



1964

A Critical Evaluation of Maurice Stein's Theory of Community Development

Carolyn Leonard
Loyola University Chicago

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A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF MAURICE STEIN'S

THEORY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

by

Mother Carolyn Leonard, R.S.C.J.

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Loyola University

in Fulfillment of the Requirements

for a Degree of Master of Arts

May 1964

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CHAPTER I

A THEORY OF COMMUNITY CHANGE

A community usually is composed of a more or less stable population existing within a specific area and within a specific cultural context. Formed by the processes of interaction carried out within it, and composed of individuals who share a sense of belonging to and identity with it, the community may be viewed as the dynamic expression of the individuals and groups within it. The various familial, political, and economic groups, as well as the value orientations, degree and intensity of interaction, and size of the population are but a few of the factors which differ from community to community. Within a given community not everything that happens in one segment happens in the total community. An understanding of the constant change in a community, resulting from influences within and without, and the network of interacting groups that becomes a part of community living, will lead to the realization of the fact that the community is a social grouping, one in which the individual can carry on the activities that are important to him.

In the past few decades, there have been many empirical studies of American communities. In an attempt to formulate a "theory of community" reflecting the basic factors impinging on

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American community life, Maurice Stein¹ examines various empirical studies and theoretical formulations. His consideration of selected studies focuses on community development and change, together with their consequent impact on the persons and institutions within urban American communities. Stein acknowledges the range of variation of community studies; the differences among communities as to age, size, location; the variety of training, interest, and facilities of the field workers; and the individual author's inclination to give his own interpretation without reference to other materials. Nevertheless, he maintains that in American community life common social forces are at work in separate communities. This continuity within community patterns and studies can be discerned through interpretation of significant findings and their interrelations and through comparison of problems as they are portrayed in the studies.

Stein assumes that the most satisfactory way of developing sociological generalizations is through specification of historical contexts.² Since development takes place in time, the evolution of events must be taken into account in order to abstract the universal processes from their historical setting. Park's view of the city, for example, derives entirely from the Chicago of the 1920's. In order for Stein to develop his theory

¹Maurice Stein, The Eclipse of Community: An Interpretation of American Studies (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960). This is the publication, with some alteration, of Stein's doctoral dissertation, "Explorations in Community: The Sociology of American Community Development," Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 1958.

²Ibid., p. 22.

of community development and change, it is necessary to uncover those factors which are not particular to this setting, but which are universal.

The theory is based on the hypothesis that there are three basic processes at work in American community life: urbanization, industrialization, bureaucratization. Stein demonstrates this by means of a detailed analysis of what he judges to be the three most significant studies of community life in America documenting the basic processes just noted. The process of urbanization is examined in Park's work.³ The process of industrialization is examined in the Lynds' two volumes.⁴ The process of bureaucratization is examined in Warner's, especially Volumes I, II, and IV (the most important of all, in Stein's view).⁵ According to Stein, Park's study of human communities approaches the study of the large city (Chicago) via natural areas, since there are obvious differences in the growth patterns of various sections of a city and in the relationships among these areas as well as between these areas and the city as a whole.⁶

³Robert E. Park, Human Communities (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952).

⁴Robert S. and Helen Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt-Brace and Co., 1929) and Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt-Brace and Co., 1937).

⁵W. Lloyd Warner et al., Yankee City Series (New Haven: Yale University Press): I. The Social Life of a Modern Community, 1941; II. The Status System of a Modern Community, 1942; III. The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, 1945; IV. The Social System of the Modern Factory, 1947; V. The Living and the Dead, 1959.

⁶Stein, p. 19.

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Park saw the city and the communities which compose it as "a mosaic of minor communities, many strikingly different from one another, but all more or less typical."⁷ Stein additionally views the pattern of Park's studies as allowing for "the possibility that some kind of developmental models encompassing changes over a time are required to understand the urban constellation of 'natural areas.' It is the opening wedge for more detailed historical interpretations."⁸

Stein abstracts from their historical context five dimensions of Park's theory which he considers fundamentals of a theory of urbanization.

Several dimensions in Park's approach to natural areas can be singled out:

1. Disorganization pattern. The analysis should always begin with a pattern of behavior deemed problematic and the perspective on the basis of which it is so regarded must be carefully specified. Since this would presumably always entail threats to the social order of the whole city, preliminary distinctions must be carefully drawn between the extent of the reality of the threat and its perception as such by different inhabitants with differing value systems.
2. Distribution. . . . The distribution of the disorganization pattern among various population elements should be determined. . . .
3. Sub-Community social structure. The way in which the disorganization pattern is viewed by the sub-community in which it occurs . . . (and) . . . the way in which the pattern is transmitted.
4. Urbanization. The changing structure of the whole community must be viewed insofar as it has been shaped by the growth patterns of the entire city . . .
5. Reorganization. Emerging mechanisms through which the city as a whole tries to suppress or contain the problematic behavior should be noted and their interplay with the institutional structure of the sub-community carefully explored.⁹

⁷Park, p. 196.

⁸Stein, pp. 24-25.

⁹Ibid., pp. 33-34.

According to the Stein interpretation, Park understood urbanization as a disintegrating as well as an integrating force. The lack of institutions or at least of institutional consistency, the rapid mobility which carries with it the many social differences between generations, the consequent breakdown of social control and the increased isolation that accompany the weakening of the group, must be investigated within the changing urban structure and an effort made to reorganize the mechanisms which allow the various forms of disintegration free rein.

Next, Stein takes up the studies of "Middletown." Here he considers the process of industrialization and its effect on the city. Drawing upon Wilbert Moore's book,¹⁰ Stein holds that on the one hand social mobility becomes institutionalized in an industrial system as the source of productive efficiency, while on the other hand mobility is the source of the disruption of non-industrial society. The early days of institutionalization of mobility in an industrializing society are marked by many changes and consequent difficulties. Because of its unique position at the beginning of industrialization within a given community, the Middletown study¹¹ serves as an example of this process of community development and change.

Effects of industrialization, in addition to those mentioned above, are the more validly described because the authors are so explicit about the structure from which the transition

¹⁰Wilbert Moore, Industrialization and Labor (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1951).

¹¹Muncie, Indiana, from 1890 to 1924 (Stein, supra).

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proceeds. They note that, "systems of social control can operate in the interests of one group and against the interests of others."¹² The growth in dominance of the business class success models and in the contempt of other types of occupation; the disruption of the craft hierarchy and its ideal of personal accomplishment; the reorganization of status placement on the basis of competition for mass-produced commodities; the decline of local autonomy and the accompanying gradual loss of self-definition of the worker as a member of the local community--all these were the effects of industrialization on the people and institutions of Muncie. Stein considers these to be universal effects of industrialization, although he admits that reactions to industrialization will vary from one locale to another; that automation of the 1960's threatens to break the job structure as much as the industrializing breakdown of the craft hierarchy did; and that contemporary mass marketing will undoubtedly alter the industrialization process.¹³

Stein selects Warner's volumes in which to examine the third basic process of community development and change: bureaucratization. Warner was primarily interested in analyzing the social structure of an American town, in which the effects of outside pressures on the social organization and the economy could be viewed. While Yankee City (Newburyport, Massachusetts) is affected by urbanization and industrialization, the dominant

¹²Lynd and Lynd, Middletown in Transition, p. 58, as cited in Stein.

¹³Stein, p. 68.

pressure that emerges in this community is bureaucratization.

Warner's recognition of the power of associational memberships admits of the gradual process of assimilation of ethnic groups at different levels within Yankee City society. He views the decline of the crafts, but not so much as a disruption of the old craft control system as the encouraging of bureaucratic controls. Another change is the rejection of age-prestige symbols of authority in favor of school-learned capacities. Still other factors in the growth of bureaucracy are the rise of impersonal authority, the alienation of the worker, and the decline of autonomy at the local level. These factors are present to a degree even in the unions, so that bureaucratic, non-local, impersonal controls develop at every level of society. The end result of bureaucratization then is the confrontation of classes as two "collectivities under the control of remote power centers" rather than as joint participants within a communal system.¹⁴

After examining these three processes and formulations of community development and change, Stein draws these ideas together into a general theory. First, he holds firmly to the historical view of social structure which considers change over a period of time from the past. More specifically, he maintains that any study of American community must emphasize the "decade experiences" so that some assessment be made of the impact of World War II on the early 1940's, the cold war and the Korean War on the 1950's, and so forth.¹⁵

¹⁴Ibid., p. 93.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 98-99.

This means that every community study is to be viewed as a case study. We can go even further and maintain that they should all be studies of the effects of the basic processes and historical events on changing social patterns. This means that the state of affairs before the change as well as while it is in progress should be carefully specified. Every good community study is a study of transitional processes.¹⁶

Stein further qualifies his theory by pointing to the environmental element as well as the particular kind or type of community being observed. The first point of note in any community study is "a description of the social structure as this has changed over a period of time."¹⁷ The next is to see where disorganization exists and to approach the study through the specific problem. Then allowance ought to be made for any unique and original elements that might be present in the social structure. Finally, the presence of change and the direction of this change should be noted.¹⁸

When this point is reached, the tools for analyzing urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization, as constructed from the works of Park, the Lynds, and Warner, "should suggest an interpretive framework for examining other community studies as well as for formulating new ones."¹⁹ Additionally, Stein holds that all three processes are in one way or another related to the underlying community trend to which the three

¹⁶Ibid., p. 99.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 103.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 107.

studies refer, namely, the trend toward increased interdependence and decreased local autonomy.²⁰

At this point a brief look at the community study method may be in order. Conrad Arensberg states that the community study method is an observational rather than a statistical or an empirical method.²¹ He further states that the canons of community study, however implicit, must contain some value and consistency or the numbers of published studies would be neither great nor continuous. The purpose of the community study is to discover the processes at work in a given community. Its approach is usually problematic.²²

Community study is that method in which a problem (or problems) in the nature, interconnections, or dynamics of behavior and attitudes is explored against or within the surround [sic] of other behavior and attitudes of the individuals making up the life of a particular community. It is a naturalistic comparative method. It is aimed at studying behavior and attitudes as objects "in vivo" through observation, rather than "in vitro" through isolation or abstraction or in a model through experiment.²³

Stein's views of community development and change seem to follow closely those of Arensberg. This may be noted in that both view a community study as beginning with an approach to a problem or social disorganization. They each direct attention toward the social and psychological processes operating within a natural setting. This resemblance is undoubtedly more than surface

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Conrad Arensberg, "The Community Study Method," American Journal of Sociology, LX (September, 1954), 109-124.

²²Ibid., p. 109.

²³Ibid., p. 110.

likeness, since Arensberg served on the Columbia University faculty while Stein attended graduate school there, and since the bibliography of Stein's doctoral dissertation cites Arensberg's article on the community study method, mentioned above.

Assuming the relationship just noted, the characteristics of a community study as delimited by Arensberg may also be considered to be the characteristics as viewed by Stein: it examines a whole community with a full round of community life, marked off from other times and places; it must contain a reasonably full sample or it fails as a community study; it may use many different techniques in its approach to the community being observed; it will not neglect to check and rework the existing historical facts and setting.²⁴

After having examined briefly Stein's focus of attention on community development and change and the concept of community study, it might be well to consider here the rationale for the present thesis. Stein has set up his theory and to some extent shown its validity in a number of selected community studies. Perhaps through examining community studies not considered by Stein in his book, it can be discovered to what extent his theory of community seems to be validated in them. To the degree that the three processes are present as basic factors in independently selected studies, his theory of community development and change will be supported. If his general theoretical position is upheld in studies other than those he chose, his theory will be further

²⁴Ibid., pp. 111-113.

verified. It must be recognized that the basic processes can be explicitly or implicitly in evidence; the present writer must search for both kinds of evidence. It is possible, too, that one process will consciously or unconsciously dominate the viewpoint of the authors, e.g., bureaucratization as in Warner's fourth volume in the Yankee City series.

The community studies chosen for this examination have been selected primarily because each provides an historical setting against which development can be measured and because each portrays the community as a dynamic, on-going whole, not as a static, unchanging locale. A strictly random sample of community studies might have failed to provide studies containing adequate historical materials for analysis. Studies of the metropolitan areas were thought to be too large to be of empirical value in the present work. Studies of communities smaller than the ones used by Stein or those which did not consider a large enough segment of the population were not used. In all, from the over ninety-five studies considered, five were selected: by Talbert, by Gallaher, by Lantz, by Warner, and by Wood.²⁵ The last of these is not the study of a single community, but it portrays a development in American society of the 1960's that has become almost universal, and thus can hardly be ignored if a balanced

²⁵Robert H. Talbert, Cowtown-Metropolis (Fort Worth: Leo Potisham Foundation, 1958); Art Gallaher, Plainville Fifteen Years Later (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Herman R. Lantz, People of Coaltown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958); W. Lloyd Warner, Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949); Robert C. Wood, Suburbia (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1959).

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evaluation of the Stein theory is to be given. Finally, it might be added that scholarly reviews of the five eventually selected community studies confirmed the reliability and methodology of each.

It remains to examine each of these studies in an attempt to evaluate the Stein theory of community development and change. If the processes of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaueratzation, with their particular characteristics as enumerated by Stein are found to be factors of basic importance, then the general theory of community development and change appears to be independently supported. To the degree that these processes are absent, the theory will need modification.

This study has, of course, its limitations. It has not been possible to examine every community study. And from those examined only five have been chosen, for the reasons stated above. Stein sought to find some confirmation of his theory from the various community studies he selected. Is this then merely a repetition of his work? It is confidently believed that it is not. Any factor of possible bias in Stein's process of selection of studies is here given some empirical check.

Particularly relevant to the method and aims of this study, is the Alihan doctoral dissertation which pointed out the various ambiguities present in the writings of the ecologists of the 1920's and 1930's as hindrances to the formulation of a general theory of ecology.²⁶ Alihan notes that in order to

²⁶Milla Alihan, Social Ecology (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938).

examine the position of the ecological school, with its basic concepts and methodology, three things are necessary: to discern the coordinating and organizing factor of the individual researches, to keep the larger perspective in view, and to perceive the relationship between the factual studies and the principles of the theory.²⁷

The Alihan study revealed a cleavage between theory and fact in the earlier ecological studies. Stein, however, seems to approach the studies in an attempt to discern the common processes of change that are present within American communities. It is suggested that further validation or qualification of Stein's method and principles will lead to a clearer conception of the processes at work in American communities and the effect they have on the individuals and institutions who inhabit the dynamic communities of America. This is a vital need in any subject areas of social importance to sociology.

²⁷Ibid., Introduction, p. viii.

CHAPTER II

COWTOWN - METROPOLIS

Talbert's study of Fort Worth examines the growth of the city from its earliest days as a trading center to its present status as a thriving metropolis. Three key events seem to have determined the direction as well as the extent of the growth of Fort Worth. The first, the coming of the railroad in 1873, increased Fort Worth's trade potential and led to the city's becoming a rail center, chiefly for cattle trains, although oil processing and meat packing also drew considerable trade to the city. Talbert makes it clear that without the trains, Fort Worth would not have become an important city.²⁸

The second period of importance seems to have been that of World War I. Oil processing and oil transactions of all sorts, as well as military installations at Bowie, brought people to the city and brought expansion. Talbert states that "the evidence which is available indicates that the oil discoveries have had a significant and lasting influence on the economy and social life of Fort Worth."²⁹

The third period began about 1942, when Convair moved to

²⁸Talbert, pp. 27-33.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 39-40.

Fort Worth. The aircraft industry has drawn workers as well as aircraft parts suppliers. The succeeding years have been marked by the increase of manufacturing and population, the settlement of the western area of the city, the incorporation into Fort Worth of several independent suburban towns. Talbert attributes this growth to the increase of substantial primary activities;³⁰ thus he implicitly supports the Stein theory of industrialization as basic to community development.

Talbert maintains that "in the development and functioning of communities today, one of the variables of importance is leadership."³¹ Leaders, or power blocs, can prevent certain developments, provide climate of change, and even influence the larger culture as it relates to the local community. This leadership factor--the efforts of local citizens to draw industry to the city--present since the earliest days of Fort Worth, claims chief responsibility for the establishment of the rail center, the growth of the oil and livestock industries, and the locating of Convair at Fort Worth. On the whole, Fort Worth's growth is "due in large measure to the initiative of individuals in the area."³²

. . . in the development and functioning of communities today, one of the variables of importance is local leadership. That is, in addition to the commonly given factors affecting community life, there is the influence of individual citizens or organized groups of citizens who take an active interest in promoting the addition of primary economic units, and in the

³⁰Ibid., pp. 41-42.

³¹Ibid., p. 9.

³²Ibid.

development internally of institutional structures and organizational patterns.³³

Without ignoring the fact that the efforts of leaders to bring industry to a local area indicates their recognition that industry aids in the growth and development of cities, it might be well to examine this leadership factor in the light of the Stein theory of community development and change. In his consideration of Park's approach to natural areas, Stein holds that physical and circumstantial environment is one of the factors of change in a community. Does this eliminate or reduce the possibility of the leadership factor in the spread of urbanization? Stein seems to demonstrate the environmental factor as a dynamic one and to prescind from any examination of its origins; while Talbert's thesis admits the power of trade and industry in the development of community, yet he tends to deny its possibility without effective leadership drawing primary economic units to the area. On the one hand, Talbert states that the perceptions of natural areas, of growth patterns, or even the relationships between institutional structure and emerging mechanisms might serve to direct planning. On the other hand, he admits that the oil industry developed largely without planning and at the same time caused a great change in the Fort Worth community.³⁴ Thus, in some way, Talbert modifies his leadership factor. It might also be suggested, that although Stein never specifically dwells on leadership as a factor in the development and change of

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., Preface, p. viii, and p. 40.

communities, he allows for the possibility of its effective presence and implies the role of external leadership in bureaucracy affecting the local community. Talbert defines leadership as "the ability to translate ideas and goals into action--to arouse awareness of felt needs, to crystalize the required public opinion, to engender the necessary fellowship, and to carry through to the achievement of the desired ends."³⁵

Other elements, apart from leadership, are present within this study of Fort Worth. Talbert examines the processes of development as they occurred in the historical past. He admits that even in the presence of city ordinances regulating zoning, the already existing pattern of housing and other rather spontaneous land use of the past cannot be changed without incurring great expense.³⁶ These natural areas are examined, not so much from the Stein view of disintegration-reintegration pattern, as distinct social worlds having their own unique culture.

A city such as Fort Worth inevitably develops areas which are differentiated in a number of ways. Some of the more obvious differences would be a central business district, areas primarily for industrial activity, low and high income residential areas, and racial and ethnic community areas. In significant ways these separate sections are somewhat distinctive "social worlds" within the general community organization. In such social worlds one finds unique behavior patterns and attitudes as well as distinctive levels of socio-economic activity. It is in this respect that we speak of the natural areas of the city.³⁷

This study of Fort Worth does not focus heavily on the

³⁵Ibid., p. 268.

³⁶Ibid., p. 73.

³⁷Ibid.

natural areas, but rather on the census tracts which are believed by Talbert to yield more exact and reliable information. A census tract is an area of a city divided by the U. S. Census Bureau, usually as homogeneous as possible in terms of land-use, population composition, and social and economic characteristics, and commonly with a population of 3-6,000 persons.³⁸ It would seem, however, that although individual areas in the city are studied by Talbert, the emphasis is on the differences between areas of the city at the time of the 1950 census rather than on the developmental change taking place within one area over a time sequence. Developmental change is viewed rather as a total process of the entire city of Fort Worth.

However, the author rather generally notes certain processes at work: population invasion, deterioration of buildings, decentralization of business and professional activities, and the establishment of shopping centers.³⁹ In Fort Worth the pattern of urban change is viewed by Talbert as one of at least integration rather than one of disintegration-reintegration. While "there are in reality significant differences in the quality of living available in different urban areas," Talbert assures the reader that "the welfare of the whole community is affected by the living conditions of each part of it."⁴⁰

Manufacturing and industry, additional processes at work

³⁸Ibid., pp. 74-78.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 73-74.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 260, 261.

in Fort Worth, have led to the development of urbanization in the city and the consequent population and area growth. From 1920, the oil industry expanded considerably, but it was not until after the annexation of neighboring industrial areas in 1939, that significant change in manufacturing came about within the community.⁴¹ At this time the assessed real estate value jumped from thirty million dollars to one hundred fifty million dollars.

Between 1940 and 1950, there was a population increase of about fifty-seven per cent. "While some of this increase was due to natural increase and annexations, the major factor in the city's growth was the development of manufacturing, and the major addition to the city was aircraft manufacture."⁴² The Convair aircraft plant alone employed at one time or another from fifteen thousand to thirty thousand persons, was responsible for the development or re-location of other aircraft manufacturing companies in the area, and influenced the beginning of aircraft parts manufacturing there.⁴³

In order to examine the effects of increased aircraft industry on the laboring men as well as the city at large, consider the following:

The aircraft industry has provided an initial impetus toward the industrialization of the Fort Worth area after a twenty year period of relatively static industrial activity. This intense concentration, despite the drawbacks, has been beneficial in providing rapid development and upgrading in the skills of the area's labor force. The basis of a highly

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 128-132.

⁴²Ibid., p. 132.

⁴³Ibid.

skilled labor force for the future development of a diversified industrial economy has been provided.⁴⁴

The labor force itself has developed, not merely in its increase in number, but also in the number of changes in specific occupational and industrial patterns. The number of workers designated as operatives and craftsmen more than doubled their number in the decade between 1940 and 1950.⁴⁵ This seems to corroborate the Stein thesis regarding the reorganization of the status basis and the disruption of the craft hierarchy as resulting from increased industrialization. However, in another way it limits the Stein theory regarding the rise of industry in a community. For, unlike "Middletown," Fort Worth maintained its earlier industries which were related to the cattle trade--a business which even today is of great importance in Fort Worth. "The city is still proud of its cowtown status."⁴⁶ The presence of industry has not hindered this earlier business. In fact, in a unique way, the presence of the cattle has influenced the direction of growth of the city. The prevailing summer winds from the south have meant that upper class residential areas have been built south of the stock yards.⁴⁷

Stein asserts that industrial growth leads to deterioration of housing. Talbert does not dwell on this aspect directly,

⁴⁴Leland McCloud, "The Economy of Fort Worth," Fort Worth Business Review, II (October, 1953), 6, as quoted in Talbert, p. 132.

⁴⁵Talbert, p. 141.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 160.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 171.

but he rather takes up the factor of effective leadership which can prevent or at least reduce the possibility of blighted areas through laws, inspection, and encouragement of care on the part of the owners and users. The problem in Fort Worth, due as in many cities to both deterioration and overcrowding, varies from one census tract to another, with low residential concentration of population in the center of the city. This has resulted from the fact that land space has been usually available. Unlike the people of some other areas in the United States, the people of Fort Worth encourage peripheral expansion rather than the vertical variety in spite of the ensuing problems of providing scattered schools, services, utilities, police, and the like. Talbert states that this policy of action in Fort Worth has prevented, and will continue to prevent, other problems prevalent in other large and overcrowded urban areas.⁴⁸

Without attributing a cause-effect relationship to the simultaneous growth of the municipal government of Fort Worth and the increased urbanization and industrialization, Talbert sees the close interrelatedness of the development of these factors and, implicitly at least, accepts the fact of the presence of the factors of urbanization proposed as basic by Stein. Although Talbert does not use the term bureaucracy, this in is fact what he describes as he demonstrates the need for more formal controls to meet the needs of both the expanding population and the increased complexity of urban living. He indicates the

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 183, 187.

necessity of having well-trained men to perform efficiently the various tasks required for proper functioning of government.⁴⁹ Thus the age hierarchy breaks down and the symbols of traditional authority gradually change, so that the work will be accomplished in tune with the present day demands. From the varied indications given by Talbert, there is present a growing bureaucratization in Fort Worth, the result of increasing numbers of people within the urban complex.

To what degree, we might ask, are the processes of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization factors in the growth and development of Fort Worth? Park's theory of urbanization as interpreted by Stein, concentrates on problematic behavior, disorganization patterns, and disintegration of institutional forms. If we isolate the process of urbanization from this particular focus, the relevance of the Stein theory becomes apparent. Talbert rarely loses sight of the changing structure of the whole community. He traces the community change through its historical setting, which effective leadership has attempted to direct through the years. This emphasis on the role of effective leadership in the development of a community does not suggest "that other forces were of no importance, or that leadership can accomplish miracles. Rather the conclusion is that local action has been one of the forces in the growth of the city and in its internal development."⁵⁰

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 226, 241.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 268.

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Thus the most apparent difference between the Stein theory of community development and change and Talbert's treatment and understanding of the Fort Worth situation, appears to be their attitudes toward purposive action. For, while both recognize the processes of development as present, Talbert assumes, with the possible exception of the oil industry, that citizens guide these processes, and Stein focuses almost exclusively on the processes themselves. Here let us consider one of the questions Talbert asks as he draws up his conclusions to the Fort Worth study:

Is it possible for individual citizens or groups of citizens to improve their city, or is improvement or degeneration beyond the control of the individual community?⁵¹

Without denying the environmental and external decision-making factors involved in community development and change, Talbert seems inclined to accept the role of local leadership in socio-cultural change, maintaining that "local action has been one of the forces in the growth of the city and its internal development."⁵²

The changes brought about by the increase of industry in Fort Worth have been noticeable in the growth of population and the expansion of the area of the city. Talbert touches rather briefly on the changing positions of the men in industry, on the outside control of large industry, but not in great detail on the actual effects of industry on the lives of the persons concerned. Interestingly enough, he sees industry as leading to urban com-

⁵¹Ibid., p. 261.

⁵²Ibid., p. 268.

plexity, which in turn leads to the need for strong municipal government--the closest Talbert comes to mentioning bureaucracy as a process in Fort Worth.

In general then, many of the factors of the Stein theory seem to be present implicitly if not explicitly in the Talbert study. Certain converging ideas have been noted; certain contradictions presented. The overall picture, however, as demonstrated--or better, perhaps, interpreted--by Talbert, leads to the expectation that local leadership and local autonomy will prevail in Fort Worth. This interpretation, which apparently does not consider the influence of the national economy on the local power structure, seems to run counter to the Stein theory that the future will bring less and less local community power with an increasing interdependence between the larger urban areas. The threads of fact in historical direction and tempo, however, appear to lend some greater credibility to Stein's view.

CHAPTER III

PLAINVILLE AND COAL TOWN

Any attempt to analyze the Stein theory of community development and change would be incomplete without reference to one or two studies of small communities. "Small towns are as vulnerable to the processes (urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization) as their urban counterparts."⁵³ Two studies of small communities have been chosen for this investigation because they attempt to approach the whole community and to study it in the context of its historical background. Plainville, studied first by West in 1939-1940,⁵⁴ and later by Gallaher in 1954-1955,⁵⁵ allows measurement of change which is hardly possible in other studies. Coal Town, studied by Lantz and his associates, researches the changes brought about by the rise and fall of the coal industry. Both towns are small, located in rural areas, and according to their respective authors, typical examples of small towns throughout the United States.

Plainville, located in the foothills of the Ozarks in Missouri, was chosen because of the possibility it offered

⁵³Stein, "Explorations in Community," abstract, n.p.

⁵⁴Carl Withers [James West], Plainville, U.S.A. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

⁵⁵Gallaher.

to study short-term processes of culture change, especially directed culture change, and . . . to study such processes in a context which would permit some understanding of the culture changes reshaping the lives of low-income family farmers in America.⁵⁶

Gallagher lived in Plainville between August, 1954, and August, 1955. At that time it contained approximately a total population of 5,387 persons recorded in the 1950 census. This represents a decrease of over twenty per cent of the farm population and six per cent of non-farm population since the 1940 census. Within this 1950 farm population, one-third was over sixty years old.

Gallagher's study of Plainville was partially hindered by the fact that the local population was suspicious of the investigation and believed it to be an investigation of West's findings. "The major research methods used were extensive analysis of documentary data, participation and observation, and interviews with informants and casual acquaintances."⁵⁷ These methods in addition to the federal census data, extensive county records, personal diaries and letters, made it possible to construct the background of the study. The research was carried on by the author and his wife who sought to identify themselves as members of the community. The culling of information was extended to ex-members of the community.⁵⁸

Perhaps the most significant element of the study remains the fact of West's earlier study. Gallagher admits this when he

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 1.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 6.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 6-9.

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says:

On all counts, Plainville is an excellent community for study. In the first place it offers the advantage of having been studied and reported on earlier by another anthropologist, Carl Withers, whose analysis of the community (published under the pseudonym of James West) is regarded as a classic in modern community studies . . . His treatment, then, provides a convenient backdrop or screen against which culture changes between 1939-1940 and 1954-1955, the subject of this book, are viewed.⁵⁹

Gallaher continues to assert the suitability of Plainville as a community study, for throughout his volume he refers to the study by West as the setting against which to measure the change and development of the various elements of community structure and function in Plainville. The author asks several pertinent questions which it might be well to quote here as they make for a better understanding of his analysis of Plainville.

. . . What have been the forces of social and cultural change in Plainville during the past fifteen years and how much has the community changed during this time? How are Plainvillers adjusting to the rapidly diminishing isolation suggested by West? To what extent are they enjoying the improved level of living found in the more industrialized farm communities? . . . What are the processes of change, how are these influenced by outside authority, and what is the role of technology in them? . . . What are the effects of rapid technological change on the class system reported in the first study? Were conflicts observed by West sharpened or modified? . . . Finally, what are the special conditions which influence most the acceptance or rejection of change?⁶⁰

From this it can be seen that Gallaher keeps in mind the wide divergences as well as the convergences present in the cultural change in Plainville. His approach to the study of community incorporates values which suggest those of Stein. The importance

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 1.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 1-2.

of knowing the historical setting, the fact as well as direction of change within the community, the transitional processes at work, and so on, influence both men in their approach to community study.⁶¹

The county of which Plainville is the center was settled by two separate waves of migrants. Around 1830, frontiersmen and farmers came and settled in the hill lands; around 1860 homesteaders came and settled on the prairies. With these settlers came the dependence on farming characteristic of the whole area. By 1890 all the land had been claimed and out-migration kept the population stable during the next thirty years, except for a slight increase during the depression years "when more people came home than left."⁶²

The war years 1941-1945 meant departure for many, but after 1945 veterans came to the community hoping to buy a farm and live there. This post-war period is recalled as a prosperous time by most of the Plainville citizens. The Agricultural Institute farm classes graduated more men than could be absorbed on county farms and authorities estimate that less than ten per cent of the pre-1950 population were farmers.

Perhaps one of the most significant events in Plainville's recent history was the completion in 1940 of the national cross-country highway which passes through the edge of the village.

"An immediate effect was to make roughly one-fourth of the village

⁶¹Gallaher, pp. 1-4, 10-31, and Stein, Eclipse of Community, pp. 98, 99, 103.

⁶²Gallaher, p. 18.

business directly dependent on 'outsiders' who travel the highway."⁶³ The highway is also a symbol of decreasing isolation. People are no longer confined to the limited area but come to depend more on the ideas and values of the larger areas nearby. This process has been accelerated by increased use of radio, television and newspapers.

Another change taking place in Plainville is the attitude toward scientific farming which in 1939 met firm resistance but in 1955 means larger individual land holdings and the decline of small farms. Because cash values have come to predominate, farming has become a business enterprise in which specialization and mechanization are the chief factors.

Agriculture remains the principal interest of the people of Plainville and the surrounding area. The family farm, although largely a myth in American society, exists as a historical reality for some in Plainville and continues to evoke nostalgia. Yet life in this town is no longer based on the close relationships of former days. The village is no longer the only trading center where the farmer does most of his buying and selling. The middle-man role of the village merchants declined as the farmers began to specialize. Plainville farmers, for example, at one time had milked their cows, separated the cream, which they sometimes churned into butter, and then sold or traded it to local merchants who passed it on to processors. Today, however, a Plainville dairyman or general farmer with two or three cows sells

⁶³Ibid., p. 22.

whole milk through contractual agreement to major milk companies. The same is true of the more successful poultry producers who sell directly to buyers.⁶⁴

The local service institutions are losing trade to outside markets, causing a lack of functional consistency between the consumer needs and the service provisions at the local level. Since 1940, it has been gradually less possible to find in the village products that satisfy the needs of Plainvillers. Consumers turn to the city stores where items can be purchased at more favorable prices. Communications media direct consumer preference toward items that are available only in the city. The competition threatens to put the Plainville merchants out of business, and there seems to be a general feeling that the local center is not needed.⁶⁵

Mechanization and modern methods of farming have influenced this change. Farmers are becoming gradually more dependent on their machines than they were on their neighbors. Roads and automobiles have contributed their share to this breakdown of former behavior patterns. Buying and selling, farming methods, social life, and even family relationships appear to be taking on new forms under the impact of influences outside the village. The effects of urban and industrial life outside Plainville on the village institutional structure have brought about less isolation to the point where people clearly agree that "the small village is

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 82.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 83-85.

on the way out."⁶⁶

These developments have touched the lives of the people and their interaction within the community. Specifically, the status and prestige symbols reflect the changes in attitude. Gallaher states the fact in these words: "Changes in economic methods, organization, and values in Plainville are accompanied by structural changes in the status-rank system of the community."⁶⁷

When West studied Plainville, there were two classes of people: the hill people and the plain people. At that time, the use of machines was the prestige symbol among the farmers. The universal attitude toward life was that it was built on hard work, careful use of time, and in many ways satisfaction with life as it was lived.⁶⁸

Since that time, many of the hill farms have consolidated, technological progress has become a part of farming, many new people have moved into the area, so that the two classes have apparently disappeared. The prestige symbol now is wealth, according to the author, who claims that the machines are now a means to wealth with which to purchase other prestige symbols--better homes, appliances, and time-saving devices. The model of success for the farmer is the "big operator" specialist who establishes large-outlay beef and dairy farms. Of the two, the beef specialist is higher on the prestige ladder because he has

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 85, 140-145.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 199.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 199-214.

more leisure and wealth. Automation, therefore, because it provides the possibility of these large business ventures in agriculture, induces changes in the social structure of Plainville.⁶⁹

The Plainville social structure is fairly apparent. Sex and age distinctions determine expected behavior, although Gallaher notes that the socializing process was less strict in 1955 than it was in 1945. The family is the basic unit of the social structure; and, although at marriage the husband and wife establish a neo-local residence, kinship ties with relatives to the third and fourth generation, association with certain place names, and even collective attributes maintain importance. Loyalty within the extended group is strong. Dispersal of these large kin groups, noted even by West, has been accelerated by the Second World War which brought physical separation and mechanization, which, in turn, minimized work-exchange partnerships that had been the outgrowth traditionally of extended family relations. However, "kinship functions as a primary integrative factor for linking farmer and village, and relating Plainvillers to other communities in the county and other areas of the state and nation."⁷⁰

Other integrative factors in the social structure are the many and varied cliques, organized groups, and clubs. However, Gallaher holds that the most prominent symbol of community

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 199-207.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 134.

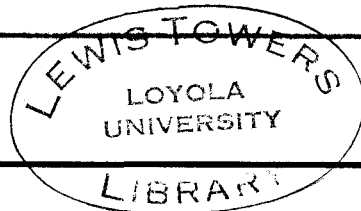
solidarity is the school. It is a major socializing agency and recreational source for both children and adults. It provides the major short-cut to achievement. Gradually parents are coming to see the need of a college education, although among the thirty-three selected students of the high school study only one girl and one boy had such an ambition.⁷¹

The style of life that places high value on leisure tends to separate the older and the younger generations. Constant use of machines has made the present generation look for labor-saving devices and material well-being. Status evaluation and possibility of upward mobility depend largely on wealth rather than on the set of associations to which the individual belongs, as was formerly the case. Since it takes almost fifty thousand dollars to start a workable farm, the low-income families see no hope of mobility for their children if they remain in Plainville, and so children are encouraged to move out.⁷² This reflects the value set upon mobility and the concern for it that motivates so much of the activity of Plainville. And yet the overview of Plainville indicates that mobility is open only to the few.

It would be well to examine here Gallaher's attitude toward his study. He classifies it as one of "those in which the same or independent investigator goes to a community studied earlier, to study culture change, utilizing the first report as

⁷¹Ibid., p. 161.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 207-220.



base line against which to measure and evaluate change."⁷³ He summarizes the culture change in Plainville in the following terms:

We can start by saying that culture change in the community during this period is best generalized as the result of the following interrelated conditions: the steady disappearance of geographical and cultural isolation; pressure for change from the larger culture surrounding Plainville, involving at some time actual interference; and the acceptance of new living standards focused on material comfort and increased efficiency. We can generalize further and say that the major culture change process is urbanization, that is, that Plainvillers are entering into relationships drawing them into ever-widening circles of awareness of, participation in, and dependency upon the surrounding urban world. Central in this process are the extension of technology from the greater mass culture to Plainville and the subsequent adjustment of Plainville systems of values to altered conditions. This process is actuated mainly by forces outside the community.⁷⁴

Considering this summary in relation to the Stein theory of community development and change, there seems to be an obvious convergence of ideas. Stein considers primarily urban sub-communities or small communities in which the processes of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization initiate change from within and without the community. Gallaher considers the same processes as they change the lives of the people of Plainville, but he sees them as initiated by forces principally outside the community. There exists no industry, no large bureaucratic structure, no urban center in Plainville. Yet it is true that these processes are changing the lives of the people here.

Specifically, Gallaher mentions some of the outside organizations at work on Plainville. The national welfare program

⁷³Ibid., p. 221.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 225-226.

begun in the 1930's and continuing even today, the military recruitment of World War II which drew men away from the town, the new highway through the city which gave a badly needed impetus to--yet subtraction from--local business, the widespread communications which have led to a shift in emphasis from relative self-sufficiency of the small farm to the cash and credit economy consumption patterns of the urban areas--these are some of the factors which have caused migration from the area, high expectations of improved standards of living, and specialization leading to improved status of agriculture as a way of life.⁷⁵

The changes in Plainville are attributed by Gallaher to what he terms the "revolution of expectations" from which it still suffers.⁷⁶ Conditions, formerly (in 1939-1940) considered ideal--or perhaps modern and therefore endurable at worst--are now thought of as archaic. The once prevalent symbiotic relationship between the farmers and village business men has largely disappeared in favor of more direct dealings with urban markets.⁷⁷ Within the community itself, the change has been characterized by a sort of economic individualism. The technological advances, the alteration of prestige symbols, the attitudes toward farming as a business rather than as a way of life--all seem to substantiate his assertion.⁷⁸

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 228-230.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 233.

⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 233-242.

⁷⁸Ibid.

Urbanization

There had occurred a certain breakdown of social control and institutional consistency. This is especially prevalent in the breakup of kinship ties, the attitude toward education and religion, the lowering of power and leadership by the Lodge and other similar organizations. That is to say, the traditional patriarchal family system was breaking down while the civic organizations which once wielded so much control were losing prestige. Education was bringing new levels of prestige to supplant the old. Another symptom is the differences in attitudes between generations, attitudes toward family size, expected behavior patterns, methods of discipline, education, kinship ties, and so on. The impact of urbanization is visible also in the rapid migration from the area which is encouraged by the older generation. The general dependence among the population on the urban communications media and consumer goods further indicate that the process of urbanization as described by Stein is affecting even the rural areas of America.

Industrialization

Factors resulting from industrialization have brought changes in Plainville, for although there is no industry in Plainville, its products are part of the daily life of this small town. Technology and automation have become essential to the Plainville farmer. By means of it he gains the wealth and prestige symbols of the man of the city and acquires the leisure

he desires. Technology also tends to break down the intimate kinship and work-sharing ties of older times. As had been noted, wealth means status in this town where machines, mass marketing, and specialized farming threaten the job structure as well as the livelihood of the small "independent" farmer. In Plainville the population looks beyond its local scene to obtain products and goods either too expensive or not available on the local scene.

Bureaucratization

In many ways bureaucracy has affected the lives of the Plainville citizens. Local autonomy has largely given way to agencies outside the area. The general shift from subsistence to cash farming and from small to large farms has been noted especially regarding beef and dairy units. The new outside authorities tend to be impersonal and impose a type of conformity in which the community loses its sense of possession and solidarity. The breakdown of kin groups and outward migration of the younger generation appear to be partially the result of this dominance from outside the community. Faced with the growing expectations of change and with the problems too complex to be resolved through internal adjustments they "surrender . . . local authority and responsibility in many decision-making processes to sources outside the community."⁷⁹

At the same time an interior bureaucratic structure of sorts is developing. At the time of the West study the people

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 242-243.

claimed to have no class system. They continued to hold this idea when Gallaher studied the area. Both studies reveal the gradual erection of levels in the community with the prediction that as adherence to the prestige symbols of wealth and achievement grows the division between various groups will also grow. What had been a tight kin-group system is gradually disintegrating while the individualizing factor of wealth imposes a new type of interaction within Plainville. Gallaher did not find a hierarchical status system in Plainville.

Summary

In general, we have noted the relationship between the study of Plainville and the Stein theory of community development and change. The fact that Plainville is predominantly a rural area sharing the patterns and processes of urbanization without actually initiating them, may be the cause of the decreasing population. In his theory of community development, Stein maintains that the pressures of urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization bring about a disorganization-reorganization process which leads to increasing interdependence of communities and decreasing local autonomy. Plainville as interpreted by Gallaher seems to be following this pattern of change as the people learn to subject themselves to external authority and become gradually more dependent on mass society. The situation in Plainville suggests in a classic sense the reality of what Stein

refers to as "eclipse of community."⁸⁰

Coal Town

Coal Town, similar to Plainville in its apparent lack of inner initiative and dynamism, differs from it in its size of population, which in 1956 was approximately 2,3000, and its occupational structure. The town contains two separate and isolated groups: the natives who are predominantly farmers and the immigrants who came to mine the coal. During the period of over fifty years since the migrants began to arrive in 1904, there has been little of either association or assimilation between the two groups. The town began in 1804 as a poor farming village, grew remarkably in the years between 1904 and 1914 when the coal industry developed rapidly, continued to be fairly prosperous until 1928, declined as the ore vein depleted, and since the mines have been closed in 1948 lives on memories.

In their peak years early in the twentieth century, the mines employed 1,179 persons. At the time of the study it employed only 350. Since 1940 especially, there has been a sharp decrease in population in the community primarily resulting from out-migration brought on by World War II.⁸¹

The social structure of Coal Town reflects its history. The native group is dominant at every level of society, yet it behaves more like an oppressed minority than a dominant

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 255.

⁸¹Lantz, p. 186.

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group.⁸² Prior to the rise in importance of coal mining in the area, the citizens were tradition-oriented, superstitious, and apparently inclined to violence in their behavior patterns. Among them there seems to have existed a sort of apathy or at least a resignation to their way of life.⁸³ Lantz reaches his conclusions through documents and through present-day recollections of the past as either personal experiences or stories heard from older people.

The Lantz sample "consisted of two hundred fifty Coal Town residents, representing about one hundred ten families ranging from age sixteen to ninety-one." The sample consisted especially of those persons who had lived during the crucial developmental stages. The sample contained more men than women, more old than young, but equal numbers of migrant and native population.⁸⁴ In speaking of the way of life of Coal Town, Lantz says:

As we work through the data we shall point out how the essential ingredients of industrial life contributed to the subsequent patterns which evolved in Coal Town. Here one finds five major themes which contributed to the way of life which emerged. These include violence, impersonality, authoritarianism, corruption, and insecurity--physical, psychological, and economic. All of these themes, already existent in the community, were accentuated and fostered by coal mining as it functioned in Coal Town.⁸⁵

⁸²Ibid., pp. 36-38.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 13-26.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 283.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 115.

Urbanization

According to Stein the process of urbanization is reflected in a disorganization-reorganization pattern. The Lantz study portrays a disorganized community which is still in many ways disintegrating. Even during its years of prosperity, Coal Town was a place in which personal needs dominated and concern for the good of the whole community or interest in government was dimly recognized. Family life did not facilitate improvement since among both natives and migrants role and value conflicts persisted and family relations were characterized by indifference. "The economic base of the community is tied to the income brought in largely from relief, social security and pensions"⁸⁶ and "the majority of businesses went bankrupt or left the community."⁸⁷ In consequence, Coal Town population has tended to move away since the leadership needed to form an integrated community is apparently lacking.

Industrialization

The coming of industry changed many of the life patterns in Coal Town. Of these changes, those of impersonality and authoritarianism pertain quite directly to the Stein theory. Present even before the arrival of industry, impersonality grew because of the problems of absentee-ownership. "The coal company was production-centered rather than community- or miner-

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 202.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 203.

oriented."⁸⁸ The people feel the lack of interest in their needs and fear the whims of the mine owners.⁸⁹

This absentee-ownership led to a decline of autonomy at the local level, with an attempt by the community to win local representatives of the company to their point of view. The reason for this was that the persons controlling the mine also controlled the economic life of the town. Union practices also gave rise to certain authoritarian practices, allowing for control from outside the community.

Regardless of the benefits accruing from union activity, and our informants reported many, authoritarian practices emerged. Struggles for power between union personnel and management occurred. Struggles within rival union groups likewise took place. For many years the union in Coal Town had considerable power in the community, power over individuals and merchants which was not always judiciously used.

The company did not have any power because of the powerful strangle hold of the union. The union was the controlling factor here for many years.⁹⁰

This observation by Lantz suggests that element of the Stein theory that outside controls on local industry have considerable effect on the individuals as well as the power structure of a community. Industry had changed the face of Coal Town. Before it had been a poor farming village. Now it attracted people of foreign birth because it had jobs to offer them. The town grew because of industry. This growth brought with it many problems, not the least of which were vice and threats to family stability. Gambling, robbery, drinking,

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 122.

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 122-123.

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 124-125.

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prostitution, were the order of the day; they were not stopped by the company men who controlled the town.

Mining, you see, is all absentee ownership. The Company did not care about law and order. The Company didn't care whether or not things quieted down. You see, the company backed up A--- (the mayor at that time) and they liked to have things wild and rough.

.....
The Company people never got together with the people in the community to talk over their problems. This was true in the past and it is true now.⁹¹

Lantz indicates that as the "period of violence and corruption coincided with the period of greatest economic prosperity."⁹² He maintains, however, that the attitudes toward the police, the holding of political power, crime, and even elements of reform are met with a degree of cynicism by the citizens of Coal Town. "Things are just that way."⁹³

Lantz states that the family patterns in Coal Town have been little affected by industrialization. He holds that the family patterns extant today in Coal Town are much the same as, or the natural outgrowth of, those patterns prevalent before the rise of coal mining industries in the area.⁹⁴ He clearly seems to contradict himself in later statements concerning the familial institution. His summary of the chapter on the family seems to indicate that the eventual changes were due as much to industry as to the "natural" development of the various aspects of family

⁹¹Ibid., pp. 91-92. These are informants' assertions.

⁹²Ibid., pp. 110-114.

⁹³Ibid., p. 112.

⁹⁴Ibid., pp. 166-167.

life.

The chaos in the community and the family, characterized by conflicting roles and values, was internalized by the parents and children. In turn these conditions raised havoc with any attempt to produce stability in the native family or cultural continuity for the immigrant family. Familial relationships were primarily distant, with much aloofness and indifference. Family members were unable emotionally to relate to one another, or to establish a feeling of belonging. Out of such a familial climate the capacity for men to relate to women, or women to relate to men, was hampered. Their relationships were replete with misunderstandings and distortions. For both types of families, the personalities that emerged out of the disorganization carried with them the signs of inner familial turmoil.⁹⁵

Along with the problem of disorganization, there appears to have been in Coal Town a special difficulty for the marginal people for whom the process of assimilation was almost impossible. The two groups in the population carried on their separate ways of life. They each encouraged isolation from the other by a continued mutual disdain. According to the Lantz investigation, industry brought the immigrants but has had little positive influence on the relationships between the two groups.⁹⁶

Bureaucratization

Much of the history of Coal Town is the history of its industry. Yet even more, it is the history of the relationship between the mine owners and the people of the community; when the mine owners were local, the workers were forced to organize a union to protect themselves. When they walked out on strike in 1908 the owners evicted them from their homes. Only after two

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 182.

⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 246-247.

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years of strike and the possibility of bankruptcy threatened did the owners give in and sell to an outside company. The original owners had envisioned a sort of empire whereas the "outsiders" demanded only a royalty from the coal production. Coal Town had never possessed a feeling of solidarity and the fact that its one industry was under outside control contributed to this situation.

As Lantz describes the community of Coal Town, there seems to have been little positive influence by the mining industry on the structure of the community or the personality of the citizens. He indicates that the same personality characteristics prevailing today among the population, existed before industrialization became important in the community. In a footnote he states:

The reader is reminded at this point that both groups were traumatized prior to industrialization. Both native and immigrant groups came out of economically impoverished circumstances and both had traditionally been unsuccessful in changing their social status.⁹⁷

This study seems to question the degree and extent of industrialization needed for the stable formation of an urbanized area. Certain elements which, according to Stein, result from industrialization and bureaucratization appear in Coal Town. However, it might be wondered whether or not certain other elements must be present in a community in order to maintain within it a degree of stability and urbanization when the industry dwindles as it did in Coal Town. That is, as industrialization and bureaucratization decrease, a certain lessening of urbanization seems to occur.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 247, n.

Perhaps as contrast, it would not be inappropriate to mention Steeltown,⁹⁸ a small Indiana city created by industry. Two-thirds of its population of 14,000 was employed in a National Tube Company Plant, when the owners announced their intention of moving out of Steeltown within four years. In the midst of the many difficulties that arose as a result of this announcement, chiefly whether or not to risk staying on for a few years, the reaction of the people was generally favorable toward industry. Examination of this community indicated the presence of an extremely stable community structure capable of maintaining its equilibrium in the face of great difficulties. The clue to the situation lies in the fact that through the years the management of this plant had closely aligned itself with the community, participating in but not dominating local government. A mutual loyalty grew out of these favorable relationships, so that the fact of shutdown brought about because there was less demand for seamless tubing and not from an arbitrary decision of management, drew sympathy rather than criticism from the Steeltown community.⁹⁹

Walker concludes that the many difficulties--strong family and city ties, desire for education to be carried on without change, the prospect for workers having to move and be re-trained with the probable loss of improvement of status, the feeling of threatened stability and security--led directly to thoughtful action rather than panic because the people felt a corporate

⁹⁸Charles R. Walker, Steeltown (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1950).

⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 119, 194, 196.

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responsibility for their solution.¹⁰⁰ They viewed the change as one involving the entire community, aware that it would be impossible for a large percentage of the population to remain in the area and still find work; and at the same time realizing that if this large percentage of the population moved away, the trade and business of the city would suffer greatly.¹⁰¹

Allowing for the fact that the study of Steeltown was made before the actual departure of industry and that possible difficulties unforeseen might arise, the effect of the change on the people of the community was radically different from that on the people of Coal Town. It might be suggested that the presence of industry under local direction oriented to the good of the whole community will build up the community just as absentee ownership and authoritarian imposition of power will lead to its breakdown.

An overview of these community studies and the Stein theory of community development and change, would seem to indicate a convergence of the predicted processes. These processes appear to be present whether the population is either rising or falling. It is primarily the influence of industry that has effected the structural change of the communities analyzed. Although the directions of change in Plainville and Coal Town diverge, and the exterior description of the communities would bear little resemblance, the reaction of each to the three processes of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization are

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 201.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

strikingly similar. They seem to bear out much of the Stein theory.

CHAPTER IV

JONESVILLE

As the examination of the processes of community development and change revealed in Warner's study of Jonesville unfolds, some might question the validity of using a second Warner study. The differences between Jonesville and Yankee City suggest the presence of adequate contrast as well as a degree of comparison which combine to render an examination of Jonesville helpful to further understanding of the processes of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization as described by Stein. Some examples of the contrasts are evidenced in the setting of each city, their respective class systems, their population (size and distribution), and their type and size of industry.

Democracy in Jonesville, primarily a study of the class system within a midland prairie town not far from Chicago, attempts to uncover why some people are mobile and others are not; and, more especially, how the "principles of equality and aristocracy are reconciled in American thought and action."¹⁰² The authors of the study chose Jonesville because of its representativeness among American cities. It was this very reason which, among others, influenced the choice of Democracy in Jonesville for

¹⁰²Warner, Jonesville, p. xiv.

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the present analysis. "No two American habitations are identical, but all of them, big or little, bear a strong family resemblance of the same parentage."¹⁰³

Jonesville is particularly suited to the present study in that Warner considers the city's position in the 1940's in the light of the background, setting, and general history of the larger region in which it developed. This point of view is stated in the preface: "Jonesville, like most American communities, could not exist without the support of its rural background."¹⁰⁴ Jonesville's community structure is viewed as the center of the region surrounding it.

When Jonesville was first settled, 1843, four generations before the Warner study was made, the area was Indian Territory. Through a sequence of agreements, the land came to be owned and regulated by the white man who created there a profitable market for trade and commerce, with the river and the canal providing the means of transportation of goods.¹⁰⁵

This water transportation of the earlier years prepared the community for the changes that industry was to bring to the region. The growth of industry, creating as it had the great tycoons, established a strong social system in Jonesville. Wealthy men had purchased land, had amassed fortunes during the times of depression and panic, and had risen above the "Common

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. xvii.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 7.

Man" in prestige and power. So it happened that when the railroad came to Jonesville in 1854, the canal and river transportation were replaced, but conditions within the community remained very much the same as they had been in earlier years.¹⁰⁶

The railway and the new technology helped destroy more than the Canal when they came to Jonesville. But it would be too much to say that this industrial revolution destroyed an existing society in which all men were equal and introduced social and economic classes to the city. It merely accelerated a process and accentuated what was already present, perhaps in nascent form, within the social order of the towns of the river.¹⁰⁷

The earlier settlers had no doubt sought the good things of life and the means of sharing them with other men. Warner suggests, however, that from the beginning the settlers were ambitious for success, a better life, and achievement of a social level higher than that of others around them. It is apparent, nevertheless, that the success of one individual and the failure of another depended not so much upon ability or acumen as upon lucky speculation.¹⁰⁸

Meanwhile, other changes took place in Jonesville. Immigration was increasing and land speculators were making rich gains. Machine farming was directing interest toward large farms, so the smaller ones were often consolidated and their owners moved to the city. Industry, such as mining coal, brewing beer, milling grain, and sawing lumber, provided work for the

¹⁰⁶Ibid., pp. 6-11.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., pp. 11-13.

new people.¹⁰⁹ The city grew both "as a physical plant and a community of men,"¹¹⁰ reflecting in its social classes its own peculiar set of values and symbols of success. Warner suggests that as a community changes from rural to urban, its status differentiation increases. Although he structures his study according to this theory it is possible to view implicitly at least the basic processes of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization as explained by Stein.

Urbanization

1910, the date of the opening of the Mill, marks the beginning of rapid urbanization in Jonesville. The urban population expanded in Jonesville; the rural areas of the county were farmed by tenants or consolidated into larger holdings. This trend has continued to the time of the Warner study. Perhaps, however, it is the Warner analysis of the ethnic Norwegians that best reflects the process of urbanization as expressed by Stein.

Stein's view of the urbanization process includes definite consideration of the generational processes at work among ethnics. He sees the second generation desiring to break away from the first in an effort to avoid discrimination. This becomes a possibility only to the degree that the younger group successfully assimilates the class symbols of the larger society and sloughs off those of the ethnic population. This process, according to

¹⁰⁹Ibid., pp. 13-20.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 21.

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Stein, shifts values and directs individual functions away from the closed society toward the open class society. It is part of the pattern by which individuals become American.¹¹¹

Stein views this process of assimilation and segregation as it relates the ethnic with the larger culture, as a total experience for the community, taking place over a period of time and affecting the class system as well as the institutional structure. In Jonesville, the Norwegians provide an example of an ethnic group experiencing the process of upward mobility. Their activities reveal the effect of status on a community in a way not always possible where the general culture of the community is built upon the close integration of its groups. The Norse have gradually come up in the social scale by the acquisition of the symbols required by the higher classes. This upward process has also demanded that they relinquish certain of their traditional behavior patterns, and even that they separate themselves from their national and religious associations.¹¹²

This tendency of the Norwegian in Jonesville to regard as unfavorable any reference to his background substantiates earlier studies about ethnic groups and upholds that part of the Stein theory which views the disorganization-reorganization pattern of ethnics as a factor in the urbanization process. Indications of this break with tradition present themselves especially in the mobile Norwegian's attitude toward his Lutheran religion.

¹¹¹Stein, pp. 75-80.

¹¹²Warner, pp. 168-192.

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Gradually, as his status rises, he leaves the old religion behind, attending church only sporadically or not at all.¹¹³ A parallel break with family ties, institutional customs, and national language confronts the marginal man. He faces the dilemma of marginality--whether it is better to leave the familiar behind in order to become more assimilated into the larger culture or to remain with the familiar and abandon dreams of a better position in the social system. The dilemma of the Norwegians tends to place in relief the problems and difficulties of the mobile population of Jonesville. This suggests the validity of the Stein interpretation of Park's theory of natural areas.¹¹⁴

Industrialization

Returning to a view of the whole population of Jonesville, and a consideration of the possibilities of mobility within it, it might be well to consider first the symbols that Warner found requisite to mobility. Individuals are measured and placed in social categories according to their level of education, type of occupation, place of residence, and the like. Any evaluation of status for a person usually includes consideration of the possibilities of such things as clique change, activity deviation, transference from one association to another, and the possibility of role revision.¹¹⁵ These exterior measures create the image

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Stein, pp. 21-23.

¹¹⁵Warner, pp. 59-64.

required for upward mobility. "To move up or down in status, a person must consolidate his social position at the new level, establish new formal and informal relations, and change his modes of behavior."¹¹⁶ Thus Stein's claim to the institutionalization of mobility resultant upon industrialization is borne out.

Furthermore, the mobile person will be one who capably maintains a favorable reputation among others, yet has the ability to isolate himself from his friends and even his family when this is needed. He will be ready to change anything he has for what is considered better by those in positions higher than his own. In contrast to the non-mobile person, he will direct his attention to new forms of participation or to new patterns of behavior. The characteristics of the mobile person, closely interrelated as they must be, affect one another. The least degree of change in one area of behavior is reflected by a degree of change in others.¹¹⁷ Thus, although the decision regarding certain forms of behavior might have involved a choice of alternatives, the end result, in order to be successful, must be integrated and unified action.

In contrast to the possibility of mobility noted in the population of Jonesville generally, the mill, with its increase of specialization represents one area of the community where mobility is either non-existent, or very nearly so. All who work there are aware of the limitations placed on the opportunity for advancement.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 62.

¹¹⁷Ibid., pp. 65-76.

Men are hired for one level of work and generally remain at this level. The more important positions are reserved for the sons of those who now hold the positions. Since no other factory has developed in the immediate vicinity, the job hierarchy at the mill prevails.¹¹⁸ Consequently, the lives of many in Jonesville are controlled by the mill, for "to start today in youth as a mill worker in the Jonesvilles of America is usually to end there in old age."¹¹⁹

The absence of mobility at the mill, coupled with the absentee ownership and the low wage-scale, tends to create an atmosphere of discontent. All but ten per cent of capital is from outside Jonesville, and mill management successfully prevents the opening of new plants with consequent job competition.¹²⁰ The individual, surrounded by the impersonal controls of industry loses the ideal of personal accomplishment because he is faced with the impossibility of advancement.

The necessity of increased specialization limits the opportunity for advancement. Most of the positions at the top require special skills and must be filled by men who are trained for those jobs. For example, the chief scientist came from the East, the engineer came from Detroit, one of the accountants, from Alabama, and all of the people in a managerial position with the exception of one were brought in from the outside. . . . One of the younger members said, "It is true that the workers aren't very proud of it. They seem to feel that their jobs are dead-end jobs without much future."¹²¹

¹¹⁸Ibid., pp. 101-114.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 114.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 103.

¹²¹Ibid., p. 113.

It seems clear that the craft hierarchy and mobility through skills no longer exist in Jonesville. Even the presence of the union is simply another outside control operating on the individual worker. Jonesville's union which fights for age-rank seniority gives way to the increasing demand for specialization. The individual loses distinguishing features of his individuality in the competition for higher status positions, in which the index is ownership of things.

Bureaucratization

Bureaucracy in Jonesville is viewed chiefly through the status system, the network of associations and factory dominance over the workers.

It seems to follow that increased mechanization in a rural setting leads to bureaucratization of social relationships, a factor which Stein seems not to have uncovered in his analysis, at least in the particular aspect of urbanization. He does mention, however, that Vidich and Bensman¹²² uncover this in their study. Probably since Stein views the community under the impact of industrialization as it exists within the urbanizing community and not as its products affect the communities of rural areas, he does not attempt an examination of rural areas. Warner further suggests that a market town such as Jonesville is "less likely to produce a proletariat," and population "resembles the people in its agricultural background where status differentiation is less

¹²²Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958).

advanced that in urban areas."¹²³ He notes that "in Jonesville and similar cities most people of lower status continue to struggle for higher position, for their faith in social mobility for everyone is strong."¹²⁴

Warner sees five distinct levels in the class system of Jonesville: the upper class, the upper middle class, the "Common Man" class, the poor but honest workers class, and the lower-lower class. Warner briefly summarizes the overall picture of the class system as he analyzed it in Jonesville:

The five classes blend into each other. The young people of each class tend to marry at their own level. Their children acquire the status of their parents, learn their way of life, and thus help maintain their part of the class system and insure its permanence. The people of each class more often than not form friendships at their own or adjacent levels. Some of them move to higher levels, and some sink to lower ones. Some climb to higher levels by getting better jobs and more money; others do it by education; many women and a few men, by marriage; and still others, by being very successful in gaining recognition for a talent prized by the community. All of them must obtain the social acceptance of groups of people at higher levels if they are to consolidate their social mobility and securely acquire status for themselves and for their children. . . . Such are the simple outlines of the class order.¹²⁵

Through interviews, Warner and his associates discover what class means to the people living in Jonesville. Some of the more significant and pertinent responses might be quoted here:

Really, you can say that the first group and the fourth group are alike in a lot of respects. They're both absolutely secure in their positions. That fourth group is sort of at the bottom of the pile, to be crude about it, and they're perfectly secure and perfectly settled in their

¹²³Warner, p. 25.

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 28.

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position. They've resigned themselves to it and they know they won't get any place. It's only those people that are worrying about getting someplace that think about other people's opinion.¹²⁶

Income, I guess, is the main thing in class, but--well, it's more than that, too. Part of it is the way you use your money and the way you act, and what you do in town. The things that you are in and stuff like that.¹²⁷

Every once in a while you will find someone who tries to make good. But if a family has a relief reputation it's pretty hard in a town like this to get any place. . . . They don't have any (chance) here.¹²⁸

From the earliest days there seems to have been a keen awareness of differences and inequalities marking the various levels of society in Jonesville.

Among some of the population, this awareness is characterized by discrimination against the lower classes. This seems especially so in the school among the pupils and the teachers. Class lines were drawn in the high school and snobbery was the order of the day. The upper class students set the pattern. They were followed by those teachers who sought in this way to gain advantage in the school system. Thus a student of the lower classes was discriminated against even regarding positions where they equaled or excelled the upper class student.¹²⁹

Generally the impersonal controls of business class models, of absentee owners, along with the rejection of age as a standard of status are indications of the power of bureaucracy in

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 32.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 33.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Ibid., pp. 193-213, 89-100.

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Jonesville. Another aspect of this process presents itself in the network of associations which in a slight measure modifies the effects in the lives of the people of the industrial bureaucracy.

Stein suggests that associations which allow interaction across class lines help erase differences.¹³⁰ Warner's study seems to substantiate this claim when he asserts that some associations overlap others, some unify aims of discrete elements of the community, and some "cut across the major divisions which exist, causing individuals from different groups and different segments of the society to meet, talk, and act together."¹³¹

Associations in Jonesville are helpful for the meeting of those problems brought on by the changing patterns in American society. Warner states:

The family is declining as a unit of leisure time pursuits, and the neighborhood is of less importance as a basis of association. Though people still know their neighbors and others in the block, the relationships are more casual and less likely to develop into permanent friendships than was the case a generation ago. The church and the church circle have declined as an influence in American life and as a means of acquainting the members of the community with each other.

The newcomer particularly finds it difficult to establish contacts in a town. People generally complain of loneliness, of the lack of friends, and the difficulty of getting acquainted. It was found moreover, that this sense of loneliness is greater among members of poorer families than among the well-to-do. While the latter may have less difficulty in making friends because they are better known in the community, and often more permanently established, they also belong to a much larger number of clubs through which they may establish new friendships and associations.

Against this background the club takes on new significance; it becomes an antidote against the increasing isolation of modern living. The individual who has few friends or acquaintances may join a club and, in this way, make friends

¹³⁰Stein, p. 75.

¹³¹Warner, p. 116.

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and establish himself in the community.¹³²

Warner's conclusions suggest the validity of the Stein theory of bureaucratization as one of the three basic factors of community change and development. The American dream of equality is found to be present in the community along with a well-defined stratification of society. Status in Jonesville depends most often upon occupation and possession of prestige symbols. While the possession of wealth gives higher rank, the use of it determines the actual position of the individual in society. Thus it may be more prestigious to own a house in a superior suburb, to have a good education, to be philanthropic, to associate with upper class people. Warner explains this ranking thus:

Complete equality does not exist in any society which is highly complex and differentiated into many occupations and positions. All the parts of a complex society are always evaluated and ranked. The operation of the family system throughout the generations helps perpetuate this system of ranking and to select certain kinds of people for higher and lower social positions. No society with a large population can exist without a high division of labor to perform the tasks necessary for its survival.¹³³

The anonymity and impersonality viewed by Stein as resulting chiefly from industrial controls tend to be present also in the bureaucratic structure of the social system. An individual in Jonesville is ranked more frequently according to his family, his work, his place of residence, his associates, than he is as an independent, self-determined individual. This suggests the validity of the Stein statement:

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³Ibid., p. 297.

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From the standpoint of the theory being developed here, Warner's interpretation of community status systems in the Yankee City Series as resting on a configuration that includes associational membership, life style, and occupation permits a deeper interpretation of social mobility and the conflicts it entails than simpler formulations. It provides a kind of socio-cultural context for studying "why they work so hard," which cuts even more deeply into the motives of both workers and business men than did the Lynds' analysis.¹³⁴

Summary

In his theory of community change and development, Stein insists on the necessity of the historical perspective for the true understanding of the social structure. The Warner study of Jonesville details the history of the formation of the social structure with specific reference to the status system. Warner examines the growth of the importance of status through the generations of the population, indicating that although hardly evident in the years prior to the use of machinery, stratification has become deeply rooted in the years since its use.

Within this historical perspective, Stein would have his readers examine the changes taking place in the basic elements of the social structure under observation.¹³⁵ Several structural changes are noted in Jonesville. The religious life of the population becomes less binding on those who are moving up the social ladder. The educational processes do not reach the lower groups, principally because of attitudes expressed by the upper classes. The division of labor in Jonesville is largely controlled, at

¹³⁴Stein, p. 73.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 99.

least among the lower and lower middle classes, by the mill owners and tends to become more and more rigid. At the same time there has been noted a certain freedom in other areas for either vertical or horizontal mobility. This latter factor has been noted especially among the Norwegians, who have for one reason or another acquired a degree of wealth and prestige.

That this historical perspective is basic to Warner's analysis of the Jonesville community might be noted with a reference to the introduction of the book which states:

A dominant theme in the life of all American communities is social change. For most people, cultural change is without form. Events to them have no more form than their serial order. For them the live cultural realities of yesterday become the dead myths of today and, tomorrow, disappear into a dull record of a dead past not worth carrying in their memories. But for the observant, cultural change is not chaotic but ordered, and conforms to the basic principles which make up the social structure of any culture. To these people, history is never dead; the past is alive in the present. We shall see . . . how the conflicting principles of social class and equality and other factors dominate the changes which compose the town's social history, for we shall see that the past still lives in the present lives of the people. . . .¹³⁶

Warner has considered the historical experiences of Jonesville and their effect on the population. The environmental pressures of urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization have effected changes which seem consonant with Stein's predictions.

CHAPTER V

SUBURBIA

"The term suburb best applies to those residential, family-centered communities within a metropolitan area which are culturally and economically dependent upon the central city, but are usually independent of it politically."¹³⁷ Various processes of change mark the present-day suburb. Dobriner, Wood and Berger¹³⁸ are among those who have tried to establish the true meaning of suburbanization in the present decade in America. Dobriner views it in the context of the urban fringe development, while Berger limits his study to the working-man's suburb, attempting to show the limitations of those studies which approach the suburb as if it were exclusively the property of the middle class. Wood takes a more universal approach, basing his conclusions on the previous studies of the suburb, and substantiating the work of Dobriner and Berger, at least implicitly.

The Wood analysis, with which we are here primarily

¹³⁷William M. Dobriner (ed.), The Suburban Community (New York: Putnam Co., 1958), p. 13.

¹³⁸William M. Dobriner, "The Impact of Metropolitan Decentralization on a Village Social Structure" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, Columbia University, 1956); Wood, Suburbia; Bennett M. Berger, Working-Class Suburb: A Study of Auto Workers in Suburbia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).

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concerned, recognizes the presence in suburbia of a population, recently urban, genuinely attached to the urban way of life, yet, implicitly at least, tired of the effects of the impersonal controls of bureaucracy. People are attracted to suburbia by the small town atmosphere in which they envisage "spontaneous collaboration, voluntary neighborliness, and purposeful participation."¹³⁹ This ideal is only imperfectly realized, but the symbol of the "republic in miniature" persists and the suburb is its expression.¹⁴⁰

Suburbia, defined as an ideology, a faith in communities of limited size and a belief in the conditions of intimacy is quite real. The dominance of the old values explains more about the people and the politics of the suburbs than any other interpretation.¹⁴¹

There is no economic reason for its existence and there is no technological basis for its support. There is only the stubborn conviction of the majority of suburbanites that it ought to exist, even though it plays havoc with both the life and the government of our age.¹⁴²

Wood considers the suburb from the broad perspective of the American traditional themes: the melting pot, the desire for progress, the independent frontier, the spirit of brotherhood, and so on. These themes reach out from the very context of American history to provide the ballast, as it were, for the new way to freedom, the suburb. Wood concludes that among the various types of American suburbs, there is a tendency away from the so-called

¹³⁹Wood, p. 16.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁴¹Ibid.

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 19.

modern culture toward the ideals of small community living. He claims that the image of the small town appealed to the sentiments of the American urban dweller and grew rapidly under the careful cultivation of the real estate speculators. This forcefully directed change determined the use of modern technology, delayed the needed renewal of urban areas, and instead of using and improving urban land, channelled investment to transportation facilities.¹⁴³

People, commerce, and industry left the central city, yet maintained their relationships with the city they had fled. Localism developed and threatened the stability of whole regions. Remedies were sought--through annexation in the '30's, compromise in the '40's and early '50's--and independent suburbia wins out in the '60's. Wood sees suburbia then as the outcome of reaction to growth of cities. It might serve a purpose here to examine urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization in order to see what part they play in the establishment and maintenance of the American suburb of 1960.¹⁴⁴

Urbanization

Wood claims as cause for suburbia the disorganization and chaos of the metropolitan area.

Within the city, the old conditions of equality had disappeared: classes, groups, and here and there lonely Horatio Algiers sealed themselves off from alien elements. Wide social intercourse, neighborliness, familiarity diminished; ghettos

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 75-87.

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were established for the rich and poor alike. Common standards, common values, and ultimately communion disappeared. In their place congestion, poverty, heterogeneity, crime, cold-bloodedness took over and made the urban world almost unmanageable. The basic pre-requisites for the old forms of community life were gone.¹⁴⁵

This pattern, according to Wood, was general throughout the United States. No matter what its cause or its constituent elements, the fact of urban sprawl is part of the history of the twentieth century. The suburbs varied as much as did their inhabitants, yet each set up a sub-community more or less well integrated. This appears to substantiate the Stein theory of disorganization-reorganization. Chaos does not produce institutionalization. The suburbs gradually establish within themselves a stable structure which is at the same time independent of and dependent upon the large metropolitan area nearby. For Stein, the suburb in some way represents the general pattern of disorganization that gradually adjusts itself to the changing urban patterns; the process of reorganization of a suburb can only take place to the degree that it establishes institutions which fulfill the needs of the population; this can be ascertained when the suburb is approached as a sub-community in the mosaic of the metropolitan area to which it belongs. Stein views the processes of the suburbs as the end result of urbanization. So it would seem from the following:

The cities of the twenties were extremely heterogeneous entities composed of more or less culturally distinct, spatially segregated sub-communities. One's perspective on the city was that of one's sub-community and even the mobile were able to maintain some contact with their original sub-culture by congregating in the area of second settlement. But the commitment to sub-cultural values was already being

weakened by the prospect of "Americanization." Even in towns as small as Newburyport, ethnic participation in and absorption into the American social system was beginning to weaken ethnic institutions and identities. The drift was toward standardization in the direction indicated by mass media stereotypes of middle class America. Park's concern with the need for impersonal controls to prevent disruptive deviation becomes less cogent, until by the fifties these impersonal controls threaten to destroy the very diversity that once made city life attractive.¹⁴⁶

Wood presents the case of the suburb as a fringe satellite "lacking the ingredients of intimate social intercourse, human interdependence, similarity of outlook and interests, and widespread participation in civic affairs . . ."¹⁴⁷ If this is the definition of suburb, then community in the sociological sense of the word is non-existent.

Many authorities believe that the central city's dominance extends to other aspects of group life, and suburbia is increasingly absorbed into the larger urban culture. They point out that friendships have become scattered randomly throughout the entire metropolitan area; associations made in the course of work are now different from those developed in residential neighborhoods. They emphasize that the metropolis provides easy access to a variety of spectacles, and suburbanites become increasingly exposed to the temptations which the rich cultural and educational resources of an urban civilization offer. A wide array of economic alternatives encourages people to change from one job to another, to move their residence at a moment's notice, and to hold themselves aloof from any particular involvement in any particular circle of association. A restless, shifting, pattern of flux and change characterizes metropolitan life, and barriers, physical and social, disappear as each individual knows more people and travels longer distances in his daily work.¹⁴⁸

The process of urbanization, viewed in this light, forces the suburb to coalesce with the central city and gradually to lose its

¹⁴⁶Stein, p. 279.

¹⁴⁷Wood, p. 92.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 93-94.

communal identity. It isolates the individual from his neighbors and his community.¹⁴⁹

Looking at the other side of the story, Wood suggests a broad definition of community: a sort of collectivity loosely united. This serves to make almost every suburb a community, since the small town or community in America has never stood completely isolated, economically and otherwise, from the larger society.¹⁵⁰

Wood holds, instead, the "case for the reappearing community."¹⁵¹ He sees this as possible because urban Americans use political not economic boundaries.¹⁵² Wood's explanation of suburbia's response to the challenge of urbanization seems to be a practical example of the Stein theory of urbanization, especially those factors related to the disorganization-reorganization pattern. Wood states:

The response is a sorting out of the disparate disruptive factors which modern specialization has produced and a reassembling of them in manageable clusters. Out of the great urban mass of occupations, classes, technical skills, income levels, races and creeds, particular variants seem to be coalescing into smaller units with definite conscious identity. This isolation, in the suburbs, of certain types of metropolitan people into groups, is creating a new kind of homogeneity, participation, and equality. Instead of the economic autarchy that held a community together earlier, now similarity of occupation or of race, or some special bond unique in the area serves to set down the roots of a modern small town culture.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 94-95.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 100-102.

¹⁵¹Ibid., p. 102.

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 104.

¹⁵³Ibid., p. 105.

Wood indicates two prevalent attitudes toward suburbia as a factor in the processes of urbanization. Some see the suburb simply as an element being submerged into the large metropolitan complex. Others see it as the reawakening of the old traditions. As has been noted, Wood prefers this latter interpretation, which he predicts will have to meet the challenge of urbanization and industrialization. Each suburb will react according to its own particular character as a modern community. Many of these suburbs may then come to reproduce the original small towns of the past; however, each is far removed from the frontier community and each will in many ways be an improvement on them.¹⁵⁴

The Wood treatment of suburbia emphasizes the role of history in the proper understanding of the present. In fact, Wood's entire concept of the suburb as the small town relies heavily upon the history of civic development in the United States. This same emphasis is given by Dobriner when he states that "the particular point of time in its history affects the character of a suburb's social organization and ethos."¹⁵⁵ He allows for a complete reversal of attitudes within a suburb-- what is prevalent at one time may be completely different at some other time. Conversely, Dobriner also points out that the very reason for the building of a suburb will surely alter and define its particular character. Some suburbs are the products of direct planning, others of invasion and decentralization

¹⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 103-108.

¹⁵⁵Dobriner, *The Suburban Community*, p. xxiii.

processes, and still others of rural-urban convergence. A deeper understanding of the composition of the suburb's population will aid in uncovering the processes at work in the development and growth of the community.¹⁵⁶

Industrialization

Throughout his discussion of suburbs, Wood concentrates more on the political elements than on those related to industry. He does predict, however, that as industry diffuses itself, it will provide income necessary to maintain the suburbs independent of the nearby urban areas.¹⁵⁷ Wood seems not to consider the sociological effects of industry on the suburb. It might be noted, however, that to the extent that industrialization promotes loss of self-definition for the worker, then life in suburbia could provide a kind of solution by supplying the feeling of participation and responsibility which had seemed lost in the larger urban complex.

Bureaucratization

It is quite another thing regarding the effects of bureaucratization.

Wood recognizes among suburbanites what he calls a nostalgia for the small town. They look to re-establishing a certain type of rugged individualism away from the pressures of

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. xxiv.

¹⁵⁷Wood, p. 211.

bureaucratic organization.

Even the harshest critic of our modern suburb is not insensitive to this appeal. Although the great organization seems essential to contemporary society, and the pressures of mass society seem overwhelming, no analysis counsels surrender. For the most pessimistic, there is, it seems, still a chance for an individual to fight the organization, even if he has to cheat. And the best way to fight is on home ground where the suburbanite can try to fuse the political ideology of the small government with the social mores of the small community.¹⁵⁸

What had once been the urban population, now resided away from the city in a sort of self-created independence, yet maintained its relationships with the city it had fled. The structures of the bureaucratic organizations had weakened the link between the city and the citizen, and the needs of the urban population went unsatisfied.¹⁵⁹

Mobility and status are possible only to those who can afford the life style of the suburb. The urban pressures of bureaucratic organizations invade the lives of the people of suburbia. They have fled the impersonality of bureaucratic urban structures only to find it re-appearing in their new environment. They also discover within themselves the drive for success and prestige.¹⁶⁰ Somehow, men are committed to mobility. This pattern repeats itself over and over again as families leave the city for the suburb. Individuals fleeing the impersonal authority, the decline of local autonomy, and the bureaucratic controls that have come to be the predominant mode of city life.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁶⁰Stein, pp. 281-282.

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In this way the process of community development and change can be viewed as cause of the growth of the suburbs.

Stein notes the invasion of bureaucratic controls even within family relationships. The fact, as some studies have revealed, "that mothers regard suburban children as cases the moment they lag behind the highly formalized routine accomplishments of their peers, or, still worse, show signs of instinctive individuality."¹⁶¹ When expectations of behavior become institutionalized, when status becomes the motive of daily life, when success symbols are sought for almost exclusive of a consideration for other people, the question arises, "What next?" Can we do more than wonder at such a system?

Wood's association of small town and suburb provides a contrast with the Stein commentary on the difference between the small town and suburbia. Wood sees suburbia as the natural result of the American dream of a small town in which all individuals share the responsibility of social and political life. Stein sees the small town and the suburb as two types of community, hardly as merging entities in the manner of the Wood explanation.¹⁶²

According to Stein, bureaucratization drives the individual to erase individuality from his life. The structure of suburbia encompasses his whole life, impersonal controls direct his activity, and the organization takes over.¹⁶³ Stein concludes

¹⁶¹Ibid., p. 283.

¹⁶²Ibid., pp. 291-296.

¹⁶³Ibid., pp. 199-226.

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that the impersonalization process of suburbia "threatens to destroy the very diversity that made city life attractive."¹⁶⁴

Another Stein assumption, one that is based on the more typical studies of suburban life in America today, states that the suburbanites are of the middle class. This appears to be questionable in the light of the Wood and Berger findings. Berger rejects Stein's assumption with the proposal that the present studies have created not a true image, but a "myth of suburbia."¹⁶⁵

In the last ten or twelve years, these images have coalesced into a full-blown myth, complete with its articles of faith, its sacred symbols, its rituals, its promise for the future, and its resolution of ultimate questions. The details of the myth are rife in many of the mass circulation magazines as well as in more intellectual periodicals and books . . .¹⁶⁶

The greatest of these myths is that suburbia is reserved for the middle-class and the white-collar worker. Berger shows that suburbia is open to all classes--"the blue-collar, frayed collar, and turned-collar people . . ."¹⁶⁷ He holds that those who criticize suburbia resemble the classic conservative. "It is almost as if left-wing social critics feared the seduction of the working class by pie not in the sky, not even on the table, but in the freezer."¹⁶⁸ It is Berger's assumption that the so-called symbols of the middle class are not the enemies of labor,

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 279.

¹⁶⁵Berger, pp. 3-4.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 102.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p. 103.

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but the sign of achievement worth fighting for. In this way he tries to disclaim the opinion of some writers who would hold that suburbia houses only the lower-upper or upper-middle classes.¹⁶⁹

Dobriner emphasizes that this very problem is involved in all discussions of suburbia. He holds that many "generalizations referring to the 'suburban man,' or 'suburban society,' or 'suburban culture' are not manifestations of an ecological phenomenon, but, rather, a facet of the complex life styles of the middle class."¹⁷⁰ He speaks of the need to clarify the ecological, social, and cultural elements of suburban life. Like Berger, Dobriner reminds the student of the suburb that the suburbs might once have been reserved for the upper and middle classes, but are now open to all classes. Additionally, he suggests that the very class structure itself is no longer homogeneous.¹⁷¹

In his analysis of the working-class suburb, Berger notes that while there exists a difference between suburbs, there remains a marked similarity in life style, attitudes, and patterns of behavior. Further, he indicates that this similarity prevails between suburban and urban populations. After noting that most of the recently studied suburbs are located close to large metropolitan centers, Berger suggests that in rural area suburbs or suburbs near small towns, the people will not be characterized by success striving, desire for achievement, and class symbol

¹⁶⁹Ibid.

¹⁷⁰Dobriner, The Suburban Community, p. xxi.

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. xxii.

Summary

Wood assumes that it is possible to study small areas in order to better understand the larger urban complex of which they are a part. This coincides with the Stein interpretation of Park's theory of natural areas. That is, the suburb in some way represents the general pattern of disorganization that gradually adjusts itself to the changing urban patterns; the process of reorganization of a suburb can only take place to the degree that it establishes institutions which fulfill the needs of the population; this can be ascertained when the suburb is approached as a sub-community in the mosaic of the metropolitan area to which it belongs. The presence and existence of the suburb relies upon the urban life of the nearby city, according to the Wood study.

The present-day sociologist might be accused of the same fault that beset his older brother of the 1920's. It might be implied that he, like his predecessor, was interested only in the small area and not in the broad, holistic approach. Perhaps it is true, as Stein would have us believe, that the natural area of the 1960's is not only the slum or the ghetto, but also the suburb. Perhaps it is true that the suburbanite is the third-generation immigrant.¹⁷³ On these points, however, Stein's theory appears to be weak. He seems to claim that the suburbanite

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁷³ Stein, pp. 276, 279, 199-226.

is in flight from the city, that many suburbanites cannot find American-born grandparents, and further, that the dysfunctions of suburban life are rooted in the urban background, when such a background truly exists.¹⁷⁴

The very same processes, whether of government, of industry, of status, or other, begin to reappear in the suburbs. Most authors agree with Stein that the number of studies of the suburbs is inadequate and the variety of suburbs too great to draw many generalizations. It might be suggested, however, that the studies of Berger, Dobriner, and Wood indicate that the Stein conception of the suburb and its position as a community forming one part of the larger mosaic of the city is a step toward the discovery of some of the universals underlying the American suburb of the sixties. The problem of the degree of interdependence between the suburb and the city might not be solved, but the processes--and effects--of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization appear to be as prevalent among the suburbs as within the cities of the United States.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The Stein theory of community development and change is based on the hypothesis that similar social forces are active in separate American communities. Stein, although using specific studies, seeks universal factors not particular to one setting. He assumes that there are three basic factors at work in the many contemporary American cities--urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization. He further examines other community studies in an attempt to validate his theory.

The present study has been an attempt to discover to what degree Stein's assumptions about community change and development can be supported by selected community studies. Many aspects of the factors enumerated by Stein reveal themselves in the studies of Cowntown, Plainville, Jonesville, Coaltown, and Suburbia.

Basic to the entire Stein analysis is his theory that the processes of community change and development are but the expression of the fundamental trend within American communities toward increasing interdependence and decreasing local autonomy, as has been noted.¹⁷⁵ He views these processes in their historical context, since relevant historical events influence

¹⁷⁵Supra, p. 9.

the very structure of communities and act as shaping forces in their development process. In this way, every community is in some way determined or at least modified by its environment.

Each of the community studies selected for the present study considers the history of the particular community by way of background. Each appears to assume that any understanding of present developments must consider the past trends out of which they developed. In Cowtown-Metropolis, Talbert relates the growth of the oil industry to the growth of Fort Worth, showing that both changed through the years, and that the present advancement of the city is due to the leaders and activities of the historical past. In Plainville Fifteen Years Later, Gallaher measures his entire presentation against the Plainville of the earlier study, showing the fifteen year alterations of attitudes, values, activities, interests, and so forth. Gallaher looks at Plainville in the present but bases his analyses as well as his predictions on the historical setting. In People of Coaltown, Lantz directs the reader to an historical understanding of the ethnic factions in a mining area. His entire analysis of this community depends on his explanation of the historical setting which produced it. In Democracy in Jonesville, Warner describes the political, economic and social development of the community as derived from the days of land speculation, homesteading, and water transportation. Warner's description of modern city life in Jonesville depends largely on the understanding of the development among the Norwegians, the industry with all its connections, and the status system. In Suburbia, Wood, in what is probably a less

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empirical fashion, urges the opinion that the present day suburbanite seeks the town-hall type of community of the early days of the union. Although this reasoning does in part seem more nostalgia than real, it serves to show the need that most students of community seem to have--to base the present findings on the past situation.

This looking at changing patterns means seeking sources of disorganization and reorganization according to Stein. As has been pointed out in preceding chapters, the community studies selected have coincided remarkably with the Stein specification that the system be examined as it existed before change and that consideration be made of the environmental pressures with their concomitant relationship to the earlier stages and to the very change itself.

These aspects of growth and development take the forms of the three processes of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization. As has been shown, these processes are present in contemporary American communities. Although they are not present in either the same manner or the same degree, it cannot, at least so it seems to this writer, be clearly stated whether this variation is due to the actual community or to the authors and their attitudes and methods of investigation.

With regard to the process of urbanization, the selected studies here examined reveal communities in the process of change from disorganization to reorganization. No one of the communities is viewed as isolated from the patterns of urbanization which, according to Stein's theory, are present everywhere in America.

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The Talbert study of Fort Worth, however, seems to indicate that local autonomy and power are more in evidence than Stein suggests. On the other hand, the Gallaher study of Plainville shows the urbanization of a rural area resulting from outside influences which gradually re-orientate the lives of the people there. Jonesville reveals the process of urbanization predicted by Stein especially in its consideration of the generational process of the Norwegian integration into the urban development. Wood's analysis of suburbia indicates that this phenomenon answers the problem of a kind of dissatisfaction with urban life, or at least with the problems of cities. These studies suggest that Stein's interpretation of Park's theory reveals a variety of possible changes in American communities of the present. Yet the unique elements present in the different social structures do not hide the presence of the universal patterns which are a part of the development and growth of American communities.

Another process, that of industrialization, effects change in each of the communities studied. This occurs in some communities as industry itself moves into it, disrupting the status and erecting a new hierarchy which gives power to absentee owners and reduces interpersonal relations. In other communities the effects of industry, namely, machines, automation, communication, and the like, change the attitudes and values of the population. This is especially apparent in Plainville where the introduction of farm machinery tended to produce a status system among persons who probably never before had had one.

Probably the process most evident in the selected studies

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is that of bureaucratization. Each community study relates the development of some type of hierarchical structure which lessens personal controls, reduces local autonomy in industry, and establishes an authority system. The Wood study of Suburbia indicates that this bureaucratization is largely political, while the Warner study of Jonesville views it as largely social. In Suburbia a type of political bureaucracy is established while in Jonesville the social status system grows rigid. In Plainville and Coaltown, the pressures from outside force a type of bureaucracy on the citizens. In Cowtown, the gradual process of bureaucratization is viewed as coming about from within until the time of the arrival of the aircraft plant when the city's structure is considerably altered.

The Stein theory of community development and change seems to be borne out by the selected studies examined in this paper. Since the purpose of any community study is to discover by close observation the behavior and attitudes of a population,¹⁷⁶ and since this is usually measured against the situation at some stated time in the past, the discovery of change ought not to be surprising. That this change is not always growth has been indicated in reference to the studies of Steeltown and Coaltown. However, even in these studies, a certain growth was viewed in their early histories. In each of the studies changes in consumption patterns and work roles appear to be universal. The growth of larger metropolitan areas, with the concomitant expansion

¹⁷⁶Supra, pp. 9-10.

of communication systems, tends to establish as forces of change in every community the processes of urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Mother Carolyn Leonard,
R.S.C.J. has been read and approved by three members
of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director
of the thesis and the signature which appears below
verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been
incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final
approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical
accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

4-8-64
Date

Paul Menden
Signature of Adviser