A Survey and Analysis of the Material Concerning the Small Community

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A SURVEY AND ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CONCERNING THE SMALL COMMUNITY

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A Master's Report Presented to the Graduate Faculty of Fort Hays Kansas State College In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Science

by

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Sociology is in transition from a natural history phase of science toward a true science. This period of transition is marked by numerous efforts at codification of theory. This report explores some of the ways in which the concept "community" has been interpreted by various investigators. Attention is also given to methodology of community study and includes some of the more important studies of community. A treatment of the origin and development of communities, particularly in America, is also given.
A SURVEY AND ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL
CONCERNING THE SMALL COMMUNITY

A Master's Report
Presented to
the Faculty of
the Department of Political Science and Sociology
Fort Hays Kansas State College

In Partial Fulfillment
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Kenneth W. Felts
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Sincere appreciation is due Mr. Robert Witt for his assistance in the preparation of this report. Without his help and guidance, this report could not have been written. To Dr. Samuel Sackett and Mr. Don Slechta for their constructive criticisms in reading this report, my sincere thanks. But mostly my gratitude is to Carolyn without whose encouragement this report would never have been written.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the paper

During the past half century sociology has made great strides toward becoming a true science. Several sub-fields of investigation have been developed. Within these fields attention is being given to theoretical formulations. One of these areas is the study of the small community. The purpose of this paper is to explore the material within the area of community study to show the attempts being made to codify methodology and theory.

To introduce the reader to the community, Chapter II, A Survey of the Development of Communities, is devoted to the origin and development of communities. The latter part of this chapter is given over to the evolution of the community in America. In Chapter III, Community Study, after analyzing the many ways in which the term "community" has been used by various investigators, there is a discussion of the methodology of community studies. This material covers the period of time from Ferdinand Tönnies whose works appeared in the late 1800's, through the period of classical studies originating in the early 1900's, and concludes with the last community study of note, Small Town In Mass Society.1 A discussion of the more important community studies is included in this section.

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Conclusions drawn from this survey are contained in Chapter IV, Conclusions.

**Limitations and Sources**

The area of the survey undertaken here should be to encompass in some manner all the important material that has been published relative to the small community. However, it would be beyond the scope of this paper to review all the material of a sociological and anthropological nature which make reference to community. This study, therefore, has been limited to the material available in Forsyth Library, Fort Hays Kansas State College; to the various professional journals and publications concerned with community study; and to works on methodology which devote a considerable portion of material to field investigation and community study. While no attempt is made here to discuss the results of the many studies referred to except in a general way, it is hoped that the reader will become better acquainted with the difficulties involved in community study and with the progress that is being made toward a more adequate methodology in this area.

**Background**

Anthropology and sociology are relatively young sciences. This is especially true when they are compared to the natural sciences in which one can point to a long historical background of scientific work and scholarship. However, the social sciences have lost little time in achieving respect for themselves as scientific disciplines. Of all the sciences, the social sciences, including anthropology and
sociology, appear to hold the greatest promise for the eventual understanding of the social life of man.

A science necessarily grows out of a body of facts or verifiable data. This data is often an accumulation of materials relative to some particular aspect of human life. When a sufficient amount of material has been collected it is usually brought into some type of organization. It is then possible to convert the data into general laws, or at least into generalizations concerning the whole. Thus every science seems to exhibit two phases of development. The first, according to Northrop, is the natural-history phase, the observation, collection or description, comparison, and classification of data. This permits inductive generalizations to be made of observed phenomena. This step is followed by the second stage, that of theory formulation. The purpose of deductively formulated theory is the establishment of hypotheses based upon the accumulation of data. This then is followed by testing for validity. The result is either the verification of the hypothesis leading to further gains in the understanding of the science involved, or the failure of the hypothesis to stand under rigorous test.

Sociology is in transition between these two stages. The accumulated data has been sorted and analyzed. Out of the process has emerged several areas which have become the focus of study.

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Within these sub-fields attention is being given to the construction of theoretical frameworks for further study and understanding of these areas. As well as these component disciplines, sociology itself as a whole is advancing toward the theory-formulation stage; attempts have been and are being made to present theoretical models of society and some generalizations therefrom. This work for the most part has been the product of Talcott Parsons and Robert K. Merton. These theorists have remained essentially within the domains of sociological thought. A recent anthropological work by Laura Thompson, Toward A Science of Mankind, is an attempt to unite cultural and physical anthropology, biology, ecology, the social sciences, psychology, and the humanities in a true science of mankind. It has been the trend in recent years for much of the community study of the anthropologist to be on such a multi-disciplinary basis. This paper will be sociologically oriented and will concern itself primarily with the work being done in sociology; however, the pioneering work of the anthropologist cannot be neglected, nor can the methodology being used by the author be omitted as it bears upon sociological investigations.

One of the areas of specialization within the field of sociology is the study of community. Community study is a development out of

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2Thompson, op. cit.
the field of cultural anthropology. Anthropological pioneers in
the field of community study, such as Bronislaw Malinowski6 and
A. R. Radcliffe-Brown,7 using what is known as the functionalist
approach, advanced the idea that a system can only be understood as
a whole of interrelated parts and must be studied as such. That is,
no one part of a social system can be isolated for analysis, and from
the investigation of such parts no valid generalizations of the whole
can be made. Not only must the entire system be analyzed, but one
must also bring a "time-depth" approach into the investigation. The
historical perspective is as important to the understanding of an
institution as is the meaning of the institution to the lives of
the people.

The primary concern of this paper is the small community as
a whole. Two sociological studies of internal communities, that
is, communities located within the social system of a larger community,
have been included in this study8 as they represent on a reduced
scale the type of investigations of community which are discussed
in this paper. It will be helpful to the reader if some background
of the formation and evolution of the small community is explored. For
this purpose, the next chapter is devoted to the brief survey of the
development of communities.

6Bronislaw Malinowski, Argonauts of the Western Pacific (London:
Routledge, 1922).

7A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders (New York:
Cambridge University Press, 1922).

8A. B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: Wiley, 1949);
William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago
With the domestication of plants and animals, primitive man conquered the problem of securing a constant food supply. Adapting himself thus to the environment, he ceased his wanderings and began to form communities. A community, then arises through sharing a limited territorial space for residence and for sustenance and functions to meet common needs generated in sharing this space by establishing characteristic forms of social action.

These communities were permanent settlements, the formation of which must have been revolutionary at the time of their creation and early growth. It was out of these communities that new types of property laws and new civil laws and codes grew. The accumulation of wealth...
and the ownership of property brought an alteration in the social
codes. The development of the trades engendered a sense of self-
sufficiency and independence from other communities. Villages of one
form or another became universal about 10,000 years ago. Upon the
foundations of these simple, small communities our complex modern
cities and towns have developed.

During the period 375 AD to 675 AD, the small villages and
communities of Europe were replaced by the manorial community. While
the exact reasons for this alteration in the social structure are not
know, several factors have been suggested as being in part responsible.
Among these are the following: (1) the deterioration of the plan-
tation system of Rome and re-organization of the plantations into
proto-feudal structures; (2) the establishment of coloni in France
in which the land was tilled in part for the lord and in part for
the tenant; and (3) adoption by the north of Europe, then still
largely unsettled, because it seemed to work well for the southern
areas. It has also been suggested that the accumulation of wealth
and land by some individuals attracted roving hordes of invaders
from the east and north. The feudal system was developed both as
protection from such invaders and as a better method of utilizing the
land. These forms existed until about 1500.

In the late 1600's, during the colonizing of America, the
community forms of the Old World were transplanted to the newly

5Ibid., pp. 113, 118.
6Ibid., pp. 115-119.
established colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. These communities underwent transformation as a result of the frontier experience and reflected the scarcity of long established tradition. Added to this was the cultural cross fertilization among the colonies, each bearing Old World traditions but trying to adapt themselves to the needs of the frontier. As dependencies of the various colonizing nations, each settlement was more closely related to its Mother country than it was to the other colonies, primarily due to the lack of communication.

In the South, during the first half of the 18th Century, the plantation resting on slave labor became the dominant type of social organization. During this same period of time in the North, a society based on a market economy arose. The conditions of the North precluded the use of slave labor and tended to limit the size of the farm area. Young men who went into farming found it necessary to borrow money from the city bankers and financiers to purchase land and equipment. To some extent the Southern farmer was also bound to his creditors. To make the payments on the loans, the products of the farm had to be sold in the city markets. Thus the farmers became market oriented. After about 1765, most of the colonies came under almost absolute English domination with the settlement of boundary disputes with the French and Spanish nations. The economic ties to the Crown were now strengthened, and the colonies

7Ibid., pp. 122-125.
8Ibid., pp. 127, 131-133, 139.
were dependent upon Great Britain for most economic transactions in foreign commerce. After the separation of the colonies from Great Britain in 1775, it was necessary to reintegrate the evolving social system, this time with the United States as the center, but with economic ties still strongly attached to foreign markets. Advances in agricultural techniques produced further changes and new integrations. Early in the 1800's, particularly in the North, a second shift, this time toward commercial organization, commended with the introduction of large scale manufacturing. The farmer became more closely tied to the city market for many of his needs as factory produced goods replaced products formerly manufactured on the farm. He also needed the city as a market for his products. The rural community underwent radical changes, from one of almost complete self-sufficiency to dependence upon the city for many of its supplies. In addition, many of the farm youth departed for the greater opportunities the city seemed to offer, or to the new, expanding agricultural frontier in the West.

The political and social structure of the city as we know it today is considered to have taken form in medieval Europe reaching its height during the late 17th and early 18th Centuries. This form differed from that of the earlier city in many ways. It was pre-

9 Ibid., pp. 127-130, 139.
10 Ibid., pp. 131-134.
11 Ibid., pp. 165.
12 Ibid., pp. 159, 160-165.
dicated on business rather than protection from invasion; thus a wealthy middle class instead of a warrior class became the decision makers. Martindale noted also an alteration in the political structure, which he states as follows:

Though this varied after an internal evolution from a partrician to a democratic form, the medieval city displayed a high degree of political autonomy, autocephaly, independence and power, an independent administrative body, and a market.¹³

Control of the European cities soon fell to the guilds and in the conflicts between the masters and journeymen over working conditions and restrictions in starting new businesses, state intervention appeared.¹⁴ Trade between the various nations made state regulation of commerce necessary. The powers of the state continued to grow until the cities found themselves almost completely under the control of the state political system.¹⁵ This trend is continuing today.

America did not see this conflict except in small degree, for the Industrial Revolution transformed the American city into an industrial complex, dominated by state or federal control.¹⁶ In America, as elsewhere, the central government is gaining ever increasing control over the workings of the city. To some observers the trend is toward nationalism. The city will continue to be the keeper of the

¹³Ibid., p. 173.
¹⁴Ibid., pp. 165-168.
¹⁵Ibid., pp. 169-171.
¹⁶Ibid., pp. 172-175.
social institutions, but self-government will be given over to the control of the central political power. It is not uncommon to hear of a "national community" or even a "world community" in reference to the present evolution towards new types of social organizations.

It has been apparent for some time now that nationalism is the dominant force in the governmental regulation of the internal affairs of this and other nations.\(^{17}\) The American city, and other cities affected by this movement, have had to reintegrate themselves around the economic institutions upon which they have become dependent,\(^{18}\) and the nation has had to integrate itself about the political institutions from which it receives its power.\(^{19}\)

With this historical background it is now possible to consider the reasons for the endurance of the small community. Communities exist and persist because they provide solutions to problems that face men and appear to be the most adequate way of meeting these problems.\(^{20}\) Then, too, communities exist because they solve problems of men of a time-space nature. If some better method is found to achieve these ends, there is the possibility that communities will cease to exist.

Community is a dynamic concept. The community can never stand still, for to do so would be to regress and die. The institutions

\(^{17}\text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 210-215.}\\
^{18}\text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 192-195, 215-216.}\\
^{19}\text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 217-218.}\\
^{20}\text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 104-106.}
within a city, although appearing static, are in constant motion with the alteration of membership and the passage of time. It is this dynamism that makes community difficult to study, but it is also this constant motion that makes community an area badly in need of study to determine direction of movement and to facilitate that movement by adapting the changing social system to best accommodate it.
CHAPTER III

COMMUNITY STUDY

There is little disagreement in what constitutes a community; division of opinion arises in defining what constitutes "community." This imprecision in what constitutes "community" is considered one reason why rigorously refined research has been retarded.\(^1\) No attempt will be made here to define this term. Instead, an attempt will be made to bring together and discuss many of the "operational definitions"\(^2\) which have already been given to "community."

Whenever, and for whatever reason, a group of people form a community, if the community continues to progress and expand, the early primary relationships are soon supplemented by secondary relationships. The needs generated by the sharing of this limited area both for residence and for sustenance become the genesis of the structures of the community, the institutions and systems.\(^3\) The community so viewed exhibits both a structure and a function. The two are closely related, for out of the process of personal relationships, or function, is produced the structure, the institutions that


\(^2\) An "operational definition" is the definition given to a term by a researcher for the particular project he may be working on and seems to him best suited to his needs.

give form to the community. It is upon these two concepts, that of structure and function, that the understanding of community is based. The basic differences between the many working concepts are mainly the result of the emphasis that is placed upon one or the other of these divisions.

Blackwell exhibits this dichotomy when he differentiates between social organization "embracing the totality of continuing social relationships which develop in a society," the process or function, and community organization, "a rationally directed effort to modify the social organization of a particular locality," the structure or product.4

One of the earliest students of sociology who saw the importance of the community was Ferdinand Tönnies.5 He saw the social system as one of community (Gemeinschaft) and society (Gesellschaft). To him, the community was the natural way of man; the association of men living together in small groups for mutual advantage. The social life which is superimposed upon this function or process is the result of rational free will and choice. It is impersonal and more formal than the primary relationships of community. Primary groups are the


5This material concerning Ferdinand Tönnies (1855-1936) is based upon Emory S. Bogardus, The Development of Social Thought (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1940), pp. 482-485; and Erwin Carl Paustian, "The Sociology of Ferdinand Tönnies," Summaries of Doctoral Dissertations, Northwestern University, 11:158-163, June-August, 1943.
basis of community, whereas the society is characterized by secondary groupings. The community is controlled by nature and the society by reason; the two are so interrelated, however, that neither can stand without the other, nor can they be understood apart.

Little work was done specifically in the area of community after Tönnies until 1917 when R. M. MacIver, a sociologist, published *Community: A Sociological Study*. MacIver's concept of community can be described as systems within which associations and institutions operate. An association is an interest group with the community; an institution is the framework within which group activity takes place. Institutions serve to control secondary relationships, and link the past and present. Men, thus, belong to groups or associations and not to institutions. Community and association are somewhat analogous to Tönnies' concept of community and society, with the terms reversed.

Community has not been the exclusive concern of sociologists and anthropologists. For example, Josiah Royce, a philosopher, was concerned with what constitutes a community and formulated a concept that may be interpreted as a moral definition of this term. To Royce, community grows out of the internalization within each individual of

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7 Based on Bogardus, op. cit., p. 460.

the moral precepts of his culture. When each individual has fully internalized a moral code of self realization that is based on assistance to others, the resulting harmony creates the community. Thus it appears to be a conscious attempt by "wills" to attain some preconceived goal or end. By the use of this reasoned self-control, the members of the community can achieve their "highest spiritual destiny in bodily form."9

Tönnies, MacIver, and Royce emphasized the functional approach to community and applied the term to a mutual grouping of individuals with shared interests and related goals, and one in which all are related by close personal, primary groupings. It includes the sharing of common goals and involves a set of common attitudes, beliefs, and symbols. This type community is in contrast with the spatial community, a relationship of impersonal forces, usually through secondary groupings; but still based upon the interdependence of men.10

This stress upon function in the understanding of community makes such a definition applicable to larger aggregates of people than those living with personal knowing distance of each other; to a nation or state as well as to a small community. This is particularly true of Honigmann's concept in which he gives three indications of what makes a community: (1) interdependence of individuals who (2) distinguish themselves in some symbolic way as an expression of

9 Blau, op. cit., p. 93.
unity and (3) with common interests and goals which motivate members.\textsuperscript{11} Usually the opposition of an out-group is present to assist in the maintenance of in-group solidarity. Emphasis is placed on the social significance of the institutions to the lives of the members of the community. These institutions are accepted usually without question and their use facilitates the process of social intercourse. That institutions endure even with a complete change of membership is indicative of their significance to the community, for if institutions were only superficially important to the people, they would undergo radical alterations from generation to generation.

Another concept which accentuates function is that of Sutton and Kolaja in which community is viewed as the

more or less ... policy-deciding, self- or identity-maintaining social system of families residing in a particular area which confronts collectively problems arising from the sharing of the area.\textsuperscript{12}

A purely functional approach is Long's\textsuperscript{13} in which the community is compared to an ecology of games constantly in motion in a territorial area, for instance, banking, newspaper publishing, contracting, and manufacturing. "The games give structure, goals, roles, strategies,

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tactics, and publics to the players. Players in each game make use of players in the others for their particular purposes.\textsuperscript{14} The game of "social class" provides both over-all leadership and the commonly shared values which assist in making sure the players all cooperate. Such leadership does not provide the government nor a structure for one, although it may.\textsuperscript{15}

Unlike the functional approach, which has been described above, the structural approach places all the emphasis on the product of community living, the institutions and organizations, rather than on the on-going processes. The institutions are held to be the force that molds the lives of the people. Little attention is given to the people who, as creators of the institutions, are the ones who may alter the form and shape of the institutions with the passage of time. This type of approach is exhibited by Martindale:

communities are total ways of life, complexes of behavior composed of all the institutions necessary to carry on a complete life, formed into a working whole... slow to form and persistent once formed... remarkably stable.\textsuperscript{16}

A conception of community combining both structure and function appears to be the one that will prove most fruitful in the study of the community. This is because a community is composed of both elements so closely intertwined that separation would be difficult. Either feature studied alone cannot give a true picture of the on-

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., p. 251.

\textsuperscript{15}Loc. cit.

going process of the whole community. Actually, structure and function cannot be separated, for the activity under consideration must occur in both a time and space relationship and in a welter of dynamic activity. Using a combined approach, a community may be described as "an aggregate of people to some degree localized in time and space and manifesting a relatively intense common life." A community becomes, then, a whole, a social system of 'patterned interaction' in which certain elements such as goals, norms, roles, and authority-power are observable, and in which certain basic processes such as communication, decision-making, systemic linkage, and boundary maintenance are operating.

This is much in keeping with the folk community of Honigmann which is a self-contained community exhibiting personal interaction among members who express strong feelings of kinship. These members hold similar ways of action and thought; their behavior is traditional and automatic, and this "traditional behavior" is "an end in itself." With some knowledge of the difficulties involved in understanding the concept of community it is now possible to review some of the more important studies which have been done in this area, together with the methodology of community study. The interest here will be primarily sociological, although, as noted earlier, anthropological contributions to community study have been pertinent. For

17 Honigmann, op. cit., p. 16.
19 Honigmann, op. cit., p. 148.
instance, one of the best known studies of a culture was published in 1922 by Bronislaw Malinowski, an anthropologist. This was one of the first studies in which a community's culture was viewed as "a unified whole functionally related to its environment." This study served as impetus to many other studies both in the field of anthropology and in sociology.

During its early history and its period of growth, the idea of studying a community, a city, or a rural village attracted many students who produced several studies of note. Some of this material was concerned specifically with the institutions and groupings within the city that were the products of social living: the gang, the delinquent, the hobo, the ghetto, and the slum. While such studies assist greatly in understanding the problems affecting these segments of the population, they do not bring comprehension to the workings of the community as a whole.

After the 1920's community became an accepted area for study within the field of sociology. It was recognized as an area which

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20 Bronislaw Malinowski, Argonauts of the Western Pacific (London: Routledge, 1922).


could prove fruitful in the study of man and his associations. While some investigations into rural communities had been done in the field of sociology, the first work of major importance came during the last days of America's boom years. This was the publication of *Middletown*\(^{23}\) by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd. It was this work that opened the door upon a new type of research project. This was primarily a typological approach which observes a community in terms of its culture, external relations, geographic-economic base, population-composition, and size, in order to ascertain the configuration of these elements and their relationship to community functioning.\(^{24}\)

In this study there was no attempt to formulate theories and create structural schemes. The interest was in cataloging observations of all phases of the life of this community. One of the important findings of this study was that the economic growth of the United States had led to a tendency to stratification and had made upward mobility more difficult.

In 1937 the Lynds published a second volume, *Middletown in Transition*.\(^{25}\) This was a follow-up study of the same community studied in *Middletown*, the interest being in seeing what changes had occurred between the boom times of the 1920's and the depression of the 1930's. They found that the economic crisis tended to make


even more difficult the rise up the "ladder of opportunity," and that social class lines had become more rigid.

The methodology used was that of participant-observation, of living in the community and making acute observations, supplemented by extensive use of interviews and questionnaires. The result of the Lynds' work, *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition*, was a significant contribution to the literature of sociology and especially to community study. These two books are considered classics in this field.

These studies by the Lynds set the trend in methodology which has been used since that time. In these and other early studies the researchers involved formulated their own methodology. Only rarely did they explicitly state what this was or set forth a working model in the finished material. This tendency remains today, although there is a trend toward prefacing each study with a notation of the method used. Since community study is a relatively new field and the methodology has not been standardized, it is considered well for an investigator to set forth his constructs for critical analysis by his peers. Only when there is agreement on the models to be used will it be possible for codification of research techniques so necessary for the formalization of a science.26

From the analysis of the studies which have been done in recent years it appears that the approach most widely used has been that of participant-observation. In this type approach the investigator becomes an intimate member of the lives of the people and of the community under investigation. The purpose of participant observation is to gain subjective insights into the community and of the people under study. It has the disadvantages of possible bias on the part of the observer, particularly if his contacts are limited to one class or group of people. Also, the training of most social scientists is generally not broad enough to be able to grasp the ramifications of the many sciences involved: of economics, politics, biology, ecology, history, and the other areas significant to the lives of the people.

While sociologists continue to use the participant observer approach, the trend in theoretical literature in both anthropology and sociology has been toward urging the use of a multi-discipline approach. This is essentially the approach used by the early functionalists who held that the entire community must be explored in all its aspects if one is to understand any one part of it. This approach was used effectively by anthropologists in the study of an island community in Fiji. This

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study is reviewed by Thompson\textsuperscript{28} who urges such an approach.

Thompson's suggestion of an inter-disciplinary approach to the study of community has also been made by other writers, notably Robert Redfield in \textit{The Little Community}\textsuperscript{29}. His point of view is that "we are to consider any one community as it remains in our view in its entirety, as a whole.\textsuperscript{30} He attributes character and unity to a community and feels that besides empirical investigations "sympathetic insight and understanding" are necessary in social study.\textsuperscript{31}

The current method of community study in sociology is characterized as studying life in process, not as isolated units in abstraction. It is, as Arensberg says,

that method in which a problem (or problems) in the nature, interconnections, or dynamics of behavior and attitudes is explored against or within the surround of other behavior and attitudes of the individuals making up the life of a particular community.\textsuperscript{32}

This is the same idea expressed by Green and Selz, who urge the establishment of a frame of reference based on action \textit{per se} rather than upon the structure under study. They combine the time-


\textsuperscript{29}Redfield, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., p. 9.

\textsuperscript{31}Owen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 34.

\textsuperscript{32}Conrad M. Arensberg, \"The Community-Study Method,\" \textit{The American Journal of Sociology}, 60:110, September, 1954.
space approach with function and feel that this approach encompasses those community-needs-oriented actions of organized groups, any phase of which action is performed within the locale of the community and with operationally determined time limits, and the beneficiary is either an individual or a group within the community.33

Kaufman's interest is also placed on both the dynamics and the process of community living, since the community is a constantly moving subject undergoing change and development.34

Whatever the model used for the investigation of a small community, some of the constructs within that model appear to remain the same. These same constructs compare favorably with those used in other sciences. The most widely used has already been discussed, that of participant observation. This is perhaps one of the best known methods for securing objective data coupled with subjective insights. This was the principal construct used in the studies noted earlier in this paper.35 In such investigations special attention must be given to the testing of validity, reliability, and the functional unity of observed data and reports.36

The questionnaire and the interview have been used extensively in securing information coupled with statistics to bring order into


35See footnote 27.

the data collected. Depth-interviewing, intensive interviews covering many aspects of the interviewee's life, were used by Whyte\textsuperscript{37} and West\textsuperscript{38} in their studies. They concentrated on the few leaders, both natural and appointed, for these depth-interviews, and used general interviews for many other subjects.

Another construct used in community studies is that of securing written life histories of some of the principal individuals involved. Oftentimes these are used as source material for later depth-interviewing, and present the investigator an excellent source of material about the person. Attitude surveys, field observations, case histories, and content analysis of documentary material, are all supplementary devices to help round out the material gathered by all the depth-interview and life-history studies.\textsuperscript{39}

One of the reasons for such variety in constructs by which a community is studied is due to the fact that investigators disagree on what is under investigation. Since each investigator defines his own area of work, he finds it necessary to make his own constructs to suit the outlines of the area within which he has chosen

\textsuperscript{37}Whyte, op. cit.

\textsuperscript{38}West, op. cit.

to work. Thus methodology is suffering today because of the imprecise conception of "community."

Through all the community studies which have been done since the Lynd's work, there runs one thread of consistency. In each study, social class and stratification were found to play an important part in the lives of the people. West attempted to study a community in which no classes existed but discovered a very distinct and rigid set of class lines. W. Lloyd Warner has found significant relationships between the values and ideals of democracy on the one hand and social class and color caste on the other. Hollingshead made class the center of interest in his study of Elmtown's Youth looking at stratification from the viewpoint of its youth. Whyte also used the youth of the community as the focal point of his study of class. He found significant relations to wealth in the determination of class.

Of all the investigators, Warner has remained the most interested in class and has produced a considerable amount of literature on stratification in America. He brings to light the extensive class

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40 West, op. cit.
41 Warner, Democracy in Jonesville.
42 Hollingshead, op. cit.
43 Whyte, op. cit.
44 Some of his more important works are: W. Lloyd Warner, Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949); The Social Life of a Modern Community, with P. S. Lunt (Yankee City Series; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1941); The Status Systems of a Modern Community, with P. S. Lunt (Yankee City Series; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1942); Social Class in America, with Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eells (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949); American Life: Dream and Reality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953); plus numerous journal articles and studies.
and caste systems in America and relates his findings to wealth, education, beauty, sex, and marriage. He shows how individual opportunity, work opportunity, group membership, and educational opportunity all affect one's position in the class structure.

This survey of the more important community studies\textsuperscript{45} will show to some extent the profusion of such studies and the similar methods that have been used. In almost every case it will be noted that the studies were made by participant observation with other methods employed as necessary to elicit the needed information. That there is similarity in approach is significant for it indicates a trend toward unification of methodology, a necessary step in the codification of this and other sciences.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

This survey of material concerning the small community has, it is hoped, given the reader a fuller understanding of the origin and development of the village, community, and city, especially in the United States. An attempt was made to show the trend toward nationalism and its effects on the community and city, which are no longer independent entities, but market oriented. With this view of the evolution of the community it was noted that the community remained essentially the same in form increasing only in size and complexity.

Landmarks in the study of community have been the early anthropological works, the works of Tönnies and MacIver, and the more recent sociological material by the Lynds, Hollingshead, West, and Whyte. The most recent important study of a community was done no longer ago than 1958, which indicates continuing interest in this field. It will be noted that the methodology has been primarily that of participant-observations but the trend in the theoretical literature, and the one that is being used in cultural anthropology, is that of multi-disciplinary investigation. One of the reasons for the differences in emphasis placed on the constructs in methodology is the variety of concepts of "community." It is hoped the reader will be more fully aware of the variety of usages and the difficulties of definition. It might be noted that this imprecision has led to a valid criticism of community
studies: no two studies can be compared accurately because of loose constructs. A desirable trend toward the codification of theory and the construction of better methodology was noted in Chapter I, Introduction. The future of sociology as a true science can be seen in this trend.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL WORKS


PERIODICAL LITERATURE


