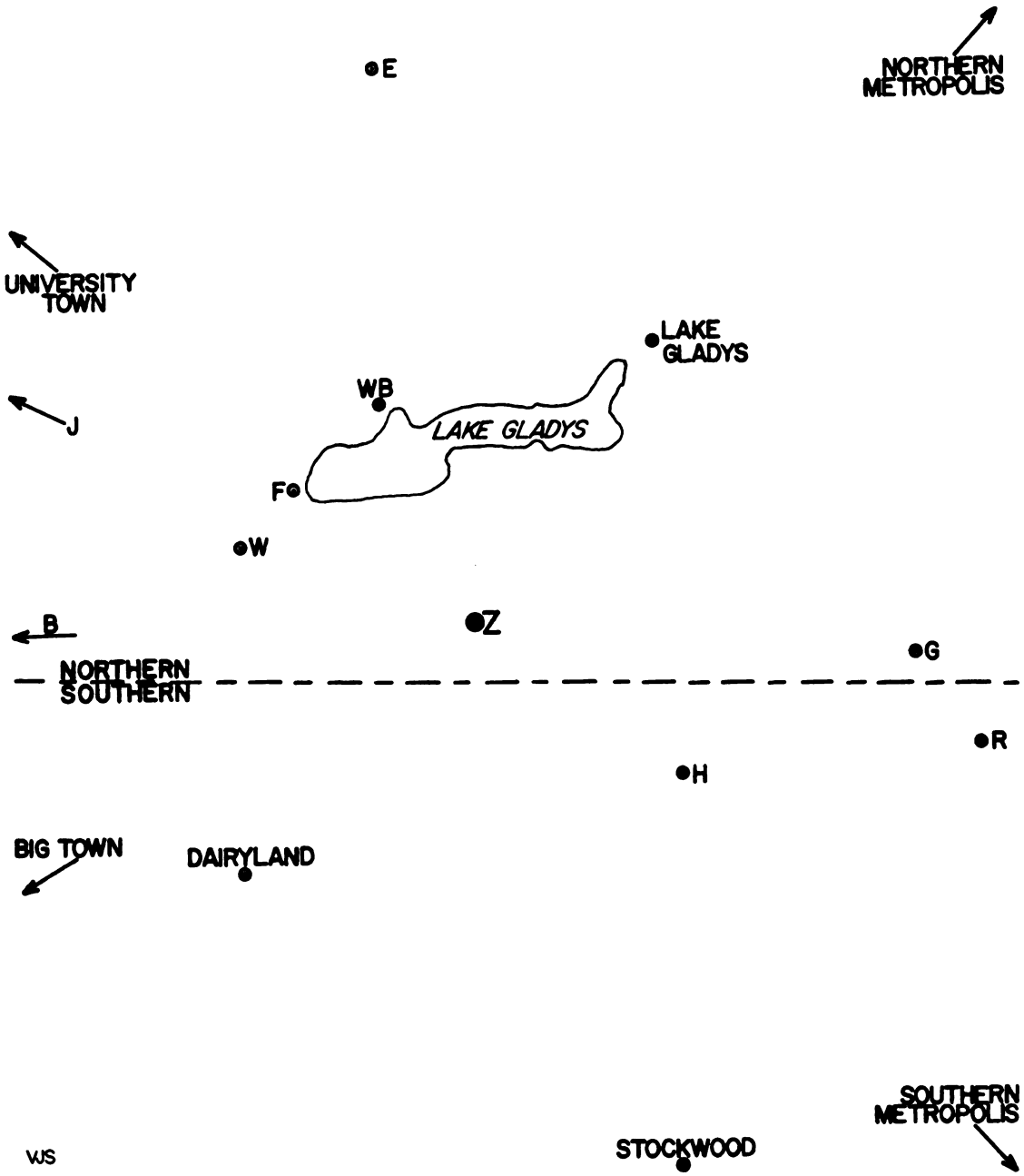

Figure 4.2 The Location of Z in Relation to Other Towns

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It has been mentioned that two states, two counties, and several townships are included in the Z community. These political divisions, however, are not always readily noticeable. Only on the state highway is there a sign that notifies one of being in another state. In some places a road marks the state line, but not in other places, where there are just fields, continuous without even fences or marked by different owners. Many people have land in both states. Even less noticeable are the township lines--available only on maps. They are never marked by a sign, and seldom by roads. So, while the political boundaries of state, county and townships divide and cut across the Z community, they are not that readily visible to one traveling in the area.

Other such divisions are school districts, mail districts and telephone sections. Children to the south of the state line go to school in H. The town of Linn has two school districts. The two grade schools are country schools located near the lake. Some go to W for high school and some to LG. Hence, there is no unified school district for the Z community. In some cases, neighbors on the same road go to different schools.

The telephone system for the whole area was once centralized in H, but within the past 10 years, there have been a couple of changes. First the houses north of the state line were put into a different area code so that it became necessary to pay long distance rates to phone neighbors on the other side of the state line road. There is still one woman in Z village who has a H phone. Then Linn township itself was divided, one side centralized in W, the other in LG. However, this division does not overlap with the school division.

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It is easier to call LG, which is farther away than H, because that is a toll call. People often complain about their phone bills which are higher from paying out of state tolls to call friends and relatives. One H woman who has a sister-in-law in LG, calls her Z friends only when she is visiting her sister-in-law.

The mail system does cross the stateline, so that some people in Northern, have a Southern mailing address, out of H. Other rural delivery comes from Dairyland, W, and LG. In addition, people in Z proper (and anyone on farms who desires) are required to purchase a box in the Z post office. Exceptions to this are two elderly women in Z proper who get mail delivered out of H. Some families have both rural delivery, out of W, LG, or H, and a box in Z. This is more true for those who live in Northern and have a Southern address, because it makes it easier for getting in-state tuition if their children go to a state university, and it is easier for drivers' licenses, other licenses and taxes.

These inconsistencies in divisions in the community often give people problems as will be discussed in Chapter VI. It has been shown that physical and political entities which usually enclose a community are somewhat lacking in the Z area. Instead, it is necessary to look at the social for community. While the lake, a physical thing, provides a nearly impenetrable barrier to the north, in fact the community stops before the lake, since those who live by the lake are "tourists" or "outsiders." Whereas in other communities studied, a unified state, county and city government are taken for granted, here these are all problematic. There is no single, unified government, rather, there are several divisions--political and

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communicational--which would tend to undermine a sense of community. What little focus there is in the little village of Z is not enough to foster community; in fact the people who live in the village of Z are less likely to know one another and participate in community activities than are those who live on farms, far from others. In sum, the physical and political entities of the Z community, leave the area without a centralization and criss-crossed by conflicting divisions.

Demographic

In traditional community studies, census information on the population is normally included, but for this community such information is difficult to obtain. Since Z is not an official community and crosses political boundaries, as discussed in the previous section, and since who is to be included in Z changes with various situations, a description of the population is nearly impossible. However, to give some demographic idea of the Z area, I shall discuss statistics on Linn township and to a lesser extent, on the census tract that includes H (less data was available). I shall also discuss some informal counting I did of occupations and other demographic information of people I considered part of Z.

Population size. Northern county has a population of 63,444 and Southern county has 111,555 people. For Linn township, the winter population is estimated at 2300 and the summer population at 16,000. The 1970 census gives the population as 1910 which is an 18% increase from 1960. Between 1960 and 1970 there was a change from 1213 housing units to 1472 housing units, a 21% increase. The

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1970 census shows slightly more males in Linn, 976 (51%) to 934 (49%) females.

Age in the township. Thirty-seven percent of the population is under 20. Twenty-six percent of the population is from 20-45. Thirteen percent is from 45-54 and 24% are 55 and over with the most of the latter category being 65-74 (8%). (See Table 4.1.)

Household and marital pattern. The most frequent living arrangement in Linn township is the nuclear family, that is, 73% of all households were composed of husband, wife and children. There are 6% female-headed households, 3% with just a male head, 14% where the male is the only individual and 3% where the female is the only individual.

In Linn, 1970, more females than males are married or divorced. Sixty-seven percent of both males and females are married but 5% of males are widowed or divorced and 12% of females (14 and older) never have married. Between 1960 and 1970, there was a 23% increase of those married, an 11% increase of those widowed and divorced, and 48% increase of those never married. Most people are married, but more females than males are divorced or widowed and there is a great increase of those never married.

Income. The median income for those 14 and over in Linn in 1970 was $1,828: $438 for females and $4,811 for males. The average family income was $8,043; 12% of families earned $12,000 - 14,000 and 11% earned $15,000 - 24,000.

Race and ethnicity. There are no blacks in the Z community and Linn census 1970 lists only two black persons. There is a resort lake east of LG that traditionally belongs to blacks and thereby segregates them from housing in this area. Occasionally Spanish-

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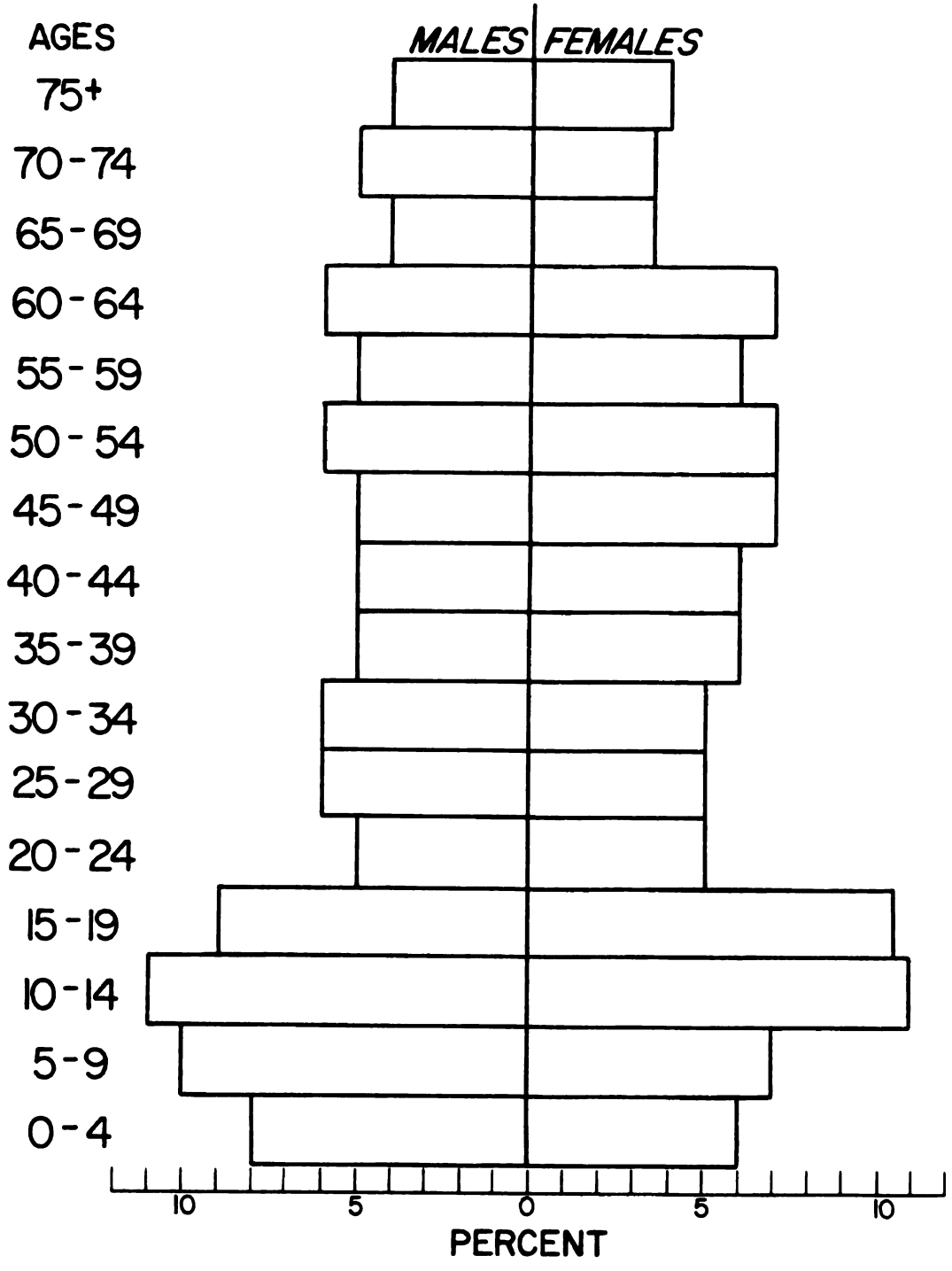
Table 4.1 Age Distribution in Linn Township



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speaking migrant workers live in the area and there has been a recent influx of oriental professionals, primarily doctors. According to the 1970 census for Linn, there were five Indians and one Filipino plus 73 of Spanish descent.

A number of people born in Holland live in the Z area, though (incorrectly) the 1970 census lists none for Linn. The census does list that the most foreigners come (22%) from Germany and the next two from Czechoslovakia (15%) and Norway (10%).

Occupation. According to the census thirty-seven percent of the population (698 people) from Linn in 1970 are listed in the labor force. Of these, 70% are males and 30% females. Fifteen percent are in farm work, 14% non-farm manager and administrator, 10% service worker, and 9% professional and 9% craftsmen and foremen. For H, 1970 occupations are tabulated with two other townships: 20% craftsmen, 18% operatives, 12% farm, 12% clerical, 11% service and 8% professional.

Informally and with the help of informants, I took a census of the occupations in the Z area. I listed everyone I knew and their occupation and then asked about the occupations of others who lived in or near Z. This count is based on my definition of Z which may not be the same for all. This included all in the village and in the immediate surrounding farmland: 203 people in all, 99 women and 104 men. The extra number of men may be attributed to the cases where grown sons are still living at home. The occupation that employs the most people is farming. Forty percent are involved in farming plus another 6% are retired farmers. Thirty-seven percent of the women are involved in farm work (by virtue of marriage) and 56% men.

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None of the farmers live in the Z village--all live on farms, so if we took the percentage of those who farm outside of Z village, we would get 92%--60% of women and 90% of men. In addition, 30% of farm women work at full-time or part time jobs. Three are teachers and the others include baby-sitters, school bus drivers, salesclerks, factory workers, state farm bureau workers and needlepoint designer.

Most women who work are said to have two jobs since going to work outside the home does not mean that work inside the home stops; it could be said that farm women often have three jobs. All the women in Z are responsible for the home, children, cooking and big meals are required. One woman who married into the community remarked she had a difficult time adjusting to making such big meals. Many of the Z women also have some or all of the following farm tasks that are designed for farm women: book-keeping, washing milking equipment, raising calves, raising chickens and selling eggs (less common now), and driving the tractor. Anything requiring strength or mechanical knowledge is strictly men's work. Some women, then have three jobs--homemaker, farmer, and working outside.

In addition to the farmers, there is a tendency for other businesses to be like farming--self-employed, owners of their own small business. This is true of all the businesses in the Z village. They are small, family-owned, having been in the family for several years if not several generations. There is no absentee ownership and owners work right along with the others. Of the people who live in Z, three women and 10 men are either owners or managers of a business and one son and two wives are also closely involved. These businesses include light manufacturing, garbage collection, construction, gas

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station, flower shop, grocery store, printing shop, tavern, tire store, and bowling alley (though not all of these are in Z). Two others in the countryside are owners--one of a construction company and the other of a lawn-mower shop.

Most non-farmers are laborers, 13%, and third come the small business owners, 6%, and 5% are professionals. Four women and 22 men are laborers, five of the latter live on farms. Four women work for the government (two at the Z post office) and others include cooks, bartenders, and secretaries. Five people work for lake-related jobs by working in a boat company or on the lake estates. Most men who live on farms but do not farm, work at a factory, but women non-farmers have a greater variety of jobs.

More women are in the professions: 4 from Z village and 4 from farms. These include teachers, librarian, and pianist. Three men from Z and one from a farm act as minister, teacher, engineer and pharmacist.

Where do non-farmers go for work? Consistent with being like farmers, most work locally (35% of non-farm workers). Nineteen women (30% of the non-farm working women) and 19 men (14% of the non-farm working men) work in the area. Twenty-one (19% of non-farm workers) work within 10 miles--at H (3 miles), W (5 miles), and LG (9 miles). In addition, five women and three men go to WB (12 miles), Stockwood (15 miles) and E (15 miles). Six others go more than 20 miles--three of these almost to Southern Metropolis and one way up north.

Religion. The church in Z village is Presbyterian. Until the 1940's virtually all non-Catholics were involved in the church in Z. With improved transportation, Protestants began to go farther for

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their preferred sects, though probably the largest group of church participants in the community are still Presbyterians. Other Protestants are mostly Lutheran and Congregational. There are several families in Z with no church affiliation, that is, they never attend church, do not officially belong, and do not contribute to the church, but who use the Z church for weddings and funerals; some of their children participate in Bible School or Youth Fellowship. In fact, virtually all high school aged people in the area are part of the Youth Fellowship. Over half of the congregation, 50 out of 91 members, belong to the Z community, but this is changing. More and more people from outside of the community are joining the church. This is in part due to the fact that Z has the only Presbyterian Church in the area. We may conclude that to some extent, people of Z participate in church together. Of 33 families interviewed, 64% used the Z church and 30% went to church in LG.

In sum, census data reveal no clearly delimited community--no population concentrations, no ecological zones with ethnic neighborhoods and no age or income uniformity. Though farm work merits the highest percentage of all occupational groups for Linn township, farmers constitute only 15% of all occupations. However, when one looks at just the community, there does seem to be a pattern in family businesses and religion.

History

The historicity of a city like Yankee City is monumental and constantly apparent in the old and changing features of the place. For other cities, there are innumerable documents detailing the

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history of the community. Again, there is the assumption of a unified place. Also, histories of communities seem to be largely male-oriented, concentrating on technological and political changes. While these affect women, women are not the primary actors of the history (nor of very many community studies at all--cf. Lyn Lofland on the "thereness" of women in community studies, 1975). Partly because political and technological changes are less important to the community of Z, women are seen as more important actors in this history. Also, because of the lack of a single entity and formal documents, it has been necessary to piece together the history from locally written, unpublished accounts and from people's memories. These are largely accounts of family backgrounds and the changes in who lives where.

History books have been written on the area, but these have followed political boundaries. There are 1885, 1903, 1922 and 1968 volumes of the history of Southern County. 1883 and 1912 are the primary years that a history of Northern county was published. For these histories, the political divisions into states, counties and townships are real. Only rarely is the other state or county mentioned--in such incidents which ignore these boundaries. For example in describing the tornado of 1883, the 1968 Southern history mentions some farms that are in Northern. These books are concerned with the firsts in the county and townships, the establishment and change in local politics, contributions to wars and establishment of physical and commercial monuments. They also contain several family biographies.

In this section I shall give a general history of the Z area by discussing native Americans, early settlement, the lake area, the

rise of Z village with the railroad, the fall of Z village, Z in the present, and people's perceptions of change and the future.

Native Americans. I start with a discussion of native Americans, not because they are apparent or remembered (because they are not, other than in some place names), but because they are too often forgotten and left out of histories. In fact the area around Z was open to settlement because this land was taken from Indians.

Archeologists record at least two different waves of indigenous people. The earliest and at one time with the most visible remains, were known as the Mounddwellers. Two of their huge mounds in the shape of lizards, birds, and other animals were once near the lake, before any towns were established.

Chief Big Foot and his 500 Potowattomies were known to whites. The Potowattomies originally came to the area as part of the western movement of Algonquin Indians. Their settlement was actually on the lake, but remainders of their arrowheads and trails indicate Z was also a home for them--but not for long. Like Indians everywhere, their home was taken away, this time as a result of treaties from the Blackhawk War (Chief Big Foot's band did not fight in that war, but fell under the treaty). "They were soon removed [to Kansas] though weeping like forsaken children as they took their last look at the lovely lake, then turned and hurried away on the journey, never looking back" (1873 Atlas: 98). Some people mention that their ancestors had Indians work for them. The last Indian in Linn, a graduate of Carlysle school in Pennsylvania, came to Linn as a blacksmith, but he had taken to drink and shot himself.

Indians led the first white people to this region when they

fought the Blackhawk War and saw how rich the land here is.

> It was war which first opened up the resources and discovered the beauty and fertility of southern [Northern]. Black Hawk and his stealthy followers, as they fled northwest to the Bad Axe and Mississippi, followed by the American army, gave a flying view of this rich region to our officers and soldiers and soon the attention of settlers was attracted, and emigration was on the march and within our boundaries (1873 Atlas: 98).

The first white explorers came in 1832. Juliette Kinzie, one of the first pioneers of Southern Metropolis, crossed the county with her husband in the fall of 1832, on their way to a Northern Fort. She has left an account of the journey in her story entitled "Waubun" in which she describes the scenery about the head of the lake. She was probably the first white woman who ever visited the area and her party was the first of the white race known to have viewed the land.

Early Settlement - 1836-1901. The very first settlers came in 1836 and settled at the lake. Those who followed also looked for water and found it in springs. These early settlers were true pioneers. They arrived in covered wagons, or in boats on the Great Lake, carrying all they could with them. They usually came in families whose first task was providing a place to live and clearing the land. There was fighting among the early settlers over land claims, but there was also a great spirit of helping because of the scarcity of facilities. Sarah McBride who came with her family in a covered wagon from Ohio accompanied by a cow, describes her experiences:

> We came through [Southern Metropolis] which was but a small village and very swampy all around it so we moved in till we came to what is now the town of Linn, Northern, where we arrived June 4, 1836. Father had said he was going to stop where he found good water and there he found excellent springs.

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The McBrides were probably typical of the first settlers. They first built a shanty out of bark peeled from trees until they could get their tools which had been shipped to Northern Metropolis. After living in the shanty one month, they asked people as far as ten miles away to help them with their log cabin. Later settlers stayed with the older ones while their house was built. Sarah describes the building:

> Father made the shingles and floor and the door out of split logs, hewn with a broad ax, and we had no furniture, not even a chair, so he made some stools and a table, and bored auger holes in the side of the house and inserted poles, for the sides and ends of a bedstead, and we thought it quite an improvement over the shanty.

Sarah McBride further describes their troubles with mosquitoes and wolves.

People depended on Southern Metropolis and other port cities for importing goods, for mail, and for things they could not make themselves; many arrived in the midwest by boat at one of these ports and walked to the Z area. Much of the lumber for the first frame houses was pulled by ox team.

Northern county was surveyed in 1835 and in 1838 when the county was organized, Linn was part of Gladys. In the 1840's and 50's, many more settlers came, many of whose families have remained on the land today. These families were from the East, or England, Germany, Ireland. Linn became separate from Gladys in 1844 by act of the Territorial Legislature. The early records of the town show there were disputes over putting up fences between different farms, and also the business of putting in roads and negotiating for the land. Soon, every few miles there was a creamery, post office and blacksmith shop.

The only one of these that remains, with a restaurant and about five houses, one mile northwest of Z, got its nickname of Slopville from the creamery there which drained the whey into a low place. Several one-room schools came into existence at this time also, though none of them were attached to commercial areas.

Southern had become a state in 1818 and the county was named in 1836 after a Blackhawk War major. One of the histories records that one of the first women in the area used to entertain the lonely bachelors with hymn singing in her home. As one of the favorite hymns was H, so she named the town. The village of H dates from 1861. The railroad came to H in 1860 making that an important place in the area.

The earliest grass-roots organizations formed were churches. The Presbyterian Church was probably the very first formation of senses of community in Z because it brought people together for the first time. The Linn Presbyterian Church has stood the longest in Linn. Arriving at Z village in 1922, it had been started by Linn and H residents in 1844 and was built at the cemetary in 1867. According to one of the local historians, many of the early pioneers were traveling from the East through Southern Metropolis northwest.

> As these early travelers passed along the old territorial highway, there were cases of deaths and these people, who had died were buried on some place which seemed to be a logical spot along the way. It is reported that the present site of the Linn-H cemetary was where many were buried. This was somewhere about 1836.

Before the church was built, "the meetings were held in different homes and often in a school house" (Harry Thatcher's "History of the Z Church"). In those days the church served as a court for

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misdemeanors with excommunication the punishment. "At that time this discipline was quite effective as the church was at the head of social life, and if a person was left out of that they were isolated." (Harry Thatcher's "History of the Z Church")

Lake Area. Being juxtaposed to a tourist area was true for Z very early. The lake area has been a tourist spot and summer home for Southern Metropolitans almost from the beginning. Around the 1870's, closely following the pioneers who farmed the land, came Southern Metropolis millionaries who built great mansions along the lake. 1870-1920, the building period for most of the great estates, was also the era for the establishment of capitalists in Southern Metropolis. Many of the same people who made their wealth from Southern Metropolis, built summer homes around Lake Gladys.

Before their homes were built they often stayed at Kaye's Park. Located where a military academy now is, it was one of the best resorts in the Midwest from 1873 to 1901, and famous for its maple sugar and ice cream. After their homes were built, the wealthy Southern Metropolitans daily sailed their yachts to W to catch the train, known as the "Millionaire Special." Roads were poor near the lake then. On the way home they would wager on whose yacht would get to the country club first.

The Lake Gladys Country Club, on the south shore of the lake, is the second oldest golf course in the Midwest, started in 1895. It is an exclusive 200 member club with many of the members being the third generation to belong.

The Lake Gladys Yacht Club also on the south shore, began in 1874 when the first race was held. A permanent residence was located

with the Gladys Lake Boat Company and in 1968 their present club house was built. A sailing school uses the same facilities.

The rise of Z village, 1901 - World War II. By 1900, the farms of Z had all been established, the land cleared, and well settled. As mentioned, there were little scattered commercial centers with bigger ones in H and LG because of their railroad connections; in addition, people were socializing in the Presbyterian church. 1901 brought a big change to Z when the railroad came there. The P family who had a farm and creamery in Z, petitioned the railroad to make a stop there. Everybody contributed money to help build the depot. They were going to call the town "Golf," but found that there was already a Golf, Northern. The railroad president's daughter was reading a novel with a town called Z and she named the village Z.

Some say a few houses were already in the village before the railroad came. The oldest of these is rumored to be a hunter's cabin. The big boom came with the railroad. An enterprising young man from a neighboring county who had promised his father he would help him farm only until he was 21, started the first store in Z ("with everything from a needle to a thrashing machine"). He was joined by his wife, father and sister, and the post office became a part of that store. Another entrepreneur from H started a grocery store in Z and he also bought the lumber from some of the old creameries to make houses in Z. His son later built the barber shop and tavern. A large creamery at the railroad closed down the other creameries and their little commercial centers, some of which moved to Z village. The blacksmith from Bissell, one of the commercial centers, moved to Z and the store owner at Bissell built a garage in Z. A lumber yard,

mill, implement and hardware store all quickly opened. Later the first store owner built a drug store and recruited a doctor, but he left with World War I, and Z had its first abandoned building which, except for the upstairs apartment, stood empty until four years ago. In 1910 a bigger school in Z consolidated two other districts. Some women had started a Sunday School in Z prior to the church moving there and some of these same women were also very active in raising funds to physically move the church to Z village. The ministers of the church were seminary students who also came to lead evening sessions in Z village. In 1909 the H Presbyterian church began its existence as an independent unit.

Also during this time, a number of social organizations were founded. These began with women instituting ways of getting together for socializing and sewing. What the women did spread to children as they asked for a 4-H and to men with the Farmer's Club. The Farmer's Club, in turn, built a town hall in Z that centralized activities of the clubs and town government and also provided entertainment for the area. An annual fair was and continues to be the primary of these. Chatauqua visited the town hall regularly with traveling lecturers, plays and concerts. There was a town band from 1908-1910 and the YMCA met in the hall and played basketball. In addition, the town hall was and is used for dances, private parties and weddings. Another form of early entertainment was for farmers to hold dances in their unfinished barns and thereby make money to complete them. During this time, the village in Z seemed to serve all the needs of everyone around and it was difficult to go very far anyway. In the village lived the merchants who could sell to the farmers and also

take the farmer's products and ship them off to the metropolis.

The Fall of Z: World War II - Present. While the railroad brought a focus and consolidation around a village, the post World War II improvement in cars, roads, the influx of supermarkets and other chain stores, contributed to its downfall which was gradual. Starting in the late 1940's and early 1950's, a different trend appeared. Instead of coalescing because of the railroad, the improved transportation meant a dispersal. The blacksmith shop had become a lawn mower and repair shop and then moved to a busy highway. Milk was no longer taken by train. Hardware store, implement store, general store all went out of business, though at different times. A combination ice cream parlor and pool hall burned and was not rebuilt. The entertainment closed except for the clubs, but they often met in homes. In 1965 the three room school house closed and students were bussed to one of two expanded rural schools that had a teacher for each grade. These two elementary schools which were former one room schools now serve the entire township. They are located two miles northeast and two miles northwest respectively, of the village. Their location near the lake reflects the growing population near the lake. Non-Presbyterian protestants left the church to seek their own sects and people went farther away to shop and sell. Z obtained the beginnings of a dormitory community and people began to live in Z and work elsewhere. People may live in the area and have no reason (and often do not) go to the village. Many businesses closed down or moved out. A boat company was founded in Z in 1945 and was the first (and now the largest) of light industry to locate in Z. It took over some abandoned garages (gas

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stations in Z probably went out when farmers obtained their own gas pumps) and other vacated buildings. This year, the Presbyterian church is planning to build a new edifice out on a highway. Other factories have come and gone in Z; there was once a pickle factory and another that made hulahoops. There used to be hotels in H (primarily for traveling salesmen) and people in Z took in roomers--female school teachers or laboring bachelors; unmarried adults now live at home or in cities. Also, each farm used to have a tenant family as well as unmarried helping hands who lived with the owning farm family. Thus each farm manifested class differences, but this is no longer the case. The train has become a commuter line (now threatening to shut down services) to Southern Metropolis. New industries not exclusively geared to agriculture have moved in--a boat company, a birdhouse industry and a shutters company. All draw workers from other places. The church has greatly expanded the base for attracting its parishoners since it is the only Presbyterian Church in the county. The remaining store has survived because of its quality meats, available only at this store and drawing people from miles around. Card parties at the town hall also attract outsiders.

Not only did Z once serve most of the needs of the local people, it also served only those people, in a way shutting them off from others. Today Z no longer serves many needs and in fact there are people who live in Z but use none of the remaining facilties there. Everyone has to use other towns (and which towns are used, differs for each one) for everything outside of the groceries in the store. In addition, many strangers are in Z everyday and more

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people are moving into the area.

Interestingly the post World War II decline of Z was also a time for more organizations to be formed (perhaps to compensate for the lack of other ways to get together). A bowling alley was built in Z and suddenly, everyone was involved with leagues, whereas before, a few had bowled. A local volunteer fire fighters was formed and got the township to pay for a building and equipment. A woman's Garden Club, Homemaker's Club and a still existing three table bridge club also started then,all of which flourish as much now as then.

The Present. Today changes are (again) apparent. Many farmers--three this year alone--are selling their dairy herds and going into cash crops. Reasons cited for this are that cash crops make just as much money but do not involve as much work as the constant milking of cows. With cash crops and big investments of machinery, few people can do more farming and an examination of plat books over the years shows more land in the hands of single families. Occasionally, abandoned farms and houses are seen, but more often new houses are on farms because of a growing influx of people living in the country but not farming.

In Z village, the light industry whose market and employees are not local are starting to take over the few remaining farm-dependent industries (feed, lumber, grocery). The police department for Linn township started in the 1940's at the request of lake shore people to protect property. It was a one person department for 25 years, operating out of the chief's home in LG. Now there is an office in the town hall in Z with three full time police officers and three part time. The police chief indicated that the wealth of the area, lack

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of concentration of people and few taverns, none of which are teen-age hang-outs minimizes the problems in the Z area.

The boat company employs 55 people and has its own fiber-glass and sails divisions. While they sell around 10 boats on Lake Gladys yearly, they sell 250 boats nationwide annually. Their sails sails are international. The present owner (son of the founder) has attained international fame in the Olympics where he pointed out he was from Z, enhancing the pride of all in Z.

A gravel pit in Z was turned into a cement block business by an Austrian immigrant in 1906. He combined this with farming for 25 years, then his three sons had it for 25 years. Now the sons have divided up--two retaining the cement block business, the Z lumber yard and a corn-drying business and the other son into cash crops and trucking.

The Z feed company is located in the old Z creamery. The owning family had and still has a feed company in a near-by town and were asked by local people to come in 1934. All six employees are from Z and they supply people within about 25 miles. They will also buy and/or ship local grain out by rail.

A bird feeder industry started four years ago, using some abandoned store buildings, by an inventor seeking peace away from the city. An innovation this year is people feeders, using a similar design as the bird feeders and selling their own mix of a nutritious snack food. Only one person outside of the family is employed, their market is nationwide and the materials all imported.

A shutters and aluminum siding company was started in 1967 by a family who preferred to live in their lake home year around. The

business had been located in a suburb. Seeing the abandoned buildings in Z encouraged them to locate there. They brought several relatives with them who built a row of new houses on the west side of Z. Of their 11 employees, only two are from Z. Sales are not local.

To sum the current business scene, eight Z businesses are all family-based and except for three, started or requested by local people. The three which are the newest, employ outsiders, get their materials and customers largely outside the community and are all closely related to the lake, that is, they were attracted to the area because of the lake.

Perceptions of Change. The changes people say that they have seen in Z are technological, demographic, and social. When people are asked to remember events of the past, it is the beginning of things or unusual things. So the winter of 1936, a train wreck, and several fires, some of barns and three major ones in the village: the implement store and twice the boat company, in the Z area were recalled. Also remembered are unusual things happening to specific people. People remember technological differences: getting ice from the lake or having an ice house, smoke houses, out-houses, horses and buggies, threshing parties, gravel roads, and constant improvement of farm machinery. There was a parade in Z village to celebrate getting electricity in the nineteen teens. An elderly woman who lives over one of the abandoned stores, only got running water and indoor plumbing four years ago when a factory went in the downstairs and demanded that the landlord put in those things. People also remember the new industries coming to Z.

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especially in subdivisions on the lake; also that family farms are being sold out of families, farms are getting larger, there is less dairying, young people are not staying on farms, and there used to be primarily old people in the village. Many mentioned that more women are working now.

On the social side, people remember that there used to be more informal visiting and that T.V. has done away with this; they used to know everyone in the area, and people go farther away for things and do not do as much locally. Politically and economically, more bureaucracy and paper work in government and increased prices and increased property values are observed. As the town chairman says:

> Say 1950, I could have run the whole town, assessed it, collected the taxes and everything just sitting with my feet up on that desk there--by living here all my life, knowing everybody. But now I don't know everybody. I don't know what the evaluations or any of the property is worth, inflation has knocked it all to pieces. Now it's more sophisticated.

Future. When I ask people how they think Z will be in the future they see little change, but this is a wish. They see taxes and outsiders coming in could make big changes. They are hoping that Z would not grow and family farms would stay in families.

Conclusion. To conclude the history of Z, its social history may be seen as a rise and fall of centralization of commercial, educational and religious institutions. History shows a demise of community but it also shows the growth of social functions, somewhat to compensate for lack of community in other ways.

Chapter Summary

In looking at physical, demographic and historical aspects of community which are the foundations and assumptions upon which

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traditional community studies are built, it has been seen that these are difficult to discuss for Z. They are problematic. They lead one to look elsewhere for community in people's perceptions and social actions. This information has been presented with the intention of providing the reader with necessary referents for understanding the enactment of community.

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CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS OF CORE FAMILIES IN Z

The main argument of this dissertation has been to advocate the importance of people's perceptions and specific situations for understanding community. The purpose of this chapter is to supplement that argument by discussing the distinguishing characteristics of Z residents, how they recognize and talk about each other. Certain families are the heart of the community and represent Z. If one studies these families, one studies the community.

Why is it that some families represent the community? The knowledge and experience they have of the place and each other distinguishes them from more recent or transient residents. While all members of the Z community do not possess all of these characteristics, they each possess more of the characteristics than people who are not a part of the community. These families also represent time, as they and their ancestors have interpreted the history of Z. They constitute collective memories. Hence a number of shared characteristics involve history. The six characteristics to be discussed include:

1) Having known ancestors in the local area;
2) Two or more adult generations currently living in the community;
3) Having gone to school in the area as well as having one's

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children gone to school in Z;

4) Being involved in voluntary organizations;

5) Living in the village or on a farm near the village a long time; and

6) Being farmers or owning family businesses.

A list of core families was compiled according to names that were repeatedly mentioned in conversations and interviews and listed on membership rosters. These included 57 surnames, 103 households, 96 women and 92 men. Household will be the basic family unit here which means a separate house which consists of adults--sometimes just one, but usually one male and one female and their children. Two or more houses may be located on the same farm. The fact that there are almost twice as many households as surnames indicates that about half the people are related. Table 5.1 indicates the numbers of households represented in each of the six characteristics.

Table 5.1 Characteristics of Core Families in Z

	Characteristics	Number	Percent
1)	Ancestors	54	52
2)	Households with Adult relatives in Z	77	79
3)	At least one adult household member attended school in Z	72	70
	Households whose children attended school in Z	83	80
4)	Households with at least one member involved in at least one communal organization	69	67
5)	Living in or near village	100	97
	Living in or near village 25 years or more	98	95
6)	Family business	70	68

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Ancestors in the Community

A sense of permanence pervades Z because so many families (particularly farming families) have lived in the area over several generations. A number of farms have been held by the same families since the middle 1800's when their pioneering ancestors cleared land. Every family has stories which are often repeated as well as memorabilia such as old letters and antiques. A particular family history can be used to illustrate the nature of permanence of families. These stories have been passed on, the older telling the younger, but some of these details are also in local history books.

> The Brown family [names have been changed] consisting of an older father, two grown daughters, and two grown sons, left a small town near Bath, England, for some unknown reason, in 1840 and sailed in New York. There all their luggage was stolen, but they managed to make their way to some relatives in the Midwest. John, one of the sons, bought some land in Z which was 50 miles north. The father, son and one of the daughters walked that distance, the others stayed on with the relatives. They began clearing land and stayed with a family already established in the area. The daughter met her future husband, another pioneer who had come alone and started clearing land for his farm in 1841, when his pigs strayed to the Brown farm. John later married a widow who has some relatives nearby and they in turn had three children--the oldest and youngest being sons with a daughter in the middle. The youngest son was born in 1869. John meanwhile had bought other land in the area and became "land-poor"; that is, all his money was tied up in land. It is said of him in his later days that all he did was sit in a rocking chair in the back yard and not talk to anyone. The widow he had married who was a lady from an old established New York family, had refined tastes and hired special carpenters from New York to build an elegant addition to the house. She spent much of her time driving her carriage off to visit people. John died and Mary ran the farm for a while with the help of her sons and hired hands.
>
> When Sam the eldest son got married (into a local family), he was given some of the land for his own farm. It is said that his wife spent the money as fast as it came in; at any rate, he lost the farm and went into debt. He persuaded James, the youngest son to help him settle his debts and gave up his inheritance rights in return. Sam then moved on to South Dakota. James had meanwhile married a sister of a neighboring farm

woman from a couple hundred miles south and was given one room in the big house, but when he helped his brother, it so irritated Mary that she moved out and went to live with her daughter, now married into another pioneering family. This daughter had two daughters who eventually married and moved beyond the community.

James had two daughters and a son, all born around the turn of the twentieth century. In addition, a man from Sweden lived with and worked for them and for a short time a teacher boarded with them. After their tenant house had burned, they bought the nearest school house (which is still a house today) when the schools consolidated to Z village. One daughter became a teacher in South Dakota where she married and then moved to Southern Metropolis. The other became a nurse who worked locally and took care of her parents when they were old and had retired to H. The son became a pharmacist because he had had rheumatic fever as a child and a doctor told him he could not farm. Nevertheless, he bought the farm a few years after he had married a woman he met in Denver, Colorado. They remodeled the house into a duplex-like structure with the old part one home and the new another. For some time he rented the farm on shares and lived in the new part every summer, commuting to work at his winter home forty miles south. Now for twenty years he has rented the farm on cash to the same family and for ten years has lived in the new part year around, except for spending a few winter months in Arizona where his sisters now live.

Joseph, the son of James, has three daughters and a son who lives in Southern Metropolis. The daughters all live well beyond the community. There is talk now of whether the farm will stay in the family because of the high property cost, increasing taxes and insurance rates and a prohibitive inheritance tax.

These stories of hard work and sacrifice on the part of ancestors perpetuate a pride in the place as a community and the place as land belonging to particular families. The family inheritance, the land, was self-made, so to speak, each generation improving the land and buildings in some way. Pride from family history fosters a sense of local control, local creation and ownership. Because of the sacrifices and initiative of ancestors, people want to keep the land in their family and the community with local people who share this inheritance.

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Many Relatives in the Community

Continuing the family histories to the present, one finds several generations of many families currently living in Z. The most typical cases are where one son remains to help the father farm and he will eventually take over the farm. In this case, three generations live on one farm: the older couple in one house and the son and his wife and children in another house. Many people have several relatives in Z.

What are the implications for living in the community today? What does it mean when several generations now live together and have done so in the past? For one thing, it promotes traditionalism, localism and conservatism. People are socialized to doing things the way their parents did because it is basically the same place and same situation. People have a strong loyalty to the place because the ties are so deep and often they do not know other places or possibilities. Having so many relatives around tends to prevent one from stepping out of line because someone in the family is sure to find out. Finally, an in-group feeling is promoted because of so many close kin ties and life-long friendships. As one resident coming from outside said: "You don't dare say anything about someone because they're all related." This affects the nature of gossip which is only exchanged between very close intimates and is rarely widespread or malicious.

There are positive and negative aspects of multi-generational relationships within families. When fathers and sons are farming together, of course, they see each other constantly, also daughters regularly talk to the mothers on the phone and to a lesser extent daughters and mothers-in-law. This sexual division in family interactions

seems to hold so that, for instance, a woman is more likely to talk to her sister-in-law on the phone than to her own brother. There is far more same-sex contact than cross-sex interactions and conversations with grown members of families. When three generations live on the same farm, there is shared child-care and several informal get-togethers and dinners exchanged. It is not uncommon for some of the unmarried daughters and sons who live and work in the metropolises to come to Z every weekend. One retired women does her adult working daughter's dishes and housework. An 80 year old woman still does her son's laundry. Since her mother died a couple of years ago, a 70 year old woman and her husband go from Z village to the family farm every noon to fix her older brother's dinner.

Other family relations are not so smooth. Two brothers of the second generation whose families live on adjacent farms rarely get together or even speak. One woman who left her husband and came back to the farm, had difficulty with the parents in paying them and working out a division of labor. Another grown daughter who lives in Z village is also unsure of her relation with her parents. There are no prescriptions for when and how she should get together with her parents on the farm. Thus we see the characteristic of families having long histories in the community and what this means for people.

Shared School Experience

One of the ways people know one another is through educational institutions. Merely living in the community a long time, even having ancestors in Z, does not guarantee one will be acquainted with other people in Z (though living a long time in Z provides an indication of

topics of conversations once other people are known). However, people who have lived in Z all their lives have gone to school in the area with other people who still live in the area even though all long-term Z residents did not share the same schooling experience. Until 1920, Z residents went to one of several one-room school houses scattered throughout the area. In 1920 these schools consolidated into a three room school in the village. Then in the 1960's, the Z village school was closed and children now go to one of two schools located rurally near the lake.

High schooling was not uniform either. In the past students could choose whether to go to H, W, or LG, but now districts are enforced. Either way, there was little consistency in where people went to school. In the past before bussing (which started in the late 1940's) there were some sex differences in high school experience. High school boys often drove the milk to town when they went to school. On the other hand, transportation was difficult for women, so many of them roomed with families in town.

Having children in school also gives one access to other people. Acquaintances are developed either because children visit and are visited by other children and parents are involved in the transportation or because one is active in school programs which involve parents. Parents can also indirectly find out about other people by questioning the children who in turn, find out about others at school. Several older people mentioned they felt less a part of Z now that their children were grown and no longer in school.

In sum, though there is no unified school system for Z residents, they are tied to at least a few other people by having gone to school

with their children. Reminiscences of school experiences or what is happening in the schools today are also lively topics of conversation for Z residents. For example, one woman meets regularly with women from her high school graduating class, and they recount their high school experiences.

Participation in Communal Organizations

Having ancestors and relatives in Z, and having gone to school are ties of the past that may unite people and give them something to talk about, but unless people are involved in the organizations of the community today, it is less likely they will be in touch with other people and know what is happening. For example, one woman who has lived all but the first few years of her life in Z said, "If I hadn't lived here all my life and gone to school here, I wouldn't know anybody because I'm not active in anything now." An older man whose family was one of the first in the Z village and built many of the buildings and who himself built and ran the tavern over 30 years, now lives a few miles north of the village, yet he rarely goes to the village or sees any Z residents. Neither is he active in any Z organizations. Just his history is not enough to make him an active part of Z.

On the other hand, people can become part of the Z community without having all the shared experiences of the past by participating in voluntary associations, though such people will not always know some of the referents in the conversations. The events of the voluntary associations, in turn, provide further topics of conversation shared by Z residents. However, the majority of participants in the

communal organizations tend to be from the "older" families. The variability in involvement in communal organizations will be discussed further in Chapter VII.

Location

Though I have argued that the territory and place are less important to Z than human ecologists would think, ones' residential location obviously is one feature in whether or not one is part of the community. Z residents live in the village or on a farm within five miles from the village. People who share the family history and school experience but who no longer live near Z, even with relatives in Z, are no longer considered part of the community. On the other hand, newcomers who do live in the village or on a farm, but are not active in community organizations or who do not know other people in Z, are not considered by others in Z as part of the community. Somewhat in between are those people who have retired to LG or H and remain active in Z organizations. They share family, history, past and current activity, but their location is another community. If one never lived in Z, it is unlikely they will be part of the community.

Just as families have remained a long time in Z, so have individuals. Even families that have not had ancestors in Z have themselves lived in Z a long time. Yet because they are not born in Z, they contrast themselves with so many deeply-rooted families. When I asked one woman if I could interview her, she said, "But I'm not a local girl." She said this even though she married into one of the older families and has herself lived over forty years in Z. Another family in the community for 25 years claimed to be too new for me to

interview them. Much of the conversations have reference to past events that are only understandable to those who have been and participated in the past of Z. There is no great turn-over in farm families so people speak for example of having the same milkman for over 20 years. People are neighbors, friends, bank customers, church-goers with people they have known all their lives.

Family Businesses

As indicated in Chapter IV, another characteristic of Z residents is their similarity in occupations. Farms, service and small manufacturing industries constitute the bulk of employment and business in the Z community. These businesses are family-owned and family-run and have been passed down in the same family, usually to a son. This pattern of inheritance has led to a pattern of some males staying in the community and most females leaving. Since a male usually inherits the family business, it seems that the same families stay in Z and give a sense of permanence. The community consisting of interactions defined as communal is perpetuated by continued proximity of the same people who share a similar history. Economic inheritance also leads to traditionalism and local control since people share a history of creating the businesses and the community. In addition, economic inheritance contributes to the communal activity of opposing (Chapter VII). The way of life which has lasted through many generations becomes threatened when outsiders try to move near Z. Thus the economic inheritance brings us back to having ancestors and remaining in the community a long time.

In conclusion, six distinguishing characteristics of Z residents

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have been discussed to contrast them with marginal others who are not members of the central network of the community. Having these characteristics identify Z people to one another and also indicates what they talk about.

CHAPTER VI

COGNITIVE MAPPING: DEFINING AND ACTING

The central argument throughout the theory chapter has been that many of the traditional characteristics of communities are not found in Z. Z is lacking concentration of people, centralization in a commercial and institutional area, and physical boundaries. These missing matters serve to focus our attention on the processes of cognitive mapping and defining certain physical areas, certain shopping activities, and certain interactions as communal. In this chapter we will see how people impute community meanings through an analysis of how they draw maps of the community, by stating and explaining their shopping activities and by the way they present their communal identities.

Literature on Cognitive Mapping

In summing the literature on cognitive mapping, I will first give definitions and metaphors as derived from Schutz and then I emphasize three studies that are similar to mine: Jehensen who studied a complex organization, a hospital; Wallace who considers the knowledge needed in driving to work, and Lynch who analyzes maps drawn of large cities. Jehensen seems to provide parallels with my work because he shows how different segments give rise to conflict in interpretations of settings. Wallace shows how different behaviors including mapping

contributes to functioning, but also how mapping coordinates lines of action. Lynch provides the actual technique of map drawing for getting perceptions and understanding the importance of physical symbols.

The general idea of cognitive mapping is perceptions of forms and principals. That is, people are not aware of everything, but grasp chunks of meaning. The assumption is that people cannot operate with undifferentiated information nor with pure redundancy. Cognitive mapping is a kind of typification process similar to Schutz's conception:

> In the natural attitude of daily life, we are concerned merely with certain objects standing out over against the unquestioned field of pre-experienced other objects, and the result of the selecting activity of our mind is to determine which particular characteristics of such an object are individual and which typical ones. More generally, we are merely concerned with some aspects of this particular typified object (Schutz, 1971: 8-9).

This perceptual process consists of selective attention. Instead of seeing chaos or each item as unique, things are viewed as discrete and similar; they are seen as instances of categories, types or kinds of things.

Knowledge of the world involves constructs; certain aspects of "reality" are grasped as relevant to particular common sense while other aspects go un-noticed. Cognitive activity is selective and discriminating, but also allows people to abstract and generalize ideas to other situations.

Holzner elaborates Schutz's ideas on typification using the metaphor of mapping:

> The observer plots, so to speak, what he sees in terms of some set of rules that define what is a permissable map . . . . The knowledge which the cartographer obtains and represents through his maps is a projection of what he has observed onto a pre-established network of categories and co-ordinates, in terms of which he selects and arranges his observations (1968: 20-21).

Holzner points out spatial experience must be co-ordinated, for example, in order to carry out communal activities. In looking at spatial aspects of community, we uncover a part, but an important part, of the social perception of a given place. This does not mean people are always in agreement because co-ordination itself is problematic, but certain features of the community connote pictures of the community which mesh to a certain extent.

Suttles finds people map the city for indicating which areas of the city are safe personally to them (1971). Cognitive maps help people locate themselves in physical space and thereby know who they are and whom they may encounter. Cognitive mapping is a creative imposition of meaning upon the apparent diversity of the city. It serves to sharpen boundaries and identities of places, to indicate what the city is like and what it ought to be like, and to enable decision-making on social contacts.

In this chapter the concern is with typifications of community and what people say about the place they live in. In Z, the process of typification of the community is more poignant because of its problematic nature. For example, the un-differentiated land and the contradictions as a community such as the difficulty people have in telling where they are from, reveal the typifying process of doing community.

Jehensen applies the social phenomenology of Schutz to the formal organization of a hospital. This allows him to comprehend how members of different professions and life worlds may interpret events differently. Jehenson develops the notion that people use stocks of knowledge and foci of interest in order to grasp and create discreteness

in what they perceive. Yet, ambiguity is ever-present because of the multiplicity of typification schemes used by practicianers. Also, different people at different times use different interpretations. My study draws from the idea of typification and follows Jehensen most closely in attempting to discover specialized cognitive mappings used by different subsections of a social group. Because Jehensen is applying phenomenology to an organization and I am applying phenomenology to a community which could be viewed as a more complex form of social organization, we find some useful parallels. The major concern of the research in both settings is on the way members interpret their life worlds. Jehensen's finding is that psychiatrists interpret events in the hospital using the specialized body of knowledge proper to their profession, whereas my findings are that women and men tend to interpret the landscape of the community differently, each drawing on their own specialized body of knowledge. In both settings, events are interpreted differently by sub-groups of the organization who through slightly different biographies and specializations, develop somewhat different interpretative schemes.

The Wallace paper also provides some suggestions for my analysis. His question, "what does one need to know to get to work?" compares with my question, "what does one need to know to live in Z?" In both cases, we analyze informant maps for a partial answer to the question. In discussing the map he has drawn, Wallace points out that some parts are "blown up" which stand out, draw his attention, as landmarks in the route, while other things are omitted. Wallace says it would be impossible for him to list every building and every road which would be associated with particular, isolated incidents, rather

that the daily routine would be "less vivid, more selective images of past impressions" (1965: 26). Similarly, for people in Z, certain aspects of the physical environment "stand out" and are included, while nobody draws every possible item on a map. The actual map is one of many other cognitive maps Wallace considers in the total knowledge one needs to drive to work; other parts of the information and control system of such a mazeway includes rules of the road and skill in manipulating a car plus the ability to decode all sorts of sensory data such as the color of a light. These are all choice points for making decisions in getting to work. This detailed description of driving to work shows the complexity of one small piece of knowledge needed to operate in American society. So, also, in considering what one needs to know to live in Z, we also look at other types of knowledge such as where one says they are from and action such as shopping. The map Wallace drew fits with the discussion of typologies and cognitive mapping as simplified, representations of "reality."

Lynch also provides a similar precedent in his analysis of maps drawn by residents. His main argument is for designers to create an aesthetic city that will foster legibility in the cityscape. In particular, Lynch criticizes Jersey City and Los Angeles for lacking clarity of form (according to his criteria as a designer coupled with criticisms map-makers give of those cities). In order to compare cities' "imageability" that is, "a high probability for a physical object to evoke a strong image in any given observer" (1960: 9), Lynch analyzes maps drawn by 30 people in Boston, 15 in Jersey City, and 15 in Los Angeles, primarily in terms of five symbolic representations on the maps: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. He also

considers how these are connected. Some of the same symbolic representations appear in the maps drawn of Z, for example, paths and edges, that is, roads and boundaries, are the primary features. The node or concentration is in the village and also a few noted landmarks such as the cemetary or specific people's houses, though the concept of district does not seem applicable unless we use it to distinguish village from farm land, or as one person did, the use of different farm lands. Cognitive mapping has been applied to city communities--especially by Suttles and Lynch--for showing the organization of the cityscape. For Suttles, this organization comes from meanings attached to territories by people whereas Lynch is concerned with how the environment "facilitates the process of image-making" (1960: 7). Our job is to expand the application of communities by considering a rural area where slightly different categories may have prominence.

We are now ready to analyze the maps and other perceptual dimensions of community. I first wish to sum cognitive mapping. Cognitive mapping has been seen as a meaning-giving process imposing regularity and patterns which occur in perceptions of community as well as perceptions of any other thing. In typifying, individuals distinguish discrete elements from their background and relate these elements to other experiences. As we look at maps, we see separate units symbolized with lines for roads and words to tell what other parts are. These do not include all topographical features of any one place, but what is sharply distinguished and of concern to the perceivers. In map-drawing, people do not draw "everything," but chose to emphasize certain topographical features and omit others.

Analysis of Maps

In order to obtain people's perceptions of the community, I asked them to draw maps of Z. The Z community is not elaborated physically, that is, with the exception of the lake, the land is relatively undifferentiated and provides no strong boundaries (cf. Chapter IV for a description). Hence, the boundaries and what is to be included in the community is all the more dependent on how residents define and perceive the setting. In analyzing maps, I am emphasizing how people place themselves and how individuals perceive the community rather than how "accurate" they are as judged by an official map or judged by my perceptions. At times I will use an official map for convenience in illustrating where people tend to place boundaries. The maps people drew had no right or wrong answer since the drawing was their own. At the end of interviews, I gave people a blank, 8 inch by 11 3/4 inch sheet of paper and said, "I'd like you to draw a map of what you consider the Z community to be." Fifty people complied with this request (32 women and 18 men. See Chapter III, Table 3.2 for a description of the map-drawers). Those over 80 years of age were physically unable to draw the maps and others preferred to report their map verbally. One person drew a red outline of her idea of the community on a commercially-made map. None of these were included in the 50 maps to be analyzed, but only maps people themselves drew. In analyzing maps, I cover three categories: general elements, boundaries, and finally, individual differences in the maps. These categories seem to cover the salient characteristics of the maps drawn of Z and also provide areas for considering the range and differences in perceptions of the community.

Elements

Consideration of the elements of the maps gives a catalogue of the number of items drawn, how these items appear together in different configurations, and which are named. The general elements are included as an overview of the maps as well as a source for analyzing sex differences in the community.

Number of Elements. The number of elements refers to the number of named objects on the maps. If a term were repeated, such as "neighbors," that was counted once. Objects not named were not counted. The number of named symbols on maps ranged from 0 to 27 with an average of 10. The one which named no elements, actually drew pictures of some of the buildings in Z. Men tend to name slightly more elements than women with an average of 10 for men and 9 for women.

The elements named include roads, towns, and landmarks. From 0 to 19 different roads are mentioned with an average of four roads. Stateline road is drawn most often (25 times). (See Table 6.1.)

Another path is the railroad which 10 people include on their maps.

Nodes. Of the place names outside of roads, towns are most common. I have called these nodes according to Lynch's definition as "the strategic foci into which the observer can enter, typically either junctions of paths, or concentrations of some characteristic" (1960: 72). While in cities, certain intersections provide some distinguishing feature, some specialization, rural dwellers generally must go to a town to find the equivalent. An average of two towns are named ranging from 0 to 10; this is the same for women and men. Outside of the Z village which is implicit in all the maps, LG was

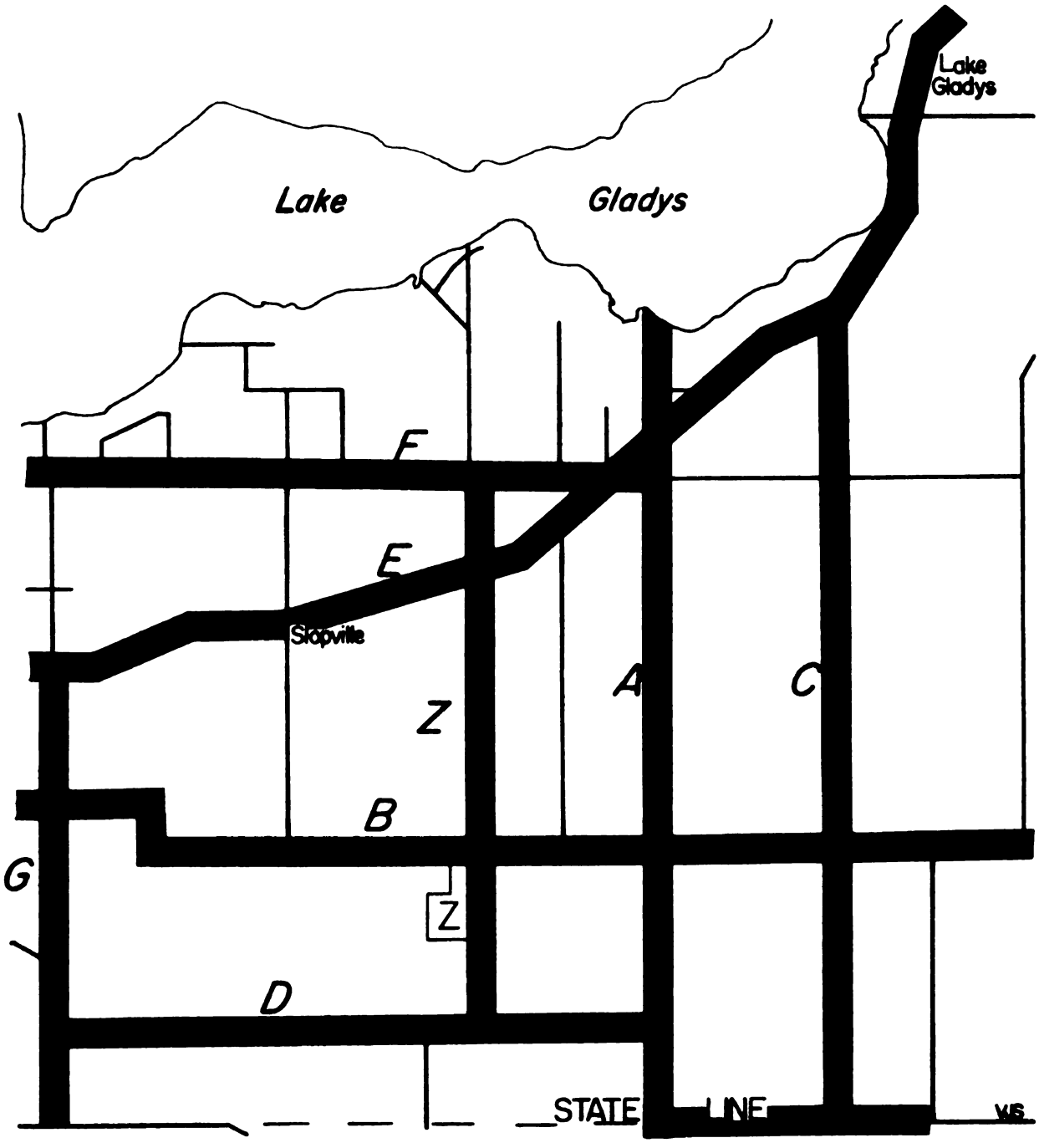

Figure 6.1 Map of Most Commonly Named Roads in Z

named the most, 15 times. H was named 8 times, W 7 times, F 5 times and all the rest less than 3 times.

Landmarks. The landmarks considered in the Z maps include the lake, schools, cemetary and specific people's homes or places of business. Lynch refers to landmarks as "some aspect that is unique or memorable in the context. . . . Figure-background contrast seems to be the principal factor" (1960: 78-79). While the landmarks for cities tend to be buildings, landmarks for the rural community are unusual land use--lake, cemetary, or personalized places such as schools or specific persons' homes. Half of the people (including half of either sex) include the lake on their maps. Only three include the cemetary. No man drew schools, but seven women drew at least one school. Seventeen people mention specific homes or places of business by the names of the owner. Slightly more women mention people's homes, 38% compared to 29% of men. Most people just named one specific family name, although one named as many as nine.

Configurations

How are these elements arranged and what is the initial impression of the maps? Configurations are the arrangements of parts and also reveal sex differences. I present configurations to discuss differences in the overall image of the maps. These are summarized in Table 6.1. Notice that first I have used "place names" to indicate only names when their location are indicated on maps. Second, names and outline means in addition to locating and naming places that people have drawn some kind of circumference to indicate the boundaries of Z. Thirdly, names plus outline plus grid means that people have

added cross-hatched roads to the other two. The majority of maps (56%) appear as a grid system, that is, an orderly arrangement primarily of criss-crossing roads, also indicating their names and the boundaries. It is more likely for men to draw a grid system: 61% of the men did this as compared to 53% of the women. Those who did not draw a grid include 28% who drew more or less a square with the four directional boundaries plus occasionally a few place names within the outline. The remaining 16% of the respondents indicated place names with no lines drawn. Here, too, sex differences are evident. A greater proportion of the men (33% of the men) drew the square outline configuration than women (25% of the women) whereas 22% of the women drew just place names and only one man did.

Table 6.1 Configurations on Maps Drawn by Z Residents

Configuration	Women	Men	Total
place names	17 (53%)	11 (61%)	28 (56%)
place names + outline	8 (25%)	6 (33%)	14 (28%)
place names + outline + grid	7 (22%)	1 (5%)	8 (16%)
Total	32 (100%)	18 (100%)	50 (100%)

Boundaries

Boundaries imply limits and are here seen as the end points of the community. It is important to consider the boundaries of the Z community because they are so problematic. There is no physical marker with the possible exception of the lake, yet there are many

political divisions, few of which overlap. The boundaries are determined by people's imputation of them. Boundaries or edges as Lynch refers to them may be clearly marked with a line or they may be inferred from various landmarks and nodes. Though each map is slightly different, we can examine the limits and extents of conceptions of the community by considering the range of possibilities within any direction. The core of the community centers around the Z village and for some, the Z village is all of the community. There is a tendency for those whose dwelling is in the village to consider the community as only the village. Four people thought the community only included the village and three of those reside in the village. The one who drew the Z village but did not live there felt that she (who lives on a farm) did not belong to any community, but on her map she drew sketches of the town hall, store and other places in the Z village which she does use. However, 10 other people who reside in the village did not consider just the village to be the extent of the community. The other extreme is one woman who drew Z in the middle of the world with Canada to the north, Mexico to the south, Asia to the east and Africa to the west. Most respondents view the community as immediately surrounding the village, but not inclusive to it. We can consider the range by examining the range of each of the four directions take us from the village. These will be illustrated on an official map.

North. About five miles north of the village lies a lake which is the most agreed-upon boundary. Forty-six percent drew the lake as the northern boundary. This is even more true for men. Sixty-one percent of men drew the lake as the northern boundary as compared to

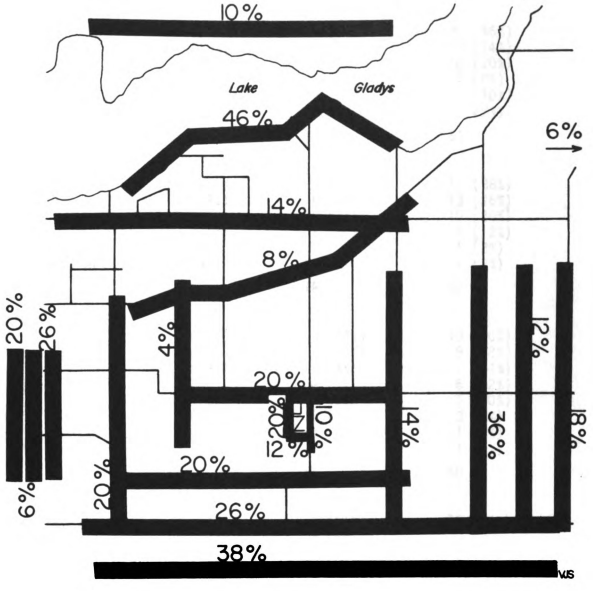

Figure 6.2 Composite of Boundaries Drawn on Maps by Z Residents

Table 6.2 Boundaries in Each Direction Indicated on Maps Drawn by Z Residents

Direction	Women	Men	Total
North			
lake	12 (38%)	11 (61%)	23 (46%)
S. Shore Dr.	4 (13%)	3 (17%)	7 (14%)
B	9 (28%)	1 (5%)	10 (20%)
G	2 (6%)	2 (11%)	4 (8%)
N side of lake	4 (13%)	1 (5%)	5 (10%)
Canada	1 (2%)	0	1 (2%)
	32	18	50
South			
S of stateline	10 (31%)	9 (50%)	19 (38%)
stateline	7 (22%)	6 (33%)	13 (26%)
D	8 (25%)	2 (11%)	10 (20%)
Z	5 (15%)	1 (5%)	6 (12%)
Mexico	1 (3%)	0	1 (2%)
indeterminable	1 (3%)	0	1 (2%)
	32	18	50
East			
C	15 (47%)	3 (17%)	18 (36%)
township line	2 (6%)	7 (39%)	9 (18%)
A	6 (19%)	1 (5%)	7 (14%)
east of C	2 (6%)	4 (22%)	6 (12%)
Z	4 (12%)	1 (5%)	5 (10%)
GC	2 (6%)	1 (5%)	3 (6%)
Africa	1 (3%)	0	1 (2%)
indeterminable	0	1	1 (2%)
	32	18	50
West			
townline	2 (6%)	11 (61%)	13 (26%)
highway	7 (22%)	3 (16%)	10 (20%)
Z	8 (25%)	2 (11%)	10 (20%)
G	8 (25%)	2 (11%)	10 (20%)
W of townline	3 (9%)	0	3 (6%)
before G	2 (6%)	0	2 (4%)
Asia	1 (3%)	0	1 (2%)
indeterminable	1 (3%)	0	1 (2%)
	32	18	50

38% of the women. On the other hand, four women, but only one man included the northern side of the lake. This may be because the activities of the men are more stationary whereas a few women go to the other side of the lake for work, shopping, and social visits. The second most (20% of map drawers) agree that highway B which is the northern boundary of the village is the northern boundary. However, all but one of these are women. A third group believe that the community ends just before the lake, in the vicinity of South Shore drive. A small group of four people (8%) drew the northern boundary as E.

South. The largest group--over a third (38%)--drew the community as extending south of the stateline. These varied from just south of the stateline to the cemetary and two roads running south of the border, one of them a highway which connects two towns, some of which were also included on the maps, especially H. With the exception of Mexico to the south, Stockwood in the southern state, about 15 miles south of Z village, was the southern-most boundary named by one person. Twenty-six percent drew the stateline itself as the southern boundary; 20% drew D and 12% all but one of which were women, considered the village itself as the southern boundary. A larger proportion of men put the boundaries farther south than women. Eighty-eight percent of men consider the southern boundary at least to the stateline if not farther while this is true for 53% of the women.

East. The east boundaries range from Z village to GC. Most (36%) consider a major highway to be the eastern boundary. I include in this count of the highway as the eastern boundary those who portrayed LG or H as the eastern boundary since that highway runs through them. Women more often than men consider the highway as the eastern

boundary. Forty-seven percent of women said the eastern boundary was the highway, but if we consider just men, more of them (39% of men) consider the township line the eastern boundary compared with 17% of men mapping the highway easternmost. The township line is in second place for all and for just women. This is similar to the southern boundary where a greater proportion of men mapped the stateline. Perhaps men tend to consider political boundaries more whereas women see roads and towns. Fourteen percent prefer a road closer to the village as the eastern boundary, though only one of these is a man. Twelve percent drew a road on the area between the highway and the township line. Another 10% do not go east of the village while 6% go all the way to GC.

West. Twenty-six percent put the western boundary of Z at the township line, but this is because almost all the men do (61% of men) whereas only two women do. The largest group for women place the eastern boundary at a road, C which also includes an intersection where garage doors are made, called Wilson's corner. Some of the people who cite C say it is necessary to include Wilson's corner as part of Z. Others (20%) go much farther to another major highway in the west. I have included in this category those who cite the towns of Dairyland, W, and Fontana, even if they didn't draw the highway, because the highway runs through them. Twenty percent stay within the village to the west while the minority vacilate around the town line. Three women cite a family just west of the townline they wish to include in Z. Two others stop before the townline, one of whom includes a school as western-most. The western boundary is unclear in one case. It would appear that the western boundary is the most difficult

to agree upon, unless we consider just the men who vote for the township line.

In sum, there is no single boundary to Z. It ranges from the tiny village to the whole rest of the world. Boundaries tend to follow roads, although the lake is the most agreed upon boundary. Men tend to follow the political township boundary (at least south of the lake) more than women do, whereas women seem to have certain people in mind whom they want to include in the community and draw their maps according to what roads they live on. Some women actually named certain family farms as the boundaries, though men rarely did this. There is a core of a community in the village which stretches out beyond it differently for different people. In particular, the cognitive mapping differs for the sexes.

We have indicated the vast variety of responses to the map-drawing. In detail, each map is unique. Also, in particular, there is a range for the boundaries of Z in any direction. In order to obtain some estimation of the extent to which people agree on the borders, I considered what were the two most frequently drawn borders in any direction. So, for example, in the north, the two top boundaries are the lake and B, for the south, south of the stateline and the stateline and for the east, C and the township lines. The west had a three-way tie for second most mentioned border, so almost everyone included the top two borders for the west. Next, I took each map and asked if the borders were in the top two most used boundaries. For example, did a respondent include the lake or highway B as the northern boundary? If the answer was "yes" for all four boundaries, then that respondent was counted in the first category. I counted how many respondents

were in the top two most mentioned borders in all four directions, how many were in the top two most mentioned borders for 3 of the directions and how many for 2, 1, and none. This is summed in Table 6.3. Only about a quarter share some sort of agreement in including each of the four most mentioned directions. We see a somewhat greater consensus among men in that most of them agree in three directions (but of course, not all the same directions). We can conclude from this count that the degree of consensus is slight. However, since the difference between these boundaries is often less than a mile, it is questionable whether these differences are significant. The question is answered by the fact that different situations may make the slighter differences important which is why situations are so central to understanding Z.

Table 6.3 Number of Respondents in the Two Most Frequently Named Boundaries on Maps Drawn by Z residents

	Women	Men	Total
Number of respondents in top 2 for all 4 directions	8 (25%)	5 (28%)	13 (26%)
Number of respondents in top 2 for 3 directions	8 (25%)	10 (56%)	8 (36%)
Number of respondents in top 2 for 2 directions	10 (31%)	3 (17%)	13 (26%)
Number of respondents in top 2 for 1 direction	5 (16%)	0	5 (10%)
Number of respondents in top 2 for 0	1 (3%)	0	1 (2%)
	32	18	50

Individual Differences

We may conclude this section on the analysis of maps by considering some of the maps which are unusual. The unusual ones tended to belong more to women. As mentioned, men tended to draw a grid or square outline of the boundaries, both very geometrical and straight forward. Only five men personalized their maps at all by mentioning specific people's homes. One man mentioned his own home, one mentioned my home, and one mentioned somebody else to include on the map. The fourth was the most unusual of the masculine maps, and only included the Z village, naming all the factories and stores in Z plus many of the home owners. A final unusual one was for a man who had just bought a boat when I interviewed him and wanted to indicate the location of his boat on the map.

Only 11 women drew a grid or square. The other women tended to personalize their maps more by including names of people they knew and made them more artistic by drawing houses, trees, even animals. They also characterize different areas by whether or not they are neighbors, friends, or strangers, which area is farmland and which not. A few women drew maps exclusively of their general routes in the community such as daughter's house, shopping area, bank, family homestead. Some women also had unusual perspectives on the maps such as placing the north at the botton.

In sum, we see different perspectives, in particular sex differences in perception of community by considering maps people drew of it. Though roads are the most commonly drawn item, there is lack of agreement about which roads mark the boundary, though we saw certain roads repeated. Physical characteristics such as lake, roads,

and political boundaries provide objects for people to use in the construction of community, but people are selective and no one included all the features the "official" map did. People cognitively map their community to simplify which features are outstanding to them which helps provide them with a representation of how they view their community. Physical boundaries are not fixed. Though we saw that a lake tends to be a boundary, it is not so for everyone. Also, political boundaries which may have no physical equivalents (i.e. not marked by roads or other topographical features) may be used or ignored in cognitive mapping. Women tended to ignore the political boundaries more than men.

Explanation of Sex Differences

An explanation of the sex differences may be found in the situational context. For women, the interpersonal roles are more salient while men are more utilitarian so they tend to see political boundaries. Gender roles in other areas are influencing the tendency for women and men to portray the community differently. The sex differences in cognitive mapping complement sex differences found in other areas in sociological literature.

I think the reason why there is a difference in perception of the community as indexed on maps is because of the kinds of interests and activities women and men engage in in the community. For example, women go to one another's houses for club meetings, bridge-playing and the like. They are also more interested in the children and participate in school activities. Hence, it is not surprising that women view the community in terms of other people and that some

women drew schools while no man did. On the other hand, men are more involved in activities which force them to notice the political boundaries. Men tend to be participants and observers of the township government. They are also active in volunteer firefighters and one in police work, so that political boundaries tend to be more a part of men's lives than women's.

We consider shopping activities as parallel to cognitive mapping because it is dependent on people's giving meaning to shopping as communal or not. Shopping is a counterpuntal activity that does two things: it reinforces the absense of community by forcing people for expedient reasons to go outside the community and at the same time, it reinforces the remnants of the old community which people attempt to activate through choosing for social reasons rather than economic reasons, to shop at the community store.

Shopping and Local Facility Use

Where one shops and the meanings attached to shopping show one way one's conception of a community and its boundaries can come to play in routine aspects of people's daily lives. The arrival of big shopping centers and super-markets has often closed the commercial center of small towns and even gutted cities. Accordingly, Hunter (1975) has asked people whether they shop within five blocks of home as a measurement of the functional loss of community. He finds that people frequent the local stores less and stores outside the community more. Hunter cites local facility use as an important theoretical dimension of community throughout the literature. He defines community in this sense "as a functional-spatial unit meeting sustenance

needs" (1975: 538). Hunter assumes territorial limits of a community and determines whether shopping occurs there regardless of meanings people have in shopping whereas Stone (1954) examines the meanings people attach to shopping and how personal identity complements shopping activities. Stone suggests that personalization in shopping provides a subjective, communal identity. His data show that many urbanites maintain a sense of community through their shopping interactions and identities. In this chapter, shopping will be discussed in four sections. First, the history of shopping in Z is traced to show the dynamics and changes it has undergone, in some sense making shopping what it is today. Second, different meanings of shopping are considered from the customer's point of view. Third, non-economic, community services the local store provides are delineated from observations there. Finally, shopping habits of 33 respondents are presented and compared with other local facility use.

History

When the Z area was first settled in the 1840's, people had to bring with them what they needed. Other possibilities at that time for obtaining goods were to make their own, to borrow, to do some long-distance traveling to Southern Metropolis (80 miles away) or Southport (40 miles away) or to import goods from the east and Europe at these same port cities. Some letters from settlers in the 1850's show that they went to Southport about four times a year, primarily to sell crops and butter, but they also bought things there.

LG (9 miles away) and H (2 miles away) were the first close places to have shopping facilities. LG's first store was in 1839.

An 1861 picture of LG shows stores on the main street in LG, one advertising "New Cash Store" and another wanting hides. Apparently this time was the beginning of shopping with cash. The railroad came to LG in 1871. By the late 1800's, in the Z area, there was a creamery almost every 5-6 miles and these often had a blacksmith, general store, and mail collection with them so that when farmers sold their milk, they could pick up supplies.

Some can remember the early 1900's when shopping was done primarily at home. Many peddlars came by, some of whom later established stores in a town. Peddlars had also come earlier. The recorded remembrances of one of the first settlers, Sarah McBride, says in 1839 they got a clock in exchange for deerskin mittens.

Mail order catalogues were also important. One 70 year old man remembers his mother ordering even staple groceries through the mail order. Mail order continues to be important today as there are no "discount" stores nearby. Delivery trucks continued to be important until a few years ago. For instance, there was a bread and bakery truck, the Omar man, that used to come regularly. Juice, milk, cosmetics and feed are still delivered to homes. Though it costs more to get deliveries, there is also the factor of how much gas costs to go pick it up. One woman told me she has milk delivered--it costs her the same as it does at the local store, so she does not have to spend time and money going farther away.

When the railroad came in 1901, two grocery and general stores opened at the railroad stop named Z. The creameries all closed and so did their little commercial connections and they all consolidated in Z, as the new dairy there was more convenience for shipping out. One

of the creameries named Bissell practically picked up and moved to Z. The blacksmith from Bissell went to Z and the store owner went to Z and built a garage. Lumber from the old creameries was used for building some of the houses in Z. Again, it was convenient to go there each day when the milk was taken in. When the school opened in 1910, school children would do shopping for themselves and their family.

In the 1940's, both long time owners of the two stores were ready to retire. One of the stores became a community owned co-operative store, but when their wholesaler at Milwaukee stopped, they had to buy at small wholesalers and could not make a go of it. The managers of the co-op who had been recruited here from another co-op in northern Wisconsin, bought the store themselves with some financial backing by local people who thought it was important that Z always have a store. They have continued this store to the present. The other store was sold to a local family who had previously owned the implement store. They ran it for 10 years and then closed primarily because of lack of interest on their part and the woman's desire to go back to school and become a teacher. They sold their merchandise to the other store and continue living upstairs, the downstairs having stood empty for about 20 years.

After World War II, big chain supermarkets in some of the nearby towns combined with improved private transportation (cars) to compete with the local store for local business. Farmers no longer take their milk to town because it is picked up by truck and taken far away. What has kept the local store going, perhaps, is its quality meats and the convenience of its being located closer than any other

store. The local store owner said "if we had to depend on Z, we'd starve. Z doesn't deserve a store"--meaning that the local people are not always their best customers.

In sum, the history of shopping around Z has been first having to travel out to shop, then having several little places nearby, third, more centralization around the railroad and now again, a tendency to travel out, with outsiders coming to take advantage of special meat.

Rural Customer Meanings

Though buying groceries seems to be merely exchanging money for goods, in Z (and elsewhere) going shopping is much more than a rational, economical act. In many cases it is a communal and sociable act. This is especially so at the Z store where prices are somewhat higher than at chain stores; also the J's do not have sales nor do they advertise. Convenience, habit, loyalty, personal attention, specialities, variety and safety are other factors in where one shops. These meanings were conveyed in formal interviews with me and informally listening to people talk about shopping. The store proprietor, Mrs. J, who lives upstairs does most of the work while her husband takes care of the books. Mrs. J is assisted by two other women from Z: K who works four full days and J who works Sundays and one other day plus helps when the groceries are delivered. Mrs. J is there all the time except Sundays and the few days of vacation she takes, usually in the fall. She is a kind, easy-going woman, interested in people. These qualities plus the small size of the store are important contributions fostering the community atmosphere of the store.

1. Convenience. Virtually everyone in Z proper and many from surrounding farms pick up at least a few things from the store simply because it is there, so near. They can walk there and purchase "last minute" items--things that they need on the spur of the moment or that they forgot to purchase elsewhere. They can get these goods faster and easier because they don't have very far to go. To go shopping anywhere else necessitates a car or similar vehicle so that many older people who do not like to drive or are not able to drive, shop at the Z store. Likewise, the children of Z can get to the store on their own, so they do their shopping there and it is also convenient for their families to send children to the store for their things.

In addition to location, the local store carries additional convenience of time. The store is open from 7 am to 6 pm except Sunday when it is open from 7 to 1. This makes it convenient for farmers who often need to purchase things early in the morning. A commuter train leaves early in the morning, so many housewives shop immediately after taking their husbands to the train. The high school bus picks up children early, so they may wait in the store. Fridays the store stays open until 8, providing an added convenience for those people who come out from the city for the weekend. Sunday morning is another convenient time when the store is open and Sunday papers are sold.

2. Habit. People go to the store because they are "used to it." They know the exact location of items and what items are available. Several people said "It's a habit. You learn where things are." One person who does not go to the Z store said it was because she did not know where things were. People also know the rituals of the store. For instance, they know they must ask for meat (steaks

and roasts are not even displayed, but kept "on the cow" until requested), whereas with ice cream, customers are allowed to reach into the freezer. Other rituals are associated with standing in line, paying, and charging.

3. People may shop at Z out of loyalty to the J's themselves, to the community and locality, or even to the state. The people who do the majority of their grocery shopping at Z, do so because of their friendship to Mrs. J, or because she is a fellow club member or has some other connection that has made them feel an obligation to help Mrs. J by shopping at her store. For instance, the local minister's family patronizes the Z store, probably because the J's are faithful attendants, workers and contributers to the church.

Others try to do a lot of shopping in Z out of a loyalty to the community, to the place, and all the sentiments its history entails. They go to the store deliberately to be part of the community. These people have the strongest roots. They have been born in Z and their families have lived in Z for at least more than one generation. These families probably have been customers since the inception of the store and they are trying to preserve it, continue it. They are also being loyal to small, independent businesses which is what the farmers and most of the other businesses in the area are. Implicit in this is an avoidance or rejection of the big, outside-controlled, nation-wide supermarkets. In some sense their shopping at the local store is a political statement--pro small local business and anti big, outside business.

A final loyalty that one person mentioned is to doing things in Northern (rather than Southern). This person was born and raised

in Northern and now that she is living on the border (where she has equal opportunity for shopping in either state), she chooses to shop in Wisconsin out of loyalty to that state.

4. Personal Attention. People who shop at the Z store know the store owners and others who work there and the store workers know most of the customers. This provides many social amenities of inquiring after families and other talk in common, but it also means that the store workers know just how customers want something, such as meat cut. If a customer does not know the exact location of something, a store worker will get it herself. Because Mrs. J is a friend as well as merchant, she provides extras. Said one customer, "There's a personal attention that you don't find anywhere else. If the store is closed and I'm out of bread, I can just call Mrs. J and she'll let us come and get it." People may call in what they want and order things. This is especially true with meat which is almost necessary in the summer since the best cuts are gone by the end of the week. Older people often call in what groceries they want for the week and then they or a relative come and pick it up. Personal attention can be negative for some people. A person relatively new to the community told me she does not go shopping in Z because everyone stares at you and wonders who you are.

5. Specialities. Closely related to getting personal attention, is getting special items that are unique to this store or difficult to get elsewhere. One of these is the quality meat at the Z store and this is why people outside the community make the extra effort to get to the store. When J's bought the store, they obtained Swift Protean meat. This means the cows have received papaya protein

which relaxes the cow for more tender meat. This high quality meat can only be obtained in this area at the Z store. In addition, it is hand-trimmed and ground so that the ground beef is extra lean and good. Other specialties are bakery goods which only come on Friday and seasonally home-grown fruits.

In times of scarcity, Mrs. J will save certain scarce items for her regular customers. For instance, during the canning lid shortage, Mrs. J's customers managed to get at least one package. One woman who got some lids from Mrs. J, but not from a discount supermarket in LG, refuses to shop at the LG store anymore.

6. Variety. A sixth reason people give for shopping where they do is variety. This reason was cited for shopping outside Z. The small size of the Z store means that many things are not available there and that the range of brands and types of items available are not as great as in bigger stores.

7. Safety. One woman said she heard of purse snatching in another town so she does not go there. People know they are safe in Z while shopping, safe from robbery, from personal attack, even safe from the police. For instance, they can park cars however they like without getting a ticket and not only is it unnecessary to lock the car, but people often leave motor running while shopping in winter months.

Somewhat similar to what I have just enumerated, Gregory Stone (1954) discusses urban shoppers and finds four types: economic, personalizing, ethical, and apathetic, but each person fits only one type rather than overlapping and having different reasons for shopping different places as in Z. Economic shopping is shopping to get

the best buys, the lowest prices and that is the main reason people shop outside Z. Stone's category of personalizing corresponds with mine of personal attention. His ethical category is somewhat similar to my "loyalty" but for his respondents, it is a "moral obligation to patronize specific types of stores" (p. 38), to give business and therefore more jobs to little businesses. It is an anti big business attitude, whereas my category of loyalty incorporates this plus other loyalties--to specific people and a specific place. Stone's apathetic customers who do not distinguish types of stores does not seem to exist in Z.

Stone further presents a profile of characteristics for his four different shoppers. The economic shopper tends to be young and socially mobile. This is somewhat similar with Z as no young shoppers do all their shopping in Z, but go out for lower prices. In fact, one woman travels 25 miles away to get the absolute lowest prices. Stone's personalizing customers go to shops to make up for social losses, being downwardly mobile, but valuing living there. This does not seem to correspond to Z except that those who value shopping at Z, also value living in the area. The ethical customer has high social status and long residence in the area. In Z it is true that the most loyal tend to be the older families (families in Z for two or more generations).

One may conclude that rural and urban shoppers are both able to find community situations in their shopping, but may also choose to go outside the community to just do economic shopping. Probably the major difference between rural and urban shoppers (although this is not apparent from Stone's data) is that the personalized rural customer-clerk relationships in the store involve the same people in other

relationships in the community--fellow church-goer, fellow organization associate, and other similar relationships.

Store Community Services

The above discussion has emphasized customers' perceptions of the local store and of shopping that go beyond purely economic interactions. In addition to these, I observed in the store other services that went beyond what was necessary just to sell groceries. Some of these were because Mrs. J was a friend and neighbor and had the store facilities at her disposal. Others were because this was the only store in the community and there was a need for some services beyond groceries.

As part of the store, Mrs. J has a knife sharpener and meat slicer. Usually little boys, but also some adults, would come to the store to have their knives sharpened, free of charge. While meat and cheese were sliced as part of selling them, some people got meat sliced that they had bought elsewhere, or more commonly, people would buy meat there, take it home and cook it a special way (for example, Italian beef cooked according to Mrs. J's recipe) and then bring it back to the store to be sliced. Neighbors would also ask to use the walk-in cooler for storing a big salad or dessert that would not fit in a normal refrigerator.

The community is without a restaurant, so when someone came to the store asking where one could buy a cup of coffee, Mrs. J sold her one from her own kitchen. The factory workers in town are able to buy lunch at J's from sandwiches Mrs. J makes. She also sells single slices of cheese or cold meat to these people and just this year

obtained an infra-red oven with specially-made sandwiches that are delivered weekly. (This service does not increase her grocery business as people who buy sandwiches almost never buy groceries there). The store also functions as a bank--cashing checks for people whether they buy there or not. The charging that often goes along with grocery shopping is very casual with no red tape and accounts are opened and closed at will. Charging establishes a sense of trust and also indicates transactions are not based on money or calculative rationality. People shop without immediate regard to money.

Mrs. J holds a key to the bowling alley (which is open only at night) so that when carbonated beverages are delivered to her store, they can also be delivered at the bowling alley. Mrs. J will order (through her wholesale dealer) special orders for personal and community events, such as church dinners and other functions at the town hall. These things need not be paid for until after the event, when the money has been collected for it. There are a couple of places in the store for signs announcing community events and services (such as baby-sitting), making it the town kiosk.

Mrs. J serves as a middle person for some things. She cuts and processes meat for two restaurants, and more locally, she sells produce which some people have in surplus. Local produce which is sold in the store include strawberries, raspberries, apples, and eggs. This helps people who have no facilities for selling, but who would like to make money rather than letting the extras go to waste. Usually Mrs. J can sell these products at a lower price than bigger stores do, and there is demand for local products because they are fresher than at chain stores, which do not even have raspberries.

Prices are determined by some sort of bartering between the two parties with the price around what is charged at nearby supermarkets. Usually these produce are paid for on credit on subsequent groceries. The principal goods for the store comes from major corporations at standard prices. Though theoretically Mrs. J could set whatever price she chooses, in fact, she prices according to the suggested price. This gives her an adequate profit on each item, but the turnover is not as great as in larger stores. Recently, Mrs. J also started selling snack food and their dispensers which are being manufactured in Z. From time to time Mrs. J has displayed and sold plants from a florist friend who lives in Z, but whose shop is elsewhere.

Finally, there are intangible social services the store provides. Local children hang out at the store and get their candy there. Sometimes, for example in the summer, Mrs. J lets them help her to relieve their boredom. Partly because of her personality, Mrs. J is often the recipient of people's troubles and joys, serving a psychological position often attributed to bartenders. For instance, one man made a special trip to the store to tell her that he and his wife had just had a baby, another farmer complained to her about his neighbor tearing down all the trees, and a little boy told Mrs. J his brother had robbed his piggy bank. These and other similar talk in the store give it the added function of a news disseminator. People will come to the store to find out where someone is, how someone is, and about community events. Although news is published in a couple of near-by newspapers, it is never complete and there is no newspaper just for Z. The news from the store is more specific, complete, and individual than the newspapers. In fact, some of the talk in the store is

filling in and further processing what has been left out of a newspaper article someone will read in the store. To conclude, rather than being a place limited as a business existing to make money and provide grocery needs, the local store is a community institution providing many non-economic services.

Shopping and Other Local Facility Use

In this section interview information about shopping is presented in numerical terms and compared with where people go for a doctor and for banking.

Thirty-three families responded in interviews about where they shopped for groceries. Twelve do most of their shopping in Z and in almost every case, these are either old people who have lived a long time in the community or else people who have been in the community for more than one generation. Seven of these do all their shopping in Z and five shop mostly in Z, but also elsewhere. The outside shopping is primarily in three other places: W (6 miles away), LG (9 miles away), and S (12 miles away), but E (15 miles north) and J (25 miles north) were also mentioned.

Table 6.4 Location of Grocery Shopping for Z Residents

All in Z	Primarily in Z, Some Elsewhere	Primarily Elsewhere, Some in Z	Never in Z
7 (21%)	5 (15%)	19 (58%)	2 (6%)

Of the 19 who do some shopping in Z, but more outside, 10 of them do not shop in just one other place, but may go to LG, W, or S,

depending on what their routine for that particular day is. Of all the 23 who shop in both Z and elsewhere, 4 go regularly to W, 4 to LG, 3 to S, and 1 to J. The shopper to J is to a special discount warehouse and she only goes once a month. Three of the others who shop outside Z, shop where the husband works. Some of the others shop regularly in one place because their relatives live there, but others are just as likely to shop at one place when they have relatives at the other. People mention going farther away to shop primarily because of lower prices.

Two do not shop in Z. One of these is actually closer to LG, and though from one of the families in the area (since 1841), they have always been more oriented to LG. The other family is new and the wife from LG, so she continues shopping there.

In addition to shopping, Hunter (1975) uses other criteria of local facility use in measuring loss of community. I have borrowed two others from him--banking and doctor, even though there is neither a bank nor doctor in Z.

Historically, use of a physician follows the same general pattern as shopping, though doctors were eager to come at first and are reluctant to come now. At first, settlers must travel to distant cities if they wished to find a doctor, though the first babies born here were attended by doctors from nearby towns that had been settled earlier. The first permanent doctor in LG came in 1861 and there were also a couple of doctors in H. These doctors came to the farms and to the people of Z to treat patients and deliver babies. No hospitals were nearby. In the early 1900's, the W's who had started one of the stores, built a drug store-doctor's office and recruited a doctor who

only stayed a little while and then was drafted into World War I. No other doctor came and the edifice was empty for years, except for an apartment upstairs. Today, doctors are in all the close towns of over 5,000 population. H, formerly the closest place to have doctors, no longer has any. There is a county hospital in E (10 miles away) and Stockwood (15 miles away) plus a very small one in Dairyland (9 miles away).

Table 6.5 Location of Doctors for Z Residents

LG	Wal	S	Da	D	O
17 (51%)	8 (24%)	3 (9%)	1 (1%)	2 (6%)	2 (6%)

Thirty-three families responded in interviews about where they go for a doctor. Most go to LG. Three of these families (two of which are related) go to an old time family doctor whose father served their families before them. One person mentioned five different generations of her family being served by the Dr. Jeffers, but the son is now old and not taking new patients. One respondent who goes to LG said her doctor also has an office in W. One who is in the other category is one of the "Lake People" who also has a home and business in a Southern Metropolis suburb and who claims the doctors here aren't as good or modern. This seems somewhat borne out by the number of the doctors from the area who send their patients to the better doctors and hospitals of Bigtown and University town.

Going to a doctor, then, is not a communal act, but entails traveling, often very far, and is an impersonal happening in all but

three cases. On the other hand, when a person does get sick or in an accident, especially if one goes to the hospital, there is much talk about that in the community and often help is mobilized.

People were also asked where they do their banking. The majority do so at H. It is the closest bank (2 miles), though out of state, and in addition, has important features. It is small and old. The people in the bank know the people that they deal with. Some have gone to school together and all have lived there--near-by, if not neighbors--most of their lives. Many people have had accounts there, as one man indicated "from birth." Being known is important to a number of people, as some say, "it's easier to go to someone you know for help." Also people do not have to wait in line and they do not have to wait for the teller to look up their number or account to see if they can cash a check. One man described it as a "farmer's bank" and several mentioned how easy it is to get loans there. The bank is local in the sense that people have some say in it. Some people from Z serve on the bank board. One person sums the benefits of the H bank: "They know us, we know them. They've always treated us good. You can get money there easily, just on a signature." Other people have had trouble with other banks in borrowing or getting checks cashed. They contrast this with the H bank. Some people go to more than one bank, many so they will have an account in Northern, especially needed when an offspring is in a Northern college. LG is the next place people are likely to go for banking. There are several banks there and some of the people who bank there have similar ties as those who bank in H do. One person serves on a board in LG as his father did before him and a couple others bank in LG because

their parents did also. Only a few go to W and other places.

Table 6.6 Location of Banks for Z Residents

H	LG	W	Stockwood	O
20 (60%)	8 (24%)	3 (9%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)

Hunter (1975) also includes movies and small purchases which are meaningless to Z people who rarely go to movies or make small purchases (unless they are doing other shopping with it), but two other local facilities Hunter considers, church and employment, seem to help explain the exceptions on the other three (see Table 6.7). Four families use all their major facilities in LG. These same all go to church there too. Three others use LG for most things, 2 of which also go to church there and 2 of which work there. Three are consistent with W and they also live on the west side toward W, though so do several others. Three other patterns are 12, 13, and 33 who tend toward towns in the southern state. Two of these, 13 and 33 work there and 12 is the only family interviewed to live in the southern state.

Table 6.10 is a typology which shows consistencies with those who shop in Z and who go to LG for doctor and H for banking. Those who do not shop primarily in Z are scattered in banking and doctor patterns.

Table 6.8 uses Table 6.7 to tell the percent of activities carried out in each place. People range from going to five different places to meet the five needs of shopping, banking, doctor, church

Table 6.7 Location of Local Facility Use for Thirty-Three Z Residents

Respondent	Doctor	Bank	Grocery Shopping	Church	Work
1	W	LG	LG	LG	LG
2	LG	LG	LG	LG	Z
3	LG	H,W	Z	Z	Z
4	LG	H	LG	LG	Z
5	LG	LG	LG	LG	Z
6	LG	H	Z	Z	Z
7	LG	LG	LG	LG	Z
8	W	W	W	Z	Z
9	LG	H	Z	Z	Z
10	LG	H	Z	Z	Z
11	W	W	W	Z	Z
12	S	H	S	Z	Z
13	DA	S	S	Z	S
14	W	H	Z	Z	Z
15	W	H,W	W	Z	Z
16	LG	H	LG	Z	Z
17	LG	H	Z	Z	Z
18	D	H	J	Z	Z
19	LG	H	Z	Z	Z
20	LG	H,LG	Z	Z	Z
21	LG	H	LG	GC	Z
22	S	H	LG	LG	Z
23	O	O	LG	LG	O
24	LG	LG	LG	LG	Z
25	LG	H,LG	LG	LG	Z
26	W	LG	LG	Z	LG
27	LG	W	Z	Z	Z
28	LG	H,LG	LG	Z	Z
29	LG	H	Z	LG	E
30	D	LG	W	E	Z
31	W	H	Z	Z	Z
32	W	LG	Z	Z	Z
33	S	H	S	Z	S

Table 6.8 Percentage of Facility Use for Various Locations by Thirty-Three Z Residents

Respondent	W	LG	Z	H	D	S	J	DA	GC	E	O
1	20%	80%									
2		80%	20%								
3	10%	20%	60%	10%							
4	20%	60%		20%							
5		80%	20%								
6		20%	60%	10%							
7		80%	20%								
8	60%		40%								
9		20%	60%	20%							
10		20%	60%	20%							
11	60%		40%								
12			40%	20%		40%					
13			20%			60%		20%			
14	20%		60%	20%							
15	50%		40%	20%		40%					
16		40%	60%								
17	20%	60%	20%								
18		40%	20%				20%				
19		20%	60%	20%							
20		30%	60%	20%							
21		40%	20%	20%					20%		
22		40%	20%	20%		20%					
23	40%										60%
24		80%	20%								
25		70%	20%	10%							
26	20%	60%	20%								
27	20%	20%	60%								
28		50%	40%	10%							
29		40%	20%	20%						20%	
30	20%	20%	20%		20%					20%	
31	20%		60%	20%							
32	20%	20%	60%								
33			20%	20%		60%					
	28%	43%	40%	17%		45%	20%	20%		20%	30%

Table 6.9 Concentration of Facilities in Certain Places

	W	LG	Z	H	S	DA	D	E	J	O*
Doctor	8	18			3	1	2			1
Bank	4	9.5		19.5						
Grocery	4	13	12		3				1	
Church		10	21					1		
Work		2	27					1		1
	16	52.5	60	18.5	6	1	2	2	1	2

Table 6.10 Typology of Location of Shopping with Location of Doctor and Banking

Shopping in Z				Shopping Outside Z			
		Doctor				Doctor	
		LG	O			LG	O
Bank	H	7	1	Bank	H	5	4
	O		1		O	4	6

*Other

and work, to meeting most of their needs in one place and one other need in another place--for example, doing everything in LG, but working in Z. Most respondents use LG and Z the most. The mean for percentage of using LG is 43%, using Z the mean is 40%. The people who go south to S seem to meet almost half their needs there. The other places average around 20%, meaning only one need is met there. This would indicate the group is fairly diffuse in meeting their needs and few patterns are repeated.

Table 6.9 also draws on the information in Table 6.7 to show which towns are dominant for the various functions. LG is used most for a medical facility, H for a financial facility, LG and Z for shopping, and Z for church and work.

Information about shopping in the Z area has been presented from historical material, from customer perspectives, from observations in the store and from numerical data to show a variety of meanings for shopping and to indicate how shopping can bring community into individual's daily lives.

Other Perceptions of Community

One feature of the Z community is that it is problematic. As we saw in the first section, there are no all-inclusive boundaries. Also the smallness and wearing away of the village gives people less of a legitimate claim to a named place. In addition, the contradictions of conflicting districts make it necessary for people to often have to explain their communal identity. This is especially true when we consider the question asked of people "where do you say you're from?" We need to look at global perceptions of community in terms

of people's communal identity. We may look at this by asking the broader question: "Where are you from?" This helps one understand the problems of community in terms of symbolism. If there is no one symbol, no one name, is there a community? Obviously, it has been suggested all along that because of the many locales of where people shop, go to school, bank, seek medical facilities, this aspect of community is problematic to Z.

Nobody Ever Heard of Z

People have difficulty answering the question, "where do you say you're from?"; husbands and wives may not give the same answer and an elaborate explanation rather than just stating a name is usually necessary. One of the main causes for this confusion is that many people in the northern state have a southern state mailing address so that their address does not correspond with where they live. The people who live in the village do not have quite as much of a problem because their mailing address is Z and so is their residence. But because Z is so small, few people have heard of it, so respondents must qualify their address more. Forty-five people interviewed about how they might answer the question "where do you say you're from?" replied Z qualified, Z, LG, the township, H, and W (cf. Table 6.11). Fourteen people answer they are from Z without further specifying the location. Interestingly, five of these do not live in the village, but name the village either because that is the closest "place" or because they rent a box at the Z post office. Some further add the existence of the boat company and its fame as a reason why they need only say Z. One woman says:

Table 6.11 Where Z Residents Say They Are From

Answer	Women	Men	Total
Z	11 (39%)	3 (18%)	14 (31%)
Z qualified	6 (21%)	8 (47%)	14 (31%)
LG	6 (21%)	4 (24%)	10 (22%)
Township	2 (7%)	1 (6%)	3 (6%)
H	2 (7%)	1 (6%)	3 (6%)
W	1 (4%)		1 (2%)

> I say Z. I'm proud of [boat company owner who was in the Olympics in sailing]. He could have said he was from LG at the Olympics, but he said Z.

A man also says something similar:

> I say I'm from Z and they don't know where that is. I was in the hospital in University Town and I said didn't you ever hear of [boat company owner]? They never even mention Z on the radio.

Those who say they are from Z without further specification include the majority of people who actually live in the village (9 out of 13). The others locate Z more in relation to a bigger place. When we look at sex differences, just stating the name of the village is more common for women than for men. Thirty-nine percent of women say they are just from Z, while only 18% of the men do.

Another 31% say they are from Z, but qualify that by relating its location to something else. That something else is usually the lake or the lake town because as a tourist place and a larger place, the name of LG is known by more people and people from farther away.

It is particularly known to people from the large metropolises because many of them have visited LG. Mentioning LG gives people a handle for better communicating their location. People qualify that they are from Z by saying it is near LG or south of LG. For example, one man says he is from Z, "But nobody knows where that is, so I explain 9 miles south of LG." One woman says she prefers to say Z to H her mailing address, because Z is in Northern and she likes Northern better. Other people will add that Z is near LG, but then disassociate themselves from LG by saying they are not proud of it, or that they would never say just LG. Some say Z is located between LG and W. Another qualifies the location by the township and still another by the fact that H, though in the southern state, is the mailing address. Men are much more likely to qualify the place than women. Forty-seven percent of men say they are from Z with its location further specified, while only 27% of the women do so.

Twenty-two percent do tell others they are from LG because, as many say, others could never have heard of Z. Some also say LG because they get mail out of LG. Many usually qualify saying they are from LG by specifying it is the area, the countryside rather than the town. Again, some add that they are in L township (which LG is not). One man further locates LG as being so many miles from a Great Lake.

Three people first say the township, two of which add "near LG" for identification. Another says she would say Z in addition to the township and also add that the mailing address is H.

Another three people say primarily H, but add Z. For example, "We have a H mailing address, so we generally say H even though we're closer to Z."

Finally the one person who has a W mailing address said W, but she adds the relationship to LG and the location in L township.

In sum, though all 45 of the people interviewed about where they say they are from, feel they belong to the Z community, they find it difficult to say where they are from. The confusion of living in a different state from their mailing address occurs in daily incidents such as buying licenses, registering cars, sending children to school. This confusion is further complicated by the phone system which has changed a few times whereas the mailing and political boundaries have not; such that it is difficult to find the phone numbers of people in Z, another feature of locational identity. One woman says:

> We have a W address, live in L township, had a Z phone, they called a H, southern exchange, our operator was from R, southern, we got service out of WP, southern, and billed from University City, Northern and people would wonder why they never could find us when they called information.

Another couple point the difficulty of registering at a motel:

> When we used to register at a motel and we said our address was H, Southern and they say we had a Northern license on our car. Then I would show them I have a Northern drivers license. They see it says H, Southern and they're sure we're eloping or something.

They also tell how getting a credit card or opening a bank account also entails an elaborate explanation. Another tells of the problems of sending children to state schools.

> When we're far away, we usually tell them LG because it seems like people are more familiar with LG than with Z. If it gets to be a conversation where you get into more details, then we tell them we live in the little rural area south of the lake. We have an H address and a Z address. We did that when we were trying to get our daughter enrolled in college. If that H mailing address didn't create a problem for us! We kept getting notices about out of state tuition, so we finally just got a box at Z. All the kids have gone to school in northern and it's really simplified things for us.

This family solved the problem by having two addresses, one the rural delivery out of H and the other a box in Z. I asked one woman who lived in the southern state how she could participate in clubs whose name, charter, etc. came from the northern state. She answered that so many club members had the southern mailing address, that the (state) authorities of the clubs don't bother to check where her actual location is.

In sum, the contradictions of addresses and phone numbers not coinciding with the location of residence makes the community problematic for Z residents. They cannot be complacent to just give a single name of where they are from, but most repeatedly provide explanations to legitimate their claims for being in one place and receiving mail from another. At the same time, we have seen that certain discrete features of the location become more salient; these include: 1) position and distance near a place of concentration, such as the village or larger town; 2) position and distance near a place of fame where some feature such as tourism or Olympic star boat manufacturer has given the place a reputation that goes beyond the local; 3) mailing address--where one receives mail, whether this corresponds to a location or not; 4) political location. In these cases, the township was the only political unit noted--not county or state. The political unit here does not overlap with concentration of people nor with mailing addresses; neither is it distinguished by physically visible boundaries; 5) telephone numbers. If one can be located in a phone book, then their position is taken for granted, but people who belong to Z have no phone number of that name, neither do they have numbers from a consistent place. In addition, the phone districts have changed

several times.

The salient features of location can be contrasted with what is left out. People rarely say a road name as to where they are from. It is only in the past few years that the roads have been officially named. It is also rare to give any numerical referents, though a few men included mileage. All the households in the area have a fire number to use specifically when reporting fires, yet these are never used for identification and firemen told me the numbers are almost never used for reporting fires. Instead, the specific farm owner is known and the places are identified by the family names. At the annual town meeting, there was some talk of creating numerical addresses, but this was voted down and the lack of use of the fire numbers was cited. Thus numbers and roads are not significant for one's spatial identity in Z, though nearness to large names places, or position near well-known places, mailing addresses, township and telephone become salient.

"This is Just Z."

One last feature of the Z community which also relates to the previous confusions and contradictions of lack of boundaries and names, is the doubt about Z as a place. As previously discussed, Z is very small and the village has lost many of the facilities which meet functional needs of the residents. A few references came up in daily conversations which seemed to indicate residents' doubts about whether Z is a "real" place. For example, I was once approaching the Z village at night with a friend and she remarked about the street lights which have been there only a few years. She said "Oh look at the lights! It looks like a real town, but it's just Z."

"Just Z" was a phrase I often heard and was used to justify an informality and lack of adherence to rules. For example, I heard people explain their "incorrect" parking habits or not stopping at stop signs by saying "this is just Z," implying, "this place isn't legitimate so we don't have to follow laws." Voting occurs at the townhall and people mill around on the stage and steps. One voting official was trying unsuccessfully to get people to use the voting booths and vote "properly." She was met with opposition because "this is just Z" and formality was not to be expected.

In this chapter we have seen how the problematic nature of the Z community--its lack of centralization, unarticulated boundaries, conflicting districts--is answered by the meanings people give it as a community. So in mapping the community, there was an overlap of the village, a few key roads and other areas, but also a variety of individual differences based on different situations. A striking difference was between the sexes, as explained by their distinctive activities in the community. One of these activities is shopping and we saw that shopping also has a phenomenological base to it in that some people use shopping to foster community while others are expedient. Finally, we found that certain features are more salient than others in answering where one is from.

CHAPTER VII

BEHAVIORAL DIMENSIONS OF COMMUNITY: OPPOSING, HELPING, SOCIABILITY

In looking at the setting of Z we have seen that it lacks structural dimensions--such as integrated local institutions, physical boundaries and hierarchical economic and political organizations--which most theories consider essential to communities. In the previous chapter, these "problems" were somewhat answered in that the way people define their environment, the way they shop, and their community identity give the community meaning in spite of Z's lacks or uncertainties. These meanings pave the way for the behavioral situations of community to be analyzed in this chapter. Out of the way one looks at the world and out of a spatial awareness, comes action. If residents of Z did not cognitively map their community, they could not behave in a communal way. Cognitive mapping sets the pre-conditions for the behavioral dimensions. Cognitive mapping is not just thinking, but also guides behavior; perception is not without practical consequences.

Cognitive mapping leads to behavioral dimensions of community. In Z these behavioral dimensions are primarily situational and occur in three areas: opposing, helping, and sociability. Referring to Table 7.1, it can be seen that we are talking about situations and classifying them according to opposing, helping and sociable activities.

Table 7.1 A Listing of Opposing, Helping, Sociability Situations in the Context of Major Variables in the Community Concept

	Opposing	Helping	Sociability
Historical	land claims	medical aid crop harvesting sharing equipment house building	church
Institutions	government	church voluntary associations families, police fire fighters	voluntary associations
Interactions	talk about "Lake People" talk about "Germans"	exchange	dinner parties visiting conversation greetings
Ranking Systems	male leadership to the extent that it's institutionalized	sex: women-food men-work age: very young and old recipients of help	sex: men-business, goal-oriented women-"pure sociability" topics of conversation
Boundaries	avoidance	intrusion "being stepped on"	isolation overinvolvement
Place	town hall (courts, state and federal legislators talk occurs at meetings, homes, store	homes	homes, phone, town hall, work, bowling alley, stores, fire station, school, post office, hunting

Opposing activities are struggles and differences in political interests. Helping is involvement of others in tasks, mutual aid. Sociability refers to informal relations based primarily on being ends in themselves. These three are latent forces with the potentiality of bringing people together in the name of community; it is only when people are defining the community (as in the previous chapter) or participating in community activities (in the three areas here) that community comes into existence. The analysis of these situations will consist of applying some of the concepts of community as derived from the theories in Chapter II, Table 2.1 (refer here to Table 7.1). We use the concepts discussed in Chapter II as a way of showing how concepts differ in different situations. Within each situational area we shall consider history, institutions, interactions, ranking-systems, boundary and place. The history gives some idea of how each type of situation developed and changed over time. Though many institutions are lacking in Z, some of the situations have become repeated, typical patterns (reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors")(1966: 54) to use Berger and Luckmann's definition of institutions. Interactions are informal situations, while ranking systems are seen in Z in sex and age differences. Each situation has some sort of limit or boundary of acceptable behavior and each situation is confined to a limitable amount of places. The organization of the chapter will follow Table 7.1. First I will discuss opposing for each of the concepts, followed by helping and sociability. At the end of the chapter, I shall discuss each of the concepts across the situations.

Opposing

In developing the concept of opposing as applied to Z, I make a comparison with the Nuer and the Tiv, (two African tribes described in anthropological literature with problems of similar concern to those discussed here) as a way of introducing opposing and then I apply the six concepts to opposing.

Introduction

In Chapter II, we saw that some conflict approaches (for example, Coser, 1967) emphasized group solidarity, a feeling of "we-ness" promoted by conflict with outsiders. Conflict strengthens group identity when the members of the group mobilize their energies against outsiders. Such conflict polarizes boundaries of the perception of community by clearly distinguishing insiders and outsiders, friends and enemies.

Conflict in the form of opposing outsiders is a major dynamic force in the Z community. It has existence and form and promotes togetherness and a defined unit when the people of Z face, confront, talk about and complain about the following: the city people who come to use the lake, the foreigners who are buying land, and political pressures that directly affect people of Z. Examples of people mobilizing around the latter are when the Air Force Academy threatened to locate in Z, and more recently, a state-enacted negative income tax that taxes people in Z and applies the funds in another part of the state, and the threat of a huge sub-division on the lake. In these situations, people are united and the latent force of community receives manifest existence because of conflict with outsiders.

Here I am using the term oppose rather than conflict for two main reasons. First, conflict has more connotations of violence which have not been true in Z, rather, there is protesting and resisting outside forces. The various segments of Z combine to withstand outside forces. And second, opposing has an additional meaning of being opposite. In this sense, people of Z compare and contrast themselves with the outsiders in the area. Seeing themselves as opposite to the lake people further provides communal identity. While the Z-outsider relationships and differences are actually fluid with social contacts and even inter-marriage, the double aspects of opposing--resistence and contrast--solidify the differences to give Z a distinct character. Thus the concept of opposing with its two sub-sets of resisting and comparing will be used to explain certain types of communal behavior in Z.

Comparison with Nuer and Tiv. The first aspect of opposing, that of the sense of uniting as a force, may be better understood by taking an analogy from anthropology, namely that of the segmentary lineage (a small multi-family group ecologically and economically separate from other similar groups), as an organization of predatory expansion among the Tiv and Nuer. The Nuer consist of around 200,000 Nilotic people who live in Sudan and have been studied by Evans-Pritchard (1940). The 800,000 Tiv live in Nigeria and have been studied by the Bohanans (1953). Sahlins develops the concept of segmentary lineage for describing the Nuer and the Tiv (1961). This is not to imply that Z people are neolithic, rather, that some similar social processes may be working. Sahlin's taxonomic concern is with clarifying the position of the Tiv and the Nuer as tribes,

intermediary between bands and chieftanships; nevertheless, his discussion of the organizing principle of structure as a means for uniting segments in warfare has certain parallels with Z. The Nuer and Tiv's existence in segments which are only pulled together during warfare may be seen as an ideal type, an exaggeration of Z, but which we may use to infer processes in Z. The three similarities to be discussed are: 1) lack of political structure; 2) segments; 3) actual opposition process.

1. First, the Nuer and Tiv lack state structure. They have no over-all, permanent political organization. Rather, the organization is situational; different segments are united at various times for ceremonies or warfare. Likewise, leadership is not an heritable office, but is charismatic and also situational.

> Leadership beyond the small-normally, the primary-segment can only be ephemeral because action above this level is ephemeral. There is no need, and no help, for permanent tribal leadership. When the competitive objectives that induce confederation have been accomplished, the confederation de facto dissolves into its several segments, and leaders that had emerged now fall back into social oblivion (Sahlins, 1961: 327).

Order within segments is not based on the authority and control by officials, but "good order here is largely achieved through kinship etiquette with its personal sanctions of ridicule, gossip, and ostracism" (1961: 327).

Again, this is an extreme which Z does not quite match. The township government which meets twice a month at the town hall of Z is a permanent establishment and meets to carry on the township business of taxing, maintaining the roads, liquor licensing and considering requests from individuals and groups, such as the need for a new fire truck. The township government consists of the town

chairperson, two supervisors, town clerk, town treasurer, and assessor. These leaders are officially elected every four years, though it is fair to say that to some degree the election is based on personal ties, and while not officially based on inheritance, leaders have tended to be sons of previous leaders.

While not trying to dismiss the township government in Z, it probably is not as far reaching or important for the community as in other communities such as Yankee City or Chicago. Instead, authority and control is more informal, closer to the "kinship etiquette" of the Nuer and Tiv. Kinship etiquette appears to be a pattern of behavior that serves as social control within segments. Other literature on communities (e.g. Vidich and Bensman, 1960) and on gossip (e.g. Faris, 1966, Swed, 1966) show that this informal control works elsewhere as well. For example, Herskovits (1937) hypothesizes that gossip provides an indirect sanction where one cannot risk an open and formal attack, where it is inexpedient to do so, or where there are simply no other sanctions available. Similarly, within Z, people keep each other "in line" less through government sanctions and more by ridicule or avoidance. This is partly due to the fact that the feeling of a community for Z is held by people outside the township. As previously discussed, Z community seems to cross the stateline at points and also the township lines to the west and east. Another point is that the official governmental sanctions are not always taken seriously because people do not feel Z is a legitimate place (see previous chapter, section "This is Just Z").

This can be illustrated by situations in which the local governmental authority is ignored. A few years ago a stop sign was installed

at an intersection just south of Z village. This sign tends to be ignored by local people. Also, people feel they can park anyway they wish--for example, on the wrong side of the street--because "after all, this is just Z" (i.e., not an official place). This type of attitude presented a problem when the police came across what they felt was a serious problem: they found evidence of marijuana use in the town hall, presumably by local teenagers who "hang out" there. The police called a meeting of the village residents to impress on them the seriousness of the problem and to try to educate the residents that they, the police, did indeed have power to do something about this, while at the same time trying to get the residents themselves to put an end to marijuana in Z.

These examples illustrate that Z is something less than a state structure and lacks a single unified political structure. Therefore, the process of structure is best seen in particular circumstances of confederation among the groups of Z, even though Z has not the same degree of absence of state structure as the Nuer and Tiv. Z is more tied to governmental institutions than the Nuer and Tiv.

2. Second, the Nuer and Tiv possess the type of organization referred to as "segmentary lineage system" (1961: 322). Each segment is an unspecialized kin group which parallels all the other segments which form the tribe.

> "Primary tribal segment" is defined as the smallest multi-family group that collectively exploits an area of tribal resources and forms a residential entity all or most of the year. . . . Tribal segments tend to be economically and politically autonomous. A tribe as a whole is normally not a political organization, but rather a social-cultural-ethnic entity. It is held together principally by likenesses among

> its segments and by pan-tribal institutions, such as a system of intermarrying clans, of age-grades, or military or religious societies, which cross-cut the primary segments (1961: 325).

With some tribes, the segments wander separately from each other and come together for an annual ceremony. The segments are autonomous in that they are not united by economic or political structures. The segments are not dependent on one another for livelihood, but each carry out their own subsistence activities separately and independently. The segments are united by the culture, as mentioned above, but a united system of order symbolizing the interests of the whole tribe, is only ephemeral. Sahlins further points out that the neolithic economy of shifting agriculture and pastorialism promotes dispersion rather than nucleation which would tend to unite the tribe more. There is little need for the segments to unite except, as we shall see in the next point, when the segments unite for predatory activities. Otherwise, the "normal political state is toward disunity among them" (1961: 326). The segments themselves may also engage in feuds and disputes. The more socially related, that is the greater degree of kinship between two segments, the less the quarreling. This case is similar to the Adams area Suttles (1968) studied in that different ethnic groups are precariously trying to protect their own safety, but the differences are overcome at times, for example when the University of Illinois wanted to expand into the Adams area.

Some of the previous chapters have illustrated the segmental nature of the Z community. The smallest segments are the family farms and business, though usually not as extensive in number and

range of kin as the neolithic tribes, they often involve three generations and are generally economically independent from other families.

Other segments exist in sex and age gradings. For example, school children form cohesive groups under the symbol of the particular school they attend. Women and men tend to have separate groups and manners of sociability (see sociability section). These are similar to the pan tribal institutions in that none of them integrate the entire community. However, the segments of Z, like the segments of the Nuer and Tiv are united in opposing outsiders.

3. The third feature of the Nuer-Tiv segmentary lineages is that they consolidate in response to external pressures. The major feature of the Tiv-Nuer segmentary lineage is the "mechanism for large-scale political consolidation in the absence of any permanent, higher-level tribal organization. To use the Bohannans' apt phrases, it has the decisive function of unifying "within" for the purpose of standing "against" (1961: 328). This is often in response to competition over land with other tribes. These mergers expand and contract with different degrees of cohesiveness, just as the Z community comes and goes in existence depending on threatening situations. The greater the outside threat, the stronger the union among segments (1961: 326); when there is no contest, the segments revert to separate teams. As Sahlins says, "The lineage segment cannot stand alone, but can only stand 'against'" (1961: 326). The structure is created by opposition; this type of organization is relative to the opposition.

In addition to uniting the Tiv or Nuer, predatory expansion provides a boundary. Bohannan says, "We don't have a boundary; we have an argument" (1954: 45). This illustrates the processual aspect

of boundaries; with the Tiv boundaries are not permanently fixed forever but seasonally change as the Tiv win or lose skirmishes. Tiv migration is characterized by movement in all directions when the Tiv want more land for cultivation. Territorial expansion into areas already occupied promotes a fusion of segments among the Tiv and Nuer but does not prevent fission in non-predatory situations. The union is an inter-tribal phenomenon.

Just as predatory expansion unites the segments of the Nuer and Tiv, so also the segments of Z pull together in opposing outsiders. The opposing activities of Z are not for expanding, but for resisting intrusion by outsiders. In the same way that the confederation of Tiv and Nuer segments is ephemeral and situational, so also community union in Z is partially dependent on having a "cause" to fight against. At such times the community is mobilized and joined for action, though to some extent this is sustained from day to day by talk about others (as will be seen later).

This extended analogy of Z with the Nuer and Tiv has been given to show some of the processes for how opposition with outsiders can foster community. Next we want to examine how opposition is manifested in the various concepts of community.

History

When the Z area was first settled, there were fights over land claims and later negotiations with governments over roads and fences. Historically opposition in Z has taken the more subtle form of comparing themselves with others, particularly the lake people (to be discussed), though a few incidents of collective action in more

recent history stand out and are cited as precidents for future events. The most significant of these is in 1954 when the Air Force Academy threatened to locate in the area; it would literally have abolished Z village and the surrounding farms. Setting aside 9000 acres for an academy site would affect 42 farms and 220 other pieces of property. The newspapers of the time report that 350 people gathered in the Z town hall and agreed to picket the site-visitation committee. Although the paper reports and quotes male leaders, it is clear from interviews and scrap books that women also participated in the protests and wrote letters. This is not meant to undermine the leadership of the town chair in particular who himself went to Washington and was awarded a watch by the townspeople on behalf of his efforts. All people feel that because they were able to prevent the Air Force Academy from locating in Z, they have a power in preventing other possible take-overs. The community took on a unified political structure for preventing outsiders taking over the community, just as the segments of the Nuer merge to fight the Dinka, but separate when the Dinka are not a threat.

Institutions

Opposing as such is not institutionalized, but is more like a social movement in which people may mobilize for certain problems. However, many of these problems are governmental-related and involve the local political institutions. This is seen in the above example of the Air Force Academy, and it was also true of a suburban issue placed on the ballot, and a taxing issue.

A development company threatened to put an additional subdivision

in the area by adding 550 homes to an old farm near the lake. Again, citizens shared in protest meetings, letter writing, ads in papers, and got a referendum on the November primary. Those opposed to the subdividion overwhelmingly won the referendum, but the subdivision group is still seeking a rezoning to allow them to build.

Another issue that has the potential of collective action in Z was that of negative aid income tax. This is a (Northern) state taxing measure whereby school districts with high property valuations would be forced to give money to poor school districts in other parts of the state. The lake property means the Z area has high property valuation, yet farmers would be most hurt by this. Some women who were active in school events were highly informed on the progress of this issue and wrote letters. However, a new principal at one of the schools was uncooperative with the activists and felt they were impinging on his job. He was told that this issue was important to all of them and they would be able to fight it just as they fought the Air Force Academy. The courts have since decided in Z's favor on this issue.

A final series of issues that serve as transition between overt opposing and the more passive opposition in the form of complaints and comparisons, are those of internal conflict. The most blatant internal dispute during my stay was over building a new church. A new enthusiastic minister came to lead the drive for a new church. He attracted many members, particularly from the lake area, and had big pushes for money, but in so doing, he ignored the local importance of traditions (this church has been built, moved, and supported by their fore-parents for several generations since 1844) and of local

involvement, and thereby alienated a number of old families. Again the Air Force Academy precident was cited and that the new minister did not know "what he was up against." The surprising thing was that when there were meetings to vote or protest against the new church, none of the dissenters showed up (however, one woman did write an angry letter to the district Presbytery). Instead, they just quietly dropped out, one at a time, some of them joining other churches in other towns, but none of them going together; even relatives were joining different churches. They did not retreat to the same church. Why, in this situation was opposition not fostering a unity? Several people shared being against the new church, yet they did not merge to fight it, why?

It seems the answer lies--at least partly--in the fact that this was an internal situation and that the protest would be against friends, people they know and deal with in other situations. When we look at other internal conflict situations, it appears people of Z wish to avoid confrontation with one another and the conflict occurs in anonymous, disunified ways. For example, one family was adding on to their house and although they had secured a building permit, there was a delay in posting it. The town clerk received several anonymous phone calls complaining about their building without a permit. Another example is of a woman who provided child care in her home. Several people called authorities about it because she did not have a license and she was temporarily prevented from continuing. Thus, internal conflict does not unite people and they do not overtly confront one another with potentially divisive issues.

This stands in contrast to other types of conflicts. For

example, at one of the Town Board meetings, I witnessed a dispute between two lake people over lake rights (that is, to what extent and in what direction could a pier from one lake shore site intrude into the neighbors' lake area). Two women were very vociferous, engaging in name-calling, walking out, slamming the door. The people attending the meeting were amused and entertained by the argument, partially, I suspect because it was so unlike Z. This incident and others like it, serve to distinguish the people of Z as being unlike the lake people.

Interactions

The mobilization of people into protest movements are not common occurrences in Z, however, opposition of outsiders through talk about the outsiders is part of the everyday life of community. This kind of opposition takes the form of comparison, contrasts, and complaints. Another form of opposition that solidifies communal sentiment in Z is in the form of daily conversations which make reference to outsiders as being different. The people of Z have no single name for themselves, partly because they see themselves as particular individuals, but they do have names for people who are not one of the community--"them." I shall first discuss the lake people and then others, including "Germans."

The lake people are mentioned as having different habits and as being avoided by locals, but first, it is significant to mention that these outsiders are stereotyped and given names when in fact they (the lake people) form no cohesive group. People who own property on the lake and who visit the lake in the summer are referred to as

"lake people," "summer people," "city people." In the store during spring I often heard customers ask the proprietress whether "they" had started coming back yet. The lake became a resort area starting in the 1880's, only 40 years after farmers began coming. At first the lake people were Chicago millionaires who reaped their wealth following the Chicago fire. At the turn of the century, smaller, cheaper cottages started, with the biggest boom in these occuring after World War II when improved transportation brought more people out of the city. The lake people are primarily urban, to some extent more wealthy than locals and with different habits. In noticing these differences, people of Z feel an identity they might not otherwise have.

One comparison is with the lack of full time government. Says the town chair:

> A great many people especially what we call the city folks, come out here and they wonder why this isn't a full time job and why I don't have an office and why I don't have a receptionist or secretary there to answer. Can't get ahold of you, they'll say. Well, it isn't a full time job, you know.

Also, Z people feel the local politics is better and they do not want it infiltrated, as this conversation between two women at the store indicates, which discussed one of the lake people running for town chair.

> He's from Southern Metropolis where he had a tire store and was in government to be able to sell tires to the government.
>
> In Southern Metropolis, they're used to that sort of thing, but let's stop it here if we can.

Other daily conversations depict lake people as driving too fast, parking orderly, and dressing different. Recall that locals park wherever they please; therefore, orderly parking is deviant. The

lake people who came in the store were well-dressed, their talk is about Florida or the city, and it can be predicted that they will purchase expensive cuts of meat.

Another characteristic of the lake people is that they provide dense population settlements and create crowds in contrast to the dispersion of Z. (According to the town chairperson, "There're about 33,000 homes . . . in the township, and you put four to a home, that's about 150,000 round figures, but you see, we only get a census population of 2,000 because they all claim Southern Metropolis residence.") This leads to avoidance behavior by Z people. Several people say such things as "I'll never go shopping on weekends." "I got into the habit of going to W more in the summer because it wasn't as crowded." In addition, a great many people in Z do not use the vacation facilities of the lake, again to avoid the type of people and the congestion of so many people the lake attracts. For example, a couple of years ago, the 4-H started taking yearly excursion boat rides on the lake and the majority of these children had never done so before.

Avoidance is taken to a further extreme by dissociation. One man whose address is Lake G, says he is not proud of it. A woman who retired to Lake G was asked at a club meeting by a visitor and former resident where she lived now. The woman was somewhat embarrassed to answer that she lived in Lake G, but quickly added that she never goes down town in the summer.

People talk about lake people, contrast themselves with them, avoid and disassociate from them to a large extent and thereby create boundaries and solidification of community.

Another outside group which does some of the same things are

referred to as the "Germans." Within the past few years, four to five family farms have been sold for high prices to a foreign investors corporation whose stockholders are German. The Germans remain in Germany and the land is managed by Americans. There is some fear of what is happening. One rumor is that they are going to put a Volkswagen factory in Z. Another complaint is that the Germans are taking down trees and natural marsh land and turning the place into a dust bowl. One family recognized this must be how it felt when American imperialists own foreign land. The families that have sold have been those where no one in the family remains interested in farming and they have been glad to get such a high price; still there is some uneasiness about this. One family that had agreed to sell to the Germans, could not sleep and called it off the next day. The Germans, somewhat like the Lake People, or the more blatant Air Force Academy, provide a fear of uncertainty to the community, a possible threat of take-over which unites people in their talk and complaints about them. The other source of comparison are from those who come from another community ("It was a larger town and you just didn't get acquainted") or work in another community ("The Mexicans at the cabbage plant stick together--that's their problem. We've been lucky there's no problem here").

The people of Z are further united by other outside forces they share in common. The best example of this is the weather, which is probably why it is talked about so much; it promotes a community feeling of "we're all in this together."

Ranking Systems

Ranking systems in Z, as we have seen, are not based so much on class and occupational differences as on age and sex differences. Adults are more likely to participate in the protest movements than children or old people. It appears that women are equally liable to participate as men, though certain men have appeared as leaders. Women have done the "leg work" of writing letters.

Boundaries

Avoidance seems to provide the boundaries of opposing. In one direction there is a taboo against internal opposition, which is not to deny the existence of it. Internal opposition is more in terms of feuds between specific people, while all others avoid siding or doing anything about the dispute. In Z there are no mediating institutions to reconcile differences. Because Z tends to be a simple society, minor differences may lead to great schisms which are always smoldering underneath because they do not get resolved. They only isolate individuals. Z people avoid raising issues or questioning meaning systems which could raise hostilities. They do not want to confront one another. This kind of opposing is more secretive, while in the other direction we find a public kind of avoidance that promotes solidarity. The existence and creation of strangers establishes Z internally. When people do talk about outsiders or rally against them, they politicize their sociable relationships and then the boundaries are apparent.

Place

Because we have two kinds of opposing, we also find two kinds of places. For social protests, a public place, usually the town hall, sometimes a school, are gathering places for questioning and answering sessions and working out strategies. On the other hand, the informal aspect of complaining and comparing tend to be in less formal places, such as the store, meetings, and homes. The internal opposing occurs only in very intimate places, out of the public as much as possible.

In sum, opposing in Z is a behavioral element that solidifies the segments of the community into temporary wholes in a similar way to the Nuer and Tiv. Opposing ranges from dramatic social protests to the more common talk about outsiders. There is a small division of labor in the dramatization, but none in the talking. People avoid internal conflict and they avoid outsiders, so that in between they find a sense of community. Communal places of opposing are anywhere interactions occur, though the dramatized opposing occurs in a public meeting place, primarily the town hall.

Helping

Helping is another behavioral dimension in which people are together under the label of community. Like opposing, helping is situational and goes in and out of existence as situations requiring help come and go. In the literature, helping is found in network theory and analysis of cooperation. The concept of helping parallels the parts of network theorists' exchange content which do not involve sociability. This exchange content is instrumental and comes to play

in crisis situations. The exchange content is also tangible and provides resources, especially when facilities are lacking (cf. literature on exchange theory, for example, Mauss, 1954; Blau, 1964; Homans, 1950; Levi-Strauss, 1963). Loukinen (1975) relates exchange content to a holistic network in a community similar to Z. Mutual aid societies institutionalize helping aspects of exchange contents and overlap with the clubs or voluntary associations in Z. Helping is distinguished from cooperation in being directed toward other persons rather than a mutual goal.

Helping in Z is related to lack of facilities and crisis situations, particularly involving accidents and deaths, work sessions in the past, formal organizations and individual exchanges. There is a sexual division of labor in helping which will be distinguished from intrusion. Helping most often occurs in homes.

Historical

Initially people were very dependent on one another for mutual aid because they were not able to bring enough equipment with them and had to borrow tools from one another and get assistance in house building. One memoir from an original family mentions people from 10 miles away came to help them build their house. Early settlers watched out for one another. For example, one family tells the story of their great grandfather being struck by lightening in the field and because neighbors were constantly watching out for one another, they noticed something was wrong and brought medical assistance at once.

Until recently, most farmers were not able to afford big

machines and shared them. During threshing season it was necessary for men to cooperate with their labor in order for grain to be harvested. They would take turns going to one another's farms with big dinners served at each place. Some men remember this:

> All the threshing and silo filling used to be done by neighbors, but since the combines came, they don't do that. Around 1948 the combines came and broke up our threshing ring. (70 year old farmer)
>
> When my dad came, there were families on each farm and they helped one another, they all knew each other, it was a real community. (50 year old construction worker)
>
> We used to work more with neighbors. If anyone got behind, we would help one another. Now helping is more a matter of dollars and cents. (60 year old farmer)

New machines changed patterns of helping so that farmers were able to do most of the work alone and if they need help, it is more common to hire someone now rather than to share work with each other.

Institutions

Helping situations have become somewhat institutionalized in that when people need help, they seem to receive it from members of the community. The most institutionalized way this help comes about is through voluntary associations. However, it is more common for people to rally to someone else's aid without the mediation of organizations.

Helping is a part of many of the formal organizations, particularly women's club and the church. Of course, the police and fire fighters are also primarily helping agencies. Throughout the history of the community, women's groups have made important contributions to the community. In the past, their sewing used to provide for people in the community, especially newly married couples. The clubs

continue to give to the community in the form of scholarships, Christmas presents, and landscaping. The Homemakers annually sponsor an Easter Egg Hunt for all the local children. The firefighters and local merchants sponsored a Halloween party. The Neighborly Club undertook the project of labelling the roads in the township. The Garden Club gives Christmas cards to people in rest homes and the Neighborly Club bought Christmas plants for over 30 old or infirm people at Christmas time. All of the women's organizations have some kind of Sunshine funds so that when people in the community are in need of cheer or congratulations, they are given help.

Helping is further related to sociability and the lack of local facilities. One of the latent functions of sociability is to provide a news-communication system for people to keep informed of one another. While Z is serviced by two or three local weekly newspapers and two radio stations, Z is only a small part of their area and the news published tends to be summaries of official business such that conversations rather than newspapers or radios become necessary for keeping in touch with much of Z. The talk about other persons tells others when something is wrong and help is necessary. Because medical facilities are lacking in Z and people are forced to go at least 10 miles to obtain medical aid, talk about health and accidents is one of the main rallying points for helping one another. For example, during the year of the study, one farmer lost part of his hand in a machine and much of the talk for some time was about this man and how he and his family were doing so that people could provide help as needed. One woman expresses this:

> People are concerned with one another. When one is sick, they'll bring an entire dinner. Neighbors know one another and care. They help each other out. (70 year old woman)

People have to call one another to keep in touch and work out continuing definitions of the situation. There seems to be a taboo or at least some hesitancy in asking the person directly, as this long example illustrates.

> One woman told another, Marge, she had seen in one of the newspapers that a friend, Sue was hospitalized. This sent Marge to the phone--why was she in and what was to be done about it? Marge called Rose, but she had not heard; she called Adele, but Adele did not know either, but Adele suggested Sue's close neighbor would know. What was the neighbor's name and number? Marge calls back Rose to get this information, then with the neighbor's name and number, Marge tries her, but she does not get an answer. I asked Marge why she did not call the hospital, she said they would not tell her anything, and besides, since she does not know what is wrong with Sue, she does not know if she should call her. Later Rose calls back--did Marge find out anything? No, but they discuss Sue's broken arm, her gall bladder trouble and Rose says Doris had seen her last and Sue had a bad cold. They hypothesize pneumonia. Finally the next day, Marge can stand it no longer and she calls the hospital, and talks to Sue who does indeed have pneumonia. Marge calls Rose and the dilemma now is what can they do for Sue; she cannot have visitors, Marge says nurses do not like to mess with flowers, how about hand lotion? Marge says she will send a card and also inform Edith, neither of which she does, though she does tell Adele.

Throughout all, there is a chiding of Sue for not wanting to impose and not letting them know. This is a far cry from the man who got struck by lightning when everyone was constantly on the watch, he had to impose or die. Nowadays, helping each other does not come from the cooperation for survival, from sharing tasks or institutional interaction; rather, people must work, in conversations, to find the news and try to help. This example has illustrated the extension of work necessary, and it also relates to the distinction of imposing, to be discussed later.

Death also brings people to aid. For example, a few years ago, a farmer's father was dying and had to be sent to a metropolitan hospital during spring planting, and the son was by his side for several days. Several of the other farmers came in and did the plowing for this other man. While this aid in work has generally disappeared, a crisis situation such as the death will bring people to help. About a different death, two different women comment:

> I like Z. Most people are friendly. If one needs help, anyone would help. When one family lost their boy, everyone helped, even if they didn't really know them. (50 year old village woman)

> There's a sense of community here. Especially if someone is sick or hurt or needs help, everybody shows up. When we had our accident, everyone showed up to help in any way--food, mow lawn, even people we didn't know and that extends to the farm area. (30 year old village woman)

This contrasts with when another man in the area died, his widow wanted a private funeral and would not allow anyone to help. People felt frustrated at not being able to give help and also at not being able to give respects to a man important to the community.

Crises involving property damage also mobilize help. In addition to work, other means of help are given. One person defined a community (at least this one) as a place to have bad luck, because someone will always help out. When a fire destroyed their business, they were given a loan beyond the government required maximum for that bank and several people offered buildings to store their things and people paid beyond what they owed, for future sales. Another situation was a broken silo:

> Our neighbor across the road just had a kind of tragedy. His silo burst open. It was a mess. It's really something to me to see how everyone comes to bat when somebody gets in trouble. (50 year old farm woman)

People help others who have crises in property damage with work and money.

Interactions

People also help one another on a one to one basis through exchanges as opposed to group help in illnesses, accidents, and death. Scarce items in the community are still shared and exchanged for certian occasions--for example, a big table or punch bowl needed when company is coming. When I asked people whom they borrowed from or exchanged things with, few could answer. This kind of activity appears on the decline, as one man says:

> There's not very much exchanging or borrowing any more. It's not like it used to be. (60 year old farm man)

Sometimes people reciprocate for help: One retired man helps another man who has his own business, but without pay, so every once in a while the buisness family takes the other family out for dinner. Another man keeps books in exchange for meat. Another family has a surplus of raspberries from their garden and trades with another family who has a surplus of peas. Some people resent it when no reciprocity is made, for example, one woman said:

> When I came home from the hospital, nobody came to visit me, and after all the work I've done for them. (80 year old village woman)

But others make a point of not expecting anything in return:

> I don't even remember what we've loaned out. Our stuff is almost public property. When anyone runs out of something at the town hall, they come here to get it. We don't do any bookkeeping, so it's our tough luck of we loose anything. (70 year old village woman)

Others give help without exchanges in return. One young couple helps their 90 year old neighbor who lives alone, with yard work and meals.

Another woman used to give a Christmas each year for all the old women in town. People may give rides, garden equipment, and help when cars are stuck. One man is described thus:

> R is always on call. He's a free taxi for others. The answer is always yes. (70 year old village woman)

Ranking Systems

The sexual division of labor in helping is in what is given. The primary thing women give is food. When the man mentioned previously lost his fingers, women gave food so that the women of the family would not have to worry about meal preparation. Women give food where there is a death in the family for the same reason. On the other hand, men tend to help by giving work--helping in the fields and barn. At an annual church event, women were requested to donate items to the bazaar and bake sale plus two pies for the dinner and men were supposed to donate something for the auction. Men gave farm animals and field products such as hay which were in turn bought by men. At the dinner men were in charge of meat and tickets, otherwise everything else from waitressing, preparing salads and vegetables, bread, drinks, to cleaning up were done by women.

The age ranking system means that old people, particularly those over 80, are more likely to be the recipients of communal aid. Of course this is because they are more susceptable to illness and accidents and could be more helpless.

Boundary

The outer limit of helping is intrusion. The concept of helping may be distinguished from intruding and to a lesser extent, from being

used or stepped on. Being stepped on ----------Helping----------Intruding. For example, one family said,

> We try not to hurt, impose or push. We're here if needed, but we are not stepped on. (70 year old village woman)

There is often a dilemma of whether to help for fear of intruding on the family or on the individual's privacy. Giving and doing things for others is greatly valued whereas people often feel uncomfortable receiving help. This sometimes leads to a double bind where people are condemned for not living up to the norm of helping while at the same time, the helping is protested because it puts the other in the position of receiving. It is wrong to be just for one's self and Z people compare themselves to city people whom they say close off other people. People constantly have to be negotiating and experimenting with trying to figure out the boundaries and limits of helping others while not being stepped on or intruding. There is a delicate balance between helping and intruding. For example, an old newspaper clipping about communal money-making projects to aid the victims of a fire in Z described it not as charity, but a helping hand. This makes talk about other's needs all the more poignant since people cannot come out and directly ask for help.

Place

Help seems to be needed most often at homes. People help out the bereaved or disaster-ridden family with gifts and work at their home. They also provide emotional support there. Voluntary associations organize their helping strategies at meetings, but the actual giving occurs at the person's home. Similarly, exchanges generally involve home needs. The sexual division of labor in helping does

imply a divergence of places in that women primarily give food and are concerned with the inside of the home, whereas men's work is usually given in the fields or barns, outside the home.

In sum, people of Z help one another in crises of accidents, sicknesses, death, and property damage; they exchange things individually, with or without reciprocity, and make contributions through organizations. Women tend to help with food while men tend to help with work. For both, there is a balancing of helping with intruding. This shows one dynamic of community--mobilizing of people to help one another--and how this is specifically manifested in the particular community of Z.

Sociability

Sociability, like opposing outsiders, and helping each other, is another way to reaffirm communal solidarity. Sociability is derived primarily from the social construction concept of interaction and refers to the "pure" social relations--getting together and interacting for no other purpose than to be with other people. According to Simmel, sociability is a form of social interaction which has no ulterior purpose and this in itself provides satisfaction for the participants. Sociability concerns us here because of what it says about community. It is one way people get together under the label of community and with no ulterior purpose (though it does feed into other behavioral elements of community--for example at social events, people will inquire about other people, partly to keep in touch with who needs help). People come together to enjoy each other's company, to feel satisfaction at being with one another (Simmel, 1950) and to

overcome their isolation. As Simmel suggests, sociability is dependent on personalities, so in Z, some people are more sociable than others.

The six concepts of community also take form in situations of sociability in Z. In discussing the sociability in Z, I shall first consider the beginnings of sociability through the church, next the institutionalization of sociability in social clubs followed by more informal sociability. Also we shall examine the locations and forms of sociability, followed by a note on sex segregation in sociability.

History

People first began visiting with one another through means of the church. For example, a set of letters by one of the early women settlers to her parents back east for a few years refers only to people she knew in the east, until the church starts and then she begins mentioning Z people. This family came to the Z area in 1847 and it is not until 1850 that she mentions other people in the area. She first writes in 1850:

> It is rather dull times with the young folks around here. They have got singing school to the meeting house and we talk of going when we get this road opened. Have been to meeting two or three times lately and I think of going tomorrow.

Then later she mentions other sociable activities, presumably obtained through contacts at the church or meeting house:

> I have been quilting at Mrs. M and have made two visits and have made some calls.

Thus, by the institutionalization of religion (which organizing was done by men--so presumably they had some sort of contact and sociability--possible through market relations--previous to this, though there

is no record of it) one woman at least began to share being with people locally.

Institutions

Besides the church, Z people have institutionalized sociability through voluntary associations, clubs. Outside of the church, women were the first to institute sociability through social clubs. The history and description of the clubs will be followed by an analysis of them in terms of clubs as proof of community (including socialization into the community and symbolization of the community), and involvement.

Women were the first to organize in the community, actually before the turn of the century. At that time, men cooperated in farming and came together that way whereas the women were more isolated. Says one woman who helped found one of the clubs:

> The farms were so far apart, we didn't get together at all. The clubs were just to promote neighborliness, sociability. Because the farms were so far apart and we really didn't get together. (80 year old farm woman)

To overcome their isolation, women began meeting together regularly to sew. Men and children, seeing the success of women organizing, started their own clubs in the Farmer's Club and the first 4-H in the area. These sewing circles eventually branched out into having educational and entertaining programs and some of the same women formed card-playing groups. Now there are a Thimble Club, Neighborly Club, Garden Club, Homemaker's Club, church women's group, and several card playing groups (one of which is over 25 years old with basically the same women, one of whom has never missed a meeting).

The women who were among the first organizers in the area, regularized sewing gatherings into established meetings. In 1911, a few women met at each others' homes to sew or mend and in 1917 gave it the name of Thimble Club. Soom the thimble was put aside and bunco and 500 were the entertainment. The club still continued to contribute to charities and do things for the community until 1975 when they dispensed with officers and are now strictly card playing.

The Neighborly Club also started with a few women sewing in 1911, but soon became established with monthly meetings and a special program. Charitable work has continued from the very beginning, from working for the Red Cross during World War I through giving scholarships and donating funds to the needy today. One of the Neighborly Club's projects was to label (gave names and put up sign posts) the roads in Linn. Money for all the programs has been made through auctions, card parties, food sales, raffles and sales of things members have made and donated. One member describes the programs as "educational and pleasing."

Seeing the women organizing inspired girls to have their own group which they called the Junior Country Club, around 1913. This was the start of the Boys' and Girls' Club which led to the first 4-H in Northern. The boys did not organize until 1916 which was the same year the state club leader came and organized the groups into the Jr. Farmers' Club which connected them with statewide affairs and help from the Northern State University. Their activities of learning, doing projects and having parties continues today. Fair projects have always been important and the early years are remembered for having a whole box car of goods to take to the state fair.

In a short time the men began to see advantages in a community club. They held a meeting in a school and organized in 1913, calling themselves Lake View Farmers' Club, and later H-Linn Farmers' Club. In 1914, they organized the first Z fair and soon thereafter built the town hall in Z which was primarily for the fair, but open to any local group. For some time they had monthly lessons with people from the Northern University coming easily by train. They also sponsored entertainment of Chautauqua and other traveling groups. Today the Farmers' Club meets once in the winter for a potluck and business meeting, sponsors Senior Citizen Card parties twice a month, donates to Outdoor Education programs and other charities, and has a successful fair every October. Now families belong and women do a great deal of the fair work.

The Garden Club began around 1937 with a few women within walking distance getting together. For a while they were part of the Federated Garden Clubs and participated in annual flower shows. Today they are once again more local and concerned with local beautification and learning how to improve their own flowers and lawns. They often do things for nursing homes and hospitals.

In 1946, a group of women went to the county board and asked that it hire a county homemaker agent. This was the start of Homemakers throughout the county. At first the group met in the afternoon once a month, and soon another group met in the evenings. The monthly meetings consist of lessons learned through county meetings from the university extension agent and then presented to the local group. A few years ago the afternoon group disbanded and the evening group had so few members, they thought they might have to stop too,

but they persisted and today the Homemakers is growing in numbers. Every year they sponsor an Easter Egg Hunt for all the children in Z.

In 1950 the Z Bowling Palace opened and drew everyone in the community into bowling leagues. Few people had bowled before. In this case, a structure "imposed" sociability whereas the other organizations historically have developed the opposite way--sociability became institutionalized in a structure. Many of the original teams still exist. Seeing and playing together with friends is as important as the sport itself. A 50 year old farm woman said:

> I'll probably bowl until I'm too ancient to get down there and throw the ball. Not because of the bowling so much, but because the social part is so really great. There are so many of the girls, everybody is so busy and involved in their own little worlds, that you just wouldn't see them. I don't care even whether we win or lose. We sure have a lot of fun.

and by a man:

> I'm on a bowling team. The same five members have bowled together for 26 years. We started when it opened and when it closes, we'll probably quit. Our bowling is really quite a laugh, but we enjoy visiting. They always have to prod us to go up there. "It's your turn now." Then we come back and we talk farming and crops and stuff. We really enjoy it. I'm sure we enjoy the visiting more than the bowling. That's one way of getting together. Otherwise, we don't see each other that much. (60 year old farm man)

There is an annual bowling banquet.

In 1948 a huge fire in Z resulted in the establishment of a local volunteer fire fighting unit. There was much property damage in Z because the fire truck took so long coming from LG. The people who lost their property in the fire and others decided that local equipment and people were needed to prevent so much damage from fires in the future, so they formed a volunteer fire fighting unit and petitioned the town board to provide the equipment. Since 1937, the township had

maintained a truck and equipment in LG.

> In February 1950 the department took delivery of its first truck which served as the only piece of equipment until 1965 when the department again received a new truck, a 500 gallon per minute tanker. In 1968 through efforts of some private citizens and especially the Farmer's Club, another water tanker was added. The first house was erected in 1966, the first year after receiving the new pumper. This building has enough space to house four trucks. In 1972 feeling the need for more water at large fires (all the water has to be hauled to fires), a new 2,200 gallon tank truck was purchased (from John Kromwall's History of Z).

The 25 volunteer firemen met twice a month to practice drills and hold business meetings. They recently acquired plectrons (radio signals) so they are alerted directly to fires instead of waiting to hear the whistle in Z. The Linn Fire Fighters exhibit characteristics one would expect in connection with Perlstadt's analysis of volunteer ambulance corps.

> In smaller towns . . . the findings suggest a community interest and long lasting personal commitment to the volunteer corps through more frequent training, lower turnover, and participation by married couples and married women (1975: 77).

Perlstadt relates volunteer ambulances to community size where smaller sized places do not have financial resources to maintain full-time employees for intermittent services. Z is an area of under 1000 people where volunteer groups seem to have a stronger relationship to the community. There is almost no turnover since the founders remain in the group. Though the runs (fires) are infrequent in Z, the training is frequent. As Perlstadt predicts, the Linn Fire Fighters are a Gemeinshaft-like organization with strong ties to the community. The only exception to Perlstadt's volunteer ambulance corps is that there are no women in the Z volunteer fire fighters.

In 1947 a three table bridge group was organized and meets

every third Tuesday. This group continues today with the same members, one of whom has never missed a meeting. Many other, more recent card playing groups function in the area. A yearly cancer drive by the women has, from the 1950's, yielded the most contributions in the county. For a while there was a local YMCA and also starting in the early 1900's, local baseball teams. At one time there were Camp Fire Girls and in the 1950's there were meetings in connection with the local co-operative store in Z. The Boy Scouts came in 1960. In 1976 there was a Bicentennial Committee, consisting of representatives from each of the clubs in Z. They participated in Bicentennial events of displays for fairs, a wagon train, decorations and landscaping.

Whereas women's clubs tend to be for sociability, men's sociable interactions occur more under the rubric of "official business." They operate under goals directed toward carrying out such activities as running the town government and fighting fires. They participate in local governments, volunteer fire-fighters, and keep in touch with each other through intermediaries such as the milk man, feed salesmen and the like. Some men also meet regularly for coffee at a near-by restaurant, again with the excuse of keeping up on crops and the market. Men are more cautions about attributing get-togethers as liking men or liking to talk. They describe it as business although they really like it. Given traditionalism and hard work, they are afraid to openly mention it is "just fun." Men appear ashamed to get together just for the sake of getting together. For example, one man said, "I never call anyone on the phone unless it's about business, then we may chat a while." Very few of the men said they talked on the phone; their communal interactions have the overt appearance of

business.

However, behind much of the official business are women. At the annual town meeting, the town clerk's wife was visibly taking the minutes which was part of the husband's official duties. The Farmer's Club always has a male president whose chief duty is to organize the annual fair, yet his wife is the one who contacts different people to activate the various committees and get the fair going. One woman practically single-handedly raises money for the Farmer's Club by holding card parties throughout the year. While men are officially in charge and the figure-heads of some of the organizations in Z, women are essential because they in fact are doing the work but without getting official recognition.

In the division of labor by sex, particularly in local organizations, the work is done by women, but the man is given the public recognition and honor for it. One man said he had to stop being town treasurer when his wife died because she had helped him so much. Something similiar took place in another situation. A man who calls his wife "mother" said: "My wife always does the income tax. I say to her, 'mother, you do it.' I was treasurer of the Republicans, but mother had to do it all because she was office manager in the business." One man finally conceded to his wife as he told me: "I was elected to the school board, but I didn't have time to do the work and my wife did it all. So the next time, she was elected. I figure she did all the work, she might as well have the honor."

In sum, clubs have been institutionalized to promote and regularize sociability.

Relation of Clubs (Formal Sociability) to Community

Many people cite the existence of clubs as proof of the existence of a community in Z. For example, one woman who grew up in Z mentioned the school, "That was the community. Until that left, we had more of a tight community." But she qualified that with mentioning that the clubs--Farmers' Club, Neighborly Club, Garden Club--are also the community. A man native to Z responds: "Definitely there's a community here. The Z fair proves it." Another woman answers the question "Do you think there's a community around here?" by saying: "I'd call it the Farmers' Club and 4-H because they have the town hall. The Farmers' Club, that's notorious." People perceive a community because clubs are established. They have almost reified the community, in Berger and Luckmann's terms, that is, objectified it to the point where they forget the community was a human-made product. However, people in Z do not always forget because they are active in continuing to create the community through the clubs and because they or their ancestors founded them in the first place. The clubs in a way symbolize the community to outsiders. For example, when the Garden Club won a prize (blue ribbon) for a Bicentennial shadow box, it was a source of pride for all of Z. The clubs bear the local place names. Some are called Z, some Linn.

In addition, women's clubs have provided a way of socializing women into the community. There is a need for this because the majority of the women married into the community and were not raised in Z. As an illustration, one woman says:

> When I first came here, I was very lonely. Then I joined the Neighborly Club and that was my first connection with the community. I have close ties to it because of what they did to me when I was a stranger.

Participation in clubs enables new women to get acquainted with other women in the area as well as these women to socialize them with communal values and customs.

Interactions

Though my separation of formal institutionalized sociability makes it appear dichotomous, sociability is better thought of as a continuum ranging from formal to informal:

Table 7.2 Formal to Informal Continuum of Sociable Occasions in Z

FORMAL----------			----------INFORMAL
Church Farmer's Club Neighborly Club 4-H Boy Scouts Garden Club Homemakers Firefighters Town board, school board and other official business	card parties bowling hunting charities lessons	dinner parties visiting	conversations greetings

This is not a continuum in temporal and spatial terms, because, for instance, greetings and conversations may occur at the same time and place as club meetings. Rather, formal-informal is a question of degree to structured organization and institutionalization. The clubs elect officers, hold meetings at the same time of each month and follow Robert's Rules of Order. The more formal sociable events tend to include food, particularly when women are included. Eating together--

communion--seems to enhance a sense of sharing and belonging, a sense of community. These kinds of established criteria become less apparent as one moves in the other direction of the continuum. Card parties, bowling, hunting, collecting for charities, and lessons some women give in their homes--for example, needlepoint or "stretch 'n sew"--while some are regularized in having an established membership and often specific meeting times, have no leadership or required procedures. None of these tend to have lasted as many years as the clubs. Card parties range from three table bridge club and the Thimble Club where there is an established meeting and where the same people have been involved for years--to just calling whoever plays bridge and "getting up a foursome" on the "spur of the moment."

One group of about five to six unrelated, older couples regularly take turns having dinner together at one of their houses. For other people in the community, having others for dinner is less established. Some people will maybe once a year have a number of couples for dinner. There is a feeling of reciprocity and exchange associated with giving dinners such that if one is invited to a dinner, they are somehow in debt to the hostess who may be repayed by a dinner invitation or in some other way repayed. In addition to dinner parties, women sometimes go to restaurants for lunch.

People refer to greater informal visiting in the past than now. Informal visiting appears somewhat intermediary between formal and informal. People attribute the decline of visitation to television:

> I used to know all the people around here. We visited real often. Now with T.V., people don't want you to visit because they want to watch a certain show. People aren't as close, they don't visit as much. (80 year old woman)

> Three or four families used to get together in the winter and have dinner and visit. Every winter they'd take turns having all the neighbors in for a visit. You don't get together anymore, not like we used to. The community, it's kind of broke up. Well, Sunday morning in church, we see a few people, but outside of that, there's once a year, the fair, maybe, and the church auction, otherwise, there isn't much community anymore. That's the bad thing about it too. (70 year old man)

> I don't think you do that as much as they used to. I remember as children we were brought up so that it seemed every Sunday, you either had company our you went someplace, but we don't do that so much anymore. You used to years ago. I think T.V. has done a lot for that. You go to someone's to visit and the T.V. is on and they don't want to miss that part of the story and you realize that, and you're the same way when someone comes. We would say, I wanted to see the rest of that story, even if you were tickled to death that that person came. (70 year old woman)

> We couldn't get around in those days like we do today, but there seemed to be time enough for visiting. (80 year old man)

> T.V. detracts. The town hall keeps jumping. People don't visit like they used to--they're so busy with their own life. There was more time in the horse and buggy days. (60 year old man)

Other people say they can visit at the club meetings and imply they don't need informal visiting. Lack of visiting leaves families more alone, less a part of the community than previously.

Conversations may occur anywhere, anytime, yet they are more extensive than greetings. There isn't an established time and place for greeting one another, rather it is more spontaneous. This is not to deny that there are rules and patterns to the formal aspects: there is a limited range, as will be seen in considering the forms and locations of sociability.

People hold conversations in any of the previously discussed situations. (While conversation analysis as developed by ethnomethodologists has gone far beyond my use of it, I have analyzed

conversations in terms of what they say about the community.) Informally, people hold conversations and greet one another. These are "stroking" messages in which, as Simmel suggests, the form is more important than the content, although the content is limited in range. Topics of conversation are restricted to certain sexes (Thorne and Henley, 1974). In Z, men's topics of conversation tend to be about sports, mechanics and work whereas women talk more about children, housework, and artistic items. The number of possible topics of conversation is endless, yet people limit themselves to making comments on personal appearances, on the appearance of the setting, yet even in the setting, women see different things than men. For example, women will comment on flower arrangements, choice of furniture and other decorations in the room whereas men will notice how well the furniture and room were built. Both make inquiries about friends and relatives and often about the past. Because gatherings are not all that frequent, and because of the particularistic nature of the community, specific events are remembered. For example, I heard one woman who was at another's home for a club meeting remark about the time about 30 years ago when she had brought her baby to this same home. Also, certain topics are predictable for certain times and places. For example, at a woman's association or another church event, there is likely to be discussion of a recent, previous church event. At the store (see section on shopping), there is likely to be discussion of recent social events, recent illnesses and accidents and the latest on one's children. Anywhere there is likely to be reference to a past event, often shared. For example, I have heard even very old people talk about their high

school days. Much of conversation seems to be keeping tabs on one another's biographies. Because people of Z do not have much contact or observation of one another, they must talk about themselves and others in order to know one another and continue interacting.

In another sense, inquiring about another's family is giving off the message that one cares, regardless of what the actual content of the inquiry is. This allows the other to talk about what is most important to them. The way things are said, the intonation, expression of mood, and the fact that it's said at all are perhaps more significant than what is said. Maybe just the saying is the point because it allows responses and conveys the message to two interactants that they are together and sharing rather than being separate.

Another aspect of form is that the topics often follow a certain order. For example, a social event at someone's house will begin and end with comments on artifacts in the home. This will also occur when there is a lull in other conversation topics. Sequencing is important. For example, sometimes a topic is raised from some visible item--a newspaper headline, a pump, a photograph--or a "new" item and the other person will immediately relate a personal event similar to the topic raised. For example, a topic raised because it is news that someone in the community has been hospitalized will evoke responses of other person's experiences of hospitals.

Greetings. People greet one another--with a nod, wave, hello, and/or calling out the person's name--as they pass one another in cars or other vehicles, or as they see one another in the village or elsewhere. It is generally required that one do this, as I found

out when I broke the norm. I was riding my bike and carrying two bags of groceries, so that it was impossible for me to wave to a man passing me on his tractor. Later the man remarked about it to me. He said it was all right that I did not wave because he saw that I was carrying a bag in each hand. The greeting pattern is closely related to the sparse settlement pattern and few people. There are few enough people for each to remember the others' names and know them whereas in a city or other densely settled area, it would be impossible to greet everyone, much less know them by name.

The nature of topics, forms, and locations of conversations tell us about the uniqueness and exclusiveness of the Z community. The nature of conversations illustrates the traditional, shared past orientation of the community. In order for one to operate as a member of the Z community, knowledge of the ways to interact, of the appropriate content, form and location, are necessary. For example, knowledge of references to the past are often necessary for participating in conversations. Being sociable is a way of doing community and I have analyzed how this way makes Z separate from other communities.

Ranking Systems

The most overt ranking system is in sex segregation and sex differences. We have seen that participation in sociable events is a variable in Z and tends to separate women from men in types of formal organizations, topics of conversations, and location of sociable events. Perhaps the documenting and detailing of sex segregation (particularly as I have noted here in sociability) is an

important start in developing the concept of sex segregation. Why did the sexes stay so far apart and avoid one another in this community? Two factors help explain this. First are the interests of the two groups, that is, the areas where people prefer to give their primary attention. Women are more interested in children, cooking, and refined household decorations, whereas men have more interest in sports, guns, and mechanical items, partly because both sexes have been pushed into these different directions since early childhood.

The second explaining variable is the sex taboo. This became clear to me in the exceptional case where one woman and man (each married but not to each other) did break the sex segregation barrier and were often seen together. The talk about them was full of sexual innuendos that they must be having an affair, or why else would they be together all the time? This was also seen in the teasing given to children by adults and other children alike, as early as kindergarten. If a girl and boy were friends, they would be asked if that were their "girl or boy friend," or if they planned to get married. Girl and boy, woman and man cannot get together without others in the community implying they should get married, making their potential sexuality legitimate.

Boundaries

Sociability falls between the boundaries of isolation at one end and over-involvement at the other. When people talked about the community in relationship to the clubs, the concept of involvement kept appearing. People characterized involvement as somewhat intermediary between isolation and over-involvement.

Isolation----------involvement----------over-involvement

Some people complain about others, often new people, that they just don't want to get involved in anything. They live in the community, but are not part of it because they devote their time and energy usually to their families only. On the other hand, people will also condemn those who are over-involved and are active in too many associations to the detriment of their families. Says one active woman: "There's not as much of a community as it used to be. . . . Young people are involved with their own families and they don't want to mix." In turn, the isolates tend to complain about the participants wanting to know everyone's business and not giving them enough privacy. For example, one construction worker built an addition to his house and everyone around Z was curious to see it on the inside, yet the construction worker's family complained about this because the people of Z don't give their construction business to them. We may think of isolation-involvement-over-involvement as a continuum of different degrees of participation in the community. These range from cases where people appear at every communal event offered, such as this couple:

> Pretty near every month there's something to go to--church dinners, farmers' dinners, something to buy at schools, spaghetti supper up at T school. We go to all these. (60 year old farm woman)

to cases of zero participation to the extent where the person is so isolated, that no one in the community knows them.

As Simmel (1950) says, sociability is a personal thing, yet we may look at sociological variables affecting the degree of involvement. Involvement is especially influenced by the stage of the life

cycle and how long one has lived in the community, but people also have to work to remain active participants of the community.

One's stage of the life cycle tends to promote extremes of either participation or non-participation, though this is variable and has changed historically. Currently for adults, the more involved tend to be middleaged with grown children, though these same people have remained in clubs a long time, going from early marriage through having children to their current status, all as active participants. People over 80 drop out of clubs and become recipients of their charitable activities. This historical change is especially true for women who used to bring their pre-school children to the meetings. Now there tends to be a feeling for mothers of young children to be at home with them at all times (though this is changing for working mothers). There are very few young people in clubs and some club members express a fear that the clubs (and thus the community) may die out.

Having children can either provide a stimulus or deterent from involvement. For some, children are the parents' way into the community as they become involved in school events and learn about other families through their children. With a child in school, many women become socially active in events that revolve around the school--being a room mother, helping with school lunches, driving on field trips and participating in the school club and money-making projects. These people tend to be more isolated when their children are grown, as illustrated by this 60 year old farm couple:

> When the children were growing up, we went to things; when they left, we lost out on these things. Now we lose track of people. The tragedy of it was, in a way, when you're

> busy and didn't want to spend the time, that's when you had to. Now when you've got the time, you're not wanted, you're out of it. Rightfully so, you shouldn't be part of it if you're not involved. We have no business now being on the school board.

Another 60 year old farm man says:

> We don't know the new ones here. It's hard to get to know people easily around here. When the children were in school, we used to know all the families, but not anymore.

While for some, as those above, having school children is their ticket into the community, others are more active in the community before they have children and after the children are grown. With children, they feel their place is in the home, to be present when naps are taken, the school bus arrives, a child becomes sick. They may experience the community vicariously through their children (the community "news" the children bring home), but when the children have grown, they have no remaining contacts and so they themselves become active. As one woman said, "At my age, I'm not going to drop everything," implying that if she did, she would be too alone.

Having lived in the community a long time is another factor impinging on involvement. Those who have been in the community longer, particularly with ancestors in the community, tend more to participate in social clubs. However, neither length of time in the community nor stage of the life cycle automatically make one a participant. Having lived in Z a long time seems so important, yet that is not enough if one doesn't work on being in the community. For example, one man who, with his father, practically single-handedly built much of the Z village, lives within the Z area, yet no one seems to hear of him anymore, nor does he go to the village or see anyone.

Another woman says, "If I hadn't known people from living here all my life, I wouldn't know anyone because I don't belong to anything."

Thus, the stage of the life cycle and length of time in the community have an effect on involvement, but not in every case and almost anyone can be involved in the community by actively working in the clubs.

Place

In addition to the limited range of topics and forms, there is a limited range of locations for sociable interactions.

Table 7.3 Places of Sociable Interaction in Z

Place	Women	Men	Children
store	X	X	X
work	X	X	
town hall	X	X	X
bowling alley	X	X	
fire station		X	
church	X	X	X
schools*			X
phone	X		
home - clubs	X		
"Red Eye" (Restaurant)		X	
post office	X	X	
hunting (in Northern State)		X	

*3 grade schools, 3 high schools

From this table we can see that places of sociability are not equally open; some are restricted to certain sexes and ages. The church, store, and town hall generally are open to all and can include whole families, though situations within anyone of these will often be sex segregated. Both men and women interact at work, bowling, and the

post office, although with the exception of the latter, there is generally a separation of women and men--separate areas of the work place for women and men and separate female and male bowling teams. Children have the least places of interaction, with them dominating at schools. Men have three exclusive places of interaction--the fire station, the Red Eye, a restaurant where some men meet for coffee regularly, and hunting trips. While women may go along on the latter, it is generally to take care of the cabin and cook rather than actually go hunting. Women's domains are homes where women's clubs, card parties, and the little visiting that remains (that is, stopping at another's home unannounced). Some exceptions to this are dinner parties which include couples, but women and men tend to separate from one another and talk about different topics. The church sponsored a book discussion group which met in people's homes and was not sex segregated. Women generally hold reign over the telephone for sociability and will spend a long time talking to one another. When telephones first came to Z, everyone was on a party line and could learn much about the community by over-hearing phone conversations. Today most people have private lines, but learning about the community by overhearing conversations is returning in the form of CB radios.

In sum, as we have seen with helping and opposing, the lack of institutions forces people to find other ways of getting together and creating community. In this case, Z people have instituted meetings to end their isolation, yet they still must be wary of over-involvement. Women are more active in the organizations of the community because they recognize the need for sociability whereas men

feel they must do their socializing under the disguise of "business." This leads to sex segregation in many places of sociability.

Now that we have considered opposing, helping, and sociability vertically on the Table 7.1, I want to compare them horizontally on the different concepts. In this way we can see how social change may come about as one situation is transformed into another.

History

History is like an outer rim that surrounds all the concepts because each situation is located in a particular time frame. Time is one of the essential features of each situation and in the course of the situation, the part is often selectively used to legitimate the situation or to foster the union of different people in the situation. People further their communal togetherness by reference to a shared past. In general, Z people may share a past of having succeeded over outside influences, of having cooperated in work or given in time of need, and of getting together in sociable situations. History, then, is the collective memory, but the extent to which history is relevant changes and can be contradicted. History helps create the present situation.

Institutions

The paradox of saying Z lacks institutions and then talking about institutionalized situations, is solved by different definitions of institutions. Institutions in Z are residual aspects of other things and as such, are highly truncated, rather than integrated. In the Z case, the structure as a determinate is less strong because the majority of interpersonal relations are not governed by institutions.

Z lacks institutions in the functionalist sense of, for example, having a unified school district or a strongly centralized commercial-governmental area. Z does not have institutions in this sense, rather, Z has repeated patterns of interaction that have become institutionalized in the sense of reification, that is, people have objectified the patterns as something apart from themselves. If one asks people why they do something in a certain way--why, for example the Neighborly Club always has a "pot luck" and a "grab bag" at Christmas time, they will say because they have always had it. That is the way it is done. However, if pushed further, they will be able to point out that some ancestor or known person in the community actually started the tradition. For example, one woman told me her uncle instituted the Oyster Stew dinner as part of the Farmer's Fair. People have primarily created the institutions of Voluntary Associations, but in the normal course of their day, they do not stop to think about it as their own creation; they are reified patterns of action. The voluntary associations overlap with all three situations. They were created primarily for sociability, for people to meet each other and end their isolation. The clubs also help through community projects, but the transformation into helping situations is more because people have become friends. Their acquaintanceship may begin in the voluntary associations, but the friendship extends so that in times of need, they help one another. Sociability, getting together in voluntary associations, also is a media institution for retaining knowledge about one another. This knowledge, depending on the particular circumstance, can lead to helping or opposing behavior. For example, announcements of political concerns or political rallies are made at association meetings,

which, for that moment, politicizes the gathering. The governmental institutions themselves, such as the monthly town board meetings, often appear as sociable gatherings. Many men attend them to talk with their friends and do not have a petition or announcement (that is, they have no "official" reason to be there). Most of the business is routine. However, the governmental agencies also become politicized with certain circumstances, usually involving "outsiders." Then the government may take the leadership, for example, in putting a referendum on the ballot over a subdivision trying to come into the area.

Interactions

Interactions are basically talk, conversations which link people in a communal way. The most neutral base is sociable, but as with voluntary associations, circumstances of accidents or outside intrusion can politicize the talk or activate a network for providing help. Interactions are less formal, less reified situations than institutions. Sociable talk can be messages of caring by asking about another's family, but depending on the state of the family, this has the potential of turning into helping acts. Likewise, sociable talk may turn into talk about "lake people" and become political, fostering a further solidarity between the two interactants as being united against others.

Ranking Systems

Ranking systems are not so much a way the community is held together, nor even a source of conflict, but rather, the way gender roles get worked out. Socially the sexes are segregated because of a sex

taboo and because of different primary interests. This spills over into helping activities which are different for women and men. Opposition activities tend to obliterate the sex segments as people are equally united against outsiders, though if a leadership role is assumed, it is male.

Boundaries

The boundaries of all situations seem to range from isolation to intrusion. People choose to be sociable, they take a risk that the sociable will turn into helping or opposing. The greatest liability is that individual differences will become too apart and an internal rift will arise. Since people usually cannot easily leave the community and there are no institutions to mediate an internal conflict, these inter-personal disagreements become a heavy weight that never goes away. This may happen when a person goes too far in the other extreme and becomes too intrusive in anothers' privacy. People must be careful about helping and are constantly trying to work out the boundaries of whether and how much they may help or be sociable. The boundaries of opposing are somewhat clearer in that one should avoid internal disputes and should rally against outsiders, though in any particular situation who is inside and who is outside is negotiable.

Places

Places by themselves are neutral, but they become associated with certain situations by people's definitions of them. For example, the store would appear to be an economic institution, yet many people have turned it into a sociable place. Many public and private places

in Z are used for sociability, though not equally by all because of age and sex segregation. Any sociable place can become an opposing place through the politicization of talk. But the activity of mobilizing for protests or whatever usually occurs in the town hall. Helping seems to occur in more private places.

Conclusion

The end of this discussion of Z in a way has been a return to the beginning. This dissertation started with two initially seeming contradictions: other communities studied and Z. Several sub-concepts of the central concept, community, were drawn from major sociological theories, but in criticizing these theories, it was repeatedly shown that with the exception of the social construction theory, the theories were largely inapplicable to Z. The portrayal of Z itself has been as an anomalie, a somewhat unusual case with contradictory districts and boundaries, lack of local institutions, and no strong class divisions. Yet in this chapter, I have analyzed what I call the major behavioral dimensions of community in terms of institutions, boundaries, ranking systems. How did this resolution, this application of widely-used concepts of community to a negative case come about?

Opposing, helping, and sociability are all situations and as such consist of single social acts rather than an over-arching, constant coherence (as community is typically implied to be). Situation has been defined in terms of time, place and people perceived as significant for the creation of meaning (Manning, 1973: 205), in this case, the meaning of community. We can look at opposing, helping, sociability, the most common situations in which the people of Z

create senses of community, in terms of the concepts that are important to all communities. However, what is filled in the boxes that result with situations on the horizontal and concepts on the vertical are more unique for the particular Z setting. Thus the ranking systems for Z are more subtle, of sex and age differences and the boundaries are not territorial but issues of how much one can do for another; and only a few situations such as sociability have been institutionalized into voluntary associations. We further see that the situations overlap processually as the conceptual emphasis in one situation is transformed into another situation.

Even though situations are micro, fleeting, and unquantifiable, they still contain a certain structure, that is limits of possible behavior and repeated patterns. Thus, the original statement that Z lacks structure has been qualified to be that Z lacks integrated local institutions, it lacks permanent territoral boundaries with cycles of turn-over in group composition, and it lacks economic differences and class differences. What Z does not lack are certain interactive, situational processes which very likely underline all communities; in this light, other community studies may be seen as deficient for not analyzing the social construction of senses of community in everyday situations.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have attempted to combine an analysis of community studies with a case study of a single community. This combination raises some questions: How does one conceptualize "community"? Particularly how does one conceptualize community when most of the conceptualizations used in the past do not work for the case study of Z? How then is Z a community? Z as a community is problematic because evaluated in terms of previous studies of communities, Z is a non-community. Communities that are marginal or not obviously defined by law have merited little attention. This dissertation has revealed that such communities are worthy of study and reveal many community processes.

In analyzing the community studies, I do a number of things. First, I have abstracted the characteristics and elements of communities from implications and definitions of community as found in community studies. Second, I have organized these elements under four major sociological theories. Third, within each of the four theories I have arranged the characteristics of communities into concepts that make the elements of the major theories comparable across specific concepts. Fourth, I presented criticisms of these theories and add further criticisms because of their lack of application to Z. Finally, I take the concepts from various theories that do help explain

this setting and analyze the setting accordingly. Each of these will be summarized.

Many community studies were read in an attempt to find out what the sociological concept of community is and how it may be defined. The ways community is defined are numberless and contradictory such that a concise definition of community was impossible.

However, considering these definitions according to the implied theories whence they came provided an organization for considering many characteristics of community as a concept: many presentations of community held functionalist implications, seeing it as an integration of institutions held together by shared values and norms; human ecology, a theory already developed specifically for communities as ecosystems had some other emphasis; conflict theory also contained relevant characteristics of community. The features of community based upon a social psychological theory or a social constructionist approach, were also considered.

This analysis left only a set of concepts, or a list. Now there were four lists. However, I found I could organize the items on the lists into elements that were comparable across theories. I have called this organization "paradigms" as analogous to the original sense of that word which is a grammatical model comparing verb and noun forms across different types of conjugations and declensions. Thus each theory of community has a different analogy, emphasizes different concepts, sees the genesis, location, and process of community slightly differently and employs divergent methodologies for analysis just as Latin noun forms have different case endings. My development of community paradigms makes it easier to compare

community studies. It also enables future students of communities to more easily draw out the important elements of the concept of community in these theories.

All of these theories have been criticized in the literature, but what was especially of interest here was how these theories and their concepts related to the setting of Z. Z has a number of characteristics which combine into an unusual setting: Z is located in a rural area with a loosely joined center, juxtaposed to a tourist lake, which manifests few other boundaries. In addition, the Z community straddles two states and is divided by several districts (school, mail, phone), none of which overlap. On the whole, functionalism, human ecology, and conflict theory were inadequate to explain Z as a community whereas social constructionism provided much of the analysis of Z.

A major aim of this dissertation is to show how phenomenological sociology is applicable to analysis of the substantive area of community. A conceptual framework for analyzing communities phenomenologically in terms of perceptions and situations has been developed. The situational nature of community was more evident in Z because few other remnants of community remain. It is hypothesized that situations which go in and out of existence, which in turn, activate networks and differential cognitions of community, are also at work in every community. For example, there may not be a single Yankee City, Middletown, or Springdale community that is always in existence and perceived in the same way by everyone. In Z the interaction of people's states of mind with territory, place, and those institutions which unite people, causes certain situations to be those most central

to the experiences labelled "community."

Ethnographic details of the Z have been presented as not "fitting" or being a negative case in the context of previous community studies. It is a case which can be viewed phenomenologically. The setting led to considering the specific situations of opposing, helping and sociability, which need to be considered in other communities to expand and further specify situations which are likely to be labelled community. Analysis of cognitive processes of mapping, and identifying one's community in Z revealed the variety in perceptions of the community. The major situations in which community is enacted in Z--opposing, helping, and sociability--each have their own history, institutions, types of interactions, ranking systems, boundaries, and location. These processes of community have not been fully realized by other community studies. It is hypothesized that these cognitive and interactive processes which are more visible in Z because of the lack of formal structures, are at work in other communities as well.

Finally, this dissertation has revealed a methodological and epistemological issue that is based on the gender role of previous community fieldworkers. As one of the few females to examine communities, I found (through my access to women which may have been limited by men) that women were dynamic actors in the process of community. Women have been omitted as central actors in community studies, not only because of the sex of the researcher, but also because political and economic institutions in communities have been emphasized. In Z where political and economic institutions are less important to the dynamics of community, women and the interactional nature of community is more visible. The implication for other

communities is that women are essential and active in communities, through perhaps not as visible as in Z. The more sex (and age and other) segregation of community activities, the more likely that there will be varied senses of community.

In sum, this dissertation has raised a number of issues that have implications for past and future community studies. It has pointed to omissions in previous conceptualizations of community and revealed some aspects of the complex nature of the concept of community in sociology.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

GUIDE TO NAMES IN Z

APPENDIX A

GUIDE TO NAMES IN Z

Just as novels contain lists of characters to help the reader keep so many names in mind, so I have included a list primarily of place names so the reader may have a convenient guide. Most of these names are pseudonyms.

B: A town 35 miles west of the Z village in Northern, population, 37,000.

Bigtown: (R), a city 50 miles west of Z in Southern, population 170,000.

Bissell: A small commercial settlement which collapsed when the Z village started.

D: A small town two miles north of the lake in Northern, population, 3,000.

Dairyland: (Da), a town 10 miles east of Z in Southern, population 5,000. Some Z people use doctors and hospital in Dairyland.

E: County seat of Northern County, population 4,000, 15 miles north of Z.

F: A small Northern tourist town on the west side of the lake, population 1,000.

GC: Grove City, 10 miles east of Z, in Northern, population, 1,000.

H: A village four miles southeast of Z in Southern, population 700. Some Z people went to H for high school. Most Z people bank in H and many have an H mailing address as the rural delivery serves Z.

J: A large town 30 miles northwest of Z in Northern, population 47,000.

LG: Lake Gladys, nine miles northwest of Z in Northern. A small glacial lake which attracts tourists primarily from Southern Metropolis. Also the town by that name to the east side of the lake, population 5,000. Used for banking, shopping, church, high school phone and mailing address by some Z residents.

Linn: The Northern township in which the village of Z is situated.

Linn-H Cemetary: A cemetary located in the countryside in Southern, half way between the villages of H and Z; original site of the Z church.

Northern: Refers to the northern midwestern state in which the village of Z is located.

Northern Metropolis: a large metropolitan area located 50 miles northeast of Z, population 717,000.

Slopville: A small commercial settlement one mile north of Z village; site of the Red-Eye Restaurant.

Southern: The southern midwestern state just south of the village where some members of the community also reside.

Southern Metropolis: A major city, about 80 miles southeast of Z in Southern, population 3,000,000.

Stockwood: County seat of Southern County, 10 miles south of Z, population, 10,000. Some Z people go to Stockwood for shopping, doctor, hospital, and work.

University Town: Location of University of Northern, 60 miles north of Z, population 173,000.

W: A town five miles northwest of Z in Northern, population, 1,600. May be used for banking, doctor and shopping by Z residents, also the site of a high school for some members of Z. Some Z people have a W mailing address and phone number.

WB: Tourist town on the northern side of the lake.

Z: A small railroad stop and village. In this dissertation used as a gloss for the community which may expand or contract around the village center.

Z Church: Presbyterian, the only church located in the village, now moving to a major highway.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Who was the original person to come to this area? Where from? Why? How is this known?

Dates, occupations, location of generations; anecdotes.

Childhood: where go to school, who were classmates, stories.

Marriage

Occupational history

Dwelling pattern

Religion

Show me photo albums, old diaries, letters, antiques to tell me about.

Were brothers treated differently from sisters?

Typical day: which activities solitary, which with others. Typical week: rituals throughout the year.

What are the locations of talk and what is said in each?

What organizations attend and why?

Where do most of shopping? Circumstances, time routine.

Where do you go to church?

Where do you go for a doctor?

Where do you bank?

Where do you work?

Whom do you talk to on the phone regularly?

With whom do you exchange things--borrow, give, offer rides, Christmas presents?

Whom do you visit informally?

Whom do you have for dinner?

Where do your friends live?

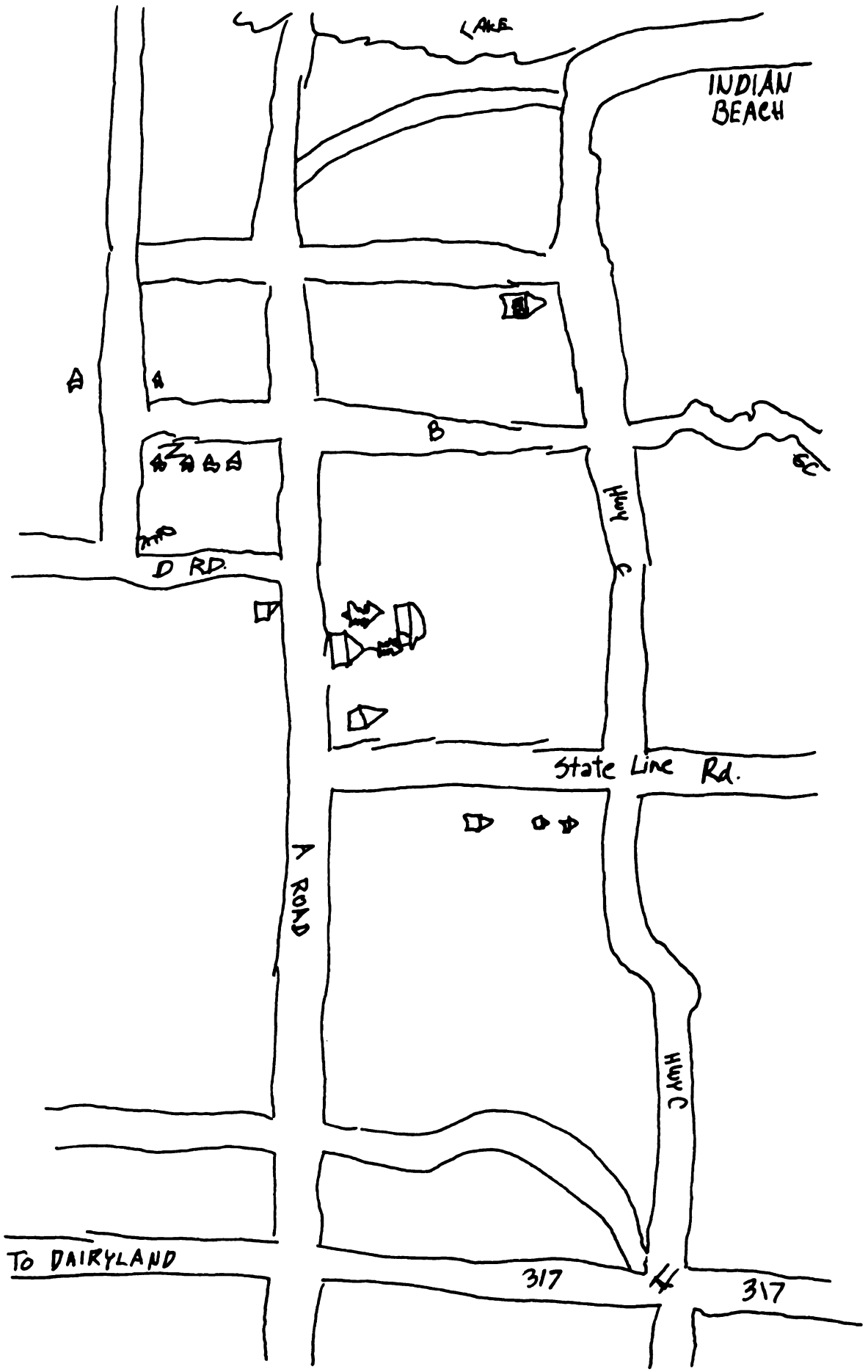
If you're in among strangers, where do you say you're from?

If you're in Southern Metropolis among strangers, where do you say you're from?

Do you think there is a community here? What does that mean? Draw a map of the area.

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE MAPS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