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EMERGING RURAL COMMUNITIES

To
Charlotte Hillestad Kolb

Preface

This monograph is a review and interpretation of social research and action programs in which the University of Wisconsin has participated since 1910 in regard to group relations in rural society. It is written as an exposition of the results of numerous studies and restudies designed to identify and characterize groups and to trace trends in their varying relationships, and also of experiences in social action programs based on the research findings.

Beginning with 1920, there have been direct observations in many of the group situations studied and personal participation in many of the action programs. Some comparisons with results of similar studies in other states are included, mainly those in the four states where early studies of neighborhoods were made, but particularly those in New York State because many of their conclusions forecast what might be expected in Wisconsin one or two decades later.

Within the scope of the review are town-country communities which have emerged relatively recently and are important at present; country neighborhoods, one form of community which in earlier times was the more usual emergent type; village

and small-town groups that appeared after frontier settlement on the land; organized interest groups which are increasing in numbers and strength; and now, multiple communities, which are sure to be important in the future, are emerging with an order of interdependence.

The purpose of the study is to gain a better understanding of a changing rural society as a contribution to the science of human relations and to serve as a possible launching pad for future research projects. Such understandings are also important to those responsible for the action programs of the many institutions so long and so intimately associated with rural life and agriculture, and so closely interrelated with their groups. Unless there is some sense of the dynamic character of society, long association with and loyalty to existing forms of group organization often lead to attitudes or acts of opposition to new or emerging forms.

Acknowledgments, even of known sources of contributions, fall far short because they are so extensive. Some directly related to this undertaking are attempted.

Students, undergraduates and graduates, many of them, head any such list. The former, like youth in the communities studied, were more ready and frank in their reactions. The latter, while more reserved and sophisticated, were more directly helpful in the research. Those most involved in the projects reported here are identified by the footnote references to their contributions. One, Sol Tannenbaum, is given special mention for his many kindnesses and his keen insights, especially in helping to frame suggestions for future research.

Teachers, only two within this context, can be considered: Charles H. Cooley, University of Michigan, and Charles J. Galpin, United States Department of Agriculture. With neither of them was the learning experience in a classroom. The Mark Hopkins log for the first was a hotel lobby when professional society meetings were in session, and for the other it was a bench in a park or a railway station, or perhaps a conference in a dean's office. If this was in the College of Agriculture, the purpose of the meeting was to secure money for social research from state sources by offering small grants from federal funds.

Those were the days before national Purnell legislation or prestige.

Colleagues, those presently associated in the Department of Rural Sociology, have made this writing possible by their generous encouragement and by assuming disproportionate shares of teaching and routine duties. There are many others whose names regretfully cannot be given; a few appear in appropriate places. Two must be recognized: Milton L. Barnett, University of Wisconsin, for his suggestions and for his own analysis of country neighborhoods and other communities in Venezuela, and Edmund de S. Brunner, Columbia University, for his reading and criticisms of each chapter and for his comradeship since 1924 in many research enterprises.

Any statements of gratitude for help, loyalty, and understanding by members of one's own family are too inadequate to have much meaning, but such appreciation must certainly be recorded. The same must be done for the faithful, competent, and continuous services since 1923 of Josephine Kronenberg as secretary.

Any willing student of society soon becomes, like Walt Whitman's "a child went forth," part of all he meets.

Madison, Wisconsin
February, 1958

J. H. KOLB

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EMERGING RURAL COMMUNITIES

Emerging Patterns Form Interdependent Communities —The Overview

Patterns of group relations of many kinds have been emerging in rural societies for a long time. These changing designs are important units for study and for social action. In Wisconsin, during the pioneer period, country neighborhoods emerged. Although frontier settlement in this and many other states was on separated farms, nevertheless there was a strong tendency for a grouping of families in the geographic sense, such as along a valley, a road, or four-corners, and in the social sense, such as a community of interests. Some of the families may have been related or may have come from similar circumstances and localities back in New York State, Ohio, or some Old World country. They were dependent upon each other regularly but especially in times of emergency. These systems of group relations took on recognizable patterns or forms which were known and designated as neighborhoods, both by those who lived in them and by others.

Later, villages and small towns sprang up at intersections of travel and transport, forming their own patterns of group relations, but they were soon enmeshed in emerging village-country or town-country communities. More recently more complicated patterns of intercommunity relations are appearing.

The purpose of this chapter is to characterize briefly these group patterns, and to trace their changes in an overview manner. Other chapters will be concerned with greater detail. It is as if one would observe the ecology of a changing forest before an examination of the growing trees.

Sketches of changing group patterns

There was this historical sequence in the formation of groups in rural society, and when once formed, the tendency for them to persist, sometimes beyond the period of their evident usefulness. Since country neighborhoods came early in the development process, they will be considered first, although they were not the first groups to be studied by the University's rural researchers.

Country neighborhoods

Neighborhoods, in their formative periods, were often relatively removed from many influences of the general society of which they were a part, and in many cases their families deliberately avoided city contacts because they were considered harmful to country ways of life. Such attitudes were widespread and were encountered in many countries. Within these group confines middle western farm families found not only physical protection when needed but, more particularly, social security in their numerous interpersonal relations. Also within these restricted relationships and limited localities, families built and nurtured many of their own institutions, including schools, churches, stores, cheese factories, creameries, saloons or taverns, gristmills, blacksmith shops, and cemeteries. They developed customary farming practices, acceptable standards of living, and forms of local association and collective action, formal and informal, for interfamily visiting, for exchange of work, for mutual aid, for sociability, and for the promulgation of norms of conduct considered right and honorable.

Many of the buildings to house these social institutions were constructed by the settlers with their own hands and through such group efforts as building bees and donated labor and materials. They often chose the most respected and best educated

woman from their own group to be the teacher in the local school, or the best educated man to be the lay leader in the church for those occasions when the itinerant pastor could not be present. It is no wonder then that these patterns of group relations were cherished with a real sense of personal possession, that the associations were close or intimate in character, sometimes, to be sure, resulting in conflicts, and that in many ways they exerted a force for social control.

However, neighborhoods are not unique to North American frontier society; they are known in many forms in many rural and agrarian societies, even urban societies, by such terms as *neighbourhood*, *nachbarschaft*, *vicinage*, *vecindario*, *vicinhanco*, *mir*, *grend*. "Neighbor," "neighboring," "neighborhood," are expressions deeply embedded in the tradition of nearly every rural society. They were, and still are, terms often used indiscriminately. Hardly anyone, anywhere, would admit he was not neighbor to someone. The question arises as to just when and how neighboring becomes a recognized social pattern which can be capped with the "hood." It is like the "ship" in relationship; it may be regarded as a state or condition resulting from interaction processes, and as such is worthy of consideration and study wherever it is found.

Evidence will be presented to show that there was an integrity, a wholeness, in the neighborhoods as found in the studies reviewed, but there were no reasons discovered to argue on historical, theoretical, or empirical grounds, that neighborhoods are or ever were completely isolated from other groups, or that they were entirely independent and self-reliant. Those neighborhoods which persisted in active forms gained their meaning and their vitality not only by internal but also by external relations. And even in the early days of settlement there was dependence upon some outside contacts. There were journeys on foot, horseback, or by ox team to town or city centers, for supplies and for some marketing of products. There were semiannual visits and frequent correspondence with family relatives back East and later with the North Dakota and Iowa families which branched off from the Wisconsin groups, as happened in the cases of the Kolb and the Foote families respectively, to continue

pioneering to the West. These interrelations increased in number and in importance as the years went by.

Moreover, many groupways of neighborhoods did not spring in full bloom on the frontier; they were often transplants, although modified, from previous experiences in the eastern states or in the Old World. Nor were these pioneer neighborhoods free from the influences of general organizations and associations in political, religious, fraternal, and commercial fields. Interneighborhood contacts soon increased, as well as more frequent contacts with village and town centers when the facilities for travel and communication developed.

Village and small-town groups

For purposes of tracing the processes of intergroup relations, it is important to note that the emergence of village and small-town groups usually came at numerous crossroads—crossroads of travel and transfer points from wagon to train or boat and back again, and of communication for mail, telegraph, telephone, and newspaper services. It is also important to remember that most of these centers came after the settlement on farms in the manner of homesteading. Not only was the time factor important in such instances but the very processes of settlement were different from those of the country neighborhoods. Village families were less homogeneous in their backgrounds and in their interests than country families; they were engaged not in one but in many different kinds of occupations as merchants, inn keepers, money lenders, road builders, trainmen, buyers and sellers of farm products, teachers, pastors, lawyers, doctors. These differences set them off from the country settlers and soon led them to establish group patterns of their own and to build their own separate institutions, such as schools, libraries, churches, hospitals, hotels, opera houses, factories, and merchandising, marketing, and financing establishments.

To cap the climax, the majority of the villages and small towns incorporated as municipalities, cut themselves off governmentally from local town (township) units. Their citizens felt they had no other choice, since they could not expect farmers to vote property taxes on their farm land to improve village streets

or to build lighting or water systems for them. Consequently middle western farmers, until recently, have actually never had high schools, libraries, or hospitals of their own. As late as 1940 less than 13 per cent of the land area of Wisconsin was in legal high school districts. Those families living outside the legal districts sent their children, although not in proportion to their numbers, to nearby village or small-town high schools. While their towns or counties paid the tuition, such families had no vote or voice in determining the policies or the management of the schools; the schools did not belong to them.

But changes are in full swing and have been for a long time. Farmers, nonfarm country dwellers, villagers, and small-town people face the necessity of working out mutual ways and means for education, including elementary, secondary, and adult, as well as common plans for recreation, centralized and flexible plants for processing and marketing agricultural products, methods for extending communication and electric power services, and arrangements whereby country and village or small-town churches may recognize each other, if not actually work together. The processes for these readjustments are often slow and frequently socially painful, filled with conflicts, but they are inevitable. Modified plans for local government will probably be the last to emerge.

Town-country or "rurban" communities—the Galpin story

The evidence is unmistakable that a third pattern or form of group relations in rural society has been emerging for some time, namely, town-country communities. Dr. Charles J. Galpin, pioneer in the observation and study of rural society, very early actually experienced this merging of country and village or small-town groups to form such town-country communities. He termed it a process of "rurbanization" because it included aspects of both rural and urban life as they were known then.

In 1885, at the age of 21, after graduating from Colgate University, Dr. Galpin began a thirteen-year period as teacher and headmaster in Union Academy, Belleville, New York. (There was a break of three years when he taught at the Kalamazoo College in Michigan.) The Academy was located in a

small village where farmers traded and where their sons and daughters attended the Academy or secondary school as a matter of course. The school, he said, was the nerve center for the entire community. He soon became aware of its potential influence, and in 1901 he established a department of agriculture in the Academy, the first department of its kind in the United States. He was impressed by what he called the solid social front—but with a front with a wide variety of activities—so he decided to map the “social topography” of the whole area and to try to discover the clue to its solidarity. He found, in addition to the strength of the Academy and the numerous social organizations, that trade was closely associated with these and other contact relations in the formation of the community. One could not be with him for long as he told about his experiences in this community without realizing that he had been a vital part of it, sharing in the common life of its town and country people.

In 1911, when Dr. Galpin accepted a teaching and research position in the College of Agriculture at the University of Wisconsin, he proposed “trying the New York fly in Wisconsin waters,” so he went to Walworth County, where he had spent some time previously, to test his hypothesis regarding the existence of town-country communities. As a result, the research bulletin titled *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community* was published. The study soon became recognized around the world and served as inspiration and guide for social research for many years, not alone in rural but in urban circles as well.¹ In this bulletin is found the classic statement regarding the rural, or in his terms the “rurban,” community. “It is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the conclusion that the trade zone about one of these rather complete agricultural civic centers forms the boundary of an actual, if not legal, community, within which the apparent entanglement of human life is resolved into a fairly unitary system of interrelatedness. The fundamental community is a composite of many expanding and contracting feature communities possessing the characteristic pulsating instability of all real life.”²

To avoid possible misunderstanding, it should be made emphatic that Dr. Galpin did not say that trade alone makes the

community or that the trade area is the community, but rather that the general trade zone indicates the boundary of an existing community. General trade was the index which he found most helpful in delineating the systems of interrelations he was attempting to study. In later years other criteria proved more sensitive and serviceable. At present, high school attendance is probably one of the better ways by which, at least tentatively, to trace town-country community boundaries, and tests have shown that many trade contacts now follow high school attendance.³

The Galpin statement is remarkable for its time in several respects. Its central emphasis is upon the processes of interrelatedness, and from these processes evolve systems which are recognizable and researchable. It recognizes that there are centers of various kinds and sizes. It anticipates what is only recently being recognized, that communities are not independent integers but are composed of several "feature" communities. Within this conception it can be reasoned that country neighborhood groups and village or small-town groups need not be antithetical but can be complementary, that each can "pulsate" within the combined and emerging town-country community, and that other multiple or intercommunity patterns may form.

Intercommunity patterns

Multiple community patterns are the most recent to emerge. They are formed by the mutual interdependence of local groups with different functions localized about different centers. The process is one of differentiation and of interrelation as illustrated in the studies of Walworth County.⁴ In the early study, 1911, as will be detailed in a later chapter, it was found that town and country interests were merging into unified community systems. But eighteen and thirty-six years later the restudies showed that these town-country communities, instead of becoming more complete and more nearly self-contained, were actually being differentiated into what could be designated as types with distinguishable characteristics.

Elkhorn and Whitewater, the larger centers, were similar on the basis of the contacts they had with their constituent country

families. This was indicated by the analysis of contacts found in combination. The two centers could therefore be considered as one type. Delavan, Lake Geneva, and East Troy, intermediate in size, were definitely alike in their contact combinations and were becoming more so at the time of the last restudy, thus constituting a second type. When the village of Walworth was excluded from the calculations, the three smaller centers, Sharon, Genoa City, and Darien, were similar in that each was strong in some one contact but weak or lacking in some combination. Walworth village was an interesting example of transition, moving from the third type with the smaller centers toward the second type with the larger centers. The means for typing these centers will be explained more completely in Chapter 6.

These trends toward differentiation, with degrees of specialization for centers and their communities, inevitably brought about a greater interdependence among the various types of communities. Thus there were three phases in the process: community formation, differentiation, and interdependence. It has taken a number of years for this interdependence to become recognized through local social action. The final capitulation of the three smaller centers, not complete until 1956, came through their joining with three intermediate centers for high school services and related contacts—Sharon with Walworth, Genoa City with Lake Geneva, and Darien with Delavan. (Honey Creek joined with a center outside the county instead of East Troy.) Certain compromises have been made and new symbols of unity created.

In the case of Delavan and Darien, a new high school was built at the edge of Delavan nearest to Darien, and when one is in Delavan the building is identified as the Delavan-Darien community school, when in Darien as the Darien-Delavan. The processes are taking form without the smaller communities surrendering their elementary schools and related services, and without the negation of their being communities. They are now communities within communities, and an order of interdependence is becoming established by related services belonging together within the differentiated communities. The trend toward intercommunity relations is sure to become more important as

the complexity of rural society increases, with greater variety of occupations, different forms of residence and land tenure, and expanded contacts of many kinds.

Other trends are in prospect in some areas, such as, for example, county-seat towns growing at a more rapid rate than others within the county and becoming centers for more specialized services, especially as headquarters for those agencies associated with the so-called New Deal programs and for the local administration of more recent farm policies. They are also administrative centers for agricultural extension services, as well as for the many commercial firms dealing with the various stages of agribusiness.

General frames of reference

Communities were found to exist within communities and also within the penumbra of urban groupings, as well as to be permeated by organized interest groups. It soon became evident that group arrangements in rural society are complex and do not respond to simple or single explanations. They were not discovered in some form of hierarchy or in assumed positions on a continuum, but rather in reciprocal "systems of interrelatedness," as stated in the conclusion of the early Walworth County study. This is the general framework for thinking and studying within which the researches reviewed here have been carried on.

Theoretical references

The premise is that groups are realities and can be studied as such. They have certain integrities, processes, and characteristics of their own which lend themselves to study and to action.⁵ Therefore the purpose was first to identify groups in rural society and to describe them, then to observe changes and to discover associated variables, and finally to try to trace processes of intra- and intergroup associations. It is not an effort at taxonomy or classification on the basis of group forms or structures but rather an attempt to keep attention focused on the interrelations among families and among the groups themselves. To be sure, there are other approaches and other conceptions to serve other purposes.⁶

In the studies reviewed here emphasis is therefore upon the interactions which result in the "ships" of relationships or the "hoods" of neighborhoods, it being assumed, until or unless proved otherwise, that these outward and recognizable forms or patterns which emerge have force and meaning and represent attitudes and values.

However, the declaration of belonging to a neighborhood, which was one criterion in its identification, does not require constant open or overt demonstration, nor can each form of action deliberately express or display its own underpinning or latent attitudes. But vital and pervading attitudes do gain expression, and only those forms of expression or activity which have such relevance are usable for study. Interfamily visiting or exchange of work has quite different references in different cultural settings, such as in Brazil and in Wisconsin; therefore such activities must be used with discrimination as to their meanings.

The conception of groups as systems of behavior, occurring and changing, not simply static or existing, has something in common with the ideas of Thorstein Veblen when he began his economic analysis within the market place, where there is interaction, and where customs and institutions exert pressures and establish values; of Robert Hoxie when he asked trade unions what they did and what they wanted; and of Charles H. Cooley when he stressed the importance of primary group relations as fundamental in forming the social nature of individuals.⁷

Anthropologists contend that community groups, along with the nuclear family, are genuinely universal. People do not live regularly in separated families but unite to form various kinds of communities.⁸ Communities do differ widely in form and in their group manners, and in many of the older world countries they take the form of villages, of a close settlement, or of a neighborhood with families on nearby holdings. In rural North America, as has been suggested, a kind of compromise is being worked out, with village-country or town-country communities emerging where dispersed farmsteads and other scattered country dwellings and institutions are clustered about and in direct contact relations with villages or small-town centers.

Thus, communities as systems of interrelations are considered

as groups of people living under similar conditions, in limited localities, having certain common concerns so interrelated as to bring about some sense of unity. The emphasis is upon people in their interactions, forming groups, not closed systems, upon processes of becoming which revolve about some common concerns, not all of them. This approach escapes any inference that communities are simply localities, or that they must be all inclusive or self-sufficient. The chief concerns as well as the forms for their collective expression vary from time to time and from place to place. The point is, people do do things together and in so doing give meaning and continuity to their group relationships. As suggested before, the meaning of the activities to the actors is what counts as one studies to understand human behavior in groups.

It is relatively easy to encounter and even to experience communities, including neighborhoods, of this character in rural society, but to study them carefully and comparatively is another matter. This requires tools of definition and rules of operation. For such purposes it was found useful to consider communities as having at least four dimensions which lend themselves to measurement. They are (a) contacts through interpersonal relations; (b) some indication of belonging, identification, therefore differentiation from others; (c) place reference, locality; and (d) time reference, continuity. It is a misnomer to refer to country neighborhoods or town-country communities only as locality groups. Propinquity by itself does not of necessity mean close personal relations. The geographic or, as it is called by some, the ecological aspect has received much attention, but in a society with relatively free selective mobility and open communication, the interrelations are decisive in determining the character and continuity of communities. This emphasis seems similar to that found in the report of a Swedish study where the center of attention and analysis was upon designated activity or behavior fields.⁹

Methodology references

The design for the research projects reviewed here is relatively simple. As suggested earlier, it includes the identification and delineation of the groups in terms of belonging, then analy-

sis of their interactive characteristics and the associated or influencing variables. In the earlier projects, analysis was largely in descriptive and mapping terms. Later more controls were used by means of various statistical techniques. In the restudies of town and country relations in Walworth County, as previously described, such techniques revealed a significant trend toward the clustering of certain kinds of contacts in centers of certain types, rather than any tendency for all centers to become more complete. In the restudies of neighborhoods in Dane County, meaningful differences were found over time in the kinds of personal contacts associated with the persistence of these groups.

To be more specific, the focus of analysis for the restudies was upon the neighborhoods themselves. They were made the dependent variables, as expressed in the language of social research, it being assumed that they were influenced by or dependent upon related factors, known as independent variables. However, in the last restudy this emphasis was turned about, from the neighborhoods as such to the families which composed them. Families were thus made the dependent variables and their neighborhood membership was considered as one of the influencing variables in their interfamily relations. Methods and findings by this form of analysis are described in the fourth chapter.

Case methods were also used. Case histories and intensive case studies were made of localities, groups, and representative families. Case and statistical methods of study were found to be complementary. By definition, analysis means separation, quantification, and evaluation of parts, but since a whole is compounded of its related parts, there must be ways of putting the parts back together again. To consider the object of study as a case often helps to do this. Also an examination of the case not only as currently found but as a continuity over time, may suggest ways for starting the analysis and for determining which items or parts should have what emphasis in the tabulations, since each position in a table has its own importance.

Likewise, many direct observations were made and personal contacts maintained during the years with local school, church, recreation, government, business, and farm people, especially

in Dane and Walworth counties and in other parts of the state as well. Informal comparisons could also be made through experiences and studies of communities in other states, through the nationwide study of trends in rural life and agriculture, to be described later, and in other countries such as New Zealand, Australia, Norway, and Brazil.

During the course of all these studies the conviction has steadily grown that factors in an analysis and even groups need to be constantly considered with other factors and other groups. In this way their significance and meaning can be more fully understood than when taken singly or alone. In the study of persistence of neighborhoods, for example, social contacts were found to have greater importance when related with economic and educational contacts than when considered by themselves. Nationality backgrounds had added meaning when related with religious organization. Social participation of families, when introduced into the analysis, contributed to comparisons of personal responses to neighborhoods. By this means there could be such four-way comparisons as those between high and low participation of neighborhood families with high and low participation of non-neighborhood families, instead of simple two-way comparisons. Similarly, educational experiences of parents were important in interpreting the influence of nationality backgrounds in regard to attitudes respecting education of children.

Many group situations are complex, as has been repeatedly suggested, but some factors and variables in the relationships can be isolated and measured reasonably well; others may not lend themselves to separate measurement. Any method or test has its limitations and may not be suited to some materials, but with skill, judgment, and imagination much can be done. The combination of statistical analysis, case studies, and observation methods extending over time and restricted to relatively limited situations can, it is believed, contribute some understanding of group relations in rural society. As will be suggested later, however, much more needs to be done but requires improved techniques, especially for measuring attitudes and values and the discriminative influences which different types of groups exert upon various kinds of families.

Practical social action references

Practical implications flow from every reasonable research, since practical and theoretical phases can hardly be separated. Any proposition theoretically sound will be sure to serve some useful purpose at some time, and any practical scheme which is not theoretically valid is not trustworthy. These are two aspects of the same proposition.

Sometimes the two phases, study and action, were carried on concurrently. During the last restudy in Walworth County tentative research findings were presented to evening discussion groups with members of school reorganization committees and farm and village organization leaders present. The researcher, in the midst of a crossfire of questions, gained many clearer insights into the meanings of his materials than he was able to get in separate interviews with individual families. There were times when his assumptions were called into question and he was asked to give interpretations of what he thought his preliminary conclusions meant in terms of the problems of town and country school administration or trade and social relations between farmer and townsman. Other times the local participants said what they thought. Practical results did follow, especially in regard to school reorganization, as will be described in the sixth chapter.

The role of the researcher is to explore and explain as clearly and as carefully as he can, how group processes work in the society he is studying. Ordinarily he cannot contend that he has found direct cause and effect relations, but if he can show a high degree of association or concomitant variation, this is sufficient for many practical purposes. In this role he cannot or should not attempt to declare what ends or goals are to be sought, but from his research results he may be expected to point out the goals that people seem to seek or to indicate how ends determined by them may be attained. In democratic societies this function of setting objectives belongs to citizens. They must determine the values for which to strive.

Two illustrations can be given briefly to suggest how research

findings can be applied or ignored in social action—one of country neighborhoods and one of town-country communities.

Illustration of neighborhoods.—In one restudy in Dane County, three conditions were found to be highly associated with activeness of neighborhoods. Active neighborhoods could tolerate about 28 per cent of tenancy among their member families, 42 per cent of residence for less than twenty-five years, and 64 per cent of families of the same nationality and cultural backgrounds. In groups where higher proportions were found, evidences of instability appeared, with a trend toward inactiveness. These were all conditions about which something could be done if active neighborhoods were desired. The negative influence of similar nationality backgrounds was a surprise to some, since it was generally supposed that those groups of like background were stronger and more stable than those of mixed lineage. This may have been true in the earlier years of settlement, but conditions had changed, as will be explained in the two cases given. However, if the community placed too great stress upon the mingling of those of different nationality backgrounds, the result might, in the case of young people, be marriages across religious lines, since nationality and religious affiliation were closely associated. Could these two objectives somehow be reconciled, that is, neighborhood continuity and religious unity? In one case, Norwegian Valley, they were reconciled, but in another, German Valley, they were not. Consequently, in the next restudy, the former but not the latter was found among the active neighborhoods.

The explanation lies in the direction of accommodations and adjustments to changing trends. In the first case, when the son of one of the two or three remaining "Yankee" families in the neighborhood proposed to marry the daughter of a Norwegian family, the pastor was not particularly disturbed. The marriage was accomplished with his advice and ministry, thus adding a young family to the neighborhood and later to the church. Both gained, and the gains by this and other means could be measured by increased strength within and greater recognition outside the neighborhood, not alone by numbers at lutefisk dinners to

which outsiders were invited but by more inside activities of neighborhood families. In the second case, when the young men returned from military service and married "outside" girls, they did not settle in the neighborhood, because, they said, their wives would not feel at home there. Customs and traditions, even language, associated with earlier nationality and religious backgrounds, were followed too rigidly. Finally, both the church and the cheese factory were dismantled, the remaining families joined a congregation of like synodical affiliation in Mount Horeb, and the milk was trucked away.

Illustration of town-country communities.—Practical applications can be made of results found in regard to trends in the clustering of functions in village or town centers of certain types and sizes. This relationship, to be detailed later, can be expressed in a simple principle of unit requirements for social institutions to include volume of business or participation, number of people, requisite area in square miles, and travel time between centers. In the southern two-thirds of rural Wisconsin, if a four-year high school enrollment of about 200 pupils were desired, then a population of about 3,000 would be needed. The country portion of this population would reside in an area equivalent to more than two standard townships of thirty-six square miles each.

With a knowledge of these requirements, two community-centered villages in Dane County, Mazomanie and Black Earth, now four miles apart because of highway reconstruction, have each seen fit to disregard them and to construct new high school buildings with smaller units and higher costs than generally accepted educational standards would suggest. They appear willing to compromise these values for others they believe would be sacrificed if some combined intercommunity plan were entered into with bifocal centers, or if one of the communities should form about a junior high school and those other contacts associated with it and "pulsate" within the other community organized about a senior high school and its correlated contacts. This is an illustration of negative action; more than facts and knowledge are necessary to effect constructive changes in community relations.

On the other hand, the Buckeye neighborhood in the same county deliberately sought association with the larger town-country community of Stoughton. Its school administration and related contacts were merged into the larger system, but it kept and improved its own school building and education program and its associated social and economic organizations. It maintained its own identification and received added meaning by this relationship with the larger community. The result is explained by a long-time member of the neighborhood in this way: "We no longer think or talk in terms of neighborhood *or* community but neighborhood *and* community; each helps the other."

Now for more detail, beginning with the neighborhood studies.

Neighborhoods—Some Origins, Frontier Backgrounds, and Early Characteristics

Wisconsin, along with other portions of the middle western frontier, shared some similarities with patterns characteristic of group relations in rural society of the Old World and New England but at the same time had many striking differences. Pointing out these similarities and differences has been helpful to visitors and students from other countries, as well as to those native to this country who all too frequently take such backgrounds completely for granted when they seek to understand and compare these social situations with others and with those of their own experience.

Conditions contrasting with Old World and New England

There are four fields in which contrasting conditions contributed to the emergence of country neighborhoods in the "New World" of the Middle West and accounted for at least some characteristics which such local group arrangements developed here. They were the fields of education, religion, land tenure, and local government.

Education

The founding fathers considered free education pivotal in the democratic way of life to which they were committed. They insisted that education should be public and compulsory, not private and selective, and that it be under local, not centralized authority. They provided for a separate legal organization apart from other local government units, and for elections at different times than those for other public officials, to avoid what they considered possible political interference.¹ These local units were given primary taxing functions. Therefore, it is to be expected that schools should have become one of the rallying points for local group organization and, when established, the institutional anchorages against changing social currents. Schools and organizations centering about them were found in 100 per cent of the Dane County neighborhoods active in the period 1950-51.

Religion

Freedom of religion in the New World, as contrasted with state church organization in the Old, seemed to produce a proliferation of religious sects and organizations. In 1920, for example, there were at least fourteen different kinds of Lutherans in Wisconsin. The differences were often difficult to catalogue and frequently appeared to have emotional rather than doctrinal content. Sects of many kinds sprang up in many localities, even the disbelievers and so-called free thinkers formed their own societies.² Groups of opposing belief or dissident minorities built churches of their own, sometimes almost across the road from each other. An example was the Hauge Synod which was a laymen's mission movement in Norway but became a formal organization in the new America and ordained its pastors as a defense against what was termed state church pressures. Old World Calvinism influenced some local groups, not so much in regard to their organization as in respect to their attitudes and habits of austerity, plain living, hard work, and prohibition against too much fun and frivolity, which they considered characteristics of city life. Nevertheless, much informal

sociability and family visiting gave many neighborhoods their early flavor and vitality.

Land tenure

The system of owning and operating separate farms by individual families was in contrast to much of the Old World tradition of the feudal estate with a lord of the manor and his peasants, and it gave a unique face to the social organization of North American rural frontier society. This system was also in contrast to the pattern of settlement in agricultural villages found throughout many parts of Europe, Asia, and early New England and later taken to Utah by the Mormons. To be sure, many myths grew up and persisted about this society being entirely individualistic, familistic, the "cradle of democracy," the isolated generator of green uprisings and agrarian revolts. As a matter of fact, while families did own separated farms, they were often bound together by strong moral, religious, educational, and social bonds whose group control was as strong as that of many of the more recent formal organizations. Moreover, as will be shown later, these tightly formed neighborhood groups were never entirely isolated units but were part and parcel of a wider economy. It is of significance to repeat, however, that settlement on separated farms with various degrees of local group solidarity did precede the formation of village and small-town centers and therefore gave rise to the social and economic differentiation between the two which even at the present time presents problems in town-community development.

Local government

Strong and widespread in this New World was the ideal of a popular, just, and local government with roots deep in English Common Law, but without the concept of a king. This was in contrast to much Old World tradition and some current practice. Democratic Norway, for example, lacking a royal family of her own when she gained her independence in 1905, made, by parliamentary choice confirmed by popular vote, the Danish Prince Carl her King, Haakon VII.

Efforts at moving the pure New England town meeting form

of local government into the frontier met with difficulties. The town in New England was not the aggregate population center alone but included, without any legal separation, surrounding territory with or without residents. Very often this tributary territory was formed by some natural terrain or watershed. Wisconsin and Michigan also inherited some of the New York town-county forms of local government.³ But when the efficiency-minded engineers and surveyors moved west and set up their transits and marked off square townships six miles in each direction, they not only traversed streams, uninhabited swamps, and fertile prairies but crossed over neighborhood boundaries often formed within these natural barriers and reinforced by social, educational, or religious bonds. At least some of the reasons for a relatively weak system of local government are to be found here.

There were often conflicts between neighborhood or school districts lying on opposite sides of such natural barriers but within the same townships. This did not make for strong town government and in some instances mitigated against stable neighborhoods. In other situations, the interests were more nearly joined and town halls were the meeting places for neighborhood gatherings, as in the cases of York Center and Springdale in Dane County, Wisconsin. In areas where topography was relatively less important, as was the case in many sections of Iowa, township lines and town political life were more closely correlated with neighborhood organization.⁴

The four contrasts in conditions so briefly outlined cannot be considered *ipso facto* causes of neighborhood formation; they may be regarded as favorable social environments in which neighborhoods could emerge and flourish. They were most effective when found in combination. When, for example, educational and religious contacts were concurrent in influence and later, when institutionalized into schools and churches, conditions for strong local groups were present.

Five early neighborhood studies in the U.S.A.

Five formal neighborhood studies were inspired intellectually and encouraged financially by Dr. Galpin from his position,

assumed in 1919, in the United States Department of Agriculture in Washington, D.C. They are reviewed briefly here for purposes of comparison and as a kind of cyclorama against which to examine the more recent and more analytical restudies made in the state. They all indicate continuing influences of their social origins and the backgrounds which have just been outlined. But first, some descriptions of experiences in neighborhoods and of how the Wisconsin studies were made.

Experiencing, identifying, and studying neighborhoods

Country neighborhoods were readily recognized through personal experiences, as for example, when such a group was deliberately formed (and with some conflicts) when two sons of the Kolb German 48'er family married two daughters of the Foote New England "Yankee" family. These were considered mixed marriages at the time, and when the two new families settled within the same general vicinity and began to develop neighborly relations with other nearby families, it was sometimes necessary for them to run counter to the folkways and the groupways of the two original nationality groups.

In Minnesota, country neighborhoods and farm-family organizations were encountered through personal contacts with Farm Short Course boys in their homes and with their families before the state or the national Farm Bureau Federations were formed. Many of these local groups became units of the Federations in succeeding years.

Later in Walworth County, Wisconsin, more systematic experiences with country neighborhoods were gained when studying town-country communities. The influences of country neighborhoods were felt during the course of these studies but the focus was upon the emerging communities. However, in the early study three neighborhood centers were recognized as such, Millard, Lyons, and Honey Creek, and in the last restudy other neighborhood centers were mapped and their local institutions indicated.

During the years many personal contacts have been maintained with many local groups and organizations in many other parts of the state. Some of these were a continuation of those

initiated by Dr. Galpin, and the list of bulletins included in the following note gives some indication of how extensive his contacts were through the wide variety of local social action programs there described.⁵ Many well-recognized neighborhood groups were also represented in the annual state Country Life Conferences which began in 1911 and continued past the 1920's. Typical among them were the Skillet Creek group from Sauk County, the Pigeon Creek group from Trempealeau County, the Honey Creek group from Walworth County, and the Highlands-Mendota Beach group from Dane County. The Country Life Movement in Sauk County was described by farmer William Toole as "an effort by farm folk to provide social enjoyment, develop leaders, and build local communities through social, educational, and economic coöperation."

In Dane County, during the early 1920's, country neighborhoods, including hamlets, appeared to be more influential in the group relations of farm families than were village-country or town-country communities, perhaps because of the distinctive character of many nationality settlements and the persistence of native customs and languages. When the informal experiences with these neighborhoods were related with the concept of primary groups as defined by Professor Cooley, then the basis was laid for the more formal studies. Neighborhoods were considered as one form of community, more circumscribed in personal contacts, within more limited localities than town-country communities, and with the measurable dimensions described in the previous chapter: personal relations, identification, place, time. Hypotheses could be formulated that there were or were not groups of these descriptions in an area, and that they did or did not exercise important, "fundamental" influences upon their individual members.

Steps in the formal studies.—The first was to identify active neighborhoods—were they really there? In both the early Wisconsin and the New York State studies, teachers and pupils in rural schools helped in the preliminary stages of the projects. In the Dane County study they circulated a simple questionnaire among families of their districts, asking one question: "By what name is the country neighborhood called in which you live?"

Not only families represented in the school but all families living outside incorporated areas were included in the plan. A well-distributed 50 per cent sample was returned. The information was transferred to plat books in which the outlines of each farm in the county were located. This could be done, since the name of the head of the family, the address, location of the farm by section number and of the school district were included on the question card. The clustering of the same name within a locality was considered an indication, an hypothesis, that there might be a neighborhood in this area. These maps were then made the basis for extensive field work. Other areas were also visited and investigated for evidence of active local groups. Of the neighborhoods identified as active in the first study, all but eight were recognized locally by the names given. The eight were assigned names used more or less frequently by local families.

What's in a name?—There is no peculiar magic in a name, but the designated names did provide a means for people to identify neighborhoods and to differentiate their member families from other families. The answer to the question, "What is the name of your neighborhood?" was usually given as definitely and as promptly as was the family name when asked for. Geographic features and family names predominated and were frequently combined. In Otsego County, New York: Academy Hill, Bryant Corners, Elk Creek, Butternut Valley, Rogers Hollow, Leon Street, Summit Lake, Chaseville, Pumpkin Hook. In Dane County, Wisconsin: Hickory Hill, Emery's Corners, Token Creek, Spring Valley, Sand or Skunk Hollow, Devine Street, Bass Lake, Pierceville, Pumpkin Hollow, spelled and spoken, "Punkin," in the early days. Many names were carried over from New York State into Dane and Walworth counties, Wisconsin: Albion, Delevan (spelled Delavan in Wisconsin), Dunkirk, Geneva, Lyons, Medina, Morrisonville, Roxbury, Troy, Walworth, Windsor.

The plat book almost always cleared the way for an interview with a family member. The question, "Where are you on this map?" would usually stop a farmer when plowing or a homemaker when washing, or better still, bring an invitation to join the family at mealtime, when there would be oppor-

tunity to talk things over. The map diverted attention from the interviewer and interviewee to a point of common interest. Help was asked for and given; rapport was gained. When the farm layout had been checked or corrected, if necessary, the conversation went on naturally to the neighbors, the location of the district school, church, store, or other points of local concern which were considered important to the family in its interfamily relations.

Sorting the "ins" and the "outs."—Then, it was necessary to determine which families belonged to the neighborhood in that area if it was agreed that there was one there. The emphasis was always placed on the belonging, and with the plat book still in hand, farms were checked whose families were regarded as members of the neighborhood. Interviews were made with other families living in the area until there was a consensus of opinion as to which families should be included and which excluded. In the course of the discussions, especially when excluding certain families, it became clear whether the group was really active, and through what kinds of contacts its interactions took place. Not all of the families finally included were equally involved in the group activities all of the time. This was definitely shown in later restudies by relating significant differences in social participation scores with length of residence, size of family, and tenure status.

A neighborhood might possess some local recognition of a group and still not meet the requisite of being active in terms of personal contacts in two or more fields of common concern on the part of a majority of the families. Otherwise the groups could be only special interest forms of association. One farmer, for example, resident in a locality not considered as having an active neighborhood, insisted that there was a neighborhood there. When asked for evidence he said he could not give it just then because there had not been a fire, an accident, or a funeral lately. In his mind there was a neighborhood there all the time, even though overt interaction came only in response to an emergency or a special condition. It was potential although not active. To determine the presence and nature of such potential groups would require another kind of study model.

Another step in the study was to draw neighborhood boundaries on a large map so that various calculations and comparisons could be made. This was easily done. The boundaries which had been drawn in the plat books were transferred to a map and included the farms of those families who had been checked as belonging to the neighborhoods. The enumeration and classification of the contacts which contributed to the activeness of the neighborhoods will be described in the findings of the early study in Dane County.

The personal experiences and the friendships made in the course of the neighborhood studies left no doubt that these groups were considered important in the lives of many, not all, country families. The group lines, "mixer lines" County School Superintendent Thompson called them, cut across arbitrary township and even county boundaries. They marked the social systems, the "social topography," by which families could be identified. Nor could there be any question that many family members enjoyed their own groups, wanted them—wanted their common interests recognized, and believed that group organization could bring advantages to their schools, churches, economic endeavors, as well as to their many informal ways of living.

In Dane County, Wisconsin, 1921

As an introduction to this first study, an effort was made to reconstruct earlier conditions from historical sources and from the memories and diaries of old settlers and residents. The map of neighborhoods drawn from these sources covered most of the country area of the county, with the exception of territory tributary to the village or small-town centers. A comparison of factors considered important in creating and holding neighborhood groups originally and at the time of the study showed some shift from nationality, topography, and common place of former residence, to religious, educational, social, and economic contacts. However, many of the original forces were still considered important in relating families to one another.

In the early study, 121 local groups were identified, of which 95 were finally considered active neighborhoods by the means which have been described. Their location and boundaries are

shown in Figures 1 and 2. Contained within neighborhood boundaries was much of that area of the county that lies west of the line of the Green Bay Glacier in the western division of the county. There topography and nationality played important parts in neighborhood group formation. In the eastern division of the county the influences of village and small-town centers were more evident, as indicated by the absence of nearby neighbor-

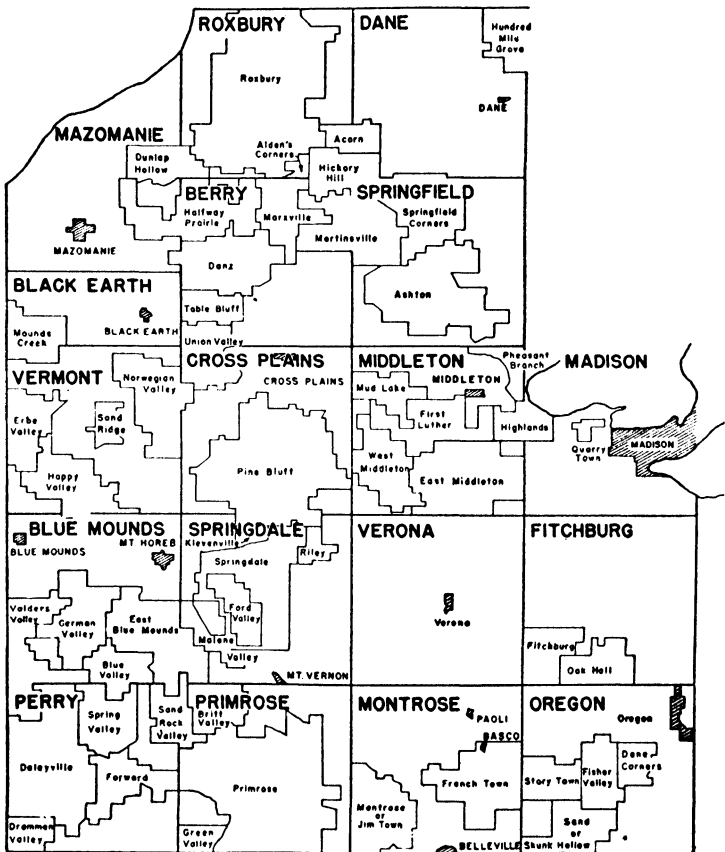


Figure 1

Neighborhoods Active in 1920-21, Dane County, Wisconsin,
West Division

which fell into each category, and a primary and secondary importance was given to the contacts. It is recognized that these are broad classifications and not always mutually exclusive, since many of the contact relations were not highly specialized or sharply differentiated. There are many examples, such as eating and visiting together after formal education programs, summer picnics for patrons of local cheese factories or creameries, and the usual informal greetings and conversations following regular religious services. Nationality and topography, as mentioned before, were also taken into account as factors making for group solidarity, but in later years their influences fell away or found expression via other channels.⁶

In Otsego County, New York, 1923

Many of the same characteristics were found in the New York studies as in the Wisconsin studies, but in differing combinations and forms of expression. Similar working definitions for a neighborhood were used, namely, "unless the common interests of the group were manifest in some form of activity, it was not considered a neighborhood."⁷ Neighborhoods in which institutions were found were arrayed in the following order: Schools 95, churches 15, saw and grist mills 12, Granges 7, cheese factories and creameries 6, and blacksmith shops 5. The observation was made that neighborhoods were ceasing to function simply as social units, except where the neighborhood's life was centered in some local institution. When rural school teachers were questioned concerning the influence which gave identity to neighborhoods, the following were ranked as the chief factors: School, kinship, hills, valleys, isolation, church, Grange, roads, nationality.

The conclusion was drawn that exclusive classifications of neighborhoods by simple influences cannot be made, since some institutional factors are generally present. The hamlet-type neighborhood was sure to have its institutions such as school, church, store, or some combination. Ethnic or kinship groups first derived from some nationality or related family settlements may have taken their names from some topographic feature but, if remaining active, had developed their local social in-

stitutions. Furthermore, village centers played an important part in local group life. Forty-six communities with village centers were traced, and on the average each contained five active neighborhoods. The New York conditions foreshadowed what was to be found later in Wisconsin.⁸

In Wake County, North Carolina, 1922

Social stratification in terms of race (white and colored) and tenure status (owner and renter) were strong forces in influencing local group behavior among rural people in this state. These forces worked against the emergence of strong local groups with comprehensive personal contacts within political or geographic boundaries. Nevertheless, the names of 83 white and of 50 Negro localities were listed. There was a tendency for rural people to organize many of their personal contacts in the open country and about store-school-church-lodge and church-school-store centers. They were also centered in farmer-operated small villages or hamlets ranging in population from 70 to 250 with an average of 174. The conclusion was drawn that primary groups in which personal contacts have as nearly as possible a geographic basis have important social values for farm families.⁹

In Ravalli County, Montana, 1923

Stretched out along the Bitter Root Valley, a total of 53 country locality names were found. Of these, 28 were largely topographic in character or reminiscent of some group no longer active. The contacts most usual in the active country neighborhoods were social, educational, and religious and were usually organized into institutional forms. One significant group process was described which has come to have greater current importance, namely, intergroup neighborhood action, while still maintaining separate group identity. This informal, federated, or combined group action arose to provide such services as schools, club houses, or water use. Restricted localities in this more western county seemed to play a lesser part in group formation than in portions of the Middle West.¹⁰

In Boone County, Missouri, 1925

A total of 59 rural population groups were identified, mapped, and described. The names given were often none too clear as to their meaning in terms of local group organization. Of these primary groups identified for the white population of the county, the origins of names were derived largely from some individual or natural phenomenon, or from churches and schools. Among the relatively small Negro population only four open-country neighborhoods were found.

The more intensive study of these local groups was concerned with the activities of the groups and with the intensity of group consciousness. The group activities tended to center about schools and churches, whether these occurred either singly or in combination with each other or, as often happened, in connection with stores and blacksmith shops. The conclusion of special interest was that the degree of intensity of group feeling varied with the number of group activities. A combination of store, church, school, and blacksmith shop gave the largest number in the "high" intensity category.

Other conclusions important for present purposes were that these rural groups were flexible, not fixed or static; their lines of influence and activity often cut across other group lines and changed from time to time. They were achievements and always in process of becoming, never finished. Likewise, these country groups were in recognized community relations with village and small-town centers; the recognition varied inversely with the distance from the centers, but everywhere there was some dependence upon them. Rural neighborhoods were therefore not self-sufficient or entirely isolated from other grouping arrangements in their societies but interrelated with them. These trends were also a forecast of what was found in the Wisconsin restudies reviewed later.¹¹

The five early studies of neighborhoods included here profited or suffered, as the case may be, because they were done independently, and because working definitions and study techniques were not always comparable. Each researcher was determined to be as objective as he could and to report what he found with-

out influence from the others. The studies were monographic and descriptive in character and exploratory in purpose. They succeeded in this and also in setting bench marks for other studies of a more analytical sort to follow.

Four case stories of country and hamlet neighborhoods

Four case stories may help to indicate further how roots embedded in the social origins of the frontier developed as influences in neighborhoods found active in the early studies of the 1920's and in those persisting to present times. They are intended to serve as a generalized base from which to view the more analytical restudies reported in the next chapter. The cases were selected to show that processes of interrelations, of being groups, are often something more or different than can be explained by a tabular combination of their parts; they are whole and dramatic in character.

Groups do emerge from cultural and natural situations and are of them, but at the same time they have integrities of their own, and to separate their characteristics into too general categories sometimes, not always, obscures the very processes one seeks to discover. They are dramatic in the sense that there is an interplay of characters, creating situations which can be observed as systems or as episodes. The interactions can give the parts some unity, and the episodic quality can bring into focus the time reference, the dimension of continuity. The happenings which characterize groups at any particular period do not necessarily need to be spectacular, although they may be, as in an emergency. More often events tend to be more or less usual, but strung along some lifeline or connected by a central theme, as is so clearly shown in the case of the Albion neighborhood. The cases chosen are of the usual on-going kind and should give some sense of sequence, albeit of change. It is hoped that their brevity and short time span will not defeat the purpose of their inclusion.

Two New York cases

The two cases—one open-country and one hamlet—are adapted from a restudy report previously noted and made nearly

ten years after the original study, that is in 1931. Studies made in New York State were always helpful in giving perspective and direction to proposed studies in Wisconsin, because many local Wisconsin forms for educational and governmental organization were patterned after those of the Empire State. Trends traced in the projects there were often indications of what might be expected here a decade or two later. So fully was this accepted that when Wisconsin educational leaders wanted to portray, in a colored motion picture film, possible improvements in rural school organization in contrast with existing conditions in their state, they had their picture-taking equipment trucked to New York, where they photographed integrated schools organized on the town-country community basis.

Rogers Hollow.—This is an open-country neighborhood in the west central part of Unadilla Township, extending about four miles northeast along Rogers Hollow Brook from Unadilla River. The activity of the neighborhood centers around a Grange, the schools, and a Friends church, the latter being probably the most important factor in giving the neighborhood its identity. The activities of the neighborhood are not limited to the families of the immediate locality but are participated in by people in nearby vicinities. The neighborhood fair, which has been held each fall for the past eleven years, includes other school districts. The schools have displays of the work they do during the year. The Grange is now stronger than it has been for several years, has about fifty-three members, and meets twice a month at the Grange Hall, with an average attendance of twenty-five to thirty people. In addition to the regular meetings, dances and parties are held in the hall once a month.

The Friends church is the center for most of the life of the neighborhood. At present the church has slightly more than a hundred members with an average attendance at church of about fifty persons. The church membership is well organized, having two young people's societies, the Penn Helpers and the True Blues, each of which holds a regular monthly meeting; a Missionary Society which holds monthly meetings and sponsors entertainment in the community house; a Ladies Aid Society—at present combined with the Home Bureau unit—which also

holds a monthly meeting; and there are regular monthly church nights for the transaction of business. The 4-H Club for boys and girls, directed by the pastor, has about twenty-two members and usually meets once in four weeks in the community house.

The Farm Bureau and Dairymen's League each has a local organization which holds about two meetings annually. As a result there is a social party or a meeting of some kind every week in the year, and often there are two or three meetings in the same week. This is by far the most active open-country neighborhood in the county.

Westville.—This is a hamlet neighborhood located in Cherry Creek Valley about halfway between Middlefield and Milford. At the center there are about nineteen houses, a garage, a general store, two saw mills, a Grange hall, a grade school, and two churches—one a Baptist with a resident minister, and the other a Methodist, served by the minister at Milford. Milford, about four miles south, has the high school and is the center for trade, except that in dry goods and women's ready-to-wear. The only organizations connected with the churches are the two Ladies Aid Societies. The Home Bureau has a local organization with twelve members, but interest in the work is not very strong because most of the members belong to one of the Ladies Aid Societies or to the Grange. The organizations for the young people are the Boy Scout troop, with about six members, organized by the minister, and the local 4-H Club, with about twenty-two boys and girls.

The Grange is probably the most important factor in the life of the neighborhood. It has 126 members and meets every two weeks in the Grange Hall, with an average attendance of fifty to fifty-five people. The Grange recently organized a degree team which has been instrumental in maintaining the interest of the younger members. During the winter social parties are held after the regular meetings, and each member is allowed to bring one guest. The Grange membership area is somewhat larger than the immediate locality.

Westville is the most active of the hamlet centers of the county and is a good example of that type of neighborhood. In the early study, 1923, it was classified as a small village center with its

tributary community, but improved transportation and communication shifted the pattern. This same trend was observed in the restudies in Wisconsin.

Two Wisconsin cases

The second pair of neighborhoods is taken from the Dane County studies, one open-country and one hamlet type.

West Koshkonong.—In the last restudy in Dane County, 1950–51, neighborhoods were given scores in terms of their likelihood of remaining active. On the scale of toleration points, West Koshkonong ranked first because its member families had a relatively long period of residence, a farm ownership rate above the average, and a large proportion of mixed nationality backgrounds. The last point of mixed nationalities may be unexpected since the neighborhood is popularly regarded as a Norwegian settlement. It was in its earlier days, but a house-to-house canvass carried on under church auspices during the decade 1940 to 1950 showed a large number of families with other backgrounds and many families of a mixed marriage. The family head may have carried the Norwegian name, but, as in the case of Marxville to be described later, the wife may have come from a different nationality background; and, as the analysis indicated, a neighborhood was more likely to be in the active category if its families of similar nationality backgrounds were Scandinavian rather than German.

West Koshkonong was also high in the ranking based on interfamily contacts where the emphasis was upon the combinations of functions found within the neighborhood. There were contacts in each of the four major categories described earlier—educational, economic, social and religious. There were elementary schools, several public and one parochial, in the area. The majority of high school pupils went to one town-country community center, Stoughton, and this was important since other neighborhoods were encountered where divided high school attendance was considered a weakening influence. There was also a higher proportion of those of high school age attending school than in most other parts of the county. Economic contacts represented by general trade were also concentrated, 54 per cent of

the families doing most of their trading in Stoughton, and 33 per cent within the neighborhood. Trading under these conditions is much more than purchasing this or that piece of merchandise; it is meeting with neighbors, exchanging greetings, talking about the weather and crops, sharing personal experiences and mutual interests.

Historically, the two Koshkonongs, East and West, were recognized as meccas for Norwegian settlers coming into the state in the 1840's and 1850's. A Lutheran church was dedicated in West Koshkonong in 1844, but now there are two as the result of a split in the congregation dating from about 1885 to 1890. The resulting strife over property rights was finally settled in the Supreme Court of the state. The two church buildings are located within a few hundred yards of each other, symbols of conflict of another day. The East Koshkonong neighborhood has two similar churches and for the same reasons. More recently, while each congregation in West Koshkonong has its complement of auxiliary organizations and continues to maintain separate synodical affiliations, yet differences among the families visited, except for strictly church matters, were practically non-existent; the families all recognized common ties in the neighborhood. However, church members were more scattered than in earlier years, and membership could not be regarded as a definitive means for tracing neighborhood identity.

In the early study, 1920-21, Utica, a small hamlet center with its limited neighborhood area, lay just outside the West Koshkonong neighborhood boundary. In the later decades both neighborhoods expanded so the one was included within the area of the other. A similar trend was found in the case of the Nora center in a nearby part of the county, coming within the Liberty Prairie neighborhood area. Utica and Nora had the stores and the garages, while West Koshkonong and Liberty Prairie had the schools and the churches. This specialization of related functions and more opportunities for choice brought about greater interdependence. Thus there can be neighborhoods within neighborhoods, as well as village-country communities within town-country communities.

More often than earlier, neighborhood contacts were being

deliberately promoted. In the case of Utica, for example, a young storekeeper, university graduate and son of a former state assemblyman, had modernized both his store and his merchandising methods, including the limited extension of credit. He assumed an active part in renovating the local park and in organizing a baseball league with the neighborhood team as a member. He insisted that a good neighborhood had values worth working for. It not only helped business, he said, "but provided a pleasant place to live and bring up a family."

Albion.—This hamlet neighborhood, sometimes known as Albion Center because of its central location in the township of the same name, has been active at each period of study, and still is. Like other similar hamlet groups, it has known its "ups and downs" in size and strength. In 1930–31, for example, there was complaint on the part of one storekeeper regarding a decrease in business, attributed to competition from nearby city centers and house-to-house deliveries of bakery goods and fruits and vegetables by urban stores. On the other hand, in 1950–51 the Boyum store, which had modernized equipment and methods, reported an increasing volume of business and the pushing out of the neighborhood trade area.

The creamery had changed its form of operation, increased its capacity, and had a modern structure for assembling milk for the Chicago Grade A market. Many of its patrons lived beyond the neighborhood boundaries, and it has recently acquired ownership of the Hillside creamery located at the border of the adjoining township. In 1930–31 a tendency was reported for families to leave the center, but in the five years prior to 1950–51 several new homes had been built for nonfarm families whose wage earners worked at the center or in the city of Edgerton about three miles away.

The general character and layout of the center follows the plan usually found in New England, from where the early settler families came. There is the open square with beautiful shade trees, once the campus of an academy, surrounded by three stores, a church, garage, filling station, farm implement lot, the dairy plant, and many residences. Its two-teacher elementary school is located about a quarter of a mile down the highway

toward Edgerton. The character of the neighborhood as a whole is determined largely by the spirit and organizations at the center. Beside the business and religious activities there are many social clubs, the Grange, athletic team, square dancing, and informal gatherings where farm families mingle freely with the nonfarm families who are resident at the center.

Ten years previous to the 1950-51 study it was noted that Norwegian families were slowly replacing the New England or "Yankee" families, until it was nearly a fifty to fifty division. However, that trend was reported checked, and descendants of the early New England families were taking over the farms from their elders and were having more children than were families of comparable age five years earlier. There were also more inter-contacts of the neighborhood families with families of open-country neighborhoods nearby, such as Gravel Store, Hillside, and especially Albion Prairie, to the north and east, where in the earlier days, the lines had been more tightly drawn because those settlers traced back directly to England and had their own church, the Primitive Methodist. This process of interaction does not presage the formation of a larger community but rather a greater degree of interneighborhood interrelations within the town-country community of Edgerton.

Pride in tradition has been a strong element in the life of this hamlet neighborhood, and its strength was the educational emphasis centered in the academy. A bronze plate near the highway bears the inscription, "Albion Academy, founded in 1853 by the Seventh Day Baptists who came from Rhode Island and Alfred, New York." The first settlers came in 1841, and by 1850 the distribution of population of the whole township was recorded as 305 natives of New York, 141 from Norway, 134 other Wisconsin localities, and 129 English.

The academy flourished under its original founders for about twenty-five years and at one time had more students than the state university. Later it came into private management; then, after 1900, a Norwegian Lutheran group took it over for about fifteen years. Since then its buildings have fallen into disuse and one was destroyed by fire. Many stories are told of the influence of this educational institution. Many members of the early settler

families attended the school, and among its graduates are remembered those who gained wider fame—two United States congressmen, a justice of the State Supreme Court, a State Commissioner of Agriculture, a naturalist, a novelist, and one or two university professors.

This concern for education is still an active force in the neighborhood—a kind of core of continuity. A men's civic group of about forty-five members, with a farmer as president, was attempting to strengthen the neighborhood in 1950–51 by social gatherings and by discussions of a school program which might unite all elementary schools of the township into a modern system, with new buildings to be located on the old academy grounds. The arguments advanced were improvement of the quality of education and better equalization of the tax load. Rather strong resistance was encountered, however, especially in those districts with prevailing low tax rates. Some in the nearby Albion Prairie neighborhood were outspoken in their rejection of such a proposal. They were determined to keep their own school, since, they claimed, any attempt to weaken it or to abandon it would endanger the life of the whole neighborhood.

The case stories suggest that the processes of being groups, remaining groups, accommodating to change, goes on apace. In the more recent decades different factors were associated with these processes from those present in the earlier years. However, many neighborhood groups did not survive, their families having found other forms of personal association. The next chapter is concerned with some of these changes.

Neighborhoods—Some Changes, Recent Trends, and Intergroup Relations

The dynamic character of rural society in the first half of the century is revealed, at least in some respects, by its changing group relations. Increased facilities for communication and travel, greater mobility of both country and city people, as well as the passing of the frontier generations, have all contributed to such changes. More recent country dwellers have chosen to maintain some of their own neighborhood groups, at the same time they have combined with others to form larger town-country community groups.

Neighborhoods were the results of deliberate choice, specialized concerns, and organized relationships more usually than of kinship or nationality ties, of simply proximity of residence, of restrictiveness of topography, or of "just neighboring" which characterized many of them at the time of the early studies. Nevertheless, the general trend has been toward a decline in the number of neighborhoods but with a tendency toward stability and continuity on the part of those which do persist.

Characteristic changes and general trends

The net decrease in the number of neighborhoods in Dane County, Wisconsin, was about 38 per cent during the thirty

years beginning in 1920-21 and extending through 1950-51, a period during which four formal studies were made at ten-year intervals. This was not a steady trend, however, since there were fluctuations of both decrease and increase, especially in the decade 1920-21 to 1930-31, with a more even decline of nearly 20 per cent in each following decade.¹ The same general trend was observed in other studies in other states. In the nationwide restudy of the trends in agricultural communities it was found that between 1924 and 1930 there was a decrease of about 23 per cent of the neighborhoods first identified but new ones had appeared so the net loss was about 16 per cent.² In Boone County, Missouri, there was a similar trend during the same period, both in the proportion of decline and in the emergence of new neighborhoods. In Otsego County, New York, while the trend toward a decline in numbers was about the same from 1920 to 1930, new ones did not appear; local grouping arrangements were shifting from the country neighborhood to a town-country community basis.³ In Dane County, very few open-country neighborhoods emerged after 1931, but some moved into the hamlet type, and some small village-country communities came into the hamlet neighborhood classification.

Changes among open-country and hamlet neighborhoods

There were some differences in trends in Dane County between the open-country and the hamlet types of active neighborhoods. Neighborhoods were considered active, it will be recalled, when at least two common interests were involved in the interactions of a majority of the families; hamlets were small aggregates of population with several service units, as will be described in the next section. Numbers of neighborhoods in each of these two types at the time of each of the four formal studies are given in the following tabulation.

<i>Types</i>	<i>1950-51</i>	<i>1940-41</i>	<i>1930-31</i>	<i>1920-21</i>
Total	59	76	94	95
Open-country	40	53	73	81
Hamlet	19	23	21	14

Of the 40 open-country type active in 1950-51, 88 per cent were also active in 1920-21, and an identical 32 were in the

active category at each time of study. Fluctuations in the early years were indicated by 28 open-country neighborhoods being active only at the time of the first study in 1920–21, and another 14 new ones active only in 1930–31. There was a tendency at the latter time on the part of both lay and professional leaders to emphasize the importance of social contacts and to attempt to organize them as ancillary to other activities, especially the educational. “The school is the social center” was a slogan often heard in neighborhood circles.

Hamlet neighborhoods—their middle-way character

Geographer Trewartha describes a hamlet as a “minimum of four active resident units, at least two of which are nonfarm, at least six active functional units—residential, business, social or other, and at least five buildings actively used—spacing of buildings must give appearance of compactness exceeding ordinary spacing.”⁴ These criteria were applied in the classification of neighborhoods into the two types: hamlet and open-country. In terms of population, the upper limit for hamlets was usually considered as 250 people resident in the center.

The hamlet-type neighborhood is somewhere between the open-country neighborhood and the village-country community in its social organization and group characteristics. The early 1920's were a transition period when some centers previously considered as small villages with community possibilities came into the hamlet class, not simply by way of population count but in their group relations as well. In Dane County, Wisconsin, 6 of the 21 hamlet neighborhoods active in 1930–31 had been considered as small village-centered communities in 1920–21. They were Blue Mounds, London, Morrisonville, Mt. Vernon, Rockdale, and Windsor. In Otsego County, New York, it was 7 out of 18, including Westville previously described in the case study. Of the 19 Dane County hamlet-type neighborhoods active in 1950–51, 68 per cent were also active in 1920–21, while the same 13 were found in the active category at each period of study.

The same trend was evident in Walworth County, Wisconsin. It was clear in the restudies that 3 of the 12 centers included in

the early study could not actually continue as town-country centers, and this was recognized even then. Honey Creek was referred to as "nearly of village type," also Lyons, and neither was incorporated, while Millard was definitely a hamlet neighborhood center. A like tendency was observed in the nationwide restudy of neighborhoods within the 140 town-country communities to which further reference will be made.

From census sources it was found that of all incorporated places of less than 250 population in the U.S. in 1910, one-fifth had become villages by 1920 and one-fourth by 1930. No similar comparisons are possible for unincorporated places of that size, yet as explained in the first chapter, the very act of incorporation and separation from the town (township) does make a difference, not alone in population change but in group status as well.

The early 1940's was another transition period for hamlets. In Dane County, while two dropped out of the classification, three from the open-country class moved into it: East Middleton, Paoli-Basco, and Springfield Corners. Many others acquired a larger degree of stability than they formerly had, as well as centers for more services, when new places for business or amusement were built there. Another function was found to have increased in importance by 1950-51, namely the residential. Twelve of the 19 hamlets had acquired nonfarm residents in the previous five years, in some cases as many as 15 families, with the average about 5. Such additions were reported in 14 of the 40 open-country neighborhoods. Hamlet neighborhoods ranged in size—including all families, not simply those in the centers—from 35 to 125, and the open-country from 15 to 100 families.

The hamlet, *povoado* in Portuguese, was found in the state of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, to serve many of the same neighborhood purposes as it does in Wisconsin. Hamlets there had four characteristic institutions in addition to family residences: elementary school, chapel (the church was usually in the village or town), store with bar and restaurant, and playing field with uprights at each end as goal posts for the game of soccer. They were centers for the neighboring families and especially places

for men and boys to congregate evenings, holidays, and week ends.

Recent observations as well as reports of other studies in the United States indicate that the tendency to acquire nonfarm family residents is continuing, especially on the part of hamlet and small village centers within traveling distance to urban occupational opportunities.⁵ The "nonfarm" designation by the census is an admission that their characteristics are unknown. They may be regarded as becoming a third estate—nonfarm, country dweller, in addition to farmer and villager, in the emerging community formations in rural society. Their presence creates problems as well as opportunities in social action programs.

Changing character of interfamily contacts in neighborhoods

Emphasis has been placed upon activeness; therefore it is in point to examine in some detail the changes in the kinds of contacts involved in the interactions of families in maintaining neighborhood groups. This emphasis made possible comparisons with other studies, as previously noted, and has its more general reference, that is, the importance of giving attention to the study of human actions.⁶

The four categories of contacts described previously were found to enclose the majority of the responses to questions of why neighborhoods were active. These responses were given during the interviews when families were designated for neighborhood inclusion or exclusion. They are, as enumerated previously, religious, educational, economic, and social contacts. In the earlier years topography and nationality were included as factors but not in more recent studies, because improved transportation had eliminated the influence of the former and nationality, as noted elsewhere, sought its means for expression in other forms such as religious organization. Evidences of church affiliation and nationality differentiation have appeared in other studies in the state.⁷

Two plans were used to trace changes in neighborhood contacts. The first was to compare all those neighborhoods which were active at each of the different times of study. The second

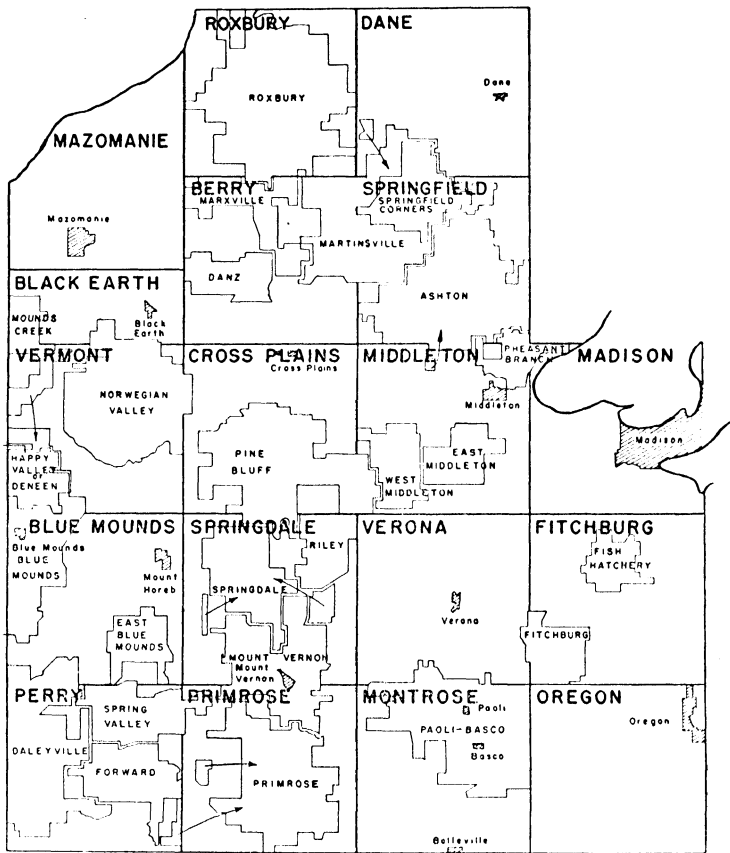


Figure 3

Neighborhoods Active in 1950-51, Dane County, Wisconsin,
West Division

was to consider only those forty-five neighborhoods which were active throughout the entire interval, and then compare their contacts at each of the four periods. Brief summaries of the results of these two plans of comparison are given in the next paragraphs.

Comparing contacts in neighborhoods active in each period of study.—By the first plan the four categories of contacts were

ranked in terms of the number of neighborhoods which fell in each. As previously explained, primary or secondary importance was assigned to the contacts, and a score of one given to primary and one-half to secondary importance. The rankings for each period are given below.

<i>Contacts</i>	<i>1950-51</i>	<i>1940-41</i>	<i>1930-31</i>	<i>1920-21</i>
Educational	1	2	1	2
Religious	2	1	3	1
Economic	3	3	4	4
Social	4	4	2	3

More changes were evident in the earlier decades than in the later ones. This is partly explained by those cases of open-country neighborhoods which were active only in 1920-21 and those active only in 1930-31, when social contacts were most frequently combined with the educational. Apparently efforts to have country schools function as social as well as educational centers did not carry through into 1940-41. An interpretation can also be made that those neighborhoods which did persist were becoming more stabilized in the contacts or functions which kept them active.

Other questions presented themselves, calling for analysis. Were these changing relations of the contacts associated with the types of neighborhoods, with their location in the county, or with the periods of study? The tests showed significant differences were occurring over time and this was true regardless of whether they were in open-country or hamlet neighborhoods, and whether they were in the eastern or the western divisions of the county. The general trend was for the economic and the social contacts to change in their relative importance, but for the educational and the religious to remain about the same.

Since time proved to be the crucial element in these changes, it was of interest to push the analysis one step farther. Tests were therefore applied for each of the four categories of contacts for each of the four periods of study. The method as illustrated in the case of economic contacts is shown in the note.⁸ The results were as follows:

Economic contacts over time were found to be significantly

different, indicating the changes were not haphazard or by chance but that some consistent trends were in process. In 1920-21, for example, there were definitely fewer neighborhoods with economic contacts than could have been expected. In 1940-41 there were a few more, but in 1950-51 there were many more. Change in the secondary emphasis was particularly evident in that period. Thus the inference can be drawn that economic contacts of families increased in relative importance and were associated with neighborhood persistence.

Social contacts over time also differed significantly but the trend was in the opposite direction from that of the economic contacts. In 1920-21 there were a few more neighborhoods with both primary and secondary social contacts than could have been anticipated, but in 1930-31 there were many more. Then, by 1940-41 there were some less, while in 1950-51 there were many less. As the ranking also showed, social contacts were especially important in 1930-31, but as time went on they were losing their force as primary factors associated with active neighborhoods, although continuing to be related with other contacts. However, many social contacts of a more informal kind tended to follow other group patterns, family visiting, exchange of work, and small sociability groups being examples which will be expanded in the last part of the chapter.

Educational contacts over time showed no significant changes. There were minor variations in the different periods, but in general they held the same relative importance in those neighborhoods which were active at the various time periods. This means that the educational emphasis, strong in the formation of many groups, has continued and taken such forms as local schools and associated activities for children, youth, and adults but has not increased in relative strength or association with active neighborhoods.

Religious contacts over time evidenced no significant differences and only a few changes from period to period. As with education, religion from the first played an important part in the life of many active neighborhoods, both open-country and hamlet types. However, during the last decade, 1940-41 to 1950-51, changes were beginning to appear which more recent observa-

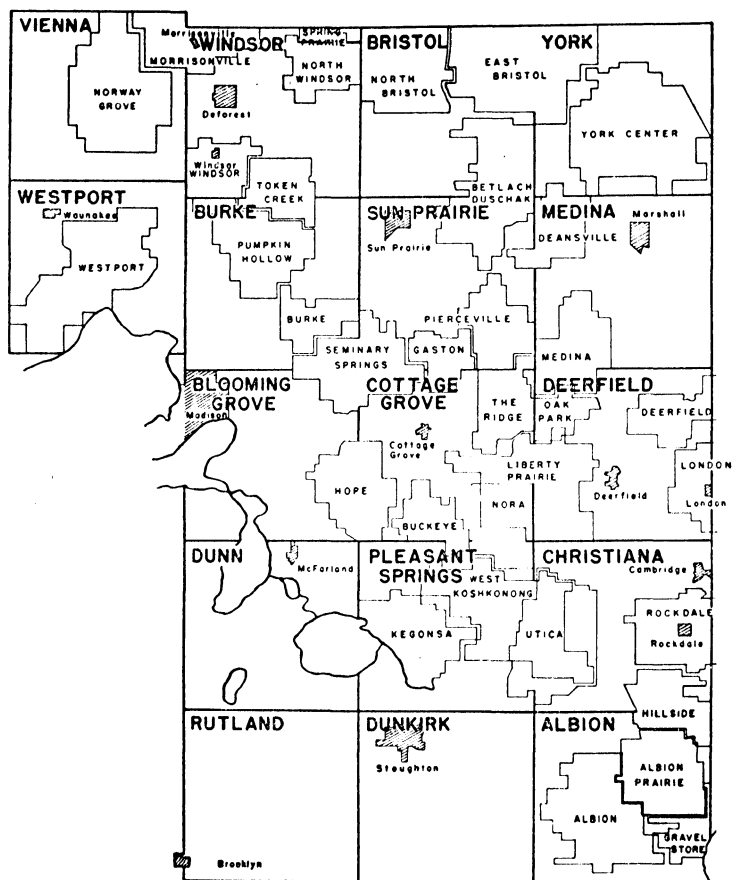


Figure 4

Neighborhoods Active in 1950-51, Dane County, Wisconsin,
East Division

tions confirmed, namely a lessening of influence and a scattering of religious contacts in some country situations, thus contributing to the numerical decrease of open-country neighborhoods.

Comparing contacts in neighborhoods active throughout the interval of studies.—By the second plan of comparison only the forty-five neighborhoods which were active continuously throughout the four periods of study were considered and rank-

ings made for the four contacts at each of the four periods. Results by this second plan are tabulated below.

<i>Contacts</i>	<i>1950-51</i>	<i>1940-41</i>	<i>1930-31</i>	<i>1920-21</i>
Religious	1	1	1	1
Educational	2	3	4	4
Economic	3	2	2	2
Social	4	4	2	5

In 1930-31 the economic and the social contacts were tied in rank, while in 1920-21 nationality claimed third position because of its continuing influences in early German and Norwegian settlements.

When results of the two plans of ranking were compared, differences were not wide in 1950-51. Educational and religious contacts had changed first rank positions but not by a large margin. In the earlier years the differences were somewhat wider, due to a greater dependence on local economic agencies in both open-country and hamlet neighborhoods. Through the entire interval of study there was a strong tendency for the religious contacts to hold first place among the open-country and for the economic contacts to do the same in the hamlet neighborhoods. However, the religious contacts have become less forceful recently. This trend will be explored further in the institutional section of the chapter.

Contacts in combination of special significance

The evidence is convincing that contacts in the interaction of families in neighborhoods gain importance when considered in their combinations. However, frequency may not always mean most influential; rather, it is the character of the combinations which is significant. For example, while the social contacts often appear as a secondary factor, their influence is heightened when related to the educational and even to the economic contacts. Likewise, as has been noted, when religious contacts were combined with those of nationality or even education, strengths could be observed which were different from those any process of addition could yield. This will be more evident as the institutional forms of the various contacts are described.

It was useful, however, to compare the frequencies of combinations over time. For the fifty-nine neighborhoods, both open-country and hamlet, which were active in 1950–51, the combination of the educational, the religious, and the economic contacts was decidedly the most frequent. In 1940–41 the combination of the educational and social contacts began to decline; it had reached its peak in 1930–31, as was indicated before. In the first period, the religious combined with nationality and the educational combined with topography were important, especially in the open-country neighborhoods located in the unglaciated areas in the western part of the county.

The forty-five neighborhoods continuously active followed much the same course when both primary and secondary importance were taken into account. These trends are comparable to those reported in the restudy in Wake County, North Carolina, in 1948, when three quarters of those neighborhood groups which persisted had more than one local organization activity plus a school and a church.⁹

Changes in the locality dimension

While the interrelations of families have been stressed, the factor of locality, being near to one another in space, cannot be neglected. Again, it is the combination—interactions of families and place of residence—which has been effective in forming neighborhoods. It is also true, as the case stories indicated, that the influences of topography, soil, original vegetation such as prairie, marsh, and forest, as well as transportation routes, were greater in the early days of settlement than they have been more recently. This was reflected in the names given to neighborhoods, as enumerated in the previous chapter, where valleys, prairies, hills, corners, groves, and hollows predominated. Early settlers chose these localities deliberately and then encouraged friends, relatives, and neighbors in former places of common residence to join them. Two stories of early settlement will illustrate the influences of these natural features when combined with other conditions, oftentimes unique in character.

First, the Grandfather Foote, of previous reference, came from Ohio with his uncle to settle in Wisconsin. He traveled

over open prairies looking for a place with a maple sugar bush like the one back home, and near a lake for hunting and fishing, and found it on the shores of Rush Lake in Winnebago County. He was not familiar with the sod-breaking plow, did not have a team of oxen at the time, and as he told the story later, where was he to find timber to build a cabin, and water for his family and livestock? He selected a home site within 150 yards of a large spring which never dried up, and a bucket line was built to bring the water to the kitchen door. Other families of like inclination and interests, some relatives, soon came and formed a neighborhood settlement in which "sugaring off" parties were important social events in the springtime. Later, adjustments had to be made with other settlements, some with families of German background.

Second, the Reverend Father Inama, a pioneer missionary, traveled far and sought diligently to find the kind of location he wanted for a settlement that was to be centered about a church of his faith. He chose a prominent knoll for the building, in a wooded area of potentially good farming land in the northeastern corner in Dane County, not far from the Wisconsin River, then set about systematically to encourage families to come and to help them get established. As a partial reward, the King of Bavaria in 1849 sent as a gift a large and very beautiful oil painting by Von Kaulbach, which still hangs above the main altar of the church. This picture serves as center of pride and loyalty for the enlarging hamlet neighborhood of Roxbury, and as an object of pleasure for visitors who were interested in art treasures, although its presence here is not widely known. In the five years prior to 1950, eight new family residences were built in the center, and the boundaries of the neighborhood were being pushed out by the purchases of farms from those whose English forebears had settled in and around the formerly active open-country neighborhood of Dunlap Hollow.

When once established, neighborhoods such as Roxbury gain power to hold and attract families, as do some social institutions. This often creates the necessity for choices or the opportunity of conflict in values. Some farmers, especially those of German background, wanted farms to be nearby for their sons when

starting their own families, so they cleared more land or bought out neighboring owners near the boundaries of their settlement whose family goals were somewhat different. Some families of Norwegian background sought to have their sons educated for the professions as pastors, doctors, lawyers, teachers. When existing in the same school district with the German families, this Norwegian attitude brought about clashes of opinion over the question of voting taxes for the local school. Also, since the Norwegian families were generally smaller than the German families, when it came time for the parents to retire, it was the latter's descendants who took over their farms and expanded neighborhood areas—the value of land versus the value of education.

Neighborhood areas were not measured in detail or compared period by period, but an inspection of the early and late maps does show changes. In 1950–51 approximately half of the country area of Dane County was included within neighborhoods. On the historical map (mentioned above) indicating conditions before the time of the early study in 1920–21, nearly all of the country area was within some neighborhood. Those neighborhoods which persisted to the time of the last restudy were the larger ones, and those in the proximity of villages and towns were the ones to give way, because of the transfer of many personal contacts to these centers. The principle of unit requirements applies to neighborhoods as well as to other communities, namely, the interrelation of population, kind of contacts, size of area, and relative distances. In the earlier years there was a tendency, also noted in the New York studies, for active open-country neighborhoods to cluster about the periphery of large urban centers. More recently accommodations have had to be made if neighborhoods were to remain active near these suburban areas.

Another variation in area arrangements is indicated on the 1950–51 maps by use of arrows to show family connections with neighbors across non-neighborhood areas. Families who did not live contiguous to other families belonging to the neighborhood claimed an identification with those families, while the non-neighborhood families between did not. In some cases, such

as Deneen and Marxville in Dane County, this meant a trend toward expansion. Nearby farms were not available to families wishing to be related to the neighborhoods by religious, social, and kinship contacts, so they bought land a little farther away and seemed to suffer no handicaps. Modern means for transportation for both families and machines for exchange of work made close contacts possible. In the cases of Primrose and Springdale, this represented a retreat from previous conditions. Families not affiliated with these neighborhoods had moved in and separated in space other families who claimed continued membership in them.

Contacts are formalized into institutions

It was evident from the beginning, from both observation and analysis, that there was a tendency to organize and formalize the interrelations by which families were bound into groups. The restudy of neighborhoods in Otsego County, New York, in 1931 performed its usual service by foreshadowing this trend and reporting that neighborhoods were becoming more and more organizational and institutional. The mere presence of institutions in any local situation does not of necessity imply close interfamily contacts, even as proximity of residence does not assure personal associations. An institution such as a tavern may be a gathering place for "outsiders" instead of neighbor families. A school may be a children's island in the midst of an adult aggregation of families. However, in those neighborhoods which continued active, institutions have become increasingly involved in the group relationships.

The purpose of the formalizing process was different at different periods in the life cycle of the neighborhoods. As suggested in the first chapter, many of the early settlers could not rest until they had organized educational and religious services, first in their own homes and then, as soon as possible, in buildings constructed to house these services. The settlers considered these as means for establishing their interfamily relations in the new surroundings. Once organized and housed, such institutions tended to focalize and hold group members. These tangibles often took on added values and became the symbols for the groups

themselves. One farmer in Walworth County, for example, insisted he could not go to the barn in the morning to milk without pausing for a moment as he left the house to look at the country school across the road. He told of carving his initials on one of the desks; he felt the building—even though it no longer housed a school—belonged to him and somehow vouchsafed the security of neighbors he felt he needed.

Similarly, a New York State farmer, older in years, not in outlook, saluted the school bus as it stopped at the farm gate to pick up his grandson. "How glad I am," he said, "to have lived long enough to see that boy have a chance to go to a good school in keeping with our mechanical age." To the one the school house led back to the older open-country neighborhood, to the other the school bus reached forward to the newer town-country community.

In later years these institutional frameworks often served as defenses against change. School and church buildings were even rebuilt or added to and modernized as a direct mechanism for resisting realignments, often because of failure of people to realize that combining with other groups might add to the quality of services without invalidating the group itself. A case in point is that described earlier of the open-country neighborhood, Buckeye, joining with the community of Stoughton, in which combination there was recognized mutual benefit. It has also been apparent, especially in the later years, that this formalizing process has driven some families to seek other groups for the expression of some of their personal social relations. This often resulted in the formation of special interest groups, either formal or informal in character, to be discussed in a later chapter.

Changes in institutional relations—some cases

Changes over time in the institutional relations of the neighborhoods in Dane County were traced by comparing those active in 1950–51 with all the others whenever they were identified as active. Since there were only three of the hamlet type which did not continue to this time, this comparison was confined to the forty open-country neighborhoods which did per-

sist and the sixty-four which did not. The characteristics of those not persisting were recorded as of the last time they were in the active class. The following simple percentages indicate the general trend, namely that those open-country neighborhoods which institutionalized their contact relations were more likely than the others to remain active:

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Open-Country Neighborhoods</i>	
	40 persisting to 1950-51	64 not persisting to 1950-51
School	100%	95%
Church	60%	14%
Store	48%	6%
Tavern	40%	0%
Cheese factory or creamery	32%	14%

The case of schools.—Elementary schools continued fairly constantly in neighborhoods, and originally they were practically universal in every country locality. In the early 1930's, as noted previously, special efforts were made to combine social contacts with schools. This proved to be good practice for a time in maintaining small country schools. However, it could not stem the tide for long, since many small schools were closed even though their districts remained as legal units, and pupils who lived in those districts were transported to others in the country or to some hamlet, village, or small town, tuition being paid by the closed-school districts. Later, many country schools were involved in various reorganization plans including high schools.

The case of churches.—Early settlers brought many of their religious association patterns with them as they moved into the frontier, and since they settled first on farms, they established their churches nearby. This was not universal, however, since religion was not of dominant interest with some groups, or was of divided interest with others, and many families also sought churches of their choice in nearby villages or towns.

Changes are indicated, since only one of the twenty-two neighborhoods active in 1930-31 but not active in 1940-41

had had a church. The proportion increased in the next decade, when five of the eighteen open-country neighborhoods active in 1940-41 but not in 1950-51 had had churches. Apparently churches were not so frequent as they were earlier in their association with active neighborhoods. The difference between those neighborhoods persisting and those not persisting, as shown in the above tabulation, is also significant.

The case of stores.—The importance of stores as neighborhood social institutions may be less well recognized than that of schools and churches. They are definitely more than impersonal business establishments; they are also a social rendezvous for those who are wont to gather there of a morning, an afternoon, or an evening. In 1950-51 stores were found in every active hamlet and in about half of the persisting open-country neighborhoods of Dane County, while only 6 per cent of the nonpersisting open-country type had had them; this is a significant difference. Considering the forty-five neighborhoods continuously active, the percentage that had stores was about the same as for those which were active in 1950-51. From every source, therefore, it is evident that the economic contacts and institutions, coupled with the social, are an increasing influence associated with active neighborhoods.

Superficial or "outside" observers might call this conclusion into question. Why, they might ask, should there be country or hamlet stores at all when practically every country family is within ten minutes of some village, town, or city center? But the evidence indicates that many of these country and hamlet institutions were stronger in 1950-51 than they were when visited in 1940-41, measured in terms of volume of business, turnover of more specialized stocks, methods of merchandising, and amount of modernized equipment. In 13 of the 19 active hamlet neighborhoods, there were relatively young families who had recently taken over the ownership or operation of a store. In only half of the cases were they relatives of previous owners or operators. Whether related or not, the new proprietors reasoned that there was a promising business opportunity, a chance to live in the country and to be associated with other families of like interests in an active neighborhood. Many had lived under

different conditions, and their choices were therefore deliberate.

An illustration is that of a young family, both husband and wife recent university graduates, in North Bristol, Dane County. They had, with some fear and trepidation, bought a store in this small hamlet center and were cautious in the remodeling and revamping of practices in order not to offend tradition too greatly but also to be able to meet current local demands and outside competition. After rearranging the store on the help-yourself plan, they purchased carts but did not bring them from the storeroom until an older and trusted customer asked why they did not have them. This family with its two children has gradually become a part of the educational, religious, and social relations of the neighborhood. Conversations with farm families in the vicinity left no doubt that they wanted and appreciated a nearby modern store for their day-to-day purchases as well as a pleasant place to congregate and meet their neighbors now and then. "We still like to trade with folks we know and who know us and our children by our first names," one of them remarked.

The case of cheese factories.—To record cheese factories and small creameries as important social institutions in neighborhoods may also meet with some skepticism, since such processing establishments are generally expected to have only economic functions and to be concerned with making profits for their patrons. Their story of change is quite different from that of neighborhood stores. While nearly a third of both open-country and hamlet neighborhoods in Dane County had them in 1950–51, yet they are passing institutions. The one-man factory with its small coterie of families and limited volume of nonstandardized products is no match in modern competition with large corporations or coöperatives and their centralized flexible plants, or with the Chicago Grade A milk market. Their closing is as disruptive of neighborhood continuity as the loss of school or church, especially so when the three have been in combination. They are missed by the farmers themselves, although there is little open confession that they served as welcome meeting places to discuss masculine affairs. In some cases, the men withheld from their wives, even their sons, the task of

transporting the milk, since the social opportunity would be lost to them or, as one suggested, "the gatherings might degenerate into mere feminine gossip or juvenile palaver."

The case of taverns.—The role of taverns in neighborhood continuity defies strict classification. The economic aspects, the social, the legal, as well as others, are involved. Contacts are sometimes formalized—a sponsored baseball team or euchre tournament—and sometimes informal—a pick-up card game or what may appear superficially as casual conversation. There were taverns in 84 per cent of the hamlet and in 40 per cent of the open-country neighborhoods persisting in 1950–51, but in none of the sixty-four nonpersisting open-country type. Caution is needed in drawing inferences; it cannot be concluded that to have an active neighborhood there must be a tavern at hand, but neither can it be denied that taverns do have a high association with continuing neighborhoods. They, like their predecessor, the saloon, have enjoyed or suffered from a wide range of reputation and respectability, depending upon the point of view and the traditions of their localities.

Many taverns played continuous and consistent roles within their neighborhoods, scarcely modifying a practice, moving a table or changing brands of beer or kinds of games during variations in local, state, or federal regulations. Others have added adjacent dance halls, game and dining rooms, and have encouraged wedding and birthday parties or weekly dances. In some situations a degree of specialization has developed whereby some, more recently built, have become known locally as "spots," mostly for non-neighborhood patrons—"escapees," they are called, from urban restrictions. Some are specialized for age or interest groups, or according to time of day or night, as well as days of the week, for serving characteristic meals. Introduction of television, inclusion of women, and various interpretations placed upon youth patronage are some other elements of change, often of controversy.

In some local areas taverns are entirely absent and have always been because they were prohibited by legislation, denied licenses by town boards, or were out of key with neighborhood norms and traditions, depending on many conditions and cir-

cumstances of public and private opinion. Under some conditions it was expected and it was respectable for the pastor to join the men of his congregation at the nearby tavern for half an hour after church services, while the women visited in front of the church and the children played in the yard. In other situations and in other neighborhoods, such conviviality would be quite unthinkable at any time. "It all depends," was the explanation often given.

Concerning intergroup relations of neighborhoods

Even casual observation of the locality relations represented on the maps or the personal contacts with institutional relations is enough to convince anyone that neighborhoods are not isolated groups or in any sense self-sufficient or self-contained. While they have identifiable realities of their own, they are also part and parcel of a complex of intergroup relations. As previously noted, approximately half of the area of Dane County and about half of the families living outside incorporated or platted areas were included within neighborhood boundaries in 1950-51. A conclusion based on an old maxim might be that here was a divided rural society—half neighborhood-bound and half free. Obviously this is not the case, but there may be differences between neighborhood and non-neighborhood families; if so, the extent and character to which differences do exist will be examined in the next chapter. In this section attention is centered upon four forms of groups which are inter-related with neighborhoods and whose memberships crisscross those of neighborhoods.

With informal groups

Group contacts of a personal or primary character such as family visiting, exchange of work, and the more or less temporary and loosely organized clubs for sociability and congeniality tend to form rather independently of neighborhood and community affiliations, although not entirely so. This trend was first noticed in the 1930-31 restudies. In the Missouri county, friendly visiting and informal sociability remained as one, but only one, feature of continuing neighborhood life. In Dane

County, Wisconsin, those families which exchanged work or visited regularly were more often related through kinship or through belonging to the same church or nationality background than they were by neighborhood membership only. Small dramatic or music clubs or social gatherings of various kinds were more likely to draw their members on the basis of special interest rather than simply from the same locality.

This tendency was found to have increased by 1940–41 and was most pronounced among the larger neighborhoods, since informal as well as other kinds of groups are functions of size as well as of character of contacts. Because of greater farm mechanization, exchange-of-work groups, for example, were decreasing in size. Factors such as tenure, length of residence, and age of family head, which were significantly related with active neighborhoods, were not so related with these informal groups. By 1950–51 the range in the number of families who reported regular visiting and exchanging work was very wide, while the average number of families in such groups varied from only four to six. In the earlier days these two forms of interfamily contacts were often generalized neighborhood activities, but more recently they follow other lines. This is an important trend.

With formally organized groups

Increases in the numbers and the strength of organized interest groups will be traced later. Even though their influence upon neighborhood continuity was not studied directly, yet certain special interest organizations affiliated with local institutions were associated with neighborhood persistence in Dane County. It was also pointed out in Otsego County, New York, studies that seldom was any neighborhood activity originated and maintained by the local people without some outside stimulation. These outside connections were with such agencies as the Grange, Farm and Home Bureau, school or church administrations, and political or commercial agencies. Such influences are a two-way force—as suggested elsewhere and as illustrated in the case story of Marxville—working in toward and out from neighborhoods. Outgoing influences are seldom recorded, but they are represented by pressures ex-

erted in resolutions passed by farmers' organizations or church conferences, even in opposing state legislation for school reorganization or appealing to the courts for injunctions against local neighborhood applications of such legislation.

There are tendencies toward an uneven response of families to such organized group influences, as will be explained in the next chapter, tendencies which can lead to processes of stratification cutting through neighborhood and other community loyalties. Problems concerned with such intergroup relations need more attention than has been given them. It has been easier to trace single group forms than to analyze intergroup relations.

With town-country communities

References have been made to the locality factor in neighborhood relations with town-country communities—those neighborhoods in the close vicinity of such communities tending to become inactive as family contacts are transferred to the larger groups. It has also been evident that a concentration, especially of general trade and high school contacts within a single community, such as in the case of Stoughton, constituted a source of neighborhood solidarity. An opposite influence was observed in the Pierceville, Token Creek, and Medina neighborhoods in Dane County, where a scatter of high school attendance among two or even three communities tended to sap the strength of local neighborhood bonds.

The importance of country neighborhood and town-country community interrelations was also emphasized in the restudies of neighborhoods in Otsego County, New York. Organization of central school districts was a source of danger to neighborhoods, since other organizations and other contacts tended to follow the educational factor into the village or town centers, and young people attending high school in such centers developed other social attachments than those within the country localities in which they lived. Nevertheless, thirty active neighborhoods were reported as persisting within such community boundaries.

In Wisconsin, there has been no consistent policy of neigh-

borhood and other community interrelation, notwithstanding the gains made in working out reorganization plans for rural education, to be described in Chapter 6. The case of Oregon in Dane County illustrates a clean sweep of neighborhoods within a town-country community area. There was complete integration of both elementary and secondary schools, with transportation of all pupils to the village center, and no neighborhood in the area had enough other contacts or institutions to persist. In the case of Winneconne in Winnebago County, another policy was followed, namely the encouragement and the building up of some neighborhoods, especially through hamlet-centered elementary schools, including the first six grades and all within a single town-country community system. In the Mt. Horeb community in Dane County, confusion continues, at least through the year 1957, since no general plan could be agreed upon. Neighborhood and community differences rather than mutualities were constantly coming to the fore in public discussions. Such a plan of neighborhood and town-country community interrelations must consider conditions of distances, combinations of contacts, but more especially, deliberate policies jointly agreed upon and sincerely wanted. It can be done!

With urban and suburban patterns

The constant increase of suburban population and the spreading out into the country of urban forms of association are a direct challenge to surrounding neighborhoods. This build-up at the perimeter of large cities is the result of a two-way movement of people, out from the central city and in from the country, toward but not into the urban center. Many of these families were not only Janus-like in their reach for group relations—facing the country and the city—but they were also busily engaged in building up local clusters of associations and institutions of their own. A study in the Madison, Wisconsin, area indicated that a majority, but not all, of the family breadwinners were employed within the urban area.¹⁰ Their families looked to urban institutions for banking, specialized shopping, and commercial recreation, but for many informal and personal contacts they mingled with those families nearer by, including

farmers, part-time farmers, and other nonfarmers. Since these families had proportionately more children than either the urban or the farm families in the county, they were concerned to have their own elementary and religious educational institutions, personalized recreation, and their own generalized shopping centers. Similar conditions were found in more recent studies in Kenosha County, to which reference has been made.

In the earlier years of study, active neighborhood groups formed just beyond the outer boundary of the city of Madison, and a similar pattern was reported for the city of Ithaca, New York. There were the usual contacts with the urban center for commercial agencies and for full- or part-time employment, but for those contacts of a more personal and frequent nature, the neighborhood was the focus. This included adult or youth organizations related with school or church, card parties, drama, and music and folk dancing activities. There have been changes with the continued construction of dwellings, industrial plants, outer-belt highways, clover-leaf intersections and multiplication of border institutions, such as motels, restaurants, taverns, open-air theaters and hot-rod racing strips.

Recently such Dane County neighborhoods as Sunnyside, Sugar Bush, Black Woods, and Pheasant Branch have been swallowed up in this inundation. However, a little beyond them are neighborhoods which have revamped their group relations and by any standard must be counted active. These include Hope, Pumpkin Hollow, East Middleton, and Westport; theirs is a sort of interstitial pattern. They have their own elementary schools and related organizations. Three have stores and churches and one has taverns. The church congregations are neither rural nor urban in any traditional sense of the terms but are of a new and intermediate design. They include members of farm, country nonfarm, suburban, and, to complete their multiple character, urban families who drive out from the city for church and affiliated organization services.

Westport is an example of this emerging type of small community or neighborhood with its recently rebuilt church, St. Mary's of the Lake. The former building burned a few years ago, and there was much hesitation about the rebuilding in a

shifting social situation so relatively near to the city of Madison. The decision to rebuild has met with increased membership in the church and expanded activities in the neighborhood. Within this locality there are small farm families, part-time farmers, large farms with gentleman farmers as owners who are also commercial and professional people in the city, their resident renters, gardeners, artisans, clerical workers, a commercial orchid grower, and a church bishop. Families from the city come regularly to church services and to such local social events as the Sunday afternoon horse races. Here is something different in group arrangements. Even the architecture of the new church is an announced symbol of this difference, a transitional type of community relations, neither rural nor rural, neither urban nor suburban, nor even metropolitan, but neopolitan, like the early commune, a new form for a very old kind of group association where nearly every element of population and variety of occupation in the general society is represented within the local community.

To conclude this chapter, the story of another neighborhood may help to dramatize how a closely organized neighborhood can continue to be active, and its member families participate in numerous other groups, yet not ride off in all directions to such an extent that the local group relations become meaningless and valueless to them.

*The Ashton neighborhood—
illustration of intergroup relations*

Centered about its church, parochial school, and related contacts, Ashton continues to be an active neighborhood. About half of its ninety families reported being in some work-exchange group during summer and fall, while nearly all of them visit fairly regularly, especially in wintertime. There were twelve well-recognized visiting groups within the neighborhood, averaging about six families each. Such groups as well as card parties were encouraged by the local leaders, since the neighborhood was large and smaller informal groups with personal relations were considered helpful in keeping the whole group vital and active.

Other informal groups extended their memberships beyond neighborhood boundaries, following kinship and special interests as well as differential age levels, younger families being more active and going farther than the older ones. The number and kind of other contacts beyond the neighborhood had also expanded during the last decade. They included a large proportion of those of high school age attending school, all at the same town-country community center of Middleton. Religious instruction for this age group was also on the community basis, with coöperation between the neighborhood church and the church of similar affiliation located at the community center. Movie-going and social activities for young people, organizational connections for adults, and merchandising contacts for all members of families had increased with both the community center, Middleton, and the urban center, Madison. Then, in recognition of, and to capitalize upon, this growing web of intergroup relations, a religious brotherhood was organized including within its membership men from Madison, Middleton, and Ashton.

This brief description of the network of intergroup relations should serve as background for, and give added meaning to, the studies reviewed in the next chapter as to how families recognize and regard their various neighborhood situations.

Families' Reactions to Neighborhood Situations

In this chapter the center of interest is shifted from neighborhoods as groups to the families that identified themselves with neighborhoods. The two previous chapters were concerned with the identification of neighborhoods, their characteristics, and what conditions are associated with their persistence. Here the emphasis is turned about and, in the parlance of analysis, families are made the focus, the dependent variables, the assumption being that they are subject to various influences and that at least one of these influencing factors is their neighborhood relations. Therefore, attention for analysis is directed to the functions of neighborhoods in respect to their family members and families' reactions to them.

Are neighborhoods reference groups, sources of determining values and of personal security for their member families? Are they communication channels? Are they isolating influences or connecting links with the larger society of which they are a part? And are they meaningful in personal terms to their members? Not all of these questions can be answered, but they did serve as useful references for the studies to be reviewed. And, if neighborhoods are to have a persisting place in rural society as

the previous chapters suggest, then it is important to understand their importance to families. Neighborhoods as influencing factors were considered in three different ways: first, in terms of participation, how families interact with each other in neighborhood situations; second, in terms of conceptions, how families recognize such groupings; third, in terms of personal response—how do families react to neighborhoods, what do neighborhoods mean to them? Are there significant differences between those families which are members of active neighborhoods so designated in the previous chapters, and those families which are not? Theoretically there should be.

This approach is in the direction of examining the thus far untested assumption that neighborhood groups are “primary” in the sense in which Professor Cooley used the term, meaning that they are primary, or important, chiefly in that “they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual.”¹ As examples of primary groups, although not the only ones, he cited the family, the play group of children, and the neighborhood or community group of elders. In no circumstance did he use primary as the beginning of a continuum followed by secondary, tertiary, and so on, nor did he refer to secondary as meaning impersonal in contrast to personal. All too frequently the term has been used only in reference to personal or intimate forms of association.

With this emphasis upon the families, the hypothesis for the analysis was that neighborhood membership does influence family activities, conceptions, and personal responses, especially as related to particular features of neighborhood life. This is regarded as a preliminary step and should lead to other research regarding differences among neighborhood families and even among members of families as individuals.

The plan or model for the studies included the use of a 15 per cent random sample, 731 families, representing all families living in the unincorporated and unplatted areas of Dane County, Wisconsin, in 1950–51.² It was possible by the use of plat books, as described earlier, to separate neighborhood from non-neighborhood families. Approximately half of the families in the sample were in designated neighborhoods so that associa-

tions between membership and various factors could be compared. With minor exceptions, all of the families in the sample were visited and interviewed regarding their family contacts with other families, their participation in various local activities, how they regarded the locality in which they lived, whether or not they belonged to a neighborhood group, how they recognized it, in what terms, and what their family contributed to and received from these neighborhood relations, if they did identify themselves with one.

Family participation and neighborhood membership

How do families interact with one another in neighborhood situations? Are neighborhood families characterized by a greater degree of personalized and localized contacts than non-neighborhood families? The particular forms of participation selected for study in attempting to answer these questions were those generally assumed to be related with families in neighborhoods, and those forms found to be important in the earlier studies. Certain limitations were necessary, since only those activities which occurred locally could be included. For example, participating in church societies in the city of Madison could not be considered. Local was defined as taking place within a five-mile limit, that being the widest distance across the active neighborhood boundaries. If such activities as visiting took place any farther than five miles from a family's home, they were not included, since it would not be within the neighborhood assumption.³

Eighteen kinds of activities were finally chosen. Of these, thirteen were found to be significantly and positively associated with neighborhood membership:

Activities Associated with Neighborhood Membership

1. Church attendance
2. Grocery purchases
3. School-related organizations
4. Church-related organizations
5. Ball game attendance
6. Picnic participation
7. Parties attended

8. Families visited
9. School plays attended
10. Service centers patronized
11. Visiting with nonrelatives
12. Open-country and hamlet organizations
13. Number of local organizations

Activities Not Associated with Neighborhood Membership

1. Mutual assistance
2. Attendance at dances
3. Nonchurch and nonschool organizations
4. Families in work exchange
5. Nonlocal organizations

A general participation index

A general and unweighted index was made from the items found to be significantly related with neighborhood membership, and this index provided a single figure or score by which to test the relationship between interfamily participation and neighborhood membership. The families could be distributed into two classes with respect to neighborhoods—those “in” and those “out.” The scores and results of this test are included in the note.⁴ There were important differences. While the amount of association was relatively low, there was clear evidence of a significant relation between neighborhood membership and social participation. Differences in distribution were consistent, and the tendency was for families in neighborhoods to have higher scores than those outside.

Questions arose, of course, as to whether other factors were involved in the relationship. Thirteen items were considered, and all but four were found to be significantly associated with participation. The direction of the association for these nine items is of special interest and can be summarized briefly. Families having one or more children in grade or high school had higher scores than families without such children. Among farmers, renters had higher scores than owners, but among non-farmers the reverse was the case. Members of Reformed, Lutheran, and Methodist churches had higher scores than those of Catholic and other churches. Families living on farms of 80

to 159 acres were more active than families on larger or smaller farms. Families having lived in the locality for ten or more years were more active than those with shorter residence. Families of three to six members had higher scores than other families.

The four items not significantly related with participation were nonfarm occupations, age of the head of the household, nationality, and size of place where nonfarm family heads were employed.

The effect of any intervening factors in the relationship was tested by partial association, and the only one tending to limit the association was religious affiliation. However, the influence was very slight, and since the number of cases was relatively small, it need not influence the final conclusion.

More refined participation scores

The method of factor analysis was used and a more refined index was devised which provided weights when combining the different items into participation scores. Scores were assigned to each family, thus reflecting the amount of participation and also discriminating more definitely between neighborhood members and nonmembers. By this means a greater tendency than appeared in the general index was found for families in neighborhoods to have higher scores than other families. The degree of association was also raised, indicating a substantial relationship between neighborhood membership and interfamily participation. If proportions were used, it could be said that as a result of living in a neighborhood, a family would be twice as likely to have a participation score of 100 or more, and about three times as unlikely to have a score of less than 100, as would a non-neighborhood family.

The results do indicate a significant relationship between neighborhood membership and social participation for those families included in the study. An important implication can be drawn that neighborhoods, at least in these situations, play a significant part in promoting those values and norms related with local schools, churches, stores, and numerous social activities and in influencing those families associated with them.

The foregoing analysis might seem to have labored the obvious—active neighborhoods carry on activities. On the contrary, it is considered worthwhile at this stage in the study of family group relations in rural society to establish the evidence that in some situations some characteristic contacts do distinguish neighborhood families from other families, and this in the midst of changes in agriculture and rural life.

Families' conceptions of neighborhoods

How do families recognize neighborhoods? Does membership in active neighborhoods influence the ways in which families conceive of themselves as belonging to such groups? It was not expected that so many families, both in and out of neighborhoods (actually 90 per cent), would regard themselves as somehow related to a neighborhood of some kind. Many differing conceptions regarding such relations were expressed, some quite abstract but many concrete and colloquial. Some gave more than a single conception. The concrete answers were likely to appear when the interview led to questions concerning which families belonged, and especially which did not belong, to their neighborhood group. There was a consistency in the replies, so a classification could be made.⁵

A four-category descriptive classification

A classification was arranged in sufficiently abstract terms to include practically all of the responses. It cannot be claimed that the categories are entirely clear-cut or entirely without some overlapping and ambivalence, but they did prove useful for comparisons at the descriptive level and for some statistical analysis. They follow a kind of order in terms of the formality of association, from informal and accidental to formal and organized.

Proximate area.—These conceptions indicated identification on the basis of simple proximity or propinquity—those who just live nearby. Replies included “farms bordering ours” or “families whose land touches ours.” They are rather narrow and impersonal conceptions, with emphasis upon locality and

almost an incidental regard for the families that happen to live there.

Unorganized social group.—Here the conceptions were in terms of families with which there was some personal interaction, often quite informal and casual. "We know these families"; "these people are people we know by name and say 'hello' to"; or "we hear more about them than others." Attention is focused on a recognized group of persons with whom there is at least some familiarity, locality being implicit.

Informal association group.—Identification was in terms of action, visiting, exchanging work, helping one another, the accent being clearly on activity and joint behavior. Particular families were named because "we visit regularly"; "we work together"; "we neighbor a lot"; or "we talk things over." In these cases it was "we," not "they." The implication is interaction of a personal nature. The group actually existed in the minds of those who responded, and in some instances there were overtones of high personal value, an ideal, something to treasure.

Institutionally centered group.—Associations were described in terms of one or more local institutions or formal organizations. The reasons given for inclusion or exclusion of families were, "they all live in the school district"; "they take milk to one factory"; or "they belong to the club or society." The emphasis was somewhat less personal than in the previous category but the criteria were more definitely felt in terms of actual membership or an established association. The institution became an organizing symbol for the identification, the belonging, even when the actual association was absent, as in the case of the closed school, the empty church, or the abandoned cheese factory.

Thus the concept, neighborhood, did have some meaning for most of the sample families in the country areas of the county. The expressed conceptions ran the gamut from indefinite locality or irregular association to highly personal and structured or institutional relationships. The next point of interest was to find what family characteristics, if any, were associated with the four categories of conceptions. The simple summary tabulated below gives the results in brief.

<i>Conceptions of neighborhood</i>	<i>School-related organization</i>	<i>Social participation score</i>	<i>Families' estimate of neighborhood</i>	<i>Families' contribution to neighborhood</i>
Proximate area	negative	low	"inactive"	"nothing"
Unorganized social group	negative	low	*	*
Informal association group	*	high	"active"	*
Institutionally centered group	positive	high	*	"something"

* indicates no association

Membership in school-related organizations proved to be significantly related with the conceptions of neighborhoods. The relation was negative with the first two categories, proximate area and unorganized group, but positive with the last one, institutionally centered group. This result could have been anticipated but so might membership in church-related organizations. However, this latter did not prove to have such a relationship. Explanations may be varied and perhaps not conclusive. For example, elementary schools are nearly omnipresent in rural localities, while churches are not. School organization boundaries are recognized legal districts and include all of the local area and all families, but church parishes are not such recognized districts, although they may be so considered for planning purposes by certain church administrative bodies. Furthermore, as suggested in the preceding chapter, religious contacts are less important in neighborhood relations and less localized than formerly.

Social participation scores for the families and the conceptions of neighborhood held were also found to be significantly related, as the above summary shows. Among those families that considered neighborhoods as simply proximity or as an unorganized social group, only about one-third had "high" participation scores, while nearly half of those with conceptions of informal association and institutionally centered groups were in the "high" bracket. Thus the scale of participation did correlate with conceptions in that high scores were related with

formal and institutional association and low scores with the informal and casual.

There were the questions of how families rated their neighborhoods, whether active or inactive, and what contributions, if any, they had made to them. More of those families in the informal association category than in the others declared their neighborhoods were active. Those in the proximity class considered theirs inactive. This result gives some support to the classification and also to the "active" designation of neighborhoods, since the responses were in expected directions. Those in the institutionally centered category felt they had contributed "something" to their neighborhoods—that is, significantly more claimed to have done so than held other conceptions. Families in the unorganized group category, more frequently than the others, said they had given "nothing"; their neighborhoods, even if recognized, did not have much meaning to them.

Do families "in" and "out" of neighborhoods consider them differently?

Do the conceptions expressed by those families that are members of active neighborhoods differ from the expressions of those that are not? Comparisons were made of the entire classification, then of each category separately, but no really significant differences appeared. However, there was a tendency for those outside the designated neighborhoods to consider neighborhoods principally as unorganized groups.

Lack of distinguishing differences in the conceptions expressed by those families inside designated neighborhoods and those outside should not be too surprising. Most rural families have had some experience in neighborhood relations, either directly or indirectly, at some time, and as was noted, a large majority of the sample families claimed, when interviewed, to have some neighborhood connections, even though many were rather indefinite. Moreover, as suggested in the first chapter, it was generally agreed that country families did have neighbors; it was only respectable that they should.

At every turn of the study it was evident that not all families were equally involved all of the time, even though continuously

resident in neighborhoods designated as active by virtue of the interrelations of their members. This was clearly shown by the real differences in participation scores when they were related to length of residence, size of farm and family, and tenure status. Therefore the idea of participation was given more attention. It might even be supposed that place of leadership or position of power in a group would make a difference in the expression of conceptions. This supposition could not be tested, but, as indicated, those families with greater participation in local activities did have more formalized conceptions of their neighborhood relations than did the lesser participants.

The detailed analysis also suggested, although it was not conclusive because of the limited number of cases, that among higher participants there was a tendency for neighborhood members to consider their neighborhoods as informal association groups more often than did the high participants among non-member families. Likewise, there were significant differences in the lower score brackets, since the lesser participants among nonmembers considered their neighborhoods as unorganized groups more frequently than did the lesser participants among member families.

A conclusion may be that for certain comparative and predictive purposes this factor of participation is more important than simply neighborhood membership alone. This would seem to be in accord with results in some studies of communication contacts related to perceptions of communities as well as with some studies in group dynamics where factors of individual status and roles and of group goals were often more useful for comparisons than were only membership or nonmembership in specified groups.⁶

Personal reactions of families to neighborhood situations

How do families react to their neighborhoods in personal terms? To answer this question, further analysis was made of a portion of the interviews of the sample families.⁷ The purpose was to explore more fully into what differences, if any, might distinguish member from nonmember families of active neigh-

borhoods in terms of their personal responses. Were the neighborhoods described by family interactions actually and personally meaningful to their members? What symbols did they use to identify them, and what meanings did they attribute to them?

Symbols of identification

The first series of tests was therefore designed to determine whether members of the active neighborhoods were more likely than nonmembers to be specific in the designation of their neighborhoods, both in terms of locality or geography and in identifying names. Significant differences were found on both counts. Qualifications must be made, however, since only 38 per cent of the active neighborhood members located their neighborhoods within the boundaries drawn by the field-work methods described earlier, and while 37 per cent gave an identifying name, only half of these names were the same as those used by the researchers as a result of their field contacts. Apparently names were not as important or as dependable in identifying neighborhood relations as they were at the time of the early studies.

Attributes of meaning

The second series attempted to test the hypothesis that member families of the active neighborhoods would be more likely than nonmembers to attribute a social significance or meaning to their neighborhood relations, that is, in such terms as personal associations with other families. And conversely, the assumption was that nonmembers, more than members of active neighborhoods, would reply in terms of themselves or indicate no significance at all to their neighborhood relations. Typical of such responses were, "neighbors? oh, those within a mile of my farm," or "people I know by name," or "yes, but they have no particular importance to us." However, no significant differences between member and nonmember families were indicated.

Rather than stop here, questions were raised again, what about other influences, could this lack of significant relation-

ships be explained by the presence of some overriding factor, some intervening variable, as the analyst phrases it? Could the participation factor be significant in this instance also? It proved to be. When all families in the special sample were considered, the higher participants attributed greater social significance to their personal relations with neighborhoods than did the lower participants. Similarly, the lower participants were more likely than the higher to give a self or individual reference or not to attribute any importance to their neighborhoods.⁸ The differences in these personally expressed relations were also suggestive when only the families in the active neighborhoods were considered.⁹

The tentative conclusion in regard to the importance of taking participation into account along with membership identification can be expanded to the point of suggesting that factors influencing families' responses and personal reactions to neighborhood situations are multiple rather than singular; they are often most effective in their discrimination when treated in combination. Possible implications of such conclusions are considered in the next section.

Some implications and possible projections

The foregoing exploratory studies suggest that neighborhoods were important to their family members, at least in those situations which were examined, and that their influences found expression in actions and in attitudes. The significant factor in such reactions was social participation, especially when it was considered in its relation with such other factors as expressed conceptions and personal responses. This is as far as the analysis could be pushed toward the goal of testing the assumption that neighborhoods are primary in the sense of influencing the social nature of people. However, some presumptions were established, especially if the results of other studies can be mustered as supporting evidence. In many situations studied in New York State, participation was found to follow family patterns in which most members shared, the mother often setting the standard. There were also group expectations regarding participation which acted as motivating forces for families.¹⁰ Group

participation through various personal contacts was shown in another study to be significantly related with personality adjustment among certain adolescents; a feeling of confidence was gained by their group participation.¹¹

Various implications can, of course, flow from such lines of thought if granted any degree of freedom. Perhaps three can be considered briefly with relative profit: some practical functions of neighborhoods in respect to families; some inferences regarding the uneven response of family members to neighborhood situations—intraneighborhood influences; and some differences among neighborhoods—interneighborhood relations.

Functions neighborhoods can perform

The implication can be fairly drawn from the results presented, that some neighborhoods are reference groups for their families in regard to those values and norms closely associated with local institutions and organizations such as schools, churches, stores, taverns, and their related activities. This reinforces previous interpretations. It has importance for certain kinds of communication contacts. For example, in other studies it was shown that neighborhoods as such were not important in the spreading of specific information about some new farm practices, but when it came to evaluating such changes and considering how they might affect relations with others, then local friends, neighbors, and other personal contacts were determinative.

Evidently local primary group contacts are capable of double action—of implementing innovations of certain character and of protecting members from precipitate change when established modes are challenged. In some situations neighborhoods and kinship ties were negatively related to acceptance of change, the stronger the ties, the less the readiness to try the new.¹² This localizing influence of neighborhoods has been noted elsewhere.¹³ Likewise, the influences of small, primary groups in decision-making and role-playing, including economic behavior, have very wide implications, theoretical and practical, too wide for further discussion here, but they are important to those interested in this area of study and action.¹⁴

Influences of primary group contacts have also had recognition in various nonrural areas of research. One recent study in an urban situation concludes that the family and economic characteristics of a neighborhood may greatly influence the informal social relations of city residents.¹⁵

That neighborhoods are potential channels for contacts with the larger society is also suggested by the studies reviewed. This function relates especially to institutional and agency channels. The local importance of these formalized associations has been demonstrated, yet, these social institutions and their personnel are not local alone; they are also of the general society, some county, some state, or some even nationwide in organization. District school teachers, church parish pastors, county agricultural representatives, storekeepers, tavern keepers, together with their "outside" connections, form a great nexus of social relationships. These channels are a two-way road, to and from the local groups—to the neighborhood through representatives, regulations, and accounts of agency headquarters (including wholesale houses and their traveling salesmen, markets and their buyers), and from the neighborhood by delegations to school conventions, church conferences, businessmen's meetings, political party rallies, and county, state, or national organizations.

In the case of Marxville.—School teachers were the first to infiltrate the neighborhood, which in earlier days was predominantly German and Lutheran. Many teachers were of different nationality backgrounds. Some came from the nearby village of Mazomanie and the Dunlap Hollow and Halfway Prairie neighborhoods to the west; all of these centers were part of an immigration and settlement plan of a British temperance society. There were times when the German beer and the English abstention norms were in open conflict, but gradually some German families moved out and some English families moved in. More important, some sons of German farmers married the English or "Yankee" school teachers and set up farming on their own. These wives were soon teaching in the church school on Sundays and attending training sessions at county and even state levels. A new church pastor from another

conference was called, and in due time the English language superseded the German, and the congregation voted to change its synodical affiliation.

Later, Marxville's church and store and tavern representatives reached an accord. Store and tavern closed during the period of Sunday morning church services; store and tavern keeper and church pastor went together to meetings outside the neighborhood. More of its youth attended high school at the town-country community center, Mazomanie. Two teachers of English background, the Seston sisters, retired and resident in the neighborhood, joined the church some years ago after attending the pastor's adult class. In reply to being questioned about their traditional loyalties, they stoutly declared that this was an American Lutheran church, which it is in name and in fact. Other Marxvilles everywhere were and are interrelated with their societies—on the receiving end and the sending end of the relationship.

Variations in internal relations

Traditionally, neighborhoods were expected to be homogeneous, self-contained, and their members "like-minded." This can no longer be considered a complete characterization, if indeed it ever could. It is true that the dimension of identification with a group carries the implication of its counterpart, the differentiation from others. There may be a variety of family responses within groups without the necessity for complete conformity. This principle would seem to have been well established by the results of these and other studies. Its corollary can be that through combinations of influences, both internal and external, neighborhood families are variegated in some ways but united in other common attitudes and actions. Their diversities may even be one source of their strength and unity. Implications in these regards are also far flung. A brief discussion of some trends may point the way.

There was the tendency, for example, for some rural neighborhoods to become more institutionally centered than formerly, and for the larger ones to persist as active groups more frequently than the smaller ones. These tendencies were associated

with the trend for such contacts as family visiting, exchange of work, and mutual aid or sociability, so often associated with neighborhoods in research results and in public discussion, to form patterns independent of neighborhood lines, both across and within such boundaries. It was also observed, although no systematic study was made, that many rural youth groups form on the basis of friendships, acquaintances, and social contacts, quite irrespective of neighborhoods. However, some youth groups were encountered which did maintain neighborhood ties, even when meeting in other localities, at such functions as parties or dances in public places.

Recent investigations in one of the states where the early neighborhood studies were made point to an interesting discrimination between neighborhoods and neighbor groups, the implication being that neighbor families join together on a mutually selective basis, somewhat regardless of immediate locality, for certain action purposes, such as conservation practices.¹⁶ A somewhat similar trend for families to disregard contiguous boundaries in their identification with neighborhoods is shown on the maps of Dane County for 1950-51. This was described in the discussion of the locality dimension of such groups.

Implications related to trends soon project themselves into questions. Certainly present-day rural neighborhoods are not the all-inclusive, closed systems of family reference they were sometimes supposed to have been but perhaps actually were not. Does this mean they are a vanishing variety of groups? Not necessarily, groups within groups do not need to be disruptive, as studies in nonrural situations have indicated and as illustrations such as the Ashton neighborhood case and the Buckeye neighborhood in the Stoughton community show.¹⁷ Neighborhoods have a place among other groups, as described in the previous chapter; they may become mutually strengthening to other groups and help to create an order of interdependence which is the central theme of this review.

Family differences in behavior and response within neighborhoods have been indicated, but what are the toleration points in this regard? How much conformity is required for cohesiveness and for continuity? Continuity is a group dimension which

has received too little attention in research procedures. The very concept, group, implies a continuing, an enduring scheme of relations which reaches beyond a point in time, and beyond a particular set of individuals. What are the ingredients and instruments essential to transcend the life span of individual families? Some are wont to express them in an emotional framework; others depend on formalized and institutionalized processes. This review has little to contribute except to provide illustrations and cases and to indicate some variables associated with neighborhood persistence. Reference has been made to the Norwegian Valley neighborhood, in contrast to German Valley. In the former, various group accommodations were made, thus encouraging immigration and continuity, while in the latter, old customs were enforced and youth went out to find mates and did not return, thus leading to group disintegration. In some cases near the expanding metropolitan area of the city of Madison, neighborhood contacts were systematically and deliberately fostered when nonfarm families joined farm families; in others the engulfing movement swept neighborhood contacts away—adjustments could not be made.

In the case of Fish Hatchery neighborhood.—Very often both internal and external influences converge to determine group continuity or demise. In 1941, for example, many farm families, then in the majority, of this open-country neighborhood were moving into the older age cycle. Few children were in the local school; social contacts were confined to a few quiet card parties and a mothers' club; previously active threshing and work-exchange rings were passing out of existence. By 1950–51, fifteen new families, all with new houses, and all nonfarm, averaging five children per family, had moved into the locality. The older farm families had been replaced by younger ones, having about the same number of children as the nonfarm. The school quickly became the focal point of concern; furnace room, kitchen, and play room were added to the building; educational and social programs were revamped; seventh and eighth graders were transported to Madison schools; local social activities were expanded to include the men of all families; the mothers' club was enlivened; a square dance club and a 4-H Club were or-

ganized. By contrast, the Fitchburg country neighborhood nearby had many of the traditional trappings associated with active neighborhoods—store, school, church, and post office (more recently closed)—but lacked group vitality and the determination of its members to survive.

Finally, the factor of selective mobility is an uncontrolled variable in the studies reported here, a factor which makes difficult any comparisons with, for example, small group studies, where members are captive and where the group itself is isolated from society's long-time influences. In persisting neighborhoods do the deviates move out? How do the residual legatees differ from those who have gone? The reply must be, quoting from closing paragraphs of many doctoral theses: "More research required."

Differences among neighborhoods

The restudy of neighborhoods in Dane County in 1940–41 did, through a sampling procedure of neighborhoods active at that time, make comparisons with neighborhoods previously active, using items present at the last time they were so considered. The results were described in the analysis of persistence and included characteristically combined personal contacts and such impersonal factors as family mobility, farm tenure, and degree of homogeneity of nationality backgrounds. However, those comparisons were considered more as predictive of neighborhood persistence or continuity than they were indicative of difference among the currently active neighborhoods.

Comparisons among neighborhoods could not be made on the basis of the detailed study of the sample families. It would have been most interesting to have arrayed the active neighborhoods in terms of family participation scores, or as to how they were rated as having social or self-significance, but alas it was the families and not the neighborhoods which were sampled.

There have been comparative studies of differences among neighborhoods in this and in other states. Some examples can be cited but not reviewed in detail.¹⁸ In a Wisconsin study comparisons were made between neighborhoods, delineated mainly by school districts. The neighborhoods were defined as homo-

geneous when the majority of families were of one nationality and belonged to one religious group and as heterogeneous when the families were of mixed nationality backgrounds and were members of two or more religious organizations. Significant differences were found among the nineteen paired groups. Among the heterogeneous neighborhoods there were more favorable responses to educational goals, to school practices considered essential by educational authorities, and to improved farming practices. Families in these neighborhoods had higher socioeconomic status scores, their members participated in more agricultural and school-related organizations, attended more meetings, and held more offices. Those in the homogeneous groups participated to a greater extent in church-related and social organizations and exhibited greater neighborhood and family strengths as measured by specially devised scales.¹⁹

The ethnic factor combined with the religious composition of neighborhoods in this state has received a good deal of attention and study. In some studies it was discovered to be significantly related with school attendance and with farming practices.²⁰ However, in more recent and more detailed analysis, it was found to be interrelated with other factors, such as educational experiences of group members. As in the study of family responses to neighborhoods participation was shown to be an intervening variable, so in the evaluation of differences among groups because of ethnic-religious factors levels of education need to be considered.²¹ The implication is obvious—group arrangements do not yield to simple, single comparisons or explanations; they are complex, calling for more and more careful and complete studies.

Communities—Some Earlier Problems and Emerging Town-Country Patterns

Another form of community group is the emerging village-country or town-country community. Since the early Walworth County study is such a landmark in this area, it will be considered in some detail against a problems background and within its time and place reference. Included also is a review of two transition types of studies pointing toward practical applications as well as leading to restudies of changing community relations which indicated a growing trend toward intercommunity dependencies.

Early problem backgrounds

Historically, rural society in the Middle West was oriented to two types of group arrangements, as outlined in the first chapter, namely country neighborhoods and village or town centers. Each achieved a degree of unity and independence that could not be maintained when means for communication and technology advanced apace. Many problems arose in this reorientation, problems which highlight the studies of these shifting group relations.

*Farmers and their neighborhoods
endangered by excessive ruralism*

The problems which engaged Dr. Galpin's attention as he began his work at the University were none too well recognized at the time. They were largely unnoticed and unvoiced by students of general society, much less by those concerned with problems of technical agriculture.

In essence, the farmer was considered a man without a general community; he was regarded as the man with the hoe. The social impact of science and machines was still around his corner. However, transition of the hoe-farmer to the machine-farmer was in prospect. "If science captures farming, then complexity will enter the scene and pose its many problems." The hoe-farmer was characterized by his emphasis upon brawn instead of brain power, by individualism instead of coöperation, by conservatism instead of future policy making, and by a "ruralism" which restricted his outlook and his contacts. Ruralism, if carried to its conclusion, would "erect a rural society of the members of a single occupation which would develop its own culture and civilization." This would constitute a major catastrophe. Even contacts in the early country neighborhoods were often restrictive; country schools were isolated from the general education system, and all this tended toward an inbreeding of ideas.

The central problem for the farmer was therefore his limited freedom of association with other people and of encounters with other minds. Its solution was "human contacts, more human contacts, and still more human contacts." The questions were how shall the farmer be enriched in thought and attitude by wider and more varied experiences, how shall the farm woman come into closer touch with other types of women, "how can she meet the banker's wife as freely as the farmer must meet the banker"; in brief, how can the farm family extend its personal relations into its surrounding and expanding society? ¹

Country Life Commission also concerned with human interests.—This theme was soon to be heard, and in public places. The Commission on Country Life, appointed in 1908 by Presi-

dent Theodore Roosevelt, declared, "the underlying problem is to develop and maintain on our farms a civilization in full harmony with best American ideals." In his letter appointing members to the Commission, Mr. Roosevelt wrote that farmers hitherto had less than their full share of public attention along the lines of business and social affairs, and then came the phrase which was widely publicized in rural life circles, "The great rural interests are human interests and good crops are of little value to the farmer unless they open the door to a good kind of life on the farm." ²

The Irish publicist, Sir Horace Plunkett, who helped inspire the appointment of the Commission, was quick to point out weak spots in America's rural economy and to suggest a slogan which soon gained wide currency: "Better farming, better business, better living." ³

The Commission, in its report made after public hearings in many parts of the country, stressed the need for more and better institutions dealing with coöperation, health, education, religion, and recreation, but it remained for Dr. Galpin to knit the threads together into a community scheme of comprehensive and related contacts and to formulate a hypothesis which could be tested. He was also to continue the emphasis that the great resources in agriculture are its human resources.⁴ It is not accidental that this stress on the human factor became closely associated with the conservation movement in this country. Problems of soil erosion, water drainage, forest protection, and fire prevention were soon recognized to involve people as well as the physical elements of the landscape. "It's not the land but the man on the land which causes the real problems." But the farmer was not alone in his problems; villagers and townspeople were soon implicated in the enlarging web of social and economic relations.

Village's isolated position counterpart of country problem

The achievement of unity by villages and towns through their own incorporation and hence separation from their country townships, described in the first chapter, while a boon at the time, proved later to be a decided handicap to their larger com-

munity development. The provisions for this legal incorporation and the separate system of municipal government with taxing powers gave a sense of self-sufficiency to these population aggregates. Their homes, places of business and employment, and their social institutions were concentrated within an easily recognized locality. Their people knew each other personally, mingled together daily, and were interdependent socially and economically, even though often not as homogeneous in background and tradition as the farm families in the outlying country neighborhoods.

The farmer and members of his family, while in most cases the earlier settlers in the area, seemed a long way away from these centers, in physical distance as well as in mutual interests. To be sure, they were often seen on the village streets, in the stores, taverns, banks, blacksmith shops, stockyards, and freight houses, but not in the schools, churches, libraries, or playgrounds. To the village tradespeople the farmer was a necessity—"he was the goose that lays the golden eggs."

The outlying farm population is seldom massed. Its members come to town . . . do their business without a resting place of their own, stand on other people's streets, in other people's shops, and over other people's counters. . . . In the village they are aliens, but aliens with a possible title to be conciliated. The embarrassment is on both sides. The farmer pays in so much in trade he feels he ought to have consideration; he pays so little directly toward the institutions that the village considers his rights are not compelling. . . . Perplexity . . . obscure[s] the whole relationship . . . ; and the universal process of legalized insulation of village and city away from the farm . . . has grown up undisputed, with scarcely a hint of abnormality. . . .⁵

How different, it was emphasized, from situations in the early English village, the German agricultural dorf, the New England town, and the Mormon village.⁶

Town and country interdependence recognized.—This background of the division between village or town and country which jelled into institutional forms aggravated the problem of community integration so essential to both sides of the fraction. That town and village centers depend upon the land and upon

the people in surrounding agricultural regions is now such a commonplace that the difficulties in creating a greater concert of action between them are often overlooked.

The separated institutions of village centers and of country neighborhoods soon faced the necessity for some kind of mutual recognition. Gradually more farm boys and girls entered the village or town high schools. Questions arose—could they enter on equal terms with the village boys and girls, who were under another school administration? There were state constitutional limitations upon borrowing and bonding, and the surrounding farms lay outside the legal districts and therefore could not be taxed directly. Farmers paid tuition through their town (township) assessments, later equalized on a county basis, but at first the tuition covered only costs of instruction; later, capital costs could be included. In no instance did farmers living beyond legal limits have any voice or any responsibility in determining the policies of the schools. It was soon recognized by village and town leaders that other farm contacts, such as merchandising, marketing, banking, were related with the school contacts. In this situation the farmer was the freer; he could make his choice among several centers. Villagers and townsmen were caught within their own net of isolation. They were the ones who must now offer food for the goose and add sauce for the gander.

Emerging town-country pattern:
the early Walworth County study

This early study of village or town and country relations was projected into this arena of perplexing problems and conflicting attitudes. The time was the early years of the second decade of the century. The urgency of some of those problems is difficult to understand when conditions have so changed, when science and technology have taken over agriculture, both on its farms and in its homes. Nevertheless, some of the fundamental and opposing elements of those problems remain unreconciled.

Now, past mid-century, nearly forty years later, the study must be regarded as a major discovery in the field of the rural social sciences. It was so considered even in its own time. Dean Russell of the College of Agriculture, under whose auspices the

project was undertaken, himself a top-ranking physical scientist, wrote, "Professor Galpin has been fortunate in opening a fresh vein of thought that bids fair to be a mine of increasing richness in that it offers a pertinent and tangible foundation for the molding of rural life, not on a basis of separate development where the city and the country are unrelated to each other, but where the two forms of expression are mutually dependent on each other." ⁷

Selection of area for study

Walworth County was chosen because of previous personal contacts and because it gave promise of being a good place for testing the hypothesis gained through experiences in the academy at Belleville, New York. No state could have been better than New York State from which to project a problem for study in Wisconsin. This county was not and is not typical of the state, no county can be, but at each time of study and restudy it did represent very well many other counties in its general region. In the last restudy, for example, it was typical of an increasing area within the industrial watershed of Lake Michigan and of rural territory bordering large urban and suburban areas. It was one of eight counties which gained as much as 16 per cent or more in population for the decade 1940 to 1950, while the state as a whole increased only 9 per cent. The gains were largely rural nonfarm people, to the extent that in some counties they exceeded the farm population.

Problem and hypothesis

Is there such a thing as a rural community? If so, what are its characteristics? Suppose that you are on the summit of Blue Mounds, Wisconsin, overlooking the great stretch of dairy country to the east, south, and west. Farm industrial plants, each with its close-set home, embroidered with trees, form distinct patches over the landscape. But at distant intervals much larger patches appear. You say, "There is the village of Blue Mounds; yonder is the village of Mount Horeb; over there is Barneveld." What is the relation of these villages to those farm plants? Are the village communities by themselves? Can you treat them socially as complete units? How are they related to one another? What is the real meaning of these picturesque human clusters? ⁸

Naturally Dr. Galpin resorted to his previous observations in New York State that trade was associated with other contacts in the formation of community relations, so he decided to test the hypothesis in Walworth County, Wisconsin. He had driven over the area in 1904 in the interests of a new dairy plant, and on reflection became convinced that his hypothesis would hold here—at least he would “give it a try.”

The trade area idea.—

The growth of the “trade area” idea, so far as I see it now, was something like this: Belleville, a country village of 500 population, was a center of store trade since 1815. Farmers were constantly coming to town to buy and sell. In 1828, when the farmers established an academy—they wanted a convenient place for it. What was more natural than the place their roads led to, and to which they constantly drove? In 1870, when they established a Grange, what more natural than to have it head where they traded, schooled their high school children? In 1880, when they established a co-operative creamery (largest then in U.S., I believe) what more natural than to place this also in Belleville? I observed the magnetic relation to trade, barter, buying, selling. I came to believe that trade was a primal relationship which determined many other relationships. Naturally the spatial element came to the fore, as the large majority of social contacts of the farmers radiated to one center.⁹

The clue that the universal relation of trade could contribute to an understanding of the structure and “anatomy” of communities in rural society was given extensive exploration.¹⁰ In America, the explanation was: business is a basic principle of the village and small city. Business—trade and manufacture, dealing with material goods, and in the so-called professional lines of invention and exchange, dealing with mental and spiritual goods—seeking a profit and a livelihood with a surplus, which could be turned into a rising standard of living; business was the genius drawing people into clusters of enterprise.

The idea of trade, not as an end but as a means of recognizing a complex of contact relations, is the crux to an understanding of the hypothesis and of the meaning of the study itself. Other human associations were clustered in the trade centers, such as societies, clubs, leagues, orders, churches, and, covering the fields of sociability, health, play, art, publicity, and religion. The

merchant, banker, doctor, and farmer were pressed into these other services, contributing out of their surpluses of time, money, and energy. The interrelations of village and country in these associations had been studied previously in the community of Belleville, New York, and will be described in a later chapter. In Wisconsin, while the farmer contributed at least his half, he was not able under the early situation of mutual isolation to lay claim to his share, but he was soon to be more completely involved. Likewise, while it was recognized that both farm and townspeople can and do frequent cities and other town centers, yet on balance, the conclusion was that the farmer's business center receives the greater part of his trade even as it does of the resident townsman's trade, and that a fairly conscious sense of loyalty toward this business center exists with both farmer and townsman.

This then is the conceptual framework of the study. The trade zone was utilized for identifying the community, but it was a derived measure, not a single index, made by merging the dry-goods and grocery zones, which nearly coincided. With this in mind, the hypothesis and its confirmation should be clear—"the trade zone about one of these rather complete agricultural civic centers forms the boundary of an actual, if not legal, community, within which the apparent entanglement of human life is resolved into a fairly unitary system of interrelatedness."¹¹

The method of study

A survey schedule was used and titled "Experiment in Rural Community Social Zones." In addition to identification items of name of village, name of farmer, his location in section and township, there were spaces to indicate where each family went for eight services: banking, dry goods, groceries, milk to village factory, high school in village, church in village, village paper, village library. Twelve centers were studied. Their population for census periods nearest the times of the study and the re-studies are given in the note.¹² By character of legal description, four centers were incorporated cities ("still fundamentally agricultural and of village type"): Delavan, Elkhorn, Lake Geneva,

and Whitewater; five were incorporated villages: Darien, East Troy, Genoa Junction, Sharon, and Walworth; two were small villages, not incorporated: Lyons and Honey Creek; and one a hamlet neighborhood center: Millard. The latter was selected from among other such centers because of accessibility and its typical character for comparative purposes.

A card catalogue was made with the name of each farm family in the county typed on a schedule and keyed by number to location on a county map. With this package of cards and a copy of the map, visits were made in the centers to merchants, bankers, editors, clergymen, high school principals, librarians, and milk factory managers. In each case they were asked to designate from their records, not from memories, those families regularly identified with their institutions. Assistance in making the visits was given by teachers, clergymen, bankers, and librarians. The survey began in Delavan in August, 1911, and was finished in Whitewater in July, 1913.

Maps presented vivid pictures of relationships.—The maps were drawn by use of a cardboard placed under a copy of the county map. Each farm home banking, for example, at Elkhorn was marked and a pin stuck in the spot. A thread was run around the outside of the pins enclosing the least amount of territory, then traced to indicate the boundary. Such maps were prepared for each center and each service. The county maps used for these purposes were approximately four feet square and included the sixteen townships. There were overlapping areas on some maps, indicating that families frequented more than one center; these areas were colored or crosshatched. There were also open or blank spaces in which the families were not identified with a center in question or they went to centers outside the county. Each community was given a distinctive color, and seals were placed on the maps to indicate family locations. In the bulletin report the service areas were blackened, the overlap indicated by the crosshatching, and the open spaces left white. This presented striking pictures, as shown by Figures 5 and 6, which may be one explanation for an overemphasis given in some quarters to the locality dimension of the group relations.

The findings in terms of zones of influence

Zones were graphically presented by the series of maps. There were 12 trade, milk factory, and church zones; 11 banking zones (Millard, the hamlet, fell out); 9 four-year high school zones, one year in Honey Creek, none in Lyons or Millard; 7 local newspaper zones; and only 4 library zones—those around the cities of Delavan, Elkhorn, Lake Geneva, and White-water.

Trade and banking zones.—These two zones more than the others, tended to cover most of the area of the county, with the exception of the territory near the borders where families were associated with centers outside the county. It was evident that these zones were no respecters of legal boundaries such as town (township), county, or even state lines, since there were a few zones which extended into the state of Illinois. The trade zones showed a tendency to overlap, providing a belt from one to two miles in width, termed “neutral” territory, although probably a more accurate designation would have been a competitive area where family contacts and loyalties were bi- or even tri-focal. Likewise, those zones tributary to a large center were likely to include almost all of the zone of an adjoining small center, as in the cases of Darien and Millard. This situation should preclude any conclusion that these zones marked off self-sufficient communities.

The assumption was, of course, that families living within the same zones meet one another at the center, that acquaintances are established or maintained, and that village families and farm families patronize many of the same stores and social agencies, thus setting up networks of mutual influences and associations. It was indicated that the trade zones were subject to extension and shrinkage, depending upon the growth or decline of population in the centers, and upon the merchandising practices as well as the attitudes of the merchants. This interrelation—amount of population, character of contacts, and extent of influence—is important and will be discussed in the last section of the chapter.

Milk factory zones.—The milk industry in those days, in con-

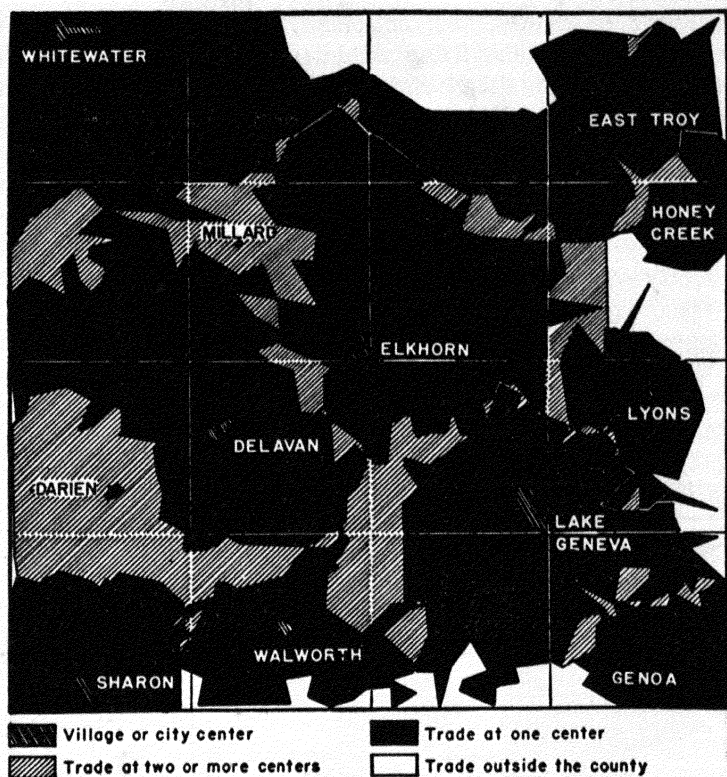


Figure 5

Trade Zones, Walworth County, 1911-13

trast with the present, was largely decentralized, even on a neighborhood scale in some parts of the county, just as it was in areas of Dane County; therefore the zones were smaller than the trade zones. All this has changed with the concentration of plants into the larger centers and the extension of trucking within the Chicago milk shed. In the later restudies the distribution of this service had little value for indicating mutual town and country influences.

Church zones.—The twelve village church zones did not compass all of the religious contacts, since churches were also char-

acteristic of most hamlet and many open-country neighborhoods. Farm families living within a four- or five-mile radius were inclined to attend churches at the village centers, and among some religious bodies it was usual practice for the pastor resident in the village to serve one or two nearby open-country or hamlet churches, thus acting as community connectives. In other situations divisive influences could be observed because there was little or no recognition of these expanding town-country relationships.

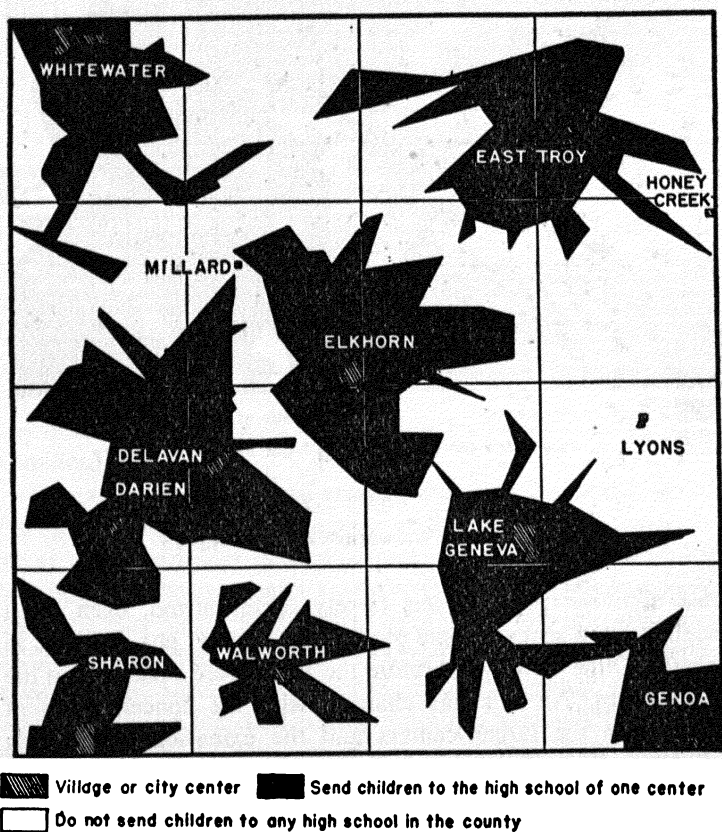


Figure 6

High School Areas, Walworth County, 1911-13

High school zones.—Less than 15 per cent of the farm families in the county were sending their children to high schools at that time. Consequently these zones were not only much smaller than the trade and banking zones but the proportion of families utilizing this service at the centers was less than those using the stores or banks. However, the main forms of the school zones did follow the general lines of the trade zones. All this is also changed, and the greatly increased high school attendance from both farm and village families has been a deciding factor in bringing about a revamping of village-country community relations, as will be described in the next chapter. Likewise, high school attendance areas have recently become more usable indexes for indicating extent of community areas than are general trade zones, partly because trade has become more specialized and, as has been demonstrated elsewhere, some types of trade now tend to follow high school contacts rather than the reverse as was the case earlier.

The importance of the role of the high school in town-country community relations was realized at the time of this early study and should be given recognition here as the starting point for later discussion. "The character of the high school as an agent in idea-forming and association-making plays a wonderful part at the adolescent period of life, in democratizing the children of the farm who attend and the children of the village. It would be difficult to overestimate its influence as a force for constructive cooperation, were each high school consciously controlled in adaptation of subjects and management of courses in the interest of those living on the land as well as those living in the small city." ¹³

An interpretation

The implications of this mentor study do not need further elaboration. They have spoken for themselves down through the years. The irrevocable connection of village or town and country in community relations was demonstrated beyond any cavil. As a matter of fact, caution has had to be counseled against uncritical conclusions. There was the tendency during subsequent periods, at least in some circles, to insist that such communities

were complete, self-sufficient, and almost inviolate. The restrictiveness of such community-bound family relations, were it true, would be as inimical to a healthy society as the neighborhood limitations which were so lamented in the discussion of the early hoe-farmer's social life.

Such conclusions cannot be correctly derived from any careful reading of the report. However, erroneous inferences can follow the attempt to generalize and conventionalize the community area patterns. "Suppose the civic centers to be equal in size and population, equally complete institutionally, and equally distant from each other; suppose all farm homes to be connected with the centers by equally good roads at all seasons of the year, also equally direct. Then apparently each community would be a circle. . . ." ¹⁴ No, none of those "equals" were equal. All the suppositions were equally unfounded and not based on the findings, since mention was constantly made of "incomplete" centers and of "intercommunity" dependence. The maps also bear their testimony. The whole force of subsequent studies points in the opposite direction, away from the notion of mutually exclusive circles representing separate community patterns. Rather, the trend has been toward more complicated forms of communities within communities, just as was indicated by the Darien and Millard trade zones being included within those of larger village or small-town centers. This trend toward intercommunity relations will be traced in the next chapter, where the restudies in Walworth County will be reviewed; it is also shown in two transitional types of studies to be considered now.

Transition projects pointing to applications and restudies

The transition studies of services and institutions in their town and country relations were made soon after the first Dane County neighborhood study—about ten years after the first Walworth County community study. In this period, the importance of these relationships received more general recognition than before. They also posed new problems for those interested in community development through the expansion of serv-

ice contacts between country and towns or villages. Therefore these studies took a more practical turn than the earlier ones; actually, they were corollary to the earlier conclusions and sought to point ways for their application in social action.

Service relations of town and country

The service relations of town or village and country were first studied in all of western Dane County, then six sample areas were chosen for more intensive analysis in Dane, Walworth, and Waupaca counties.¹⁵ Between seven and eight hundred farm families living at the peripheries of the service areas of these centers were interviewed. These locations permitted selections among two or more centers, so the questions were directed to the wheres and whys of family choices for a series of service contacts. The purpose was to test secondary conclusions of the earlier studies that since neighborhoods were decreasing in number, family contacts were extending toward village or town centers and in this extension there was a tendency to differentiate among centers. The contacts were those included in the previous studies of neighborhoods in Dane County and of communities in Walworth County, among them the contacts of economics, education, sociability, communication, and organization. They were not considered singly but rather as to how they were found in combination. There was the trend, it will be recalled, for active neighborhoods to be characterized by more than one contact and to be located at some distance from village or town centers but for only a minority of them to be characterized by three or more services.

In western Dane County, the service areas of the village and town centers and of the active neighborhoods were located on a map. When a majority of families depended on a center for four out of six services, their farms were included in a composite area. The average radius for such areas was 4.3 miles, and beyond that distance, active neighborhoods stood out in bold relief. Results of the study, in the language of the early Belleville, New York, situation, indicated that there were "service drainage basins," zones of influence, close about each town or village center; and farther away, other systems or "social water-

sheds" appeared on an ever-widening scale. Likewise, zones for single services often lay partially or entirely within the zones of another service. The services of general trade and banking, for example, were usually together, but furniture and good clothing followed another pattern. There was also the tendency for the larger centers to have larger zones and to provide more specialized services.

The reasons given by families for the differentiation of their choices were consistent in the main, although they were often taken for granted and not easily expressed because of habit or custom. In the cases of groceries and work clothes, nearness and convenience ranked high, but for furniture and good clothing it was a question of variety and quality; since purchases were less frequent, distance and even price were not as important considerations.

Another device was used for comparing the various centers by drawing the maximum areas for the six services included in the study. Each separate service area or any combination could then be calculated in quantitative terms as a proportion of the maximum. It was therefore possible to describe various types of centers with their characteristics as to population, extent of influence, and kinds of service contacts.

Three types of service centers.—Three types of centers could be distinguished beside the small hamlet or open-country neighborhoods and the larger cities of above 5,000 population and larger. They were designated: "Limited service," with a population of 400 or below and falling short of the six services comparisons; "Semi-complete" or intermediate, up to about 1,200 population, and with relatively large general trade areas; and "Complete" or partially specialized, with populations ranging to 5,000 and averaging about 2,500 with some active neighborhoods and small village zones within their general service borders. These three types were similar in their town and country relations to those differentiated later in the restudy in Walworth County, although population figures and distances were somewhat different.

A simple diagram, with distance in miles as the horizontal axis and population in hundreds as the vertical, showed the pre-

vailing relationships. In these particular settings a typical farmer might expect to find a hamlet within two or three miles of his home, a limited-type center about four miles away, and if he wished to travel to a complete center about sixteen miles distant, he must pass through another limited type and perhaps another hamlet. Then, if he went on about thirty-six miles to a larger city center, he would go through at least three smaller centers. In other situations the figures would be different but the group relations relatively the same.

There were also characteristic proportions of volume of business or social participation in institutions related to size and character of centers, as described in the next section. For the combined business or economic services in the smaller centers below 500 in population, the proportion from the country reached about 72 per cent; when the thousand mark was reached, it fell to about 65 per cent, and for those averaging populations of about 2,500, the ratio was likely to be about 50 to 50.

A four-factor formula.—Thus, a fourfold formula for the service relations of town and country could be derived: (a) kind of service, (b) amount of population, (c) extent of area, and (d) distance of centers. The factors need to be considered together and in relative terms. One factor can compensate for another; a center may be smaller than the average of its type but if it has a relatively larger tributary area and is far enough removed from another center of the same type or larger, then it can measure up in a scale of combined services. However, if the compensating factors fall short, as in the case of Mazomanie and Black Earth in Dane County, cited in the first chapter, then there are complications.

The importance of an idealized relation between location and size of centers together with their services is now widely recognized, as may be seen in a study of country towns in Victoria, Australia.¹⁶ Its realization in social action, however, is often difficult, especially when a town center has been located, capital investments made, and loyalties established. Nevertheless, readjustments are inevitable, and use of this formula proved helpful.

Service institutions for town and country

The companion to the preceding study was made in 1925 and turned specifically to institutions involved in town or village and country relations.¹⁷ Eight centers ranging in population from 1,350 to 2,898 in 1930 were selected for intensive study. They were Arcadia, Barron, Elkhorn, Fennimore, Medford, Mt. Horeb, Tomahawk, and Waupaca. All but Tomahawk were among the 140 agricultural village communities included in the nationwide study which will be described in the next chapter; therefore comparisons could be made. In addition to the intensive local studies, three institutions were chosen for state-wide survey. They were high schools, libraries, and hospitals. This phase of the study has pertinence for practical purposes even now and can be summarized briefly.

A four-year high school outside the larger cities and in the southern two-thirds of the state, in order to have an enrollment of 100 pupils, required, at that time, a supporting population of about 1,250 people living in an area of about forty-two square miles. (In subsequent years, about 1,500 people.) This volume of business or participation had unit costs depending on the standard of services maintained. Similarly, a library with a circulation of at least 30,000 volumes annually needed a paying constituency of 4,000, if the dollar per capita then regarded as reasonable was to supply the budget, and an area of about 133 square miles, or three and one-half standard townships. A local hospital with what was considered at the time a minimum capacity of thirty beds required a population base of 6,000 and a tributary territory of about 200 square miles, the equivalent of about five and one-half townships.

Principle of unit requirements.—Based on this analysis, a principle of unit requirements for institutions could be formulated. The method is readily transferable to other institutions and to other geographic areas; actual figures would vary according to time and place. The following items are involved: (a) unit of service (pupils, books, beds), (b) population required, (c) service area, (d) costs per unit, (e) costs per capita, (f) costs per area. In the case of any institution, costs can be calculated

and plans made accordingly. Such calculations may start with any desired item and the rest will follow in sequence like the layers of an onion. For high schools, to be described in the next chapter, the starting point was a curriculum which a committee considered essential, then the teachers required and the number of pupils to maintain a proper teacher-pupil ratio, then a population unit and a sufficient area of taxable wealth, until a comprehensive plan was reached.

The principle is based on the idea of division of labor, and the importance of its application became evident in the course of these and other studies. It was apparent that every center could not and should not attempt to provide all of the services which are required by its constituent community. The principle itself was easily understood by people in communities but its practical application was often difficult, even when the necessity was recognized. As suggested previously, the belief was often deep-seated that every community should somehow provide everything for all its citizens, including full employment, social services for health and recreation, adequate institutions for education and religion, and facilities for merchandising goods and marketing products. It simply cannot be done. All the studies make this emphatic.

While it was clear that different social institutions and agencies have different unit requirements, yet it appeared from the trends that certain kinds of institutions have similar requirements and therefore belong together. Questions arose as to how this clustering of institutional contacts was associated with the differentiation of town-country communities by types, and so led on to the restudies of such changing relations and to action programs, especially to those concerned with the reorganization of education in the state.

Communities—A National Reference and Trends toward Intercommunity Relations

Perspective was gained for the state studies of rural group relations by the inclusion of some projects within a nationwide study of recent social trends. The Wisconsin situations were found to be unique in some respects but in most they were like those in its region, the Middle West. This larger study also gives greater significance to the restudies of town and country relations in Walworth County and to the studies and action programs of high schools in their community relations, to be reviewed in this chapter. The story of school reorganization epitomizes so well the processes by which social institutions accommodate and contribute to group realignments in rural society that it has special relevance here. Finally, some findings and implications with regard to other institutional relations will be presented.

Wisconsin in nationwide study of trends and community relations

The national study was designed to trace social trends in the first three decades of the century, especially in the decade 1920 to 1930. One chapter in the general report, "Recent Social Trends in the United States," and one of the separate mono-

graphs, *Rural Social Trends*, were concerned with changes and tendencies in rural life and agriculture.¹ Among the original sources of investigation, Wisconsin had seven agricultural villages in the sample of 140; Arcadia, in Trempealeau County, Barron in Barron, Elkhorn in Walworth, Fennimore in Grant, Medford in Taylor, Mount Horeb in Dane, and Waupaca in Waupaca County; one county, Pierce, in the total of twenty-one; one urban center, Milwaukee, among eighteen; and one of four counties, Dane, where special case studies were made of neighborhood changes. The other neighborhood counties were Boone in Missouri, Blackhawk in Iowa, and Otsego in New York. All of the villages and counties had been studied previously, in 1921 to 1924, by members of the staff of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, so benchmarks for comparisons were available in addition to regular U.S. Census reports, as well as several retabulations made for the purpose.² A restudy was also made for the period 1930 to 1936, including the depression years, under the joint auspices of the Council for Research in Social Sciences, Columbia University, and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture.³

While the Wisconsin field units were not selected to be representative of the state but rather of the general region of which it is a part, nevertheless, representatives of the College of Agriculture made special field investigations in 1935 of the seven village communities located in the state. Several case studies were also made of special conditions in other village or town and country relations.⁴ Some findings of the general studies are included here for purposes of giving results of research within the state a little broader reference and to furnish further background for the intensive restudies in Walworth County.

Neighborhoods

The decrease in number of neighborhoods was at about the same rate from 1930 to 1936: for the nation 23.5 per cent, for the Middle West 21 per cent, and for Dane County about 20 per cent (1930-40), as previously reported. For the Middle Atlantic states the rate of decline was lower, but for the other two regions, the South and Far West, it was higher. As in Dane

County, those neighborhoods tended to remain active which were somewhat larger than average, which were at some distance from large village centers, and which were characterized by more than single integrating contacts or institutions such as school, church or store. Larger village and town centers tended to have a larger number of neighborhoods within their community areas than the others. Some new neighborhoods appeared but the maximum had been reached by 1930.

Village growth or decline?

This question was much discussed at the time; therefore the 8,900 villages (250 to 2,500 population) incorporated in 1910, were followed in a special analysis, through 1930, regardless of the possibility of their passing into other census categories. The general conclusion was that villages tend to increase at about the same rate as their surrounding populations, the larger ones showing a somewhat greater growth than the others, and the 140 selected for study as agricultural villages showed greater tendencies toward stability and toward maintaining their populations than did the others. This was important, since village-country communities would have limited prospects if their centers were on their way out. As concluded from other similar studies, village centers were the meeting ground for rural and urban ways of living, "the nexus which binds rural and urban together."⁵

Occupations of villagers

Studies of the distribution of occupations of villagers gave further evidence of their intermediate position in society. Five groups of occupations stood out: manufacturing; trade or merchandising; services such as domestic, personal, and professional; agriculture; and transportation, and in that order. Among the manufacturing industries, when the food group was combined with lumber, tobacco, textiles, and paper mills, they became nearly a two-thirds majority, hence their direct association with agriculture and forestry. The increase in personal and professional services in village centers was also significant, for they included those in such social institutions as schools, hospitals,

libraries, churches, and such commercial establishments as restaurants, beauty parlors, pressing and cleaning shops, service agencies, and, more recently, the so-called New Deal agencies known by their capital letter abbreviations. The latter were especially evident in the 1935 revisits to the seven Wisconsin community centers.

Contacts of villagers and farmers

Social contacts in village-country community relations were becoming more important than earlier, when compared with economic contacts such as merchandising, for purposes of delineating boundaries, and also for characterizing significant associations between villagers and farmers. The high school was repeatedly mentioned "as increasingly influential as a determinant of the community."

Among the seven centers in the state, enrollments in high schools from country areas were increasing and had reached an average of 55 per cent. The depression years had brought their toll upon the churches; buildings were in poor repair, pastors' salaries had dropped almost 25 per cent, many country churches had been closed, but in compensation, the parishes of the village-center churches had enlarged, and the proportion of country members in their congregations had increased.

Trends in town-country community relations

A simple scale in three categories—coöperative, neutral, and conflicting—was used to gauge the trend in town-country community relations. To be sure, these were judgments of the field workers, but they were based on standardized instructions and did indicate some interesting changes, region by region. In the Middle West, there were fewer conflict situations than in other regions, except the Far West; by 1936 they had decreased by half, compared with 1924. This improved relation between farmers and villagers took such forms as extending fire protection to those in the trade area, harvest festivals, joint meetings, community buildings, and changed attitudes on the part of the local newspapers as shown by their giving more recognition to farmers' interests.

Conflicts, where they remained, were less localized and less personalized than earlier; they were less likely to be centered about local issues than they were to be about agencies with some outside connections such as chain banks or stores and even schools or churches when influences were exerted by overhead administrations which were regarded as inimical to local interests. But, whether in coöperation or in conflict, town or village and country interests were becoming more and more interwoven and also tied in with special interest organizations and with rural-urban affairs.

Rural-urban relations

Results of the national study of these rural-urban relations are included because of their growing importance in the changing group arrangements of rural society. They were excluded by design in the early Walworth County study because its purpose was to focus on village or town relations of country people. In the restudies this seemed impossible without distorting the whole picture. In the national trends studies a method was devised to trace gradients out from or in toward medium-sized city centers, of which Milwaukee was one. Various indexes such as types of farming, land tenure, population density, fertility ratios, or retail trade were used. The counties close to cities but beyond what has come to be known as the suburban "fringe" were likely to have smaller farms of more intensive cultivation and, perforce, more compact town-country communities, more densely peopled by those who frequented the city centers more often than did those in the next tiers. Beyond the first tiers, general farming with more extensive dairying and its accompanying social and economic contacts was found. Children were a distinguishing characteristic of the farm population in those tiers removed from the cities. The general conclusion was that differences were decreasing between rural and urban people, and those which did remain tended to take gradient rather than dichotomous forms.

Clustering of contacts and differentiating of centers: Walworth County restudies

About thirty-six years elapsed between the early study in 1911-13 and the last restudy in 1947-48, with an intervening study in 1929-30; thus the restudies were at eighteen-year intervals. Several special studies were also made, especially in the case of Elkhorn, as noted earlier. Personal field contacts were likewise maintained, especially with Darien, Delavan, East Troy, Elkhorn, and Sharon, both during and following the restudies. Acquaintances with professional leaders and farmers extended back to 1920. Appreciation of the early study gave the county wide recognition and led to many visits and conferences by those in and out of the state who were interested in this field of research and social action.

Restudies reviewed: purposes, methods, trends

The first restudy, in 1929-30, was concerned chiefly with tracing changes and noting trends in the emerging town-country communities which had been discovered in the early study. In the intervening period farmers and villagers had been working out their interdependent relations more completely. Country pupils in high schools, for example, made up 50 per cent of the enrollment. There were more frequent associations for social contacts and for trade, credit, and marketing, and a greater degree of specialization among villages and towns and with neighborhoods. The second restudy, in 1947-48, was focused more specifically on this trend toward specialization and the interdependencies of such communities.⁶

Purpose and hypothesis.—The purpose was to trace trends noted in the early study and to test the hypothesis implied in that study's findings, namely that village-country and town-country communities were becoming more differentiated and interdependent rather than increasingly self-sufficient and self-contained.

Methods of comparison.—All family schedules and all field notes of workers, including those of the early study, had been kept so that comparisons could be made. In the second restudy,

1947-48, schedules were secured from 1,625 families, with the help of country school teachers and pupils and by personal interviews of trained workers. This comprised a 42 per cent sample, representative of all families of the county living outside incorporated towns and villages; nearly one-half were from nonfarm families (46 per cent of the rural population of the county was nonfarm in 1940). Contacts of these families could then be compared with those of the 1,034 families interviewed in the same manner and area in the first restudy, 1929-30, representing about 50 per cent of the families. (There was some increase in population in the period.) In the first restudy, a method similar to the one used in the early study in 1911-13 was also employed. Business and professional people in each of the centers were called on and asked to check on survey cards names of families which according to records had regular contacts with those particular services. Some comparisons could therefore be made from one period of study to another, and some could be carried through the entire thirty-six years.

In the second restudy, 1947-48, the families interviewed reported more than 20,000 contacts, and the analysis centered upon them. These contacts (of eighteen different kinds) were grouped into three major categories: (1) general contacts, including groceries, church, high school, banking, library, weekly newspaper; (2) social contacts, including clubs, church, parties, dances; and (3) trade contacts, including general trade, groceries, work clothes, men's suits, women's clothes, farm machinery, furniture. General trade and groceries were highly enough correlated so that one could be used for the other. Milk marketing, movies, and daily newspaper were considered separately.

The forty-three centers in which the contacts were reported to have been made extended over a wide range, from hamlet centers like Millard and Troy Center, to urban centers like Milwaukee and Chicago; twenty-eight were located in Walworth County and fifteen outside. Since the main purpose was to study town or village and country relations, chief attention was given to the nine centers in the county which came within the classification. Millard, Honey Creek, and Lyons, while included in

the original study of twelve centers, were clearly in the hamlet class at the time of the later restudies.⁷

Trend toward clustering of contacts.—The analysis could turn about these nine centers because they accounted for 53 per cent of all the contacts reported; they drew 74 per cent of the six general contacts, 12 per cent going to hamlet or open-country neighborhood centers and the balance to other town or to urban centers outside the county. These six general contacts followed very closely the curve of all contacts, so they could be employed as good indexes of the general town and country relationships. There was a sharp break in both curves, especially the one for the six general contacts, as soon as a 10,000 population mark for centers was reached.

Comparisons of the general trade and social contacts soon revealed the tendency for a clustering of contacts in various types of centers. Social contacts had a lower peak than the trade, about 40 per cent compared with 50 per cent, at the 3,000 population point, since more of the social than of the trade contacts were in smaller centers. In fact, 16 per cent of all social contacts were in places of less than 200 population and another 16 per cent in centers of 200 to 500. On the other hand, only 6 per cent of the trade contacts were in places of less than 500, while 54 per cent were carried on in places of 2,000 to 10,000 population.

About 61 per cent of both social and trade contacts took place within the nine county centers, so these contacts could well become the sources for further analysis. Among the trade contacts beyond that proportion, 20 per cent were distributed to urban centers and only 6 per cent to neighborhood centers, while only 5 per cent of the social contacts went to urban centers but 32 per cent took place in the neighborhood centers. Balances in both cases were in village or town centers beyond the county borders.

Trend toward differentiating of centers.—The average number of centers to which families went for all of their service contacts increased from 3.7 to 4.3 during the period of the restudies. Thirty-five per cent of the families reported changing service centers between 1911–13 and 1929–30, in an order from high-

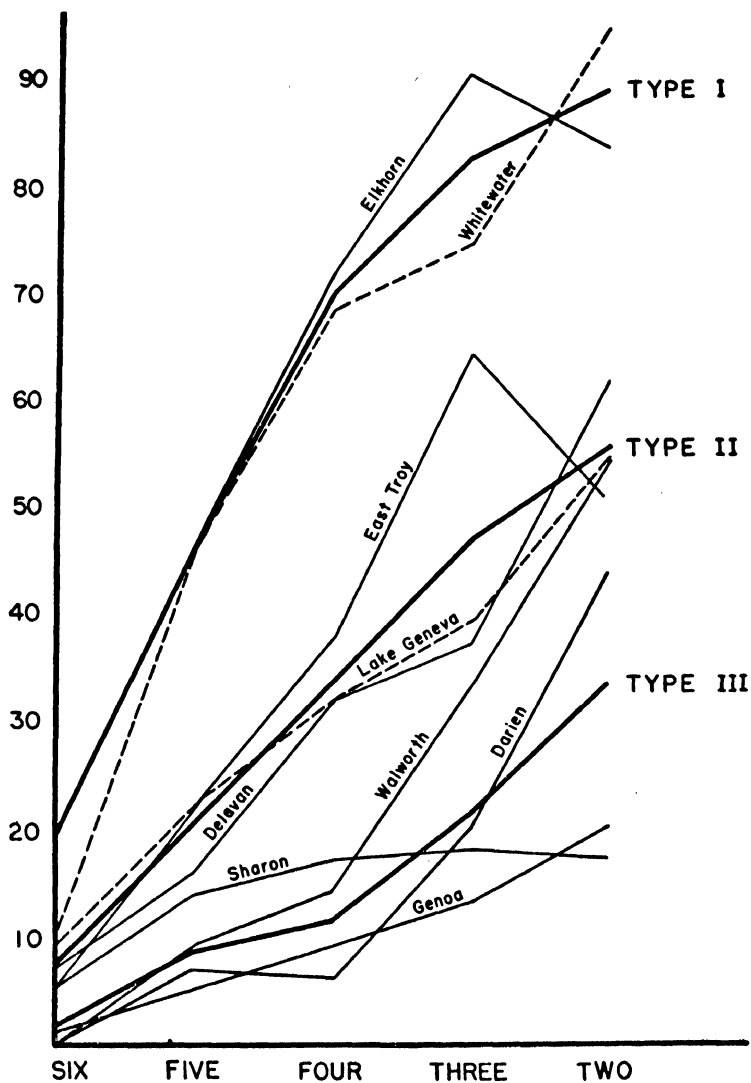


Figure 7
 Contacts in Combination by Types of Communities,
 Walworth County, 1947-48

est to lowest as follows: dry goods, groceries, men's and women's ready-to-wear, furniture, banking, milk marketing, farm machinery, church, high school, library.

There were many other evidences of change. But were they haphazard, or were they in line with regular processes bringing about a differentiation among centers? To explore this question, the six general contacts were analyzed as they were found in the second restudy of 1947-48. They were banking, groceries, church, weekly newspaper, high school, and library. Since there was the tendency for the contacts to cluster as shown before, they were considered in their combinations. Elkhorn headed the list with a total of 318 contacts, 28 of which were in a combination of all 6, 46 in a combination of 5, 71 in a combination of 4, and so on. Whitewater was second in total contacts, only 10 of which were in the 6 combination but 46, the same as for Elkhorn, were in the 5 combination. East Troy resembled Lake Geneva and Delavan. Walworth village was relatively high in total contacts but lacked entirely a combination of all six contacts, as did Darien. Sharon was low in total contacts; its isolated location gave it some concentration of contacts but in limited amount. A classification into three types of centers was therefore possible on the basis of the number of contact combinations and is well illustrated by the accompanying chart (see Figure 7). The village of Walworth is an interesting transitional case, suggesting that the situation was not static but one of change, since it was moving from the Type III with the smaller, to the Type II classification with the intermediate centers. Later developments and direct observations confirmed this trend.

Testing the three-type classification and looking for other trends

To check the classification of the centers in the county made on the basis of the general distribution of contacts in their combinations, analysis was first applied to the 1947-48 restudy findings. Then, similar tests were made of the results in the other two studies in order to give indications of possible trends. Real differences were discovered among the nine centers, but a large amount was contributed by the four smaller centers. When

they were taken out of the calculation and only the other five included, there were still differences, but the two larger centers, Elkhorn and Whitewater, accounted for half. When the remaining three, East Troy, Lake Geneva, and Delavan, were considered, no significant differences were found, thus confirming the previous classification of an intermediate type.

Comparing Elkhorn and Whitewater gave a small difference, but this could be accounted for by variations in high school contacts, so they could be grouped together into a Type I, the larger centers. At the other end of the scale, Darien and Genoa City were somewhat alike, but Darien, without a weekly newspaper, could not register in the six-combination category, and Sharon, as noted before, was low in total counts. The four small centers were thus a kind of residual group, in a sense similar by reason of their very differences, since each difference could be easily identified and explained. The analysis therefore tended to confirm the classification on the basis of combined contacts.

Findings in the restudy of 1929–30 were submitted to similar analysis. When the four centers then designated as “complete service centers” (Elkhorn, Delavan, Lake Geneva, and Whitewater) were compared, no significant differences were found. Nor were there differences among East Troy, Sharon, and Walworth, so they could be regarded as of one type. Using the data gathered in the first study, 1911–13, Elkhorn and Delavan were found by the same means to be sufficiently similar to warrant being classed together, but significant differences were found among all the others. Therefore, the comparison tabulated below could be made for the three periods, based on similarities of the communities in terms of combinations of general contacts.

<i>1911–13</i>	<i>1929–30</i>	<i>1947–48</i>
Elkhorn	Elkhorn	Elkhorn
Delavan	Delavan	Whitewater
	Whitewater	
	Lake Geneva	Delavan
		Lake Geneva
	East Troy	East Troy
	Walworth	
	Sharon	

Profiles of contacts by types of community centers

A series of profiles was drawn to show the relative position of each kind of contact for each of the three types of centers in 1947-48. The general profile for all centers of the six general service contacts shows a projection of the banking and groceries bars, almost equal in length but well beyond the other four. Church and weekly newspaper were also similar and next in length, while high school and library were near together but only half the length of the first two. Not all farm families had children of high school age, and even those that did, did not send them to school in proportion to either village or city families.

Profiles were also drawn for the other services and comparisons made over the years. For the whole thirty-six-year span, banking and grocery contact bars continued to be the longest and tended to equalize in whatever differences there were at the beginning. Church and weekly newspaper contacts changed places and school and library contacts extended their bars because more families were using these services. Movies dominated the profiles of the five centers in the first two types but were entirely absent in the third, the smaller centers. As time went on, church contacts played a relatively smaller part among the larger centers, compared with the smaller ones, but there was a doubling of club and party contacts in the smaller centers. Evidently more personal and social relations were developing between farmers and villagers, perhaps at the expense of neighborhood strengths or perhaps not; this could not be determined at the time.

The smaller, Type III, centers were all inclined to be weak in two of the six contacts, while relatively strong in one. This differentiation tended to progress with the passing of years, further substantiating the central theme of the review that inter-community relations were becoming more important. The situation among the three types of centers at the time of the second restudy, 1947-48, can be summarized in terms of characteristic clusters of contacts as indicated in the tabulation below.

<i>Type I</i> <i>Larger</i>	<i>Type II</i> <i>Intermediate</i>	<i>Type III</i> <i>Smaller</i>
Bank	Bank	Bank
Groceries	Groceries	Groceries
Work clothes	Work clothes	Work clothes
Church	Church	Church
Elementary school	Elementary school	Elementary school
High school	High school	—
Library	Library	—
Movies	Movies	—
Weekly newspaper	Weekly newspaper	—
Farm machinery	—	Farm machinery
Men's & women's clothing	—	—
Public dances	—	Private dances
—	Clubs	Clubs
—	—	Parties

Two sets of families studied

Results of other comparisons gave additional strength to the theme of interrelatedness, since they showed contacts which tend to complement each other and those which were competitive. The first set of forty-one families, living about halfway between Lake Geneva and Genoa City, when interviewed indicated Genoa City, the smaller center, as their main trading point. Their contacts were traced and their complementary character was shown by a concentration of those for clubs, parties, dances, groceries, and farm machinery in Genoa City, and a converging of those for high school, library, movies, and clothing in the intermediate type center, Lake Geneva. Families crossed over an equidistance line between the centers in order to carry on these latter contacts at greater distances. The competitive position was shown when contacts for men's and women's clothing and movies were traced to both Lake Geneva and to Burlington, a center of similar type, lying a few miles beyond the county line.

A second set of forty-six families, living between Elkhorn and Lake Geneva, gave the former as their main trade center; they were reluctant to cross an equidistance line between the

two centers, except for work clothes and church. The larger center, Elkhorn, showed its ability to hold contacts. While the element of place represented by physical distance continued to play a part in community relations, it was not as important as in the earlier years of study.

Changes in town-country community areas

A good deal of attention was given to the changes in the locality dimension in the first restudy but less in the second. In that period of eighteen years between the restudies, the trend was toward larger areas but greater overlapping among some. In the case of the high school, for example, the expansion indicated a greater use of the centers' services by country families; however, this enlargement of high school areas was definitely greater among the five larger and intermediate centers, in Types I and II, plus Walworth, than among the other three smaller ones, in Type III. Expansion in this as well as other contacts was greatest among those centers which already had the largest areas. However, the tendency appeared to be toward more stability and greater compactness of contacts within the areas. The margins of the areas were more regular, with fewer projections because of one or two families, so evident on the early maps.

This observation was confirmed by an analysis comparing the variations in terms of the average areas in square miles. It was found that the larger the service area, the smaller the amount of variation. This was most pronounced in the case of the larger, Type I, centers, and least among the smaller, Type III, centers. This was further evidence of trends toward differentiating or specializing of communities, rather than in the direction of self-sufficiency. High school and library contact areas were definitely consolidating about the first two types of centers. However, church contacts were becoming more dispersed, marked by more overlaps among various centers, because better facilities for travel made possible traversing greater distances to find the church of a family's preference.

The average size of the areas for the larger, Type I, centers ranged from about 75 to 95 square miles, the equivalent of

about two and a third standard townships; for the intermediate, Type II, centers the range was from 62 to 82 square miles, about two townships; and for the smaller, Type III, centers the contacts came well within a township size of thirty-six square miles.

Thus clusters of contacts, differentiated types of centers, and extent of tributary areas tend to be associated, confirming the hypotheses and pointing to a greater importance of inter-community relations.

High school contacts crucial in
town-country community relations

The interrelations of social institutions and other social systems such as groups have been evident throughout. A significant shift in such institution-group relations appeared as the emergence of town-country communities was traced. In the earlier studies trade contacts and their related institutions were important in identifying and exploring such communities. More recently high school contacts proved more useful, not only for indicating the extent but also for revealing the character of the relationships.

Recognition of importance of high schools

Even in the earlier studies, the importance of high school contacts to community relations was recognized. This was noted in the quotation from the early Walworth County study but was made even more specific, from the standpoint of agriculture, in later studies of the rural relations of high schools.⁸ The connection between the high school district and the rural area of attendance had no legal character, yet it was pointed out that "a subtle community understanding" permeated the relationship. It took a long time for this relationship to be publicly recognized and for its legal character to become established. As emphasized in the first chapter, public high schools were village and town institutions; they did not belong to farmers and were utilized by them only with permission and on a tuition-paying basis. They were the outgrowth of academies organized privately, often church-sponsored on a New England model, and with no reference to agriculture in their courses of study.⁹

This background contributed to the early "rural puzzle"—the

separation of town and country. "The fear of the hoe farmer has been that if he educate his boy, he will run the risk of losing the boy from the farm to the city. The fear of the machine farmer may well be that if he fail to educate his boy, he will run the risk that the boy will not comprehend the modern science and art of agriculture."¹⁰

The importance of high schools was also recognized in education circles. A far-seeing state superintendent of public instruction, John Callahan, published a report in 1926, setting forth the critical situation of small high schools in the state. A few years later he appointed a Committee on Small High Schools,¹¹ three members of which remained active in various study and action programs until 1946, when a policy report was prepared.

Studies show critical conditions.—The first startling fact to be publicly reported was that in 1918 only 12.5 per cent of the area of the state was included in any high school district; eight years later the proportion had inched up to 19.5 per cent. The range among the seventy-one counties was wide, from 7.0 per cent to 60.8 per cent, and it was not the northern counties which were lowest, as might be expected; in fact, more than half of the legal high school area of the state was in the northern section. A similar condition was found in respect to high school attendance.¹²

For a time the situation worsened instead of improved. By 1925 all school costs had risen sharply, tuition for nonresident pupils did not even cover costs of instruction; high school enrollment in the state increased 58 per cent between 1926 and 1936, but tuition pupils from beyond legal districts increased by 75 per cent; therefore, taxes for support of high schools mounted. These taxes fell most heavily upon those families resident in the legal districts and were discriminatory compared with taxes for those living outside, so legislation was passed under pressure of rural interests whereby country territory in such districts but beyond incorporate village or city limits might withdraw through local referendum. This detachment procedure left many so-called doughnut districts; it aggravated the problem and provoked more antagonism between town and country.

1945 marked a turning point.—The general public was un-

doubtedly ready for it, but a news release indicating differences in high school attendance within the state seemed to trip off a movement toward a reorganization of the state's education systems.¹³ The release revealed that in 1940, according to the U.S. Census, only 51.5 per cent of Wisconsin farm youth sixteen and seventeen years of age were attending school. If native white children alone were considered, only four other states ranked lower. However, the relative position had improved during the decade, since in 1930 the state stood at the bottom of the list of states based on such a comparison. For the United States as a whole in 1940, the proportion of sixteen and seventeen year native white farm youth in school was 58.6 per cent. The four states bordering Wisconsin had higher proportions, although Minnesota was not widely different in this regard or in those factors associated with the differences.¹⁴ Utah topped the list with 87.5 per cent.

The really significant comparison was within the state itself, since Wisconsin ranked first among the states in the proportion of urban youth of that description and age in school, with 91 per cent. For rural nonfarm youth of that age the proportion in school was 77.0 per cent. The range for farm youth was wide among the counties, from 35.8 per cent to 74.3 per cent (average 51.5 per cent), and when the map was drawn showing differences by quartiles, the solid black indicating the highest quarter was largely in the northern part of the state. In 1950 the range was even wider, from 54 per cent to 94 per cent, but the average level had risen to 70.9 per cent.¹⁵

Search for discriminating factors.—This wide disparity in high school attendance of farm youth in the state caused much concern in both agricultural and educational circles. What were the discriminating factors associated with these differences? Briefly, the results of studies indicated that in 1940, of those analyzed, the most important single factor influencing high school attendance of farm youth was nationality, but there were others.¹⁶ On the one hand, the greater the amount spent per pupil for public transportation and the greater the proportion enrolled in high schools having less than 100 pupils, the higher was the school attendance. On the other hand, the greater the

proportion enrolled in elementary parochial and private schools, and the greater the number of milk cows per farm, the lower was the attendance. However, only 47 per cent of the variation among counties could be explained by the joint effect of all the items included in the calculations.

Similar methods were employed in a comparative analysis of conditions as they existed in 1950. Three of the four variables previously examined had less association with attendance than they did in 1940. (Enrollment in elementary parochial and private schools was omitted, since its value was small and the data were difficult to obtain.) Number of cows per farm had about the same association, but the importance of nationality and of transportation costs had dropped considerably, and the greatest decline was of enrollment in schools having less than 100 pupils. But the joint effect of all factors examined had fallen to 28 per cent, leaving 72 per cent still unexplained. This is a very wide margin and made further research a necessity.

One such study, reported in 1953, was based upon interviews with 400 randomly selected open-country families in four high school attendance areas in the state and focused upon prevailing attitudes toward high school education.¹⁷ Seven out of ten items were found to be significantly associated with such attitudes, namely educational attainment, socioeconomic status, ethnic background, sex, occupation, size of farm, and age. More detailed analysis of the three more highly associated factors resulted in the conclusion that total associations hold only under specific conditions. For example, socioeconomic status was associated with attitude toward high school education within three or four groups: continental Europeans of high educational attainment, continental Europeans of low educational attainment, and Anglo-Americans of low educational attainment. Educational attainment was associated with attitude toward high school education only among continental Europeans of high socioeconomic status, and ethnic background only among persons of high socioeconomic status who have not attended high school.

In the earlier years, as previously noted, ethnic background

and nationality accounted for a large proportion of variance in high school attendance. The later and more detailed comparisons showed that they were interrelated with other factors, such as levels of education experience, in much the same manner as family reactions to neighborhoods were influenced by the intervening variable of social participation.

Five-year, seven-community study and action project

Study and action go hand in hand; this principle is native, although probably not unique, to the traditions of the state. Characteristic remarks of early social science leaders such as John R. Commons are easily remembered. "Let's go out and look the problem over, and maybe we can do something about it at the same time." Workability of this tenet had been demonstrated and served as the basis for this five-year project. The basic assumptions of the plan were that socioeducation processes involve many factors, that they yield to conscious direction, that information regarding conditions is important to understanding, and that action comes about more readily and wisely when those concerned have a hand in gathering the information and a voice in determining the policies to be followed.

This was not new doctrine and had proved its worth on other occasions: at the local level, when in 1928 a Kenosha County citizens committee set out "to make their county an even better place in which to live and work and rear a family,"¹⁸ and at the state level in the Governor's Commission on Public Welfare, 1936.¹⁹

The committee in charge of the five-year, seven-community project limited its field of operation to the relatively small high schools in agricultural areas of the southern half of the state. In 1935-36; of the 443 high schools in the state, 231 had six or less teachers. The seven communities selected for concentrated work represented as nearly as possible, modal situations and problems, not the extremes.²⁰ The central committee consisted of about fifty members, varying from time to time, but with a central continuing executive group of eight to ten, chosen from various agencies within the state and representing

its many interests. Subcommittees were organized on a two-fold basis, for the local communities and for special problems, and others were added until as many as 200 people were included in the project. In the communities, citizens, teachers, administrators, and pupils were pressed into service of many kinds, gathering information, discussing problems and policies with committee members from county and state agencies, and deciding what actions should be taken.

Report of progress.—At the end of three of the five years of work, 1943, the major problems which had emerged could be grouped into six categories: community relations, continuity of education, curriculum development, guidance-counseling, teacher preparation, and library services.²¹ For purposes of this review, the relationships between community and school were important. Often citizens in the community did not understand what the school was trying to do. Those farm families living beyond legal boundaries had no formal access to school affairs, only informal—casual attendance at school events or parent-teacher meetings. Little or no use was made of community resources on the part of the teaching staff, particularly in social studies, commercial courses, or mathematics. Frequently there was no work in agriculture, home economics, or the manual arts, and in situations where there were specialized courses only in agriculture and home economics, it was the village boy who was the forgotten one. What was to capture and hold his interest if he did not intend to go on to college or university?

There was always the question of how to bridge the gap between the two systems of education and group relations to which there has been repeated reference, namely, the country neighborhood elementary and the village or town elementary and secondary systems. Plans for reorganization were often considered suspect and were resisted by country citizens because it seemed to them that they were being asked to give up what was theirs. They were not led to see the positive advantage of gaining a larger and more complete plan without the necessity of forfeiting their own. However, one of the seven communities, Winneconne, was notably successful in achieving this purpose.

When the twenty country and village districts were reorganized into one district for both elementary and secondary schools, ten active open-country and hamlet neighborhoods retained the first six of their elementary grades; they became branches in the integrated system, just as the grade schools in village or town centers. One of the first steps in the reorganization was to install telephones in each one of the ten schools; this intercommunication medium became the symbol for the new intergroup relation of country neighborhoods and the town-country community. The principle of interdependence was put into practice.

Responses of high school pupils to community relations

Another significant experience gained in the studies of education contacts in their community relations was the response of high school pupils. Their responses were often interpretative of what was actually happening and predictive of what might be expected, since these young people were frequently already doing what the analysis of adult responses forecast. Their reactions were so uninhibited as to be refreshing as well as explanatory of situations which their elders sometimes sought to veil. Youth more than adult members, at least in some village-centered communities, knew of unpublicized local happenings, including the who, when, and where of the weekend poker party.

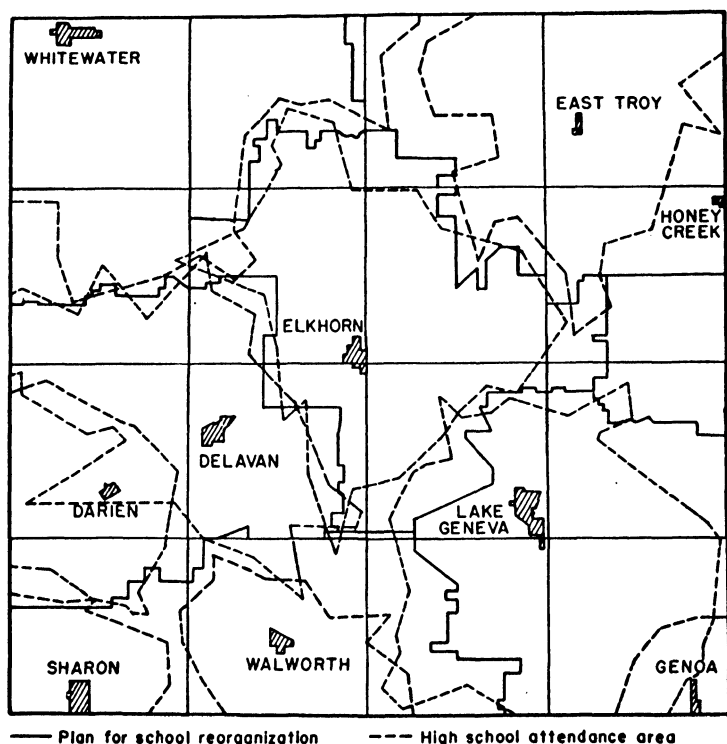
As early as 1923, in the Dane County studies of services and institutions, high school pupils expressed preferences for the location of schools in villages and towns. Their essays on recreation needs were clear and concise, as were their statements in personal interviews. Responses by written schedules from 95 per cent of all high school pupils in Walworth County at the time of the last restudy, and informal discussions with many of them, left no room to doubt their recognition of and reaction to community conditions. Those in the smaller communities were going to the larger centers for such contacts as recreation, including parties and movies, without any apologies, although sometimes without full parental consent. There were correlations between size of communities and declared intentions of occupation choice and future residence, whereas adults

often expressed the attitude that the local community should at least try to provide all of the services needed by its citizens, including work opportunities for maturing youth.

*Statement of principles
for education in town-country relations*

Ten members of the Committee on Rural Community High Schools reconstituted themselves into a voluntary group without official standing but with full knowledge of their employing agencies, and with financial support from private sources prepared a final policy report.²² The starting point, as previously noted, was a program of educational experiences considered necessary to meet the needs of rural citizens as they face the future. The fields included the English language, social studies, mathematics, physical sciences, agricultural arts, industrial arts, homemaking, business education, health education, recreation, conservation, and international understanding through study of customs, cultures, economies, and languages. Such a comprehensive plan called for an enlarged conception of education itself, based on the continuity of a thirteen-year course of study from kindergarten through high school; a year-round, twelve-month program and including formal and informal, adult and older youth education opportunities; well qualified teachers, able supervisors, and administrators; state aids to equalize costs and assure benefits of adequate buildings, equipment and free transportation; and finally a modern administrative system organized on a town-country community basis.

Not every rural community could expect to have such a complete unit, since a minimum of eight to ten full-time teachers would be needed for a four-year high school and an enrollment of 250 to 350 pupils. But there was agreement that many values peculiar to rural society might be lost if enrollment were larger than 500 pupils, and that seventh and eighth grades should be located near the high school, and be closely integrated with its program. Other elementary work might well be carried on in country neighborhoods if enrollments permitted some specialization of teachers by grades and subjects, and

*Figure 8*

Proposed School Reorganization and High School Attendance Areas,
Walworth County, 1947-48

provided those schools were part of the general community plan. Therefore, there could be included in a single administrative system one town-country community high school, one or more village-country elementary schools, even a junior high school, and one or more neighborhood six-grade elementary schools.

A social movement of sweeping scope

The foregoing report and many other efforts finally led to a virtual revolution in rural education and its community relations. The "other efforts" cannot be traced here, but three

auxiliary projects are described briefly in the note.²³ The movement itself, converging from the numerous sources, can be assessed as one of the most significant and far-reaching which the state has experienced. To be sure, this was not a movement of steady progress or of smooth going. There were inevitable misunderstandings, local strifes, and legal bickerings, but the final result, still not complete, is unmistakable—the inclusion of all of the area and all of the citizens of the state in some responsible legal town-country community system of education.

One example of the rough road traveled by the movement was a 1939 law, repealed in 1941, compelling the consolidation of districts whose assessed valuation was less than \$100,000. About 1,000 districts were made parts of others during that time, but the lesson should have been learned in an easier and less painful way that force by mandatory legislation will not overturn persistent public opinion—at least not in Wisconsin.

Reorganization, as now recognized, had its final impetus in the permissive legislation of 1947, modified and expanded in 1949. The sweeping character of the changes since that time are attested to by such facts, reported for 1955–56, as the reduction in number of school districts from approximately 6,600 in 1947 to about 2,700; the increased proportion of the land area of the state in legal high school districts from 18 per cent in 1948 to 55 per cent in 1956—an increase of 37 per cent in eight years; 344 districts organized on the twelve-grade plan; seven counties, for all practical purposes, were completely reorganized, and all but 14 of the 161 third and fourth class cities had added rural territory for school purposes.²⁴

Some rudiments of resistance remain, as must be expected, and rightly so if the movement is to be steady and continue without further reversals. For example, eighty-eight high schools were still of the "Union Free" type for grades 9 through 12 only, and nonresident pupils still comprised 25.9 per cent of high school enrollments in the state, the counties continuing to pay tuition for these pupils and the parents still without voice in school affairs. However, the trend is clearly toward a state-wide policy to bring into single unified plans the two early systems of separate country and town or village group-education

arrangements. This is an achievement of high proportions, and as education contacts go, so many other contacts will go—in due course.

Some findings and implications for other institutions

The trend toward an emergence of differentiated town-country communities has been traced, and the social movement of school reorganization as it unfolded in the state has been described. This school reorganization movement terminated in the actual formalization of the town-country community into a legal education system. The next question was what are other social institutions in rural society doing or what can they do to accommodate to or to redirect this trend and this movement, and at the same time keep in line with their own recognized interests? At what points and in what forms are local community interests and these other institutional interests most likely to converge or to clash? Social institutions, like other organized special interest groups, it must be remembered, are not strictly local but are also general in character and in control. They have their interconnections with so-called overhead administrations for both policies and practices. The question arises, therefore, as to how these various interests and relations can be reconciled and rearranged, if and when this is needed, or more important, when desired.

Religious interests and rural churches

In many respects rural churches and rural schools have had parallel social developments in Wisconsin. Country churches and country schools were characteristic of early neighborhood groups. Villages and small towns often planned and built these two kinds of institutions quite independently of their country counterparts. As the interrelation of country and village or town groups became more apparent, problems of readjustment arose. However, no general movement in the state similar to school reorganization is evident for churches. Most national church bodies have programs for promoting rural welfare, and many mergers and councils among groups of similar cultural and doctrinal backgrounds have been formed during the period of the

studies, but within town-country communities there was frequently indecision and lack of any general plan or policy. As in the case of country schools, there was often great reluctance to close country churches or to join with others on a larger community plan, even though of the same general affiliation.

In the situations studied there were evidences of overlapping church areas, of religious contacts crisscrossing community boundaries, and of some neighborhood churches operating with little regard to those of like interests in nearby villages and towns. More neighborhood churches tended to persist in country areas tributary to the larger town centers than in areas tributary to smaller or village type centers. Country churches were less frequently associated with active open-country neighborhoods in the later than in the earlier years of study, and non-neighborhood families were seeking churches of their choice with less regard to distances to be traveled or to other community contacts. This would all seem to indicate that organized religious interests were being directed toward churches rather than toward communities.

If this is a valid interpretation, then certain implications arise. For the researcher, if religious contacts are no longer definitive of community relations, then other indexes may be needed for helping to delineate communities and to describe their character. For the churchman, lay and professional, choices may have to be made among values and goals. If differences between those of church and of community are too wide, some means for conciliation may need to be contrived, since churches are social institutions in community situations as well as agencies for preserving and perpetuating religious interests. Other community-related institutions face similar problems.

Industry and town-country relations

Like schools and churches, many units for the first processing of farm products were often located in country neighborhood and small village centers. The nationwide study of social trends reviewed earlier in this chapter indicated that the most promising road for industry in its relation with agriculture was in the direction of food and fibre, and that readjustments were taking

the form of flexible and centralized plants located in the larger town-country centers, replacing those small cheese factories, creameries, grist or flour mills, formerly in open-country or hamlet neighborhoods and villages.

A movement in the opposite direction was also encountered, namely the decentralization of industrial units from urban areas into town and village centers, with the declared purposes of being nearer sources of supplies and a labor market, of providing better living accommodations for employees, and of avoiding labor trouble and trade unions. There was evidence of great eagerness and much effort to bring industry into even village-country communities for the avowed purpose of providing job opportunities for all local employables. As suggested previously, there was often a stated public opinion that this was necessary as proof of "loyalty to one's home town"; however, in expressions of private attitudes, it was frequently recognized that this could not and should not be done.

In the last restudy in Walworth County, it was found that in the intermediate, Type II, centers only one-half of those employed in industry were resident in the community. Employers emphasized that special skills were frequently not available locally and that they must be sought elsewhere, with the result that only the unskilled jobs fell to local people. Nor was employment provided for surplus farm youth, since in only one industry in these centers did as many as 25 per cent of the employees have previous farm experience. This represented only a fraction of the number of youth in the community not needed for replacements in agriculture.

In one small center, by dint of much effort on the part of local business interests, including forms of subsidy, the weekly payroll of all the local industries reached an all-time high, but even then it was less than one-sixth of the amount paid to farmers each week by the two local dairy plants, and in addition there were payments received by other farmers in the community from direct urban shipments. Agriculture as an industry did not appear to be in the thinking, much less in the planning, of the village businessmen.

The larger, Type I, centers in the county were having better success but there were still problems. Studies could well be made in situations where solutions were found, and in others where there was conflict. In Elkhorn, one of the larger centers, the Holton band instrument factory provided not only employment but the source for much cultural entertainment and education. Factory employees, other residents of the center, and young farmers were congenial members of the various community bands. In another center of similar size, industry was the source of many community contests. When labor troubles arose, there were threats by management of closing shop or of moving the factory out of town. Members of management found their way onto municipal or education boards and were reported as often exercising influences compatible with the industry's interests but not always with the community's welfare.

Business and agricultural interests and organizations

One of the great sources for developing strong town-country communities seemed to be almost entirely neglected. Village and town businessmen, farmers and other nonfarm business people resident in the country seldom organized in their own general interests. Businessmen and farmers were not represented in each other's special interest organizations to any extent. Just as agriculture was not considered as industry, so farmers were often not considered as businessmen. To be sure, there were more frequent "good-will" programs than earlier, such as farmer-in-town nights and fairs or festivals, plowing matches or barbecues in the country for townspeople to participate in as guests, but these events did not meet the fundamental issues and lingering problems long associated with the goose and the golden eggs, described in the previous chapter.

Farmers were in small minorities, if included at all in commercial or various services, "knife and fork" clubs, nor were town businessmen in such farmer organizations as the Pure Milk Association or the Consumer Cooperative. Some farmers were represented on boards of directors for banks but not in proportion to their numbers or their volume of business in the

community. This condition was found in many parts of the state, as detailed in other study reports.²⁵ There would appear to be an opportunity for business and agriculture interests, considered in their broad sense, to consolidate their relations on a community-wide basis for mutual strength and development. But, as in the case of religious interests, this may require some devising as well as desiring on the part of both business and agriculture.

Local government as social institution

From the standpoint of town-country community relations, local government stands largely as was predicted very early, probably the last social institution to conform to changing group patterns.²⁶ There was some discussion at one time of possible changes to follow community lines, but trends have taken other directions.²⁷ In the rural areas of the state, traditional forms of country towns (townships), counties, and village or town centers, separately incorporated, still persist, although many functions have been shifted to larger units, including state and federal.

Conflicts and inconsistencies continue between these incorporated centers, especially cities, and their surrounding county or town governments in such jurisdiction as zoning ordinances, granting licenses, providing fire and police protection or the public utilities, as well as school facilities. Large county boards operating with innumerable committees and mixing legislative and executive functions add to the confusion. And they will continue until social inventions are introduced which can cope with current conditions. Ingenious methods applied in England and Canada, to be described in the last chapter, should stimulate similar efforts in this state.

In this discussion of institutions and their interrelations with various types of rural communities, there was no intention of pressing a point of view regarding the dominance of community interests over specialized institutional interests. Rather, it was the aim to suggest that social institutions as well as other organized special interest groups, as indicated in the next chapter, tend to develop independent features whose dissonance

with a continually changing community environment may lead to problem situations for both institutions and communities. Therefore, in the special interests of each, and for the mutual concerns of both, this tendency needs to be recognized and directions for social action determined accordingly.

Organized Interest Groups —Their Place in Community Interrelations

There were also studies of groups in rural society whose identity and character are most responsive to the element of special interests or particular concerns and least, although not entirely unresponsive, to the dimension of place or locality. Such interest groups may be informal and nebulous or formal and organized; only the latter are considered here. Early projects in the state attempted to identify these groups and to analyze their character on a functional basis, that is, in terms of what they did. Some findings indicated a high degree of unevenness in the response of families to such groups. Social action programs in this area were numerous and strongly supported; therefore some of them will be described. Finally, questions are raised regarding the influences of these groups, not only with families but also with communities as they have been designated. Such inquiries have concerned researchers and theorists for a long time, so it is well to trace some of the backgrounds, at least in brief terms.

Some backgrounds: historical and theoretical

The recorded observations of early visitors from other countries and native historians concerned with settlement in this

country indicate that there were many organized interest groups in the frontier period, especially in the Middle West.¹ These observers were impressed with the wide variety and the voluntary character of such groups, quite in contrast to Old World forms with dependence upon government and established order. They did not, however, foresee the recent trend among voluntary groups to resort to government sponsorship, or in reverse, the organization of government agency groups to carry general public policies into local action.

Historical

The year 1900 has been suggested as a transition date when organized interest groups shifted in character from relatively restricted local forms to more widely varied and specialized forms.² It was about this time that rural society was exposed to the many means for intercommunication such as telephone, free mail delivery, automobiles, hard-surfaced roads, daily press, and radio. In the pioneer days there were the informal and itinerant husking and building bees, and the more formal local organizations such as anti-horse-thief and cattle-raisers' associations, as well as local units of fraternal, political, and religious associations. More recently a plethora of organized groups of many kinds characterizes most local communities, more than fifty having been identified in a single Great Plains community.³ On state and national levels there are, of course, thousands of voluntary associations of nearly every kind and order, for economic endeavors alone, "more and more powerful than in any other country."⁴

Theoretical

The conclusion is often drawn that this rapid increase in number and strength of interest groups has greatly weakened local community bonds. This is an assumption which needs further study, since evidence was gained in some local studies that formal interest groups are associated with well-integrated families and strongly organized communities.⁵ Likewise, it is frequently assumed that all organized interest groups are impersonal or "contractual" in character. On the other hand, it has

been pointed out that in a society little bound by place, "people easily form clubs, fraternal societies, and the like, based on congeniality which may give rise to real intimacy," that is, to primary relationships.⁶

It also has been shown that communities are not merely aggregates of individual responses to common interests but "individuals associated in all manner of groups: occupational, political, religious, each imposing more or less peculiar canons of conduct."⁷ Many forms of social organization exist within the same community, even for the same person. But the large and highly organized forms have become so conspicuous that research attention has shifted from circumscribed community conditions to wider publics.

This wider variety of interest groups and the increased exposure to mass media of communication in regard to them offer opportunities for greater individual selection and also for pressures often beyond individual resistance. However, selections cannot be made or pressures effected entirely independently of community situations within their social environments. The studies included here indicate that families do react to organized groups in different ways, just as they were shown to respond differently to their various types of community groups. This tendency was found in the New York studies as well as in those in Wisconsin.

Studies of organized interest groups

When preparing for his work at the University of Wisconsin, Dr. Galpin reverted in characteristic manner to his early experiences in Belleville, New York. He asked himself, what are the social forces playing upon farm family life? He turned to an actual and familiar situation, "not to a book," for his answer.

Early pathfinder study in New York State

In 1910 he engaged the village librarian in Belleville, whom he knew, to gather "the facts" for him. This was before the first Walworth County study of town and country relations described earlier. She drew a road map locating the approximately 300 homes in the village and on the farms in the tributary country

territory, and made a roster of all local organizations, giving each a symbol and placing it adjacent to the home which had one or more members. She also distinguished among homes on main roads and back roads, on good land and poor land, and those occupied by owners and by renters.

These maps, like those in the later Walworth County study report, presented the findings in a striking manner. The first impression was of the "comet tails," as they were called, stretching out from the homes, the length of the tails showing the number of social organizations and the different symbols, the variety of the associated interests. Twenty-seven organized groups were identified and they were considered purveyors of ideas, since family members would come home from meetings "to fertilize the minds of all the others, to shake a little pollen over the rest of the household"; thus homes became "crossbreeders of ideas." ⁸

One finding pronounced a "big discovery" was that this network of organized association marked "the fact of a real rural community" and indicated its boundary lines. Contrary to some theories current at the time, farmers and villagers mingled quite generally in all of the organizations, and the organizations helped to make, not to dismember, the community. This study, combined with the idea of trade-related contacts described in earlier chapters, proved to be a kind of pathfinder for the later study of town and country relations and for the first study of organized interest groups in the state.

Another fact considered impressive was that homes on good land, on main roads, and occupied by owners had the longest "comet tails," the others were "largely unsocialized." This was a forecast of what was later to be regarded as one type of stratification by virtue of the factors associated with the uneven responses of families to such special interest groups.

Studies by functional analysis

The early studies of organized interest groups in the state sought to identify and characterize these groups in terms of what they purported to do, rather than by classification on the basis of their social forms or group patterns. This was the same

approach as that of the studies of neighborhoods and other communities. The presence and influence of interest groups were recognized while those studies of communities were in progress. As the reviews have shown, the more formal and institutionalized groups had direct bearing on the solidarity and continuity of communities, sometimes positive, sometimes negative in their influence, but usually significantly associated. There were also informal and unorganized interest groups present but they were not studied so systematically.

Methods of study.—The special interests about which voluntary groups form in rural areas, as shown by a study of 351 cases in five counties, were many and varied.⁹ The counties were Burnett, LaCrosse, Racine, Rock, and Walworth, counties which state extension workers considered “well organized,” that is, above the average for the state in the number and variety of such groups. To qualify for inclusion, groups had to have some formal organization, including officers and stated meetings, and be associated with farm families, not be strictly village or town-centered. Groups promoted directly by religious and fraternal orders were not included. The field studies were made by trained workers who lived in each county from one to two months, and case histories were written for each group and for representative families included in the study.

Forms and interests.—The most frequent and well-organized forms were those of parent-teacher associations, farmers’ clubs, community clubs, and 4-H youth groups. The local names by which such groups were known frequently had little or no relation to the real purposes or interests involved. For example, the Sylvania Community Club was a women’s group, the French Island Community Club was a cemetery association, the Grantsburg Equity Farmers Co-op Association was a farmers’ neighborhood store, the Perida Willing Workers Society was a women’s club, the Chipmunk Lecture Club was a young people’s social group, and the May Glee Club was a farmers’ organization.

When arranged by their functions or by what they actually did, the majority of the groups fell into nine principal interest categories as follows:

Social enjoyment	Health and social welfare
Better farming	Home improvement
Help school and teacher	Public and civic affairs
Better business	Community betterment
Young people's interests	

The categories were not always mutually exclusive, since many groups were not single in their interest; in fact, only 34 per cent of them could be so considered. Social enjoyment, for example, was given as one purpose, although often as a secondary one, in over two-thirds of the cases. The combinations in which the interests occurred were revealing of the kind of society which existed at the time. Some groups, general in character, were found in situations where neighborhoods were no longer active; others, in other situations, included more highly specialized and differentiated concerns and a more selective clientele. While social interest ranked high in every county, other concerns tended to be dominant in certain counties, as the result of campaigns by general state agencies or because of the traditional interests of the local people.

General characteristics.—A significant finding was that in about 90 per cent of the cases, the groups were stimulated into organization by some influence from outside the local community. This was particularly true for those concerned with farm, home, and youth interests for which the agricultural extension services were the chief motivators. In one county without an extension representative at the time, state and county parent-teacher associations were the most active of the outside agencies. For the actual promotion in the organization of the groups and for their program of meetings and activities, officers and committee members were the ones most relied upon.

Meetings were the most common characteristic of all the groups, and they usually included some educational feature, a business session, a sociability period, and refreshments. Visiting and eating together were prime requisites for most groups, even those concerned chiefly with better business, as were coöperatives, or with better farming, as were spray rings and poultry, grain, or breed clubs.

The various modal characteristics were analyzed by cross

references. Take the matter of change, for example. Those groups making changes in their organization were the ones with the larger memberships, larger attendance at meetings; those which planned their programs further in advance had a greater number and variety of projects, more social activities, more definite future plans, more program and membership difficulties but less leadership or community trouble, and they lived the longest compared with those others which did not attempt changes.

The life cycle.—The desire to persist, to live, was strong among all types of groups, so that some continued in form long after their declared purposes were accomplished. No honorable means of demise for organized groups seemed to be found, and officers were reluctant to have them “die on their hands.” While the time interval for the various groups was different, there was a characteristic life cycle through which most of them passed. It was important to know their position on this typical road which an organized group tends to travel if they were to be given assistance. The life cycle was marked by four periods:

Stimulation was the time for rapid action. Sentiments had to be aroused among people of a single kindred interest or of several congenial interests. There was promotion and propaganda, and as indicated earlier, very often by outside agencies, but local people of influence were essential and had to be sought out and drawn into the enterprise.

Rise was also a relatively short period in the cycle. There were frequent meetings, important matters were discussed, together with the appointment of committees for framing a constitution, drafting a program, and nominating officers. Enthusiasm ran high and people sought membership.

Carrying-on was the long pull after the structure and procedure for the group were well established. New members were none too frequent, to change the constitution would require a majority vote, and interests tended to become vested. Many problems had to be faced if the group was to go on, such as keeping the purpose focused, attracting some new members, and making meetings more interesting, for even apple pie and cheese lose their flavor after a dull meeting. But new members often had different interests and different kinds of meetings

could alienate old members, so changes were difficult. Many an interest group grew old along with its members, thus such groups became selective, not only with reference to their principal concerns but also with respect to age, sex, and the experiences of their members.

Decline came sooner or later to most of these groups; however, the time might be extended to many years by skillful handling of affairs and by constantly revamping the organization to meet more specialized interests. If the decline marked the end, another group might be expected to emerge, with somewhat related purposes and organized by closely similar people; then another life cycle began.

More recent trends

By 1950, after a fifteen-year period, some significant changes were found in the state, but trends followed closely those observed in the nationwide study of agricultural communities, to which reference was made.¹⁰

First, the total number of organized groups in the state increased by as much as 60 per cent, it was estimated, but with variations from county to county and within counties, in both number and variety. A trend parallel to this, as in other conditions already noted, occurred in New York State during a similar period.¹¹ Beginning about 1940 there was a decline for Wisconsin in the locally organized mothers' clubs, community and farmer groups, as well as in the rural, nonaffiliated women's groups. But there was an increase in home demonstration groups, youth groups, and in farmers' formal, federated groups and parent-teacher associations. Very often an entirely new group was not actually formed but an existing one shifted its program and personnel and changed its name to conform to the pattern of the new sponsor.

Second, those groups which had the services of professional and paid leadership, usually administered on a county basis, gained in both number and strength. This was true of private groups such as the farmers' organizations and of those sponsored by public agencies such as 4-H youth clubs and homemakers' and farmers' groups under the Agricultural and Home Economics Extension Services. This was a general trend

throughout the country.¹² There was also the trend toward the increase in local units of the federally sponsored agencies such as soil conservation groups, credit associations, and rural electrification organizations.

Third, there was a growing tendency for local groups to join together in county or even state and federal affiliations. This means a decrease in the number of independent, local, family-type groups but an increase in the number of groups with these wider affiliations. Even at the time of the first study, in 1927, nearly a third of the groups had some county and state affiliations, but the process was speeded up after that. This took place either by local groups of similar interest and purpose joining together to gain strength and professional leadership or by the promotion of local units by means of some overhead centralized agency, sometimes private, sometimes public. The result was usually a degree of uniformity in group procedures and the creation of a power structure capable of exerting influence beyond, and controlling communication within, the groups concerned. It was often possible even in casual conversation with farmers to recognize their organization affiliation by opinions expressed which were found in current agency publications.

Uneven response of farm families to interest groups

The sequel to the study of special interest groups was a study of family responses to such groups within the same five counties.¹³ As was noted previously, there were variations in the number and variety of the groups from locality to locality; therefore, in order to make comparisons, twelve rural school districts were selected to represent high, medium, and low organization situations in terms of averages within the counties. The number of groups represented by members in high districts averaged 19, compared with 11 in the low districts. All families in the twelve districts, totaling 282, were interviewed and information secured for each member ten years of age or older.

Three classes of families

For purposes of comparison, the families were divided into three classes: "100 per cent affiliation," in which every mem-

ber of every family, at least ten years old, was affiliated with one or more organizations; "zero affiliation," in which no members were affiliated with any organization; and an intermediate class with "medium affiliation." The variations were striking when the three classes of families were also divided between the high and low districts, since 53 per cent of the families in the high districts were 100 per cent affiliation families and 43 per cent in the low districts were zero affiliation families. Further detail in the distribution is shown by the percentages below:

<i>Districts</i>	<i>100% Affiliation</i>	<i>Medium Affiliation</i>	<i>Zero Affiliation</i>
High	53%	31%	16%
Low	12%	45%	43%

When the five counties were considered together, it was estimated that about 30 per cent of the families were without members in any of these types of formal groups.

Factors associated with the variations, both by districts and by family affiliations, were examined. Considered by extent of affiliation per family, the following factors were found to be significantly associated: gross cash income, nearness to trading center, ownership of automobile and telephone, number of periodicals taken, books owned, and time spent reading and in radio listening. Other important differences among districts, but not by affiliation per family, were ownership and size of farm, size of family, certain family living facilities, voting practices, and attendance at movies. When affiliation per family was made the basis for comparison, then the number of periodicals taken was the most important single independent or influencing factor. With the number of organized groups per family as the basis, schooling of the head of the family was the most important; but in neither instance did the combined association of all significantly associated factors account for more than 26 per cent of the variation; other influences were in play.

A participation index

A participation index was arranged using averages for all families and individuals in all districts. Weighting of the items of

attendance, contributions, committee work, and leadership was done in terms of actual averages of these activities, rather than by some assumed values. Consideration was given, for example, to the fact that a person might be on a committee for one meeting, while an officer might serve for a whole year. The factors positively associated with high family participation scores were ownership, but not size, of farm, gross cash income, central heating system, use of electricity, periodicals and books, voting, radio listening, reading, and attending movies.

From the analysis it appeared that ownership of the farm and the many education and recreation facilities and practices of families had highest and most positive relation with their organized group behavior. Other factors such as age and nativity of family members, living facilities in the home, and gross farm income had some but not as much influence. These conclusions ran true to those found in the case studies but with some amplifications.

Case studies

Information was secured for each of the 282 families, and intensive case studies were made of representative families in each of the three affiliation classes and for each of the three types of districts. From these sources it became evident that three "other influences" played an important part in family relations with organized groups, namely, local cultural backgrounds and traditions, even folklore, continuing back to settlement times, neighborhood and other community conditions, and the kind and amount of promotion by representatives of affiliated agencies. These representatives often remarked that it was easier to promote their programs where interests were already awakened and organized than in other situations where family affiliations were few or lacking entirely, the implication being that quick results, rather than the determining of long-term needs, were wanted by agency headquarters.

Few, if any, discernible differences were revealed by the case studies in the potential capacities of families for such group relations, but there were real differences in the actual experiences and acquired interests of family members, depending, as just suggested, upon community conditions and cultural back-

grounds. The effort at combining analytical and case study methods proved rewarding. In the former, separate items of significance could be teased out for study, and in the latter they could be considered together in more dramatic or combined form. It was the case features of this study which received commendation.

Two compressed and contrasting case stories are given as examples:

First, in the Upton Mine district, a high organization district, the Martin family, a 100 per cent affiliation family, had lived for twenty-three years on their own farm of 160 acres of well-improved land. There were four children in the family, three in the teen-age years, two having attended and one attending high school. The parents were native to this part of the country and both had completed an eighth grade education. Mr. Martin belonged to four clubs and organizations and boasted of regular attendance at meetings as well as being active in the promotion of picnics and school programs. His favorite recreations were hunting, fishing, and camping. Mrs. Martin was a member of seven organizations and an officer in three. She indicated that the work was burdensome now and then, but on the whole she enjoyed the "social good times" and the opportunities which were afforded "to keep learning." In each instance about half of the organizations had connections beyond the locality, including church-related societies. The three older children were each members of two clubs, one the local 4-H Club. All the members of the family, except the four-year-old, spent more time than the average for other families of the district in reading, listening to the radio, and attending church services and motion picture shows.

The Upton Mine district was located at the junction of two coulees and four miles from a village of about 200 people, and it was centered in a neighborhood with a school, church, and store. The locality was settled in the 1850's, and the majority of the present residents were descendants of the early settlers. Local discussion of traditions bespoke concern for common interests and generalized activities, yet the current organized forms had appeared only within the past two decades, although the church was built in 1893.

Second, in the Little Dell district, a low organization district, the Schillinger family, a zero affiliation family, had owned and lived on its 200-acre farm for twenty-two years. However, its estimated value was only half that of the Martin family farm, and the lower income was supplemented by working on the highways. There were three children in this family, two in the teen-ages but who had both dropped out of school at the seventh grade. Neither parent had completed the elementary school of eight grades. They and the two older children worked hard, they said, to support themselves, and spent only limited time in such informal activities as picnics and school programs or in reading and listening to their radio. Mr. Schillinger seemed to sum up the general family attitude when he expressed the opinion that "this country would be better off with less clubs and less schools."

The Little Dell district was also located at one end of a coulee, about three miles from a village of less than 1,000 population, and in the same general geographic environment as Upton Mine. The school house was the only place available for meetings, and it had been rebuilt and partially modernized as a means of forestalling a proposed consolidation with the village district. Early settlers had come from New England and some from Switzerland but had been replaced in the past forty years by families from Germany and several other countries and localities. Traditions were mixed and uncertain; common interests and activities were not a part of them. In contrast with Upton Mine, the locality was traversed by the boundary lines of three village-country communities, and those few other families in the district who sought organization experiences found them in these village centers. Organization behavior, community conditions, and cultural backgrounds within these two types of districts and for these two kinds of families, are in striking contrast; the other cases scattered between the two extremes.

Four-H Club groups as illustration of differences in response

To indicate further the influence of related experiences with organized groups, conclusions from two intensive studies are

cited but without reference to methods employed. First, a study in 1936 of all 4-H Club groups in four counties in three mid-western states, Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin, concluded that club members came from families highly integrated by common experiences, and in which parents have had somewhat better educational advantages than those of nonmembers. More affiliations with other organized groups may not have influenced the initial selection of members but they were positively related with the continuity of memberships. The average number of memberships in other organizations, not restricted to youth groups, varied directly with the length of years in the 4-H group, the longer the membership, the more the other affiliations.¹⁴

The second study had a somewhat different focus but reached conclusions of a similar character. The problem was to find factors associated with the re-enrollment in 4-H Club groups or in converse terms, why the "drop-outs"? The cases were distributed in four counties of the state: Adams, Barron, Juneau, and Rock. The 557 boys and girls in the sample having been members in 1952 had the opportunity to re-enroll the next year but only two-thirds of them did. Factors significantly associated with this re-entry centered about family backgrounds and parents' participation in the clubs' activities, age at first enrollment, degree of activity in the group the previous year, and members' friendship groups. These factors were centered largely about family and other group experience rather than around material things. The final conclusion sums up the emphasis of the chapter, "there was no single factor primarily responsible"; making the decision to stay in the group or to drop out "was the result of a number of factors in combination."¹⁵

Factors in combination, however, do tend to form patterns which can be recognized and which raise questions for future study as well as suggest possibilities for social action. Do these patterned differentiations among families mark off degrees of stratification in the society of which they are a part? With which kinds of families should agencies charged with promoting the welfare of rural life and agriculture concern themselves first and foremost—those already within a matrix of several organized groups having similar cultural, educational, and recreational

experiences, or those tending toward the zero affiliation category and having other sorts of experiential and traditional characteristics?

Social action programs with organized interest groups

Results of the studies did make some choices calculated rather than mere chance. Choices were made by representatives of the University working under the Wisconsin Idea that the State boundaries outline the extent of the University's educational responsibilities. Those concerned with human relations in rural society rather than strictly with crops and livestock, turned to work with the organized groups and to help them extend their influences more widely. They took their cue directly from the results of the researches carried on among these groups. The movement took three general courses in three successive periods, except that when once started a program tended to continue and overlap with the next.

Assistance to officers and committee members

Results of the studies showed very clearly that the burden and responsibility for the "carrying-on" of these organized groups rested squarely on the shoulders of their officers and committeemen. Representatives of overhead agencies helped in the organization and in the early periods of stimulation and excitement, but then they went back to their headquarters in county seat, state capital, or Washington, D.C.

Workshops, discussions, and conferences, local, county, and state, were organized and manuals, handbooks, and bulletins were published and circulated.¹⁶ Those included in the programs were the lay and volunteer leaders—officers and members of the organizations—and the professional and paid personnel—school teachers, church pastors, librarians, county agricultural representatives, public health nurses, and many others whose duties were with rural groups. The illustration for this type of assistance, beginning in 1921, was the annual conference held for the first twenty-five years and then the more numerous courses and workshops for church pastors and religious work leaders, with a break during the wartime years.

Group and cultural activities

Reports of the early studies also indicated the dearth of group projects and of the cultural arts such as music and drama. Talks and more talks stood out like sore thumbs on the charts of time spent in meetings. Many groups were literally talked to death and all too frequently the evidence showed it was by "outside speakers."

The movement to change this condition began by encouraging more general group activities. During the earlier years of the extension services much emphasis had been given to individual projects on home farms, even with 4-H youth members, but it was soon discovered that music and drama were very potent means, not only for securing greater group participation of members, youth and adult, but as ends in themselves. Dramatic activity, for example, provides for real group experience, not necessarily only as means for personal expression or as therapy for individual difficulties. Music and drama, later folk dancing and painting, likewise proved to be effective means whereby the cultural contributions and values of the many nationality groups which made up the citizenry of the state could be better understood and appreciated, even experienced, by their own members and by those of other backgrounds.

This movement within the state has grown to large proportions. Others of the arts have been added, literary writing, for example, and weaving and metal working. The earlier divisions between "rural" and "urban" have been largely obliterated with staffs and programs now serving in state-wide capacities. The publications listed in the note will give some indication of the extent of these efforts.¹⁷ The example in this area is the nineteenth annual rural art show held on the University campus in early February, 1958, culminating numerous county and regional exhibits and demonstrations under the direction of the University's artist-in-residence and a full-time extension specialist, both regular staff members of the College of Agriculture.

Concern for the interrelation of groups in communities

Because of more recent research findings, it was inevitable that attention should turn again to communities. The studies

had shown an increase in number, strength, and variety of the organized interest groups; more of them joined together in federations on a county rather than a community basis; and more groups had professional and paid leaders and their own publications or other means for internal communication. Efforts to assist these special groups had gone on for nearly two decades when questions began to arise regarding this concentration of attention. What of the unorganized rural interests and families of few affiliations? Local volunteer leaders began to complain of too many organizations and not enough nights in the week for all the different meetings, and of general community concern being neglected.

The theory, or possibly a rationalization, that ideas, influences, and practices would filter down from the highly organized to the unorganized families did not seem to pay off. The proportions of all rural families in many of the organized groups did not change materially over the years. The drip or filter method did not become effective because, as has been shown, different sets of factors were influencing different classes of families in different ways. Organized groups tended to formalize their procedures and thereby increased their own isolation, just as the villages had done earlier by incorporating and separating themselves from their country community constituencies.

Professional leaders also observed these tendencies. They found that simply to increase the amount and the force of their existing techniques and propaganda did not yield new members in any direct ratio. They realized that other forces and agencies were at work in society and that they must recognize them, and that they might even profit by working with them. A forthright Catholic cleric declared in open discussion that he preferred to take his chances with strong and active Protestant groups rather than have his church in a place where all the other churches and social groups were down on their heels, and where there was no general community spirit.

While the low affiliation families might live across the tracks in the villages and off the main highways, and on rented farms in the country, yet they were a part of general problems and of decisions which must be faced on a community-wide basis.

Children attended the same schools, utility bonds had to be voted upon by all citizens, and general policies for granting licenses to taverns or public dance halls had to be established. Then, there were problems created by the presence of an increased proportion of rural nonfarm families, to be considered in more detail in the final chapter. Common occupations and general trade and organization contacts were no longer the centralizing binders in local affairs they once were. Furthermore, not all group activities were encompassed within single communities, and communities did not stand still but were usually in process of emerging and changing, as the review has shown. These are all concerns and questions of interrelations in social action programs of community development.

There were many debates in different departmental headquarters whether previous programs with organized special groups had sharpened tools for conflict or tuned instruments for concert in this area of community relations, but finally decisions were reached to give greater attention to intergroup plans and activities. Those interested in the various cultural arts, for example, were brought together in conferences and planning sessions where agreements were easily gained that since all the arts were of one piece, some the warp and some the woof, in a general pattern of cultural development, they must be kept together.¹⁸ A recent accomplishment is the organization of the Wisconsin Arts Foundation and Council in December, 1957, with more than one hundred individual and four institutional initial memberships.

After some trial and error, it was agreed that simply bringing representatives of other organized groups together, whether lay or professional, to discuss coöperation as such, resulted largely in the display of organization wares and in defensive attitudes when modifications in their uses were proposed. Other responses were elicited when the center of concern was shifted to common community problems and what could be done severally and jointly. It took some administrators several years to react favorably to this change of emphasis.

The illustrative case in this action program is the 1958 Short Course for Professional Community Leaders. Its purpose

pointed directly to such fundamental problems as intercommunication between groups and individuals working in the same communities, ways of improving the channels for such communication, and how to maintain mutual understanding and confidence. Registration was limited, and those eligible were state, district, or county-level representatives. A single community, Delavan, in Walworth County, was the center of practical reference, with local government officials and organization officers present to detail their local situation and to ask questions. In other years, all members of the conference spent a day in a community to see for themselves and to discuss points of view with the people who lived and worked there. Representatives of fifteen state agencies assisted in these enterprises; they had banded themselves together informally into what is now known as the Wisconsin Community Organization Committee.¹⁹

Needed inquiries about interest groups and community interrelations

A recurrent theme in the findings of the studies just reviewed was that membership in organized special interest groups was largely a characteristic of families in upper socioeconomic ranks and of those with above average education and recreation experiences. Conversely, families that were not so well off, and those with less education and lacking in time and facilities for recreation activities, had not responded to the appeals of these groups. Such factors were also shown to be associated with attendance and other forms of group participation such as office holding and committee work, yet how could they be so discriminative of membership or nonmembership unless this was somehow related with certain subjective and normative aspects? Such considerations or meanings might include general or particular attitudes, self-conceptions, and how family position is actually acquired. Answers to these and other questions should be next steps in this area of study.

A better understanding of the relationships between family status and interest-group membership should contribute not only to clarify the role of these groups in community interrelations but also to guide group leaders in "reaching" those ele-

ments in the population which have been relatively apathetic to the programs. Or, if this knowledge were more widely diffused, it could well serve to help citizens exercise greater discretion in the group affiliations they choose to make and to maintain.

In this section questions and their implications are grouped about three kinds of inquiry and always with various types of communities in mind.

Interest groups as evaluating social position

An important question is whether, and if so how, interest groups contribute to social stratification in rural society. This necessarily concerns the conditions under which status evaluations are derived, whether primarily from elements which extend beyond local community bounds, existing in the general society, or from conditions under which such meanings are uniquely local and "communal." The latter may even be in opposition to the dominant values of the general society. The problem may be illustrated graphically by the contrasting positions of two sets of lines: one set drawn on the horizontal and one set intersecting from the vertical plane. One extreme point of view would see the horizontal lines as dark and solid, the vertical as light and dotted. This would represent the traditional idea of semi-isolated, self-contained, stable communities whose local values predominate. The other point of view would consider the vertical lines as solid and dark, and the horizontal as lightly dotted. This position would consider modern rural society an "agglomerate of special interest groups or publics, each having its own status hierarchy. The basis of evaluation is determined largely by secondary systems of economic and political power and by mass media of communication" as expressed in a professional committee report.²⁰

The situation may be described in the more practical terms of a family which has recently arrived in a town-country community. The question is, by what processes does this family define and find its "niche" in this new social setting? If local values predominate, its status as "stranger" or "foreigner" may continue for a long time. Acceptance will depend on its ability and desire to assume proper roles and to perform in accord with ac-

cepted local standards. In other communities where general societal values prevail, the family can seek out, and will be sought out by other families representing them, those interest groups with which they had been identified elsewhere. Membership in interest groups, in this instance, may serve to incorporate the family into the community as well as to identify its status there. Actually, both processes tend to be operative in most rural communities.

However, to the extent that interest groups do serve to identify the society-linked values and the degree to which they manipulate power and control channels of communication, they become representatives of social classes in their communities. Families may then relate themselves positively or negatively with these group interests. Therefore, certain declared "community" aspects of such group progress may simply not be recognized as such by other members of the particular community.

Interest groups as channels for communication

Some special interest group promoters assume that consistent use of the formal channels of communication for larger and stronger doses of their propaganda will "put over" their program to a whole community. But as just suggested, such programs may not be perceived as being of a community character, and from a fourth to a third of the families may not be members of organized groups. Also, it has been shown that there are many informal channels of communication in various types of communities, and that some neighborhoods serve to spread and evaluate certain kinds of information which reaches families. The manner and the force of the many kinds of groups and of contacts in this matter of effective communication are for the most part unexplored. A fruitful method of study could well be to follow the one used to examine public opinion leadership structures to which attention was previously directed. A proposition for proof or disproof might be stated thus: to the extent to which interest group membership is class-related, non-members are isolated from its program, not only in evaluation but in any awareness of its content.

Interest groups and communities, interrelated

The strongly contrasting positions concerning the relationships between interest groups and community groups were described above in their "ideal-typical" aspects. To a considerable extent these positions have been attacked or defended on ideological rather than factual grounds. The interpretation here is that these extreme positions do not state the real case. It is undoubtedly true that some communities form a "locus" within which interest groups function, yet it has been shown that communities have important dimensions other than locality; in fact, they may serve as a kind of "interest" or reference group themselves for most of their members in respect to certain concerns. Moreover, many interest groups are not necessarily permanent, and individuals who compose them may be members of a number of such groups, even with different or opposing values. To what extent are there "interlocking" memberships, and is it still true as suggested in the early Belleville, New York, study that families are the "crossbreeders" of ideas and that contrasting points of view can be reconciled or consolidated there?

An appropriate framework for research would be to try to determine the conditions under which communities of various types, including neighborhoods, are reference points for attitudes, as well as for actions, to families of a defined variety. This would lead quite naturally to answers to how different conflicts arise, how they are resolved or concords are reached when special interest groups and specified communities have opposing positions, especially on particular issues. In cases of rapport, how they happen and what associated factors are most predictive of their community continuity.

Intercommunity Interdependencies —The Prospect

Included in this chapter is a brief summary of the findings and trends traced in the research projects reviewed in this monograph, then a short description of some changes taking place in rural society, as a backdrop against which studies can be projected, since both study and action programs should be considered within their social settings, their environments. Finally, there are some implications for social action and suggestions for future research.

Brief summary,
some conclusions, points of view

The purpose of this book has been to review and to interpret research and social action programs, with which the University of Wisconsin has been concerned in regard to changing group relations in rural society. To understand these relations more fully—how families are interrelated to form groups and how groups are interrelated in a society—is of the essence of the social sciences.

The assumption has been that groups are real and can be studied as such, either as dependent or independent variables,

influencing or being influenced by various other factors and conditions within their time and place reference.

The theme or "red thread" has been that there is a realignment of groups taking place in rural society, that they are becoming more closely interrelated according to a functional division of labor, thus establishing a new order of interdependence. Functions in the forms of contacts, formal and informal, tend to cluster, to belong together, in the formation and continuity of groups with characteristic patterns which, as indicated, are recognizable and researchable. Groups were found to be interrelated and interdependent, not in forms of a hierarchy or on a continuum but as mutually reciprocal systems—"systems of interrelatedness." A formula of unit requirements can be devised for different types of clusters of contacts in terms of the character and volume of participation, size of group, and extent of influence.

Review of trends in group interrelations

Groups studied include open-country and hamlet neighborhoods, village-country and town-country communities, organized special interest groups, and some rural-urban group relations. The same group situations have been studied and restudied at regular intervals and kept under personal observation through direct contacts and experiences, so that changes and trends could be followed as accurately and realistically as possible.

Village-country and town-country communities.—These communities have been emerging via a process of two earlier group systems merging: country neighborhoods and villages or small towns. The resulting "rurban" communities are experimental compromises in contrast with European agricultural villages, New England towns, and Southern plantations. The clustering of functional contacts in these communities of characteristic size, area, and density of population and wealth, precludes any plan of single community self-sufficiency and compels intercommunity attention and action. This need not and does not prevent individual community responsibility for specialized functions. This principle can apply in urban as well as in rural situations, as the case of Toronto, Canada, illustrates so well.

The trend is toward a differentiation of communities by types, depending on functions, time, and place. Types vary in character and in the combinations of their contacts. Illustrations are the small village-country communities furnishing the bulk of general social and economic contacts, and the larger town-country communities providing in addition more specialized functions, both social and economic. This variation among communities provides the means for the 6-3-3 plan of school reorganization with six-grade elementary units in neighborhood and small village centers, elementary and three-grade junior high school units in intermediate centers, and elementary, junior and three-grade senior high schools in town centers, all within one town-country community plan. This means multicentered communities, multiple communities, one within another, all interrelated.

Open-country and hamlet neighborhoods.—Those neighborhoods which combine a minimum of organized contacts tend to persist, therefore fitting into the general trend and the main theme of group interrelations; they are one form of community. Hamlet neighborhoods are assuming patterns similar to small village-country communities. Neighborhood persistence is associated with personal, interrelated factors such as social, economic, educational, and religious contacts, and with such impersonal factors as land tenure, family mobility, and nationality backgrounds. As neighborhoods become more formalized and institutionalized, certain other personal relations, like family visiting, exchanging work, mutual aid, and sociability, tend to form group patterns of their own, relatively but not entirely independent of neighborhoods and communities. All factors making for neighborhood persistence can be deliberately promoted and values associated with active neighborhoods can contribute to rather than detract from larger community development.

Organized special interest groups.—These groups tend to multiply in number and diversity and to strengthen their social controls through centralizing channels of communication. Conspicuous in this trend are those groups with state or nationwide networks and paid personnel, including those with government

sponsorship. However, such "outside" influences in local affairs have existed from earlier times, as witness various religious groups, two political party newspapers in small towns, and competitive farmers' movements in agricultural regions. Like most social inventions and techniques, interest group organizations are capable of double action—serving as stabilizing intercommunity connectives or as stimulating tendencies toward stratification, since they are selective in respect to age, sex, social, economic, and educational status and experiences of families. Herein lies a central problem for community organization.

Families influenced by groups.—Influences of different groups upon families are varied. Since various groups have different functions, they exert discriminating influences upon their members, both families and individuals, as reference groups, buffers against changes or connecting channels with the larger society of which they are a part. In reverse terms, families and individuals have characteristic roles in several groups—they are members of a number of groups, all at the same time, but are not equally or uniformly involved in them. This may mean processes of coöperation, accommodation, consensus, or resistance, conflict, disorganization within or among groups as well as in personality formation and development.

The community idea

The conclusion is that community continues to be a useful concept. For research it requires rigorous definition in terms of purpose of study; for comparative description, qualifying adjectives such as North American, Middle Western, town-country, multicentered, and so on; and as helpful means for thinking and communicating, it needs to be considered in its past or cultural setting to give its values meaning in any current scene. There are numerous discussions of this and other points of view which need further exploration.¹

Some misconceptions and mistakes.—There have been efforts to separate neighborhoods and communities into some sort of dichotomy, assuming them to be in positions of opposites, but dichotomies are usually snares and delusions rather than helpful means for analysis. Neighborhoods, as previously noted,

are one form of community, more circumscribed in contacts of a more personal nature and with more limited areas than town-country communities; they are different in character of content and form of design, not different in kind. Unfortunately some of the earlier study reports, including those of Dane County, Wisconsin, did not make this sufficiently clear. Those of the re-study of Otsego County, New York, were more explicit. "There is no sharp line of distinction between neighborhood and community." ". . . for the differences between a neighborhood and a community, no unequivocal criteria exist."² Westville, New York, it will be remembered, was considered a village community in the early study and a hamlet neighborhood in the later re-study. In the restudies reported for Dane County, hamlet neighborhoods or communities, if preferred, were described in midway positions between open-country neighborhoods and small village-country communities. However, this positioning of groups along some assumed line cannot be carried too far. There have been attempts to create different kinds of such continuums for purposes of comparisons and to avoid the dilemma of dichotomies. There have also been suggestions for classifying communities on some taxonomic basis. Both of these devices all too frequently assume a degree of discreteness, independence, or exclusiveness which does not exist and may tend to obscure the interrelations which have been shown here to be of increasing frequency and importance.

Groups within groups, communities within communities, cannot be well described by single dimensional diagrams, for there are interminglings and interconnections of members as well as the interrelations of the groups themselves. A confession must be recorded at this point, since such a diagram was used in an early publication to indicate the interrelations of family, neighborhood, community, and rural-urban groups by concentric circles, beginning with the family at the center.³ This was a mistake and easily gives rise to the false impression of a hierarchy through which a person must climb to get from his family up into society. On the contrary, members of families are members of other groups through direct and indirect contacts, all at the same time. Group interrelations, as previously stressed, should be displayed

by complexes of characteristic concerns, not by circles of clear circumferences.

Points of view and assumed values.—Words and concepts as means for thinking and communicating, it must be remembered, are freighted with emotional meanings from the past. To use them to explain present situations or to project them into the future requires much discrimination and some understanding. This is important for research reporting, especially its interpretation, and for social action. How can local groups, for example, or social institutions be related with community development programs in this or other countries, unless there is some knowledge of and familiarity with those values and points of view which they represent to their own constituencies?

In some circles there seems to be an assumption that commendable values are inherent in any form of community. A little reflection, or better still, some direct experience, soon dispels such a point of view. Some neighborhoods were encountered where strong pressures were exerted, even cruelties committed, to compel conformity to certain standards of conduct. Groups, techniques, and other amoral things are capable of utility or of abuse, depending on a point of view.

A possible corollary to the assumption of established values in communities as such is an idea that to conserve certain values it is necessary to preserve those forms in which they have existed. This point of view easily invites nostalgic attitudes and defensive actions. Conservation is not enough or even possible if values are to be carried on. The only way community values can be kept is to give them away, share them, promote them.

One who understands communities directs attention to the community of the future as one which will continue what has been and still is vital in small community life, and which will capture and incorporate whatever advances in technology and social understanding the future may bring.⁴ The transition from the folklore of community self-sufficiency to the conception of specialization and interdependence may be a tortuous one for some, but those who would not attempt it will find themselves in company with Lot's wife.

In other more academic circles of communication, a point of

view sometimes prevails that values inhere only in individual persons, that it is possible to learn everything necessary to social science at the individual level, and that there is "nothing superordinate" to the individual.⁵ This point of view can be useful for certain research purposes but it should not preclude the hypothesis that person and group are each a system of relations and to conceive of the one without the other is meaningless. Both of these relations need to be studied in defined situations which in turn should be considered within their cultural framework. From the standpoint of social action, "inalienable" rights of persons are without meaning unless somehow recognized within some reference group. Individual rights and responsibilities have authority only as they become organized and accepted within some pattern of community relations. Therefore, to get on with both research and action programs it is important to try to understand meanings, and to recognize values in community situations where the work is to be done, and, as indicated before, to be discriminative in the phrases used to explore and to explain them.

Changing environments for rural group relations

Groups in rural society are not only interactive with each other but with the environments in which they have their being. They are molded by some influences and in turn modify others through such group action as draining swamps, conserving natural resources, projecting suburban settlements, or inventing techniques for community organization. What a different environment for group relations exists in Wisconsin at present, compared with the period when the first studies reviewed here were made! The early conditions were described in terms of comparison with Old World countries, but now, as background for suggesting further research and social action, changes in conditions within the state and nation must be noted, not in any complete or analytical sense but as trends and influences having a bearing upon such proposed plans.

Shifts in population: characteristics, distribution

One of the most significant changes has taken place in respect to a characteristic in which this state was relatively unique

among the states. Early settlers came from highly diverse cultures, reaching their peak in 1890, when 31 per cent of the white population was foreign born, distributed among 46 different nationalities.⁶ By 1930 the percentage had dropped to 13 per cent, and by 1950 to 6 per cent. Nationality background as an index to cultural characteristics was an important feature in research carried on in the state during the 1940's.⁷ Culture areas were found to be more discriminating than types of farming when family standards of living were being compared, but as this review has shown, the influence of nationality has been steadily diminishing as a factor associated with changing group relations. Actually, its influence detected by the tests for variables associated with the persistence of active neighborhoods was of a negative order, since it was found that active neighborhoods could not tolerate more than 64 per cent of the same nationality background among their families without showing tendencies toward inactiveness. When combined with other factors such as religious organization, the influence of nationality can still be discerned but it is no longer a major item in any study of group relations.

"Rural" and "urban" as terms and concepts have long since lost much of their meaning as categories for research or as divisions for social action. What objective differences remain are gradient rather than dichotomous in character, as the nationwide study of social trends demonstrated. However, they are still laden with certain conceptions of value because of their traditional use and because of meanings injected into them, often irrelevant, from earlier conditions. Now, even as census categories they do not distinguish between many population characteristics. For example, rural families in the state, even farm families, are no longer distinguished by their number of children, nor the rural nonfarm (largely in villages and small towns) by older people, to the extent they once were. Between 1940 and 1950 the proportion of urban population in the state sixty-five years of age or over increased 23 per cent, while the rural nonfarm group gained only 9 per cent. Many studies of various kinds have been made, both in and out of the state, regarding possible rural and urban differences. The majority of them appear to agree in substance with a recent one in which a sample

of Wisconsin children was included, namely, "the increasing similarity of rural and urban children and youth."⁸

Wisconsin is still more rural than is the nation as a whole, has a larger proportion of its people in agriculture, and has relatively more owner-operated farms, but the farms are smaller than the national average. In 1955, by census definitions, the state was 56 per cent urban, 25 per cent rural nonfarm, and 18 per cent farm, compared with 1920, when 47 per cent was urban, 18 per cent rural nonfarm and 35 per cent farm. This reversal of trend, from farm to nonfarm, poses real problems for studies in group relations. In the restudies of general town-country community contacts in Walworth County no disturbing differences were found between farm and nonfarm families, but it is doubtful whether this will continue, especially as the differences in their proportion increase and as population mobility concentrates more people near the eastern waterfront and the urban centers in the southeastern part of the state. There were evidences in the restudies that some values attached to certain kinds of contacts were different between farm and nonfarm families, especially among those of the latter group which had moved out from urban centers, in respect to desired facilities for schools, recreation, and health protection.

Another significant change is the shifting concentration of population. In 1910 only 39 per cent of the state's population was in the thirteen southeastern counties, but by 1950 it was 51 per cent, and in that time Milwaukee County alone increased its proportion of the total from one-sixth to one-quarter. This movement within the state has been selective in that the rural portion of the population kept only 36 per cent of its natural increase between 1940 and 1950, and farm girls tended to move to cities faster than farm boys after they completed high school.

Kenosha County, as an example of a county on the receiving end of this population concentration movement, has people living in the open country who cannot be classified in the traditional farm or nonfarm categories. There are many varieties or degrees of farming, and there are many different kinds and occupations of nonfarm people, although a majority were found to have an interest in, or some connection with agriculture. In

spite of these many differences, the studies indicate that farm and nonfarm people do have some things in common. Many of the nonfarm people come from farm backgrounds and show an appreciation of the problems facing agriculture in this particular situation.⁹

At the other end, Price County, studied as representing an area with heavy out-migration, exhibits many results of this high mobility, probably the most important of which is its loss of people in their most productive years, the young adults. This out-movement is selective in respect to both age and sex. Girls leave more frequently than boys and at an earlier age, thus leaving in the county an excess of males and adults sixty-five years of age and older. Of the households visited, 75 per cent of the youth was living outside the county, 35 per cent in urban centers.¹⁰ The restudies in Walworth County, therefore, have greater relevance in the southeastern section of the state and less in the northwestern section than they did earlier.

From agriculture to agribusiness

Agriculture can no longer be considered as simply the art of farming, cultivating the land and raising crops and livestock. While it is true that efficiency in this elementary production has greatly increased, especially in recent years, yet it is not quite "cricket" to say, at least to guests from other countries, that fewer and fewer farmers in this country are feeding and furnishing more and more people. Production is actually not completed until food and fibre reach their consumers at the time, place, in the form, and at prices they are ready to pay. These time, place, and form utilities have expanded to unrealized proportions and serve as occupational opportunities for millions of rural farm, nonfarm, and urban people. The occupations and the processes involved have been termed "agribusiness," this being a broader concept than agriculture. "It is a combination of all production operations on the farm, the manufacture and distribution of supplies and equipment to be used on the farm, and the processing and distribution of farm commodities and items made from them."¹¹

There is a striking similarity between the up-curves of those

in agribusiness and the down-curves of those in agriculture in its traditional sense. As an example, between 1929 and 1953 all workers on farms in the United States decreased by more than three million, while workers in only the marketing of farm products increased nearly two million.¹² Agribusiness is reported to account for 40 per cent of all consumer expenditures and to employ 37 per cent of the labor force of the nation.

Just as it has been increasingly difficult to distinguish between rural and urban populations, it is becoming more and more difficult, and for many of the same reasons, to define "farmer" for technical research purposes or even to recognize one by the clothes he wears, the car he drives, or the company he keeps. Now he buys his power-producing equipment instead of raising and caring for it; he buys his fuel instead of growing feed; he buys his seed instead of using what he has saved. Therefore "the prospect" would seem to emphasize the need for skill in management rather than in production alone, and one element in management is contact with more and different people than other farmers—artisans, engineers, salesmen, merchants, professional people. Thus the early admonition of "contacts and more contacts" for farmers is still appropriate.

Like its sister agricultural states, Wisconsin is caught up in this trend toward differentiated farming, and its farmers are becoming general businessmen, not only on their own farms but in other employment as well. There are more part-time farmers in the state than formerly, and in 1950 20 per cent of the farmers reported off-the-farm employment for a hundred days or more per year, about a third or more of their working time. These trends are also reflected in the changing distribution of personal income in the state. In 1955 the State Industrial Commission reported that only 6.8 per cent of aggregate personal income received by individuals in the state was farm income, compared with 15.5 per cent in 1946.

Centralization and decentralization processes meet

In summary, it is suggested that the two processes of centralization and of decentralization have a tendency to meet at

the crossroads of larger town-country communities and near but not in urban areas. This is the trend for population movements, for agribusiness, and for those group contacts and institutions necessarily associated with them. If this be true, then the prospect for research is broadened and the need for reassessment of values and restatement of town and country community relations is increased. This necessity would seem to be greatest for those institutions such as colleges of agriculture, whose research, teaching, and state-wide extension services, by tradition, legislation, and organization, are geared to agriculture, principally as it was regarded at the time of the original land-grant acts of Congress. Some other institutions are town-country community high schools with their agricultural and home economics programs, the agricultural press, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Rural Electrification Administration. These institutions will have to make decisions, and soon, whether to stay by their original statements of purpose or to change and follow trends of the times.

Some implications for social action

While the principal purpose has been to review and interpret research in the field of group relations, it has been recognized that study and action go hand in hand. Interpretations have their action implications, since the group relations under observation were actually going concerns; they were in operation. Many of the questions for future study suggested in the next section are being answered, often *a priori*, and put to the test in the field of practical affairs. However, many research findings have proved useful when applied and many more should be brought to bear directly on plans for social action. To this end, some implications and questions pointed out along the way are briefly brought together here, inevitably in general terms—specifics must always be tempered to time and place.

As with the suggestions for further study, implications for action can be approached from two standpoints: (1) from that of groups such as communities, and (2) from that of families and their individual members.

Implications for groups as communities

Important decisions need to be made, as pointed out in the previous section, by those institutions and organizations which have been related with rural life and agriculture since the time the first studies reviewed here were made. Then, the laboratory was just beginning to make its contribution to technology as applied to practical farming. Now, many problems facing such institutions involve plans and policies which must be carried out under conditions of a rapidly changing and socially conscious general society in which they are a more active part than ever before.

Research findings applicable to group relations, especially community relations, include among others the following: groups can be regarded as social entities and worked with as such; plans and policies for social action need some communal, that is, some organized and localized reference in order to be effective; groups are constantly in process and so must be approached with some conception of change; groups, especially communities, are not isolated or self-sufficient but are interrelated with other groups and with their cultural backgrounds; therefore plans and policies for change, or so-called development, must include more than techniques or gadgets of know-how. Group relationships and cultural patterns are of a piece, and to change any part is to alter the whole.

Illustrations of the application of some of these findings are given only in two areas—community relations for education and intercommunity relations for other institutional affairs.

Town-country community relations for education.—The process by which the two earlier group systems of education merged into one has been described. Country neighborhoods and village or small-town communities have institutionalized and legalized a larger town-country plan; so far so good, but they cannot stop there, comfortable as it might seem. Their constituencies have changed—changed in family occupations, places of employment, and in plans for the future of their children. Teachers and administrators of the vocational agriculture programs in such town-country communities are observing the changes and as

headlined in their publications are "taking a fresh look" at their jobs. Can a strictly agricultural program be justified to the non-farming taxpayers in the communities where only one-fourth of the families are farmers and three-fourths of their sons and daughters will go to college or university and enter other professions or seek other forms of employment in more urban centers? If the community relations as reviewed have meaning, then both specialized and common interests need to be recognized and served or else the program will become as empty a form as the one which it superseded.

What of the village boy whose plight was described as being the forgotten one in programs of vocational education, and the farm boy with a toward-business inclination? While published schedules of courses do indicate more attention than they formerly did to such aspects of the business of farming as taxes, credit, land tenure, leases, appraisals, insurance, management, and marketing, yet decisions would seem to be needed as to whether, or to what extent, this business emphasis should also include agribusiness. If it were included, enrollments might be increased and knowledge broadened regarding agriculture's place in the shrinking world. Young men might be trained to take over these newer and expanded tasks, since they might have some understanding through experience of agriculture's problems at their source, the farm and its tributary trade and social center. Likewise, on the mechanical and construction front, how can the manual arts and the crafts be separated from agriculture, with its modern needs, in an educational plan or a departmental administration?

Agriculture departments, and home economics departments too, in town-country community high schools have much to offer other, "academic," departments by way of creating learning situations inside and outside the classroom, of reaching the adults, and of being a part of the community throughout the calendar year. The report of the five-year, seven-community study indicated that too few teachers regarded local business establishments, social organizations, auctions, jails, weather, traditions and customs, highway construction, household appliances, radio programs, or newspapers as sources for learning.

They seemed to prefer to teach in isolation from their immediate environments and to leave the community early and stay away as much as possible, rather than to try to understand and to share experiences in the social setting within whose influences their pupils must learn. What could constitute a more promising four-way education arrangement than a boy and his calf with his father and his teacher in a seemingly casual circumstance, out in the barn on a rainy Saturday morning in the springtime of the year?

Intercommunity relations for institutional affairs.—Much stress has been given to the interdependence of the various types of communities, but far too little research or practical application has been done in this area of group relations. Town-country communities are not complexes solely of interfamily relations but of various intergroup relations as well. To continue this illustration, in high school circles there seem to be the two schools of thought, at least of practice, in regard to those "other groups." In the case of Oregon, Dane County, apparently neighborhoods were not considered an asset, since all country schools were closed in the course of the reorganization, whether or not they were located in active country neighborhoods. In the case of Winneconne, Winnebago County, described earlier, those schools in active neighborhoods were made an integral part of the enlarged plan. Research findings strongly support the second school of thought, namely that groups within groups are mutual in their influences, in fact, since no one community can be self-sufficient, interrelations are inevitable and must be considered in directed social action.

In Walworth County, during and after the period of school reorganization, local leaders in the larger communities did far too little to gain the confidence and good will or to understand the feelings and attitudes of those in the smaller communities, knowing that sooner or later the latter would have to join them to gain sufficient size and support for an adequate educational program. Those in the smaller communities found themselves in the unfavorable position suggested by the old limerick about the lady who went for a ride on a tiger but came back insider. The process by which one community can encompass or com-

prehend another calls for more study and is an area where controlled experiments can well be carried on.

The principle of unit requirements was urged as one to follow in making plans for intercommunity social action when kinds of service, volume and area of participation and costs per various units are considered together. The principle is not always easy to apply, as previously pointed out, when social positions are established, feelings of group loyalty strong, and community self-reliance desired. In one local situation where a motion picture theater had failed and the high school was also in financial difficulty, the suggestion was made that school buses be used to transport not only children to a larger town-country community senior high school but also older youth to a nearby small city for special picture features, musical concerts, and dramatic productions. The suggestion was abruptly and vigorously opposed as being not only disloyal to the community but an illegal use of public funds. Children and youth are ever the ones who suffer most from such stubbornly held traditional positions, and they are the first, by necessity, to break through obsolete restrictions, as the Dane and Walworth county studies showed so clearly.

Other institutions also face this necessity for recognizing intercommunity relations. Health, hospital, and medical care plans in this and other states are examples of this recognition and of programs made accordingly. Service areas are planned, a coördination of units of various sizes arranged, and financial support distributed.

Sooner or later the institution of local government is found to be fundamental to many of these intercommunity relations and necessary for their effective action. As reported before, it is least responsive to the requirements of change. The search for illustrations of adaptability to new requirements within the state proved futile. The trail finally led back to England, from whose sources some of the patterns of local governments have been drawn, and where similar current problems have been met more realistically.

The planning of new town centers in England, as the diagram shows, takes into account the principle of generalized over-all

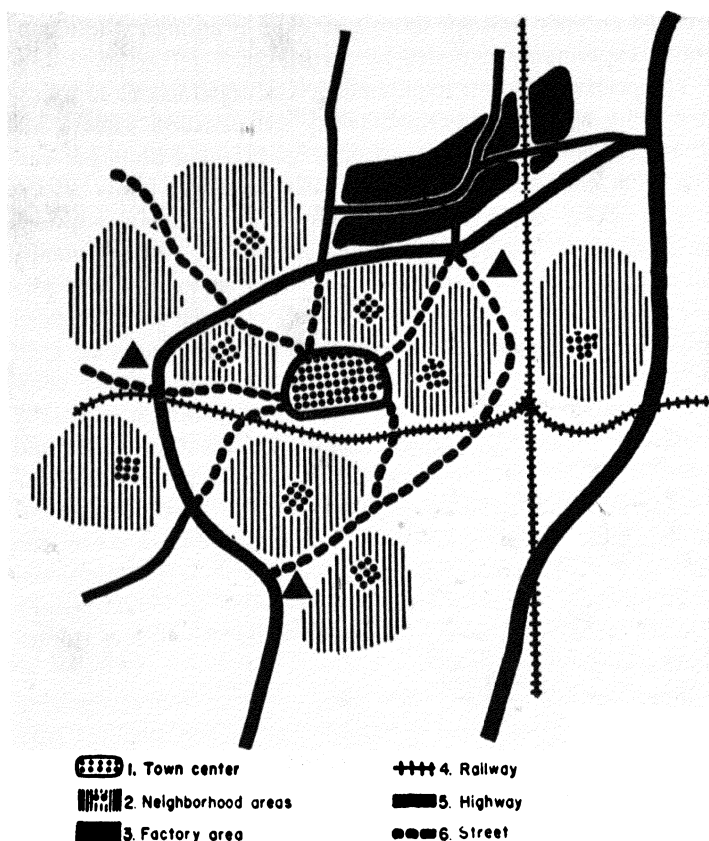


Figure 9

New Town Layout of Crawley, England.

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from the *New York Times Magazine*, January 29, 1956.

and specialized local rights and responsibilities. The plan includes separate neighborhoods, each with its own organization, social and shopping center, playing fields, and churches. Major trafficked streets run between these neighborhoods, around but not through them. The town center has its general institutions and agencies, a factory site is provided, a green belt surrounds the entire area, and there is a general legal organization for the whole community.¹³

This same principle has been carried into a larger and more complicated urban and suburban situation by a Canadian city, Toronto, some of whose governmental antecedents are also in England. As the result of penetrating research and courageous action, the chairman of the newly constituted metropolitan council could report as follows:

In 1951 the City of Toronto upon recommendation of the Toronto and York Planning Board, made an application to the Ontario Municipal Board for an order directing the amalgamation of the 13 municipalities into one city. Despite their financial embarrassment, despite their dire necessity for services which they could not provide for themselves, 11 out of the 12 suburban municipalities violently and vitriolically defended their sovereign rights to remain locally autonomous, even if the roof fell in on their heads and they went broke in the process.

There had to be an answer, as there is an answer for everything. The now famous Cummings Report of the Ontario Municipal Board, courageously translated into legislation by Premier Frost, provided the solution. It was the formation of a new level of municipal government, a metropolitan government charged with the responsibility of providing those services which are metropolitan in nature and leaving to the local municipalities their sovereign and autonomous powers in respect to those services which are local in nature.¹⁴

What a contribution some plan of like purpose could make for the urban, suburban, and outlying areas of Madison in Dane County. The plan could well include not only the city and its surrounding three incorporated suburban units, but four nearby incorporated villages and six active neighborhoods. Within such a federated metropolitan system of government, general and special interests could be respected and utilized and mutual rights and responsibilities reciprocated. Special studies and social action experiments in this field of multicentered groups, communities within communities, are awaiting social researchers, political science inventors, state legislators, and local administrators, not only for government but for other social institutions in both rural and urban environments; principles should not differ, forms of the relationships may.

The timeliness for discussions of this kind which imply the

interplay of the traditionally regarded rural and urban interests should not require elaboration. There are too many evidences at hand of the internal deterioration of large cities, of traffic stranguation, inadequate facilities for schools, parks, hospitals, and the public utilities. These are all part of the general trends referred to previously, namely population, business, industry, and institutions moving from and toward, but not into, urban centers. The two movements converge in the processes designated as centralization and decentralization.

Implications of groups for families and individuals

The research findings as reviewed indicate that groups of different types are discriminative in their influences upon various kinds of families. If groups are to be regarded as personal references and as sources of information or depended upon for deciding plans and policies, then some knowledge of their various forms, processes, and interrelations is essential. The findings also suggest that families and their individual members, whether rural or urban in background, need to consider social action on the premise of ever-widening contacts involving not only family and community but the "Great Society." Such interrelatedness may bring within its scope peoples with other customs, colors, and cultures than those to which communities have been accustomed. Modern systems of communication and advances in other technologies are forces in motion which do not brook resistance; they likewise respond to ever-expanding demands for further development. To some who are sensitive to personal and small group values, possible results may seem overpowering. Research results would indicate but not confirm that families and their members do not and need not face these forces alone. They can, if they will, use them in their search for a wider orientation to this changing society of which they are in turn an interactive force. An illustration in point is the case of the people of the Buckeye neighborhood deliberately joining with the people of Stoughton to form a larger community relationship.

Group competence and intergroup relations.—An important application, then, becomes the acquiring of group competence, an application which can be learned as part of the experiences in

human relations. The importance of such experience as a factor significantly associated with group relations was evident in many of the studies. Just as digital dexterity can be gained for piano playing or social grace acquired in "making friends and influencing people," so group-related abilities can be learned, not as a matter of manipulation of others to one's own ends through using clever group tricks or knowing "how groups tick" but as means for finding ways of personal expression, for being truly considerate and helpful, and for joining together in corporate action. Groups were observed in which members were congenial and mutually responsive, provided the groups were not used to fence people in but to help them out into society. Music and drama, as described, were useful activities and they lend themselves to groups of varying size and character and to individuals of differing backgrounds and capacities.

Programs for social action are in need of giving greater rather than lesser attention to the development of groups of various kinds—neighborhoods, other communities, rural-urban groups, and special interest groups. This may lead inevitably to conflicts of various kinds unless skills at intergroup action are also acquired. Special interest groups, for example, may and often do, compete for an individual's time, mind, and money, and for a member's loyalties as against community interests and general welfare. Social institutions, as has been indicated, often find themselves in similar positions. For the currently stressed programs of community development, this may mean, at least in many local situations in this country, more attention to the integration of special interest groups and to their closer identification with community interests, if communities are to develop as communities rather than as chosen instruments for the promotion of specialized vested interests. In some other countries, with other cultural backgrounds and practical experiences, it may mean the stimulation of more voluntary and special interest groups, and the greater participation of citizens in public and civic affairs.

Communities serving as reference points.—This interrelation of special interests and communities, as just suggested, is an area not only for research as detailed in the next section of the chap-

ter, but for deliberate social action. Can local communities of various types become common reference points for their family members, and if so, by what means? Many interest groups and social institutions, as frequently pointed out, do have wider reference than the communities in which they operate. This intensifies the problem of when and how they relate their functions to the communities and whether their standards and norms are accepted or are even perceived there. What of such farm programs as price supports or production controls? There is little evidence of agreement on the national level. How can the town-country community function in these regards with its farmer, nonfarmer, town business, service and professional representatives, or can it? Can policies be formulated in state or national headquarters and administrative procedures given to local communities, or must the process be reversed to be effective? Or, to what extent and in what forms can agribusiness become community business? There is some evidence that unless at least some farmer and nonfarmer interests can be reconciled within some common framework, agricultural policies for elementary production, as well as time, place, and farm utilities, will be formulated from other points of reference.

The Walworth County restudies pointed to the tendency for religious interests to be directed toward churches as institutions rather than to communities as groups. If communities in transitional rural society are to develop and to function as reference groups for their members, then it follows that they need to give a grass-roots relevance and provide a measure of commonality to agrarian, educational, religious, organizational, and other action programs with their wider scopes. As stressed in an earlier chapter, institutions are necessary social mechanisms. The problem is how to perpetuate them and at the same time make them mutually responsive to their community environments.

Suggestions for future research

The research review has shown an increasing multiple relation of groups; therefore future research should be considered within a multilateral frame of reference. Such an approach may

be suggested by the following brief statements, perhaps too cryptic for clarity:

Identification of the forms, the patterns, which groups assume in a time and place reference with analysis of factors, conditions, which are associated with such formations.

Characterization of the processes, the functions, of the groups, with analysis of the special elements which contribute to such social alignments.

Consideration of the backgrounds of the groups, their social origins, even the myths and folklore which help make for their unity and continuity; explanations of group behavior in contemporary terms are not enough; cultural settings are important too.

Projection of studies to systems of the interconnections of groups, their "interrelatedness" which gives society its form and substance.

In counterpoint, demonstration of how various types of groups of different dimensions give what kind of discriminative influences and particular meanings to their varied member constituencies.

Suggestions for continuing inquiries regarding neighborhoods, organized special interest groups, and social institutions have been made in their respective chapters. Attention will therefore be centered here upon town-country communities as opportunities for further research. The suggestions fall into two categories, the same as in the discussions of social action, and with some repetitions: (1) communities as groups, and (2) communities as influencing factors for their members.

Communities as groups

Suggestions in this realm take the form of pointing out problem areas rather than attempting to focus directly on purpose statements or to frame final hypotheses. They are grouped into three categories—community cohesion, continuity, and organization.

Community cohesion.—Greater attention than in the past should be given to the diverse elements within the communities which have been identified, and also to other patterns which may emerge as changing currents in rural society gain momen-

tum, that is, if they do. Are the changing contacts of farm, part-time farm, and nonfarm country families and the varying occupation and status groups of families in village or town centers contributing to or undermining community cohesions? Tests showed that nonfarm occupations were not discriminating in terms of social participation for certain neighborhood and small village-community situations. However, influences arising from the rapid increase and diversification of such occupations require more careful consideration. The dimension of identification with a community, the belonging, also needs more study to determine how the differentiation from other groups is expressed or even enforced. It is also entirely possible that clusters of contacts other than those associated with trade or with education may serve better as identifiers and characterizers for emerging rural communities of the future.

Community continuity.—There is need for studying plans and programs promoted by communities for their own perpetuation. How are stated purposes related to techniques employed, and who are those selected or self-appointed to carry on? What are the results of such promotion? Staff members of both agricultural and general extension services of the university have given much time and energy to such programs of discussion as forums, panels, symposia, and citizens appraisals. At an earlier period these efforts were often eschewed by community citizens and even opposed by some representing state-wide organized special interests. Such practices are now accepted and widely used, but their actual effectiveness in terms of designated purposes is largely unknown. A closely related problem is determining how community action does take place, how group decisions are made, and consensus acquired or opposition controlled.

Community organization.—Assessments are needed regarding the effectiveness of certain mechanisms for the organization of community forces such as councils with members selected directly by the citizens or with indirect representation chosen from various interest groups and social institutions. Can a community council, for example, rise in its actions above the level of the lowest common denominator of such special interest

groups? What kind of campaigns for community development give greatest promise of success, those with specific or those with general purposes? How are project or development leaders selected and how can they be changed when their usefulness is obviously over? Do communities, like special interest groups, tend to follow certain life cycles, and if so, how can their positions on the dial be best determined?

Communities as influencing factors

Evidence has been accumulating throughout the course of the review that important next steps in research regarding rural community affairs lie in the direction of determining the influences which the various types of communities exert upon their constituencies. If the communities which have been differentiated in the studies are to be considered important means for understanding human behavior and for influencing social action, then quite obviously more must be known about what they mean, what values they represent, what influences they exert for those who compose them.

These and related questions do open vistas for more research. Some of them have peculiar pertinence for those working with community development programs in other countries—not only the question of whether communities assume forms which can be recognized but also of what meanings they have for their people.

The studies of community identification, characterization, and differentiation should form a useful framework, both theoretical and practical, for exploring such other aspects of group relations. Likewise, the beginnings made and the experiences gained in the studies of neighborhoods as influencing factors in the attitudes and actions of member families should help to point the way.

More recent studies than those included in the previous reviews indicate that small informal group systems within neighborhoods have a greater frequency of member contacts than do similar groups outside the neighborhoods as they were delineated in the last restudy in Dane County. Likewise these in-

formal groups in the neighborhoods convey more information to their members about personal matters than do the same kinds of groups which are not centered in neighborhoods.¹⁵

Neighborhoods must also be considered as functioning units within the larger communities and as such become intermediate factors or intervening variables between such communities and the family behavior to be studied. The research situation becomes further involved by the various types of communities which have been differentiated—three types in the case of the Dane and Walworth county studies. There may well be others in other areas. One hypothesis may be ventured, namely that the nature of families' reactions and responses to their communities is a function of the type of community; consequently the analysis of influences must be comparative.

Three groups of suggestions are given but they are still less than problem statements or hypothesis formulations.

Community implication.—This is in terms of expressed concerns or anxieties about the community, rather than in terms of participation which can be measured objectively. How are families implicated or involved in issues regarding community and institutional relations? Such issues may take the form of a contested school board election, a zoning proposal, or a change of tavern regulations for youth. Analysis would then be concerned with comparisons not only within communities but among different types of communities. Do farm families, for example, become equally or differently implicated in the different types of communities with which they have contacts, or does one type predominate in its influence? An interesting question would be whether the economic or the social contacts are more predictive of the implications of families with their communities.

Communities as reference groups.—This means communities considered as influencing factors in making decisions, forming attitudes, and stimulating reactions, both positive and negative. Are communities in this sense truly reference groups for their families, and if so, which types of communities and for what kinds of reactions? Specific areas of decision-making would need to be isolated. Does a farmer's community or does his farm organization group influence his public opinion and his private

vote in regard, for example, to "fast time" for the summer period? What effect does type of community have on the nature of responses given by farm or by village youth to questions of desired future employment or place of residence? In the last restudy in Walworth County some association was found among high school pupils between size of community and such responses. Would this hold true in other situations, for other reactions, and for other age groups?

Integration with communities.—This may take at least three forms: personal, social, and moral.

Integration may be personal—the extent to which one feels accepted within the community. As suggested in the New York study, a family may accept and act a role which it assumes has been set for it by the community; it may tend to become isolated without any feeling of acceptance; it may try for recognition on its own terms, or it may become frustrated and move away. Outward mobility as previously noted, is an uncontrolled condition in all community studies, but its influence should somehow be determined, especially in such areas as the northwestern section of Wisconsin, where rural youth are leaving in large numbers. What happens to families if or when the different types of communities of which they are members are not in harmony?

Integration may be social—the extent to which a family's acceptance is related with its social participation in the community. The problem then becomes that of relating feelings of acceptance to actual participation. Social participation was found to be an intervening factor in the comparisons of personal responses to neighborhood influences. Would this relation hold true for other types of communities and for other kinds of participation?

Integration may be moral—the extent to which family behavior is regulated by, or responds to, community norms. How much implication or acceptance is necessary for effective control in regard to such norms? What happens to families when a village-centered community resists conformity with the larger town-country community's standard of morality in regard to recreation, such as organized Sunday baseball? The problem is

one of getting some measure not only of the influence of the different types of communities but also of those organized special interest groups represented in the community whose standards may or may not be fully recognized or accepted there.

To conclude, the various problems which have been suggested for further study can be thought of within a single general model. This will mean more than one research design, as well as a number of different methods for gathering and analyzing the necessary data. Methods should be varied and ingenious according to particular purposes, but the general model should permit the systematic exploring of the many interrelations. These relations are between the fundamental concerns of individual families and the continually changing and increasingly complex environments. The latter represent determinative influences affecting the concerns of member families—their feeling of social, economic, or political power, their educational aspirations for their children, their sense of personal security. Not only should the independent effect of the different conditions upon such concerns be studied but also their interrelated effects.

Any complete analysis of the interplay of these two levels of behavior must also consider those factors which serve to mediate the interaction between families and environments. Focusing attention on the social situations, it has been suggested that the analysis be centered on status-role systems and communication systems which implicate families in communities of different types. On the other hand, considering the families, it has been pointed out that there are a number of ways by which family members relate themselves to communities. By such an approach there can be a prospect of more fully understanding group interrelations in a changing rural society.

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8		T I M E				
	<i>Economic Contacts</i>	<i>1920-21</i>	<i>1930-31</i>	<i>1940-41</i>	<i>1950-51</i>	<i>Total</i>
	² (as primary)	14	19	22	15	70
	¹ (as secondary)	6	8	7	18	39
	⁰ (other contacts, both primary and secondary)	157	156	126	84	523
	Total	177	183	155	117	632

The factors were divided into primary (2), secondary (1), non-economic primary and secondary or other factors (0). This was done to split the main factor into its two components and to meet the assumptions of the tests.

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4 *Participation index scores* *All families* *Families "in" neighborhoods* *Families "out" of neighborhoods*

	No.	%	%	%
Total	731	100	100	100
High	285	39	49	30
Medium	170	23	25	22
Low	276	38	26	48

$$X^2 = 43.45 \quad df = 2 \quad P < .05; \bar{C} = .35$$

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8	ALL FAMILIES IN SPECIAL SAMPLE		
	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	
	<i>participants</i>	<i>participants</i>	<i>Total</i>
Attribute social significance	62	70	(132)
Attribute self or no significance	92	63	(155)
Total	(154)	(133)	(287)
	$X^2 = 4.40$	$df = 1$	$P < .05$

9	FAMILIES IN ACTIVE NEIGHBORHOODS		
	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	
	<i>participants</i>	<i>participants</i>	<i>Total</i>
Attribute social significance	18	40	(58)
Attribute self or no significance	31	36	(67)
Total	(49)	(76)	(125)
	$X^2 = 3.03$	$df = 1$	$.05 < P < .10$

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12 TWELVE CENTERS	POPULATION			
	1950	1940	1930	1910
Darien	719	600	700	389
Delavan	4,007	3,444	3,301	2,450
East Troy	1,052	925	800	673
Elkhorn	2,935	2,382	2,340	1,707
Genoa City	866	715	683	709
*Honey Creek	225	225	300	300
Lake Geneva	4,300	3,238	3,073	3,079
*Lyons	400	400	400	400
*Millard	60	60	40	50
Sharon	1,013	812	733	879
Walworth	1,137	875	920	755
Whitewater	5,101	3,689	3,465	3,224

*Unincorporated places whose population for 1930 and 1910 was taken from Cram's Atlas of the World and for 1940 and 1954 from Rand McNally Commercial Atlas. Other figures are from U.S. Census reports.

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23 Three auxiliary projects:

First, a coöperative plan to stimulate and help the making of community studies, in answer to demands for specific projects which would lead teachers and pupils out into their communities and the people of communities to their schools. From 1938 through 1941 there were twenty-two such schools in the plan. Zetta E. Bankert (Department of Rural Sociology) *Community Surveys by Rural High Schools*, Special Bulletin, Univ. of Wisconsin AES and the Department of Public Instruction, State of Wisconsin (Madison, 1941).

Second, the color film, *Better Schools for Rural Wisconsin*. As described in Chapter 1, the motif was contrast between town-country community schools in New York State and the small, isolated, country schools in Wisconsin. Since 1948 there have been more than 860 bookings, in nearly every county of the state, and in nineteen other states. Studies of changing conditions in New York State indicate that the school reorganization tends to center rural community life in villages. Among such studies is W. A. Anderson, *Social Change in a Central New York Rural Community*, Cornell Univ. AES Bull. 907 (Ithaca, 1954). Other studies of this community, Waterville, extend back to 1906, when James Mickel Williams submitted his doctor's thesis to Columbia University under the title "An American Town" and later expanded the discussion in *Our Rural Heritage* (New York: Knopf, 1925) and *The Expansion of Rural Life* (New York: Knopf, 1926). Similar trends are reported for other states, as in J. F. Thaden, *Equalizing Educational Opportunity Through Community School Districts*, Michigan State University AES, Special Bull. 410 (East Lansing, 1957).

Third, the work and report of a state-wide committee appointed by the dean of the College of Agriculture, directed toward postwar times for rural communities. A goal was set, "Farm people cannot build strong communities alone; village and small-town people cannot do it alone; together they can." Committee of the College of Agriculture, *Rural Communities of Wisconsin, Getting Ready for Tomorrow*. Extension Service, College of Agriculture, Univ. of Wisconsin, Circular 353 (Madison, 1945).

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- 8 Charles J. Galpin, "The Social Agencies in a Rural Community," *First Wisconsin Country Life Conference*, Bull. of the Univ. of Wisconsin, Serial No. 472, General Series No. 308, pp. 12-18. Interest in tenancy and retirement as adjustment processes in land tenure systems continued as noted in report: C. J. Galpin and Emily F. Hoag, *Farm Tenancy: An Analysis of the Occupancy of 500 Farms*, Univ. of Wisconsin AES Res. Bull. 44 (Madison, 1919).
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R. L. Schanck, "A Study of a Community and Its Groups and Institutions Conceived of as Behavior of Individuals," *Psychological Monographs*, XLIII, No. 2 (1932), 133, discovered values, both privately and publicly recognized, that were associated with community identification.

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