Sociological variables and cultural configurations in contemporary rural communities

Neal Crasilneck Gross
Iowa State College

Follow this and additional works at: https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd
Part of the Social Psychology and Interaction Commons

Recommended Citation
Gross, Neal Crasilneck, "Sociological variables and cultural configurations in contemporary rural communities " (1946). Retrospective Theses and Dissertations. 13019.
https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd/13019

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Iowa State University Capstones, Theses and Dissertations at Iowa State University Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Retrospective Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Iowa State University Digital Repository. For more information, please contact digirep@iastate.edu.
NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI®
SOCIOPHICAL VARIABLES AND CULTURAL CONFIGURATIONS
IN CONTEMPORARY RURAL COMMUNITIES

by

Neal Gross

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major Subject: Rural Sociology

Approved:

Signature was redacted for privacy.

In Charge of Major Work:

Signature was redacted for privacy.

Head of Major Department:

Signature was redacted for privacy.

Dean of Graduate College

Iowa State College

1946
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER I.</th>
<th>INTRODUCTION</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. Orientation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. The Subject Matter of Sociology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER II.</th>
<th>THE FIELD OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Historical Development of Rural</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Critical Appraisal of Rural Social</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ical Research</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Theoretical Frames of Reference</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Definition of the Field of Rural</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER III.</th>
<th>METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE</th>
<th>51</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Basic Concepts and Central Problems of the Dissertation</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Selection of the Communities</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>The Qualitative Characteristic of</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the Data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>The Procedure of the Analysis</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER IV.</th>
<th>CULTURAL ISOLATION</th>
<th>65</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Definition of Cultural Isolation</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>The Continuum of Cultural Isolation</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>El Cerrito</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>The Amish Community</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>Cornville</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Wheatville</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>The Comparative Analysis</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CHAPTER V. SYSTEM OF INTRA-COMMUNITY SOCIAL INTERACTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Introduction</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The Continuum of Social Interaction</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. El Cerrito</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. The Amish Community</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Cornville</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Wheatville</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. The Comparative Analysis</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER VI. THE FAMILY SYSTEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Introduction</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The Continuum Analysis</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. El Cerrito</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. The Amish Community</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Cornville</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Wheatville</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. The Comparative Analysis</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER VII. THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Introduction</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The Continuum Analysis</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. The Amish Community</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. El Cerrito</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Cornville</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Wheatville</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. The Comparative Analysis</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER VIII. THE SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Introduction</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The Continuum Analysis</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. El Cerrito</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. The Amish Community</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Cornville</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Wheatville</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. The Comparative Analysis</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>SUMMARY OF THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIOLOGICAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>CULTURAL CONFIGURATIONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Anthropological Background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. Statement of the Problem and the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hypothesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D. The Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Summary and Discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LITERATURE CITED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

A. Orientation

"Failure to examine the conceptual structure and frames of reference which are unconsciously implicated in even the seemingly most innocent factual inquiries is the greatest single defect that can be found in any field of inquiry."¹ This penetrating observation of a distinguished logician constitutes the rationale of this dissertation.

This research essentially represents a questioning and a reconsideration of the analytic theoretical framework used in a specific area of sociological inquiry. It attempts to raise several fundamental problems in that area of sociological analysis termed rural sociology. In addition to the examination of the theoretical frame of reference used in rural sociological research, the study also attempts to establish several substantive propositions regarding certain sociological variables in rural communities. Attention is also directed toward the existent pattern or configuration of culture differentials in selected rural communities. In this sense, the study may be described as empirical since concrete evidence is presented in a specific frame of reference to substantiate certain propositions.

From the methodological viewpoint the dissertation may further be viewed as an effort to apply the comparative methodological techniques developed by the functional anthropologists to contemporary rural communities.

Before initiating the main analysis it is necessary to formulate in as systematic a manner as possible the central problems of the investigation. Such a formulation demands historic as well as contemporary perspective for the research. It requires explicit definition of key concepts as well as a brief excursion into certain methodological considerations relevant to the analysis. Finally, since the viewpoint adopted in the investigation is at variance with the position taken by a number of rural sociologists, it becomes necessary to raise the issues of what the disciplines sociology and rural sociology are.

The first major portion of the dissertation will be devoted to a consideration of the problems sketched above. Only by such an introductory divagation will it be possible to proceed with the subsequent analysis in any sort of rigorous fashion. Attention is initially drawn to the subject matter of sociology.

B. The Subject Matter of Sociology

There exists no unanimity among individuals who are labelled or who call themselves sociologists as to the precise meaning of sociology. It is unfortunate that many sociologists subscribe to the view that sociology
may be defined as what sociologists do. This is an unfortunate situation because it tends to retard the development of systematic sociological theory and largely precludes the logical weaving together of atomistic research into any meaningful theoretical configuration. It further encourages discrete in opposition to accretive research. However, since the latter part of the nineteenth century there has been developing a more refined conception of the nature of the sociological. Efforts of such men as Durkheim, Tarde, and Simmel to clarify the nature of the social fact has fructified into a narrowing of the termini of the objectives of sociology. However, due to the existing contemporary dialectic between proponents of variegated viewpoints regarding the subject matter of sociological analysis, it is necessary to present the writer's position on this matter. Since he leans toward a conception of the sociological with specific historical precedence, it is proper to view this problem initially in an historical perspective. The historical approach is further appropriate since to attempt to show the separation of sociology from the other social sciences in a logical manner is grossly misleading. As Small has demonstrated, the division of the social sciences into separate disciplines was essentially a result of historical growth rather than Aristotelian categorization.1

In large part, the rise of sociology reflected the methodological

1Small, A.W. Origins of sociology. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 1924.
revolution of the social sciences in the nineteenth century and the frustration of liberals of the same period who recognized the superficial impact of the French Revolution; it also reflected a growing awareness that the historian, the student of government and political economy, had given only incidental attention to certain significant aspects of social phenomena.

The methodological revolution is best seen in the works of the scientific historians. Whereas the study of history had been for centuries overshadowed by theological and metaphysical biases and influenced greatly by monistic causation theories, Eichhorn\(^1\) pointed up the complexity of causal relationships and insisted on a more rigorous methodological approach. Sanguy developed the processual aspects of historical research and showed that institutions and human beings are mere incidents in a causal series of human experiences. \(\text{H}^{2}\)ebuhr's positivistic approach\(^2\) necessitated the reexamination of historical evidence and resulted in a critical appraisal of sources for historical data. The insistence upon verification of evidence by documentation was emphasized by von Ranke. Not only did the work of these men result in purification of methodological techniques, but it further resulted in an increasing emphasis upon social history rather than political history.

The development of objective techniques and the deification of the

---

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 65.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 80.
scientific method in the physical sciences also was instrumental in furthering the positivistic movement in the social sciences. Comte's work largely represented a rationale and a plea for the use of the methodological approach of scientism in the study of society. The influence of Darwin upon Spencer transcended the use of the evolutionary view. Spencer believed himself to be rigorously scientific in his minute collection and categorization of data to fit a preconceived theoretical exposition. In sketching the background for the rise of the sociological movement, mention should also be made of the work of the Cameralists in Germany. Small has argued with some justification that the embryonic beginnings of sociology in Prussia are found in the pursuit of techniques by which the sovereign could most rationally govern the state. This Machiavellian approach was instrumental in turning attention to fiscal and monetary problems, and in consequence to studies in political economy. To the student of German sociology, this development assumes great significance for it was through the efforts of such economists as Weber and Sombart that important sociological insights and propositions were developed.

3 Small, op. cit., p. 115.
Perhaps the most important result of the intellectual misgivings emanating from the reactionary turn of events after the French Revolution was the rise of the socialist movement on the Continent. The importance of Saint Simon in the rise of the sociological movement has been un-justifiably minimized. But his disciple, Comte, has been credited with the dubious distinction of being the founder of sociology. It is more correct to say with Park and Burgess: "Comte did not, to be sure, create sociology. He did give it a name, a program, and a place among the sciences."¹ It facetiously might be added that at the present time all that is left of Comte's contribution is the name.² Under the reigning political and intellectual anarchy rampant in the early part of the nineteenth century Comte had a program which won the support of many keen intellectuals of the period. His program simply was an insistence on an empirical and positivistic approach toward the clarification and the solution of basic social problems. His law of the three stages of the human mind and his hierarchization of the sciences may be viewed simply as the theoretical justification for his positivistic position. Comte's concern was with humanity. He never delimited the nature of the social fact although one might argue that for him society as a discrete entity was the raw material for his analysis. Comte did not conceive of sociology


²A fact not generally known is that Comte only invented the name sociology after Quetelet, the statistician, used Comte's term, social physics, for the title of his now famous statistical treatise. I am indebted to Professor Hayek for this anecdote.
as a specialized subject matter. Rather, it was the general social science, and the respect his viewpoint won is attested to by recalling that so able an intellectual as John Stuart Mill almost completely accepted his analysis. Comte's intellectual position was teleological and fore-shadowed Ward's thesis that man could gain mastery over society just as he had learned to control certain aspects of the physical universe.

Comte, then, must be viewed as one who stripped the theologic and metaphysical cloak from the study of social phenomena. As a contributor to our comprehension of the structure or processes of society, Comte in actuality offered slight insight for despite his protestations regarding the use of metaphysical explanations, in the last analysis his generalized and unsubstantiated observations are based on the same kind of unrigorous analysis that he so eloquently condemned. For Comte, then, sociology was the general social science of humanity and its methodology was the methods of positivism. His work was a protestation against the existing techniques and approaches to the study of social phenomena; his role was that of a reformer in the development of social science.

A third important factor in the development of specialized social sciences and sociology was the growing realization that the classic social sciences had treated most inadequately or had completely neglected certain important phases of social inquiry. Although Spencer also conceived of

---

1Since this part of the presentation is merely a preliminary to an exposition of the writer's conception of sociology, no other instances of the dissatisfaction with the status quo of the period described will be presented. For our purposes, Comte's work epitomizes the rebellious intellectual spirit of that period.
sociology as the general social science, nevertheless, his great interest was in the application of Darwin's theory of evolution to social institutions. The historical approach in the social sciences did not originate with Spencer since it had been used by Turgot, Vico, Montesquieu, Comte and a score of earlier social philosophers. But Spencer's contribution essentially is found in his tapping of the great storehouse of ethnographic data for evidence to support his unilateral evolutionary conceptions. Spencer's work was carried on by a number of investigators and in Westermarck\(^1\) is found the most erudite application of the historical approach to the study of a social institution. In Germany the development of Volkerpsychologie represented an effort to apply psychological concepts to the comparative study of cultural materials.\(^2\) The folk-psychologists centered their attention upon the origins and the evolution of such cultural elements as religion, language, and tribal customs. In France, Tarde\(^3\) turned his attention to the process of imitation which he argued was the basic social fact whereas Le Bon\(^4\) emphasized crowd behavior. Durkheim\(^5\), although viewing sociology as a general social science, centered

---


his analysis on the collective representations and constraining factors of human behavior. On the empirical level, he especially turned to the study of religion and an explanation of suicide as a deviant behavior pattern. These few illustrations of a voluminous literature are sufficient to corroborate the following proposition, namely that historically sociology developed as a study of leftovers, as a compendium of residual categories. The early rise of sociology may be described, then, as the period in which sociology was the study of "leftovers" in the social sciences. It represented a series of specialisms in no way logically interrelated and with no coherent body of systematic theory. On the other hand, Comte, Spencer and others viewed sociology as the queen of the social sciences although the logic of their viewpoint rested on highly tenuous reasoning.

In opposition to this congeries of special sociologies and to the conception of sociology as the general social science a new and more rigorous view emerged. Its origination is usually attributed to Simmel. He was one of the first to separate sociology sharply from social philosophy and the other social sciences. He maintained that whereas it was the function of the other social sciences to study the content of the processes of interaction, the function of sociology was to study the ubiquitous and unchanging forms of interaction. The role of sociology in the social sciences was similar to the role of geometry in mathematics.

---

He further contended that such metaphysical and epistemological problems as the purpose of society or the nominalism-realism dialectic as to the nature of society were not sociological problems. They belonged in the sphere of the philosopher. However, despite Simmel's manifold theories regarding the variegated forms of sociation he presented no systematic theoretical framework for the study of sociation or its forms. In essence, von Wiese's work represents a reworking of the unsystematized analysis of Simmel into a formalized theoretic frame of reference and an extension and subdivision of Simmel's social processes.

As one critically examines the work of American sociology, one is compelled to admit that slight effort has been expended upon the sorely needed task of formulating a theoretical frame of reference for sociological analysis or building upon the unsystematized schema of Simmel or the more formalized approach of von Wiese. The early American sociologists seemed merely to emphasize one approach or one phase of what they deemed to be sociology. Sumner largely adopted the laissez-faire and apologetic viewpoint of Spencer, although in his Folkways he developed several fundamental concepts and presented a storehouse of ethnographic data.

Ward in his emphasis on the psychological aspects of interaction and

---


2 Ibid., Part I, II and III.


the telic aspect of the social represented an antithetical position to
the Sumnerian approach. Small\(^1\) offered little of an original nature
although he was responsible for great attention being directed to the
sociological development of the continent, particularly the work of
Batzenhofer. Cooley's\(^2\) work is of interest primarily because of his
socio-psychological insights and his theory of the nature of human nature
and the self in which he emphasized the role of the primary group.

Of the more recent students of sociological analysis Park\(^3\) and
MacIver\(^4\) perhaps have been most insistent upon a rigorous frame of
reference for the sociological discipline. Their position may be
epitomized by the statement that sociology is the study of group relation-
ships in both its structural and processual aspects. That human beings
live in and through groups is the essential postulate upon which sociology
as a separate discipline is established. In recent decades a number of
sociologists have argued that the study of group phenomena has reached
the point of diminishing returns. Ogburn\(^5\), for example, is of the

\(^1\) Small, op. cit.


\(^3\) Park and Burgess, op. cit., p. 1-16.


opinion that culture should be the central concept of sociological analysis. To argue that culture or any other concept should be the central focus of sociological analysis cannot be objected to on grounds of logic; but to maintain that the study of group behavior has reached the point of diminishing returns and therefore should be abandoned is intellectual defeatism. In fact, scant knowledge regarding human interaction in groups has been uncovered and it is a challenge of the first order to probe and discover the basic facts through empirical research of group relationships.

With this historical background, it is now proper to offer the conception of sociology underlying this dissertation. Sociology is viewed as the subject matter that is concerned with the study of human interaction or the study of inter-association between human beings. Whereas the economist probes the problem of the allocation of scarce resources to alternative uses, the political scientist the problem of power relationships or the existence of the state as a civil authority, the sociologist is concerned with the study of human interaction in group life. The heritage for this view emanates from Simmel; yet we conceive sociology to be more than the formal analysis of group relationships. We include within its province the dynamic or processual approach, for in the last analysis is not the static approach in social scientific observation merely a heuristic device to control the ever-dynamic characteristics of social phenomena?
Thus, it is the task of sociology to study human relationships in both its formal and processual aspects. This means that both the structure and classification of groups as well as the analysis of the dynamic interrelationships between group members are within the purview of the orbit of sociological analysis. It further is maintained that the study of group relationships may be approached also on the socio-psychological level. Dilthey and Ward showed keen insight in arguing that human interaction was in the last analysis psychical. This viewpoint differs from Maclver's position in that problems of social psychology are brought into the nexus of the sociological framework. Thus, the sociologist is concerned with the "ideas in people's heads\(^1\), the values and attitudes they hold insofar as they are a result of or affect human interaction.

So too, with culture. The sociologist is not interested in culture per se, but rather with those aspects of culture that are directly related to human behavior in group life. Thus, the Ogburnian approach to sociology is discarded. This should not be interpreted to indicate that Ogburn's work is of no importance. It should be interpreted to mean that it is of slight significance to the development of systematic sociological theory and to the understanding of the nature and functioning of group relationships.

The above analysis points up the observation that to state categorically the beginning date of sociology as a special discipline is a highly tenuous task. Whether one must return to the Periclean age or earlier,

and should be thought of as belonging with others.

then the identity or society gained a recognized and more explicit approval followed in the development best be characterized as social philosophy. If one adopts the more the concept of society is emphasized here, these earlier writers may under any event must be summed as among the earliest of sociology. The study of man's thoughts about his fellows, then continuing, leads to the empirical beginnings of sociology. It is summed as A theory that one must return to the empirical written records of history.

in which sociology is developed. If the cultural approach is maintained, or the sociological movement or course, it emphasizes the period which with Imhotep or Senen, or Herodotus the continuance to the period.
CHAPTER II. THE FIELD OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

One of the paramount characteristics of American sociology has been its proclivity to develop special areas of interest. In contradistinction to the philosophical-theoretical orientation of European sociologists, the American sociologist is usually a specialist. The net result has been the development in the United States of a series of largely independent sociologies accompanied by a lack of any systematic theoretical frame of reference underlying or uniting these specialisms.

In 1934 over 54 special fields of sociology were recognized.\(^1\) In this dissertation, especial interest is directed toward the field of rural sociology. Attention is now turned to a critical appraisal of this area of sociological research. The analysis is initiated by tracing the historical development of rural sociology. This is followed by a critical appraisal of the field. The analysis then centers on the frames of reference utilized in research, and finally, the writer's conception of rural sociology is explained.

A. Historical Development of Rural Sociology

The initial impetus for the intensive study of rural life in the United States emanated from two sources. In his efforts to develop an

---

objective and empirical approach to the study of society, Giddings encouraged several of his students to use rural life as their laboratories. The earliest rural community studies were a direct outgrowth of Giddings' empirical sociology. 1 Williams An American Town, 2 published in 1906 represented a study of social change in a New York rural community. In his later publications 3 based partially on the original study, he emphasized the socio-psychological aspects of the changing structure of community life. Wilson also relied heavily on the processual approach in Quaker Hill 4 and Sims in the Hoosier Village 5 largely followed a similar methodological scheme. This triumvirate of studies were the first objective rural community studies in the United States and may best be described as descriptive rather than analytic. Yet, in comparison with the researches of their day, they were indeed excellent studies.

The second source of interest resulted from the desire of a number of individuals influential in agricultural circles to improve social and

economic conditions in rural life. This growing awareness of rural problems was reflected in the Report of the Theodore Roosevelt Commission on Country life in 1910 in which it was urged that "The work before us, therefore, is nothing more or less than the gradual rebuilding of a new agriculture and new rural life."¹ This report constituted a strong catalytic influence in directing attention to social problems in rural America. Of great interest at that period were problems of the rural church. Between 1910 and 1918 sixteen church surveys were conducted under the sponsorship of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America.² During the next decade studies of the rural church were continued by a number of investigators usually under the auspices of church groups. The school and other institutions in rural communities also received considerable attention. Underlying these researches was a distinct practical purpose, namely improving social conditions of rural people. The sociological aspects of these studies were minimized; the pragmatic aspect was maximized.

However, in 1915 Galpin published his now classic ecological study, The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community.³ Through a highly ingenious

²Taylor, op. cit., p. 435.
technique of community analysis he was able to identify the boundaries of the rural community by superimposing trade and institutional zones. He viewed his work, however, primarily as an effort to "cast some light upon current rural problems of education, local government and religion."\(^1\) His work represents an excellent example of research that has important theoretical and practical implications. Not only did he present a vast amount of detailed information of interest to those concerned with rural welfare; he also established a theoretical frame of reference through which he was able to raise and answer significant problems regarding the structure and functions of the community. It is of interest to note that two years prior to Galpin's work, Gillette had already published the first text in rural sociology.\(^2\)

Of tremendous importance to the development of rural sociology was the creation of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture, a decade after the Country Life Commission report. This event was of great significance for it represented the first time that the federal government created an agency for the specific purpose of improving the social welfare of rural people. In 1915 Cornell University established a Department of Rural Social Organization to study rural life through the sociological

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 16.

optic for the purpose of creating a better rural life. The Purnell Act of 1925 provided research funds for agricultural experiment stations in the Land Grant colleges for work in rural sociology and agricultural economics. The Social Science Research Council also allocated money for the training of sociologists who would specialize in rural life and further provided grants for research projects. Another great impetus to the development of rural sociology was the creation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in the nineteen-thirties. Because of the possibility of cooperation with relief agencies with their large research budgets and because rural relief problems were acute, rural sociology departments were expanded in most of the Land Grant colleges. During the fall of 1934 state supervisors of rural research were appointed in 23 states, and cooperative contracts were drawn up with the experiment stations. This brief review of factors accelerating the growth of rural sociological research points up the fact that perhaps no other field of sociology is so heavily subsidized by government. In consequence of this subsidization, the greater part of research flows from the Land Grant Colleges and the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare. It is now pertinent to raise the query as to the findings and the substantive propositions developed in this heavily subsidized field of sociological inquiry. This should not be construed as an attempt to present a complete analysis of all phases of rural sociological research. Only the more important areas of research shall be dealt with.

The two areas of research that have received most attention by rural sociologists have been the fields of social organization and population analysis. Of the 104 research projects reported at Land Grant College and other institutions in 1926, one-quarter were in social organization and over one-fifth were concerned with population studies. In a review of rural sociological research in 1938 this same emphasis was noted.\(^1\)

Galpin's work initiated the emphasis on the study of social organization in rural communities. Sanderson and his students at Cornell especially followed this approach and they were able to develop "precise techniques for delineating and mapping rural communities and neighborhoods as systems of association of individuals and families, and as a center of common interest, and in a few studies analyzed relationships between rural areas and larger cities."\(^2\) The work of Sanderson and his students\(^3\), Kolb in Wisconsin\(^4\), Morgan in Missouri\(^5\), and the village studies of Brunner\(^6\) and

---

1 Taylor, op. cit., p. 431.
2 Ibid., p. 432.
his collaborators served to point up the interrelationships of the village center and its rural hinterland. The territorial and psychological basis for this organizational constellation of relationships was termed the rural community. Sanderson further probed the historical background of the rural community and presented an historical and comparative typology of rural communities. The work of these men has resulted in a growing awareness of the need for maintaining a community organization that is responsible for support of institutions and agencies essential to the local welfare.

Another area of analysis that has received considerable treatment is the village as a sociological entity. Using a sample of 140 villages, Brunner and others have studied rural trends in village life and have uncovered significant factors of social change. Other investigators have conducted studies of service agencies on the village. Melvin, Lively and others have tackled the problem from the standpoint of the relationship between village size and the number of service agencies. Kolb has studied village service relations, while a number of studies have been done on the distribution and population of villages.

Another area of analysis has been the changing role of the neighborhood in rural social organization. The outstanding studies in this area of research have been by Kolb, Sanderson and his students, Brunner and Morgan. It is pertinent to note that the great bulk of these researches have been done in the middle Atlantic and midwestern states while the number of community, village and neighborhood studies in the South has been negligible.

What knowledge has been obtained from these studies?
In the first place, techniques have been devised to map the boundaries of rural communities. The pragmatic importance of these techniques is reflected in the work of Sanderson in working on the reorganization of school districts in New York. An important conclusion drawn from these researches is that rural communities are now developing around functions and interests rather than geographic or kinship ties. In Sorokin's terminology the rural community is less frequently cumulative and more and more taking on the characteristics of the functional community. In consequence of this shift from mechanic to organic solidarity there has been an increasing tendency for rural communities to center the basic social institutions in the village center. It has further been demonstrated that while the smaller village centers are decreasing in size, the larger ones have held their own despite the increasing competition of larger urban centers. Further, Kolb¹ has shown that the importance of the neighborhood as an associational unit has distinctly declined, although under special kinship, ethnic or religious conditions many neighborhoods show a remarkable degree of stability.

Much insight has been obtained on specific social institutions and the church and the school have been most intensively studied. It further should be mentioned that there have been a number of cultural community studies. In his studies of the Mormon community Nelson,² for example, pointed up the important ideological considerations as well as the factors


of social change influencing the pattern of life of the Mormons. The above brief sketch of research in rural social organization roughly summarizes the substantive knowledge obtained in this area of analysis until the late thirties.

Since that period, several new approaches to the study of the community have been attempted. Zimmerman\(^1\) presented a typological study of fifteen communities in a distinctive conceptual framework and argued that communities possess unique characteristics that individuate them from other communities. He maintained that these characteristics of individuation are a result of their internal organization and their relationships to the larger society. Loomis\(^2\) centered his attention on newly established rural communities and the reasons for their success or failure. His analysis emphasized the system of social interaction rather than social organization in its ecological aspects. His use of sociometric techniques provided an excellent source of insight into the pattern of social participation in the communities. The analysis of action programs, too, has shed a great deal of information on the structure and functioning of locality groups in rural communities.\(^3\)

Mention should also be made of the excellent study of Arensberg and Kimball of Irish communities.\(^4\) Their analyses, also, emphasized the

---


\(^3\)Taylor, op. cit., p. 435.

associational patterns of community members rather than formal social organization.

The most recent trend has been the use of the anthropological approach in rural community analysis. West's Plainville\(^1\) essentially was an attempt to view a mid-west community in the same manner that the anthropologist would study a primitive society. The influence of the anthropological influence is further seen in the six recent contemporary community studies\(^2\) of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare. These studies were essentially an attempt to see the rural community in terms of all of its activities and especially to point up the significance of cultural and socio-psychological factors in community life. The shortcomings of this sextet of studies will be noted in the following chapter.

It has already been indicated that a number of rural sociologists have contributed to the field of population research. The first important work of this kind was by Galpin and Larson\(^3\) in which they presented a complete tabulation of the population characteristics of the farm population of eight representative counties. This initial study was followed by a number of other studies\(^4\) in which population data were analyzed on the basis of

---

differential rates of population growth and decline, trends in birth rates, age, and sex distribution and other demographic factors. On the national level, the work of Thompson and Whelpton\(^1\) and of Baker\(^2\) have been outstanding. These researches have resulted in predictions regarding future rates of population growth and Baker has emphasized the social and economic effects of the migration of rural people to cities.

Studies in migration have received especial attention by rural sociologists. Although a number of students have wrestled with the problem of migration differentials, there still exists slight advance over the work of Ravenstein in the production of substantive propositions. It is known that age and sex are definite selective factors in rural-urban migration; however, other than the statements that people migrate most from the ages eighteen to thirty-five and that females migrate more frequently than males, few further positive statements can be made.\(^3\) Zimmerman's hypothesis that the city pulls the "best" and the "worst" of rural people seems to be highly tenacious. In general, the rural sociologist has uncovered a great deal of interesting data in his population and migration researches. However, it is unfortunate that the relevancy of population research to sociological analysis has been indicated only in a relatively few instances.


Another area of research has centered on analysis of groups in rural life. The family has been studied by Sanderson and Foster, Zimmermann, Beers, Kirkpatrick, Loomis and others. However, slight attention has been given to the intra-associational aspects of family life whereas a great deal of interest has been shown in standards of living and the relation of the family as a unit to certain rural variables.

The outstanding work in special interest groups has been done by Kolb and Wileden. They have attempted to determine the important factors influencing their life cycle and the rate of mortality. Other investigators are Harris, Duthie and Lindstrom. The role of farm organization in rural life has been largely neglected. Mammy's work on the Farm Bureau in Ohio and

and Tetreau's study of the Farm Bureau in California have been of especial interest.

One area of research in the sociology of rural life that has relatively been untouched is the social psychology of rural life. Williams' early work was outstanding although his methodological technique has been severely criticized. Taylor in his Rural Sociology attempted to emphasize the possibilities of this kind of research. Studies of the rural mind by Groves, Bernard, Gillette, and Galpin may be characterized as doubtful descriptions and their broad generalizations are exceedingly tenuous. Perhaps the outstanding work in this field was by Thomas and Znaniecki. This area of analysis is a gold mine for the sociologist to probe in an empirical manner. Concrete studies are needed in abundance before any results that can be labelled substantive will be produced.

Again, little is really known regarding social status in the rural community. Most studies have centered on such peripheral matters as standards of living and the social aspects of tenancy. What is the agricultural ladder? Does it operate in the same manner in different type-of-farming areas? Are there clearly defined social classes in rural communities? Unfortunately

---


these questions have not been answered, and in fact have seldom been asked. The  obfuscation of economic class for social status has further confused analyses.

There are many other aspects of rural life that have been investigated. Researches have been conducted in social institutions, farm labor, rural regions, social participation, social change, social pathology and a host of other subjects. Indeed the growing number of specialisms within rural sociology has resulted in a recent plea for specialized rural sociologists.\textsuperscript{1}

With this brief review of certain areas of rural sociological research, it is now relevant to present a brief appraisal and criticism of these areas of rural sociological research.\textsuperscript{2}

\textbf{B. Critical Appraisal of Rural Sociological Research}

Initially, rural sociological research has been largely oriented about practical problems. Since the funds for their investigations are mainly derived from government sources, rural sociologists have been pressed to offer concrete answers to specific problems. This pragmatic characteristic of the rural sociologist's work is certainly not to be condemned. That the research efforts of rural sociologists have been of great utility to those

---

\textsuperscript{1}Brunner, E. de S. Sociology tomorrow. \textit{Rural Sociology} 11:95-102, 1946.

\textsuperscript{2}The critical tone of the subsequent appraisal should not be construed as an iconoclastic blast at rural sociological research. It is presented because of the writer's view that only through a continuous rigorous and objective reexamination of research will rural sociology be able to make forward strides in its efforts to develop a systematic body of sociological knowledge.
interested in improving rural schools, health conditions, library service and tenant-landlord relationships is indicative of the potential usefulness of rural sociological research. However, the contribution of the rural sociologist to the development of systematic sociological theory has been nil. Few of their research problems have been set into a larger theoretical framework in which hypotheses have been explicitly stated and rigorously tested. Although short run problems may have been solved or partially solved, the long range scientific view, namely that the establishing of substantive sociological propositions may offer greater advantages to society, has been largely overlooked. The crucial point, then, is that too many individuals labelled rural sociologists have viewed themselves as welfare workers rather than as sociologists. They have isolated themselves from the existent knowledge in other areas of sociological research and have viewed their problems as being unrelated to sociological theory. The artificial dialectic between the practice vs. theory approach has long been demolished and it is clearly time that rural sociologists recognize that practical problems may be used as laboratory testing grounds for the development of systematic theory. At the same time it must be recognized that the theoretical substantive propositions developed offer a great deal of insight into the solution of practical social problems.

1 The work of students of the rural community such as Galpin, Sanderson and Kolb constitute exceptions to this condition.

2 The pressure exerted by administrators for practical research by rural sociologists using government research funds partially accounts for this situation.
Flowing from the above is another severe criticism of the research of rural sociologists. This is the tendency for rural sociologists to view "rural society" as somehow completely unattached or unrelated to "urban society". The very use of the concept "rural society" in actuality should be condemned on conceptual grounds. To speak of American rural society is nothing more or less than to speak of a statistical group of people. On sociological grounds it possesses little meaning and less value. This tendency to split off a chunk from society and call it rural leads to intellectual confusion. It is time that it be recognized that many rural communities are intimately related to urban communities and the Great Society. It is time that it be fully comprehended that many rural areas are fast undergoing rapid social change. Fortunately, some traces of reorientation in the approach to the sociology of rural life are in evidence.\(^1\)

Again, the researches of many rural sociologists can be criticized because of the implicit rural bias or agricultural fundamentalism of the investigator. The early work in rural sociology was suffused with intellectual prejudices and the Jeffersonian conception of agriculture as a way of life still permeates much rural sociological research. This tendency to idealize rural life with the consequent subjective approach to research problems tends to vitiate the conclusions of certain researches. For example, Zimmerman's conclusions\(^2\) in his study of the changing rural community

---

\(^1\) For example, Landis, op. cit.

\(^2\) Zimmerman, op. cit.
do not seem to follow from his excellent individual studies of types of communities. His concluding chapter is a plea for a return to the localistic type of rural community. He perceives that rural life is in process of change in many areas, but rather he exhorts a return to something that was. The rural bias is further reflected in Smith's Sociology of Rural Life. ¹

Scant recognition of the changes occurring in rural life is shown. This type of analysis views rural life as an insulated self-sufficient type of existence. Such an analysis is not only misleading and unrealistic, but it further tends to distort the conception of existent rural life in the United States. If the task of the rural sociologist is to understand rural life as it is, not as some of its students think it should be, then this agricultural fundamentalism bias must be vitiates. Myrdal's suggestion ² of the explicit formulation of the researcher's value frame of reference might be more seriously considered by many sociologists of rural life.

This bias further tends to draw attention away from many significant sociological problems. If many groups in the agricultural regions of the United States are marked by a high degree of isolation, should not these cultural pockets constitute excellent groupings in which hypotheses regarding consciousness of kind, social distance, prejudice and minority group relationships can be tested? Again recognition of the diffusion of urban culture traits to rural communities should suggest numerous studies regard-


ing social change and changing value systems. In such an environment are
to be expected conflict and competitive situations of extreme interest to
the sociologist. There also exists a wide gap in research in rural life
because of the lack of socio-psychological analysis. Although there have
been several students working on the development of attitude scales, yet
the whole problem of attitudes and systems of values have been woefully
neglected.

The essential factor here is the heavy use of statistical techniques
since it has been fashionable to deal in correlations. But the realization
that case study analysis, human documents, and non-quantitative analyses
may offer valuable insights has hardly been recognized. There has been
little effort to make rural life intelligible by reference to the organ-
isation and customs of the local culture. There has been little effort to
throw light upon the nature of personality and the relationship of person-
ality and culture. There has been little effort to understand the social-
ization process in rural life and to note the differential importance of
various factors in different types of rural communities. The recent six
studies of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare \(^1\) made an
attempt to gain some insight into these phenomena. Yet in general it is
true that the techniques of social psychology have been noticeably lacking
in rural sociological research. \(^2\) Thus, in his haste to become excessively

---

\(^1\) These are the studies referred to earlier in the chapter.

\(^2\) The work of J.M. Williams and C.C. Taylor constitutes noticeable
exceptions.
"scientific" through the use of statistical techniques, the rural sociologist has failed to use many important methodological devices that should shed much light on patterns of human relationships that are distinctly in process. However, there are some encouraging signs in research in rural sociology. The 70 county studies of the Department of Agriculture will attempt to make use of a whole batch of research techniques in the analysis of the data. The recent effort to view communities as local cultures rather than as discrete segments such as the family and the church is noteworthy. It is certainly hoped that the unique opportunities that the rural sociologist has to secure original data will be utilized to secure more than a mere counting of external phenomena.

It further may be relevant to comment briefly on the relationships of the rural sociologist to other social scientists, particularly the economist. As one reads through the journal of Rural Sociology, one can usually find in every volume a hortative article urging that it is now time for the sociologist to stop picking up the bread crumbs of the agricultural economist and that he engage in more "sociological" research. Certainly it is agreed that our research should turn more on human interrelationships. However, it is slightly alarming to note this tendency to split the ranks of the social scientists engaged in the study of rural life. If the rural sociologist is ever to get a real hearing in policy circles, it is through a closer alliance with the agricultural economist. The sociologist should possess some insight into power relationships. The plain fact is that in the rural social sciences the economists are in the driver's seat. Most
policy decisions are economic decisions. Rather than begrudge the econom-
ist his position of dominance, is it not time that the sociologist begin to ask the economist some basic questions? What are the goals upon which economic programs are being developed? How may these programs be organized most efficiently and be made to function effectively? What are the values upon which these programs are premised? It is the sociologist's task to explore these fundamental phenomena, and possibly to develop alternative goals and value premises. Do these programs fit into a harmonious pattern or is there inconsistency between them? What are the non-economic con-
sequences of economic programs? Certainly these are basic sociological questions that demand consideration. On every level of government and social action, these questions must be answered and few sociologists have recognized such policy matters as areas for research.

Another score on which the research of many rural sociologists might be criticized is his proclivity to view rural life in vacuo. He frequently seems to hide himself in a tightly enclosed room called rural life and too often forgets that this room is one of many in the total society; he frequently forgets that many doors connect his private den to the other parts of the household of society. Certainly it is time that the rural sociologist realize that in many instances it is not only the territorial periphery of the rural community that has expanded, but also that many of the old barriers between rural and urban life are crumbling away. Although

---

1 Here too, there are several exceptions. The research of Kolb, Brunner, and Landis are cases in point, but in general, it is maintained that this criticism is a valid one.
it is still true that most rural people lead their lives in an area that can be geographically determined, yet the powerful agencies of diffusion such as the radio, newspapers, and the movies, have brought much more of the Great Society to many agricultural people.

As one reviews the propositions that the sociologists of rural life would term substantive, one immediately notes that too many of these statements are generalizations without adequate substantiation. The most flagrant example of this is the differentiation between the urban and rural mind. Other cases in point are Zimmerman's conclusions on migration differentials and the gradient hypothesis of Brunner and Kolb.

Then too, many of the conclusions drawn from rural sociological investigations can be summarized only regionally at best. In the studies of migration, for example, the race factor in the South produces a special situation which may vitiate or modify existent generalizations. Further, the differences in scales and standards of living between regions in the United States necessitate further comparative studies before many propositions can be granted the title, substantive.

Other criticisms that might be levelled at the researches of rural sociologists are its descriptive rather than analytic analysis and its great emphasis on a static as opposed to a dynamic approach. However, there is one further matter that must be treated in some detail. This is

---


the theoretical frames of reference used in rural sociological analysis. Specific attention is directed toward this problem since it is intimately related to the major problems of the dissertation. It further provides an opportunity to raise the fundamental question of the task of rural sociological research and a statement of the writer's conception of what the field of rural sociology is.

C. Theoretical Frames of Reference

Before delving into the problem of the theoretical frames of reference used in rural sociological research, it is necessary to obtain a clear understanding of what is meant by the phrase, theoretical frame of reference, in scientific investigations.

Facts per se have no scientific value. Facts assume scientific importance only when encompassed by a theoretical framework and clearly defined concepts. Thus, that Mr. Smith left the farm to go to the city may be an indisputable fact. This mere physical fact per se is of no concern to the social scientist. However, when this fact is viewed as an instance of migration because of Smith's desire to maximize his productivity, it assumes economic significance. If this fact is viewed as an instance of disgust for the local political machine, it is of interest to the political scientist. The psychologist or psychiatrist may be concerned if Smith left the farm in an ambulance headed for the psychotic ward of the city hospital. To the sociologist, the physical fact may be significant because it constitutes a case of a broken home. To the sociologist Smith's migration may also indicate a change in his values or attitudes
toward rural life. These variant interpretations of the same physical fact, namely that Smith left the farm for the city, point up the significance of a theoretical frame of reference in scientific investigations.

The theoretic frame of reference, then, not only defines the empirical facts that are relevant to the problem at hand but also the interpretation of these facts. It specifies the nature of the investigation to be undertaken and the especial optic through which the investigator shall view his data. It further defines the data that the scientific observer is not concerned with under the particular frame of reference established. This latter category of irrelevant data has been termed the residual categories.¹

On purely logical grounds any frame of reference that is presumed to yield significant theoretical conclusions is a good frame of reference. However, if the frame of reference is not suitable for an empirical explanation of the phenomenon studied, then it must be abandoned for more fruitful frames of reference. Or very frequently, new frames of reference shed new meaning on data viewed under another frame of reference. In one sense the creation of new frames of reference is closely allied to the advance of science in both the physical and social sciences.

With this background, attention is now directed to the frames of reference used in rural sociological research.

Until the publication of the Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology and Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, it has been claimed that there existed no theoretical frame of reference in rural sociological research. The reasons for this view stem from the problem approach of rural sociology prior to the publication of these volumes. Despite the fact that there existed no explicit statement of theoretic frames of reference, yet underlying most of the earlier studies was an implicit frame of reference. This was a limitation of the analysis to a split off sector of society that was designated rural. The task of the rural sociologist was conceived as the study of rural social phenomena as separate and unaffected by non-rural phenomena. Studies of the rural community, for example, were limited to mapping the expanding boundaries of the community and to isolating neighborhood and special interest groups. Little or no consideration was given to the effects of urban influences on rural life. Rural communities were studied as cultural islands and the existent links with the Great Society were largely ignored.

2. Sorokin and Zimmerman, op. cit.
4. A case could be established in which it would be maintained that the basic theoretical frame of reference in rural sociological research was the rural community per se. Since such a position is even more limited than the one maintained in the dissertation, no effort will be made to develop such a proposition. However, the outstanding contributions of such students as Sanderson, Taylor, Kolb, Brunner, and Zimmerman in the analysis of the community even within the limited intra-rural framework must be recognized.
Most empirical research was based on a splintering of life into two sectors, rural and urban. These two divisions were viewed as disparate, and the rural sector was considered the rural sociologist's province for research. The heavy emphasis on social organization and population analysis was primarily limited to an intra-rural frame of reference. In order to vitiate any misunderstanding, it is appropriate to differentiate between the area of the phenomena studied and the area encompassed by the frame of reference. The area of the phenomena studied was rural life. To this no objection is offered. But the area encompassed by the frame of reference could be rural life or rural life plus other sectors of life. It is being argued that most studies viewed rural life as affected only by other factors in rural life whereas in actuality, the frame of reference might have embraced all important influences, rural and non-rural, that exert an impact on the phenomena studied. Recently an expansion of this limited frame of reference is in evidence. The work of Brunner and Kolb\(^1\) and Landis\(^2\) is significant in this respect.

However, it is now necessary to evaluate critically the frame of reference utilized by Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin. Their work marks a landmark in rural research because of its erudition and inclusiveness. Further, these men have exerted tremendous influence on the subsequent

---

\(^1\) Brunner and Kolb, op. cit.

\(^2\) Landis, op. cit.
development of rural sociology since their students have in general followed
the frame of reference developed in their work.  

Using available European and American studies, Sorokin and Zimmerman
attempted to develop substantive propositions regarding rural-urban differ-
tentials by an analysis of the family, types of interactional patterns,
physical and mental worlds, religion, education, political affiliations and
a host of other factors. Some of their major conclusions may be briefly
summarized.

Initially, they pointed out occupational and environmental differenti-
tials between rural and urban life. They concluded that people in agriculture
are born into their occupation whereas urban individuals select their
occupation. They showed that rural people deal with living organisms
whereas urban people deal with lifeless or mechanical things. They main-
tained that urban occupations are more specialized whereas agriculture is
a homogeneous occupation.

Some of their other conclusions were that cultivators must live near
the soil and near their work. The nature of agriculture as an occupation
requires considerable land per man with the consequence that there is a
negative correlation between the size of the community and the percentage

---

1The analysis is limited to the following works of Sorokin and Zimmerman:
Sorokin, P.A. and Zimmerman. Principles of rural-urban sociology,
New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1929. and Sorokin, P.A., Zimmerman and
Galpin, C.J. Systematic source book in rural sociology. Minneapolis,
of the population engaged in agriculture. Further, agricultural communities have a lower density of population than urban communities. Fewer specialized skills of the professional man such as the lawyer or doctor are available to rural folk. Low density results in fewer social contacts and a more primary type of interaction.

In regard to population differentials, Sorokin and Zimmerman argued that rural communities tend to be more homogeneous in their social-psychological characteristics than urban communities. In consequence there exists less differentiation in the language, beliefs, opinions and mores in the rural community than in the urban setting. They maintained that there is a greater division of labor, greater social differentiation and stratification in urban than in rural life. They presented evidence to show that agriculture as an occupation recruits more from its own group than any other large occupational groups. It was further maintained that in urban life there was found greater horizontal and vertical mobility than in the country and that differential fertility leaves more vacancies in the top position on the social pyramid in the city than in the country. Further, Sorokin and Zimmerman attempted to show that the number of social contacts are less in rural areas than in urban environments whereas in the rural milieu, the bulk of contacts are of a primary group type. They further maintained that rural life was to be differentiated from urban life in that the area of contact in which interaction occurs among rural people is narrower and more limited. Further, social interaction in rural
areas was less differentiated and complex, less superficial, less standard-
ized and mechanized. Many other similar substantive propositions were
presented for marriage and the family, political factors, physiological
and socio-cultural differentials. The above list of variations are
sufficient to indicate the rural-urban differential frame of reference
that served as the theoretical sub-structure of their analysis.

This rural-urban frame of reference has been of service in helping to
uncover some important propositions in regard to rural-urban differentia-
ation. The analysis of Sorokin and Zimmerman has important implications for
social action. For example, how can the factor of low density of pop-
ulation in rural areas be related to adequate school facilities or partici-
ipation in a fuller life for rural people? How can rural people obtain
adequate medical facilities and medical care in low income areas that are
unattractive to doctors? This health problem is now under surveillance
by a number of groups interested in the welfare of rural people and it is
hoped that some social invention for medical care such as the consolidated
school for rural educational improvement, can be developed that will bring
more adequate medical facilities to rural people.

The work of Sorokin and Zimmerman has increased the scope of knowledge
of rural sociologists because of its emphasis on research studies under-
taken in foreign countries. It is unfortunately true that American sociol-
ogy is marked by a high degree of provincialism and the work of Sorokin
and Zimmerman has helped to widen the intellectual outlook of sociologists
in the United States.
The rural-urban dichotomy approach has been the basic conceptual frame of reference used in rural sociological research since 1930. It is now necessary that this frame of reference be examined in some detail.

The rationalization for the rural-urban differentiation approach is found in Sorokin's conception of rural sociology as a special sociology.

Correspondingly, the fundamental task of rural sociology is to describe the relatively constant and universal traits or relations of the rural social world as distinct from the non-rural or urban social universe. In this description, rural sociology, like general sociology, concentrates its attention not at the traits and relations which are peculiar to a given rural aggregate at a given time, but at the traits and relations which are typical for rural social world generally, as distinct from urban social phenomena generally. In other words, rural sociology describes the rural-urban differences which are repeated in time and space and, in this sense, are constant characteristics of the rural in contradistinction from the urban social phenomena.

In brief, rural sociology must study and formulate all the important — and at least relatively constant — differences in any field of rural and urban social phenomena. The second fundamental task of rural sociology is to 'explain' these differences or the specific traits of rural social phenomena.¹

Sorokin's position is therefore clear and unequivocal. The task of rural sociology is to determine and explain the differences between rural and urban social phenomena. The Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology is an effort to carry out this task. The incompatibility of this view and the writer's conception of the purpose and function of rural sociology shall be dealt with later. Attention is now turned to a critical appraisal of the theoretical frame of reference flowing from Sorokin's conception of rural sociology.

¹Sorokin and Zimmerman, op. cit., p. 8-9.
Initially, the rural-urban frame of reference can be questioned on the grounds that it is meaningless in time and between different cultures. Thus, is there not more differentiation between the midwest rural community of today and the colonial New England village, than between the modern midwest rural community and Des Moines, Iowa, today. The point here is that it is not necessarily agriculture as an occupation that differentiates rural and urban life, but rather the existence of such factors as isolation from and communication with the Great Society that are determinate in the ways of life of both rural and urban people. These factors vary in time and cannot be viewed as constants. Again, the rural-urban dichotomy skips over the variations between different cultural settings. To lump rural life in El Salvador, Russia, China and in various parts of the United States into a similar category leads to more obfuscation than understanding. In the United States the predominant mode of settlement is the scattered farmstead. In most of Europe, the village community settlement is dominant. In the United States there is a relatively high degree of mobility of rural people in their normal routine of life as opposed to the highly static rural existence in many parts of South America and Europe. The variations between cultures in the degrees of mechanisation and social change are other important factors of differentiation.

Such a frame of reference, then, tends to hide the significant factor that there may exist tremendous variations within rural and within urban life. It is similar to the statistical pitfall of using the means for comparative analysis when there may exist tremendous standard deviations.
Thus, to lump rural life in the United States into one category is shutting one's eyes to the possibility that some of the differences between rural and urban social phenomena may be overshadowed in many instances by intra-rural or intra-urban variations. For example, in the *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* it is stated that:

...the rural world is marked by less numerous contacts per man, narrower area of interaction of its members and the whole aggregate. More prominent part is occupied by primary contacts. Predominance of personal and relatively durable relations. Comparative simplicity and sincerity of relations. ¹

However, these propositions developed under the rural-urban theoretical frame of reference overlook the possibility that these above-enumerated differences may also exist between rural communities. Thus, it is highly probable these same differentials may be found in a comparative analysis of the Amana colonies in Iowa and the typical urbanized rural community of central California. One could reason in a similar fashion for other presumed factors of differentiation. Thus, the rural-urban frame of reference tends to minimize the differentials within rural life and assumes that because one is dealing with agriculture, a whole series of factors necessarily and ubiquitously follow. In Parsons phraseology, an important residual area of analysis is waved away by the dichotomous frame of reference.

In brief, then, it is maintained that the concept rural is one with such wide latitude that for sociological analyses it possesses less and

¹*Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin, op. cit.,* p. 241.
less value in its capacity as a polar concept to urban. Rather than describing an agricultural way of life, it is suggested that the problem of the manifold ways of life within agricultural communities be probed. This type of analysis constitutes one of the central problems of this thesis. Such an approach to rural life would necessitate a new conceptual frame of reference in which variations within rural life would be emphasized rather than a rural-urban differential. Thus, it is maintained that rural communities can be marked by a high degree or low degree of isolation from the Great Society and that they can be differentiated by types of dominant interaction patterns and other important sociological factors. A more explicit formulation of the major problems of the thesis will be presented following several other observations regarding the newly proposed frame of reference.

From such a theoretical framework, it may be possible to develop a functional typology of rural communities. Thus, it might be determined whether rural communities that possess a high degree of cultural isolation also are marked by a high degree of familism and religiosity. Are communities which are characterized by a primary system of interaction invariably culturally isolated? In other words, the problem of cultural configurations in rural communities may be brought to the fore, and opportunities opened to study relationships between various aspects of culture. This intra-rural approach, if it resulted in a typology of rural communities, could be of great pragmatic importance. To those groups engaged in the
proclamation of programs to rural people the recognition of these differentials might result in the development of varying techniques for communities with particular configurations. Certainly the assumption of the homogeneity of the rural population constituted one significant factor in the failure of the Department of Agriculture's widely heralded county planning program.¹

Perhaps the analysis of rural communities under the frame of reference here suggested may corroborate the thesis that rural communities are homogeneous in some or all important sociological factors. If so, it would strengthen the Sorokin approach to rural sociology.

It further should be mentioned that it may be time for the rural sociologist in many types of research to break out of the rural framework completely. Perhaps Professor Redfield's classification of ways of life in a folk-civilized continuum is a more meaningful approach to a comprehension of rural life. Certainly, such an approach would be of large significance in the world view and offer important theoretic opportunities for the development of systematic sociological theory. It also might bridge the gap between the ethnologist and the sociologist in bringing the study of human interaction in all societies into a meaningful focus and a


²Redfield, Robert. The folk culture of Yucatan. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 1941.
single frame of reference. That such a revamping might lead to a more rapid development of systematic theory must be given serious consideration.

In sum, then, it is time that the sociologist of rural life (as well as other sociologists) began to see his problems in more significant frames of reference; in frames of reference that are theoretically and pragmatically more productive since they represent reality rather than mere artificial categorizations. This does not represent a denial of ideal type analysis, but rather a plea for the use of ideal type analyses and frames of reference that embody conceptual frameworks that will offer keener and more trenchant approaches to the study of human relationships and human sociology.

C. Definition of the Field of Rural Sociology

The analysis of theoretical frames of reference leads to a brief statement of the definition of the field of sociology of rural life used in this research. Sorokin's conception of rural sociology is rejected. There seems no a priori justification for a delimitation of the field of rural sociology to a study of rural-urban differentials. In general the definition of the field offered by the Committee of the Rural Sociological Society of America and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics is acceptable.

The sociology of rural life may be defined, then, as the study of the forms

---

1 Committee of the Rural Sociological Society of America and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The field of research in rural sociology. Washington, D.C. 1938.
of human association, the factors influencing the origin, structure, development, and functioning of the forms of association in the rural environment. Two aspects of this definition should be especially noted. In the first place, emphasis is placed on both social organization and social process. On theoretical grounds, however, it is acceptable and justifiable to limit the analysis to either a time or timeless perspective.

To date the dynamic aspect has been largely neglected in favor of the organizational analyses. The other factor of importance is that the sociology of rural life is concerned with the factors influencing social organization and social process. There is no limitation of analysis to those factors that exist within rural life. Factors of an extra-rural nature that are relevant to an explanation of rural social phenomena are within the orbit of sociological analysis of rural life. In fact, it is maintained that the more significant changes occurring within rural life are primarily a result of the impact of urban influences upon the ways of life in rural communities. It is therefore readily evident that the subject matter termed rural sociology is nothing more nor less than the use of sociological analysis in the rural environment. It is unfortunately true that many people who are called rural sociologists view the study of rural life as a special and discrete subject matter. It has even been maintained that an individual cannot become a rural sociologist unless he possesses the mystical qualities garnered from spending one's early life on the farm. This esoteric and unscientific view is fortunately losing ground.
The question that immediately arises is should one object to individuals working as specialists in the sociological analysis of rural life. Certainly not. There should be no more objection to an individual studying human interrelationships in rural life than there is to someone specializing in crowd behavior, associational activities in cities, or in informal or formal group relationships. However, vigorous objections should be raised against those who specialize and then maintain that their researches are complete in themselves and are unrelated to sociological analysis in general. If the methodology employed in investigations of rural life is rigorous and scientific, then the results of such investigations should contribute to our knowledge of human interaction in general. The study of rural group life then should aid in filling out the general theoretical framework of sociological theory. To the extent that it accomplishes this purpose, the sociology of rural life is valuable in itself for pragmatic purposes as well as for the development of a systematic and comprehensive body of established sociological theory.
CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE

In this chapter the basic problems of the dissertation are formulated and the methods used in the analyses are described. Such a divagation is especially necessary since the investigation is conducted in most part on a "more or less basis" rather than by use of existent precise statistical methods. The limitations of the analysis and definition of key concepts are further presented. The discussion is initiated by a definition of certain concepts of central importance to the research. No effort is made to explore interesting epistemological considerations or to consider the dialectics raging around several of the concepts. The position taken is simply that the utility of a concept depends on its heuristic value. In this respect Dewey's thesis of the validity of concepts constitutes the theoretical justification for the use of the major concepts in the dissertation.

A. Basic Concepts and Central Problems

of the Dissertation

The title of this dissertation is an imposing one and is slightly formidable. Yet, each concept has a specific meaning. Attention is now

---

directed to a definition of these concepts. Interwoven in the explanation
of the basic concepts is a statement of the central problems of the
dissertation.

The term, sociological variables, refers to important variations that
may exist in certain aspects of group life in the communities to be studied.
For example, the system of interaction in each community may be character-
ized by a high degree or a low degree of primary interactional behavior.
Familism may be of extreme importance in determining the individual's
behavior or it may be of relative minor significance. Thus, the system
of interaction and familism will be taken as variables in the analysis.
Other factors such as isolation from the Great Society, religionism and
the role of education in each community are also studied. The problem,
then, is to attempt to describe in as accurate a manner as possible, these
variables in the several communities. Of particular interest is the differ-
entiation in the several communities on each variable. Thus, is each
community marked by a high or low degree of primary interaction or are
there noticeable variations between them? This type of question is raised
regarding each variable and the formulation of propositions regarding the
differentiations in the variables in the rural communities studied
constitutes one of the major objectives of the dissertation. By such an
analysis evidence may be obtained in support of the thesis that the use
of the rural-urban dichotomy theoretical frame of reference has largely
resulted in the neglect of significant intra-rural sociological variations
in rural life. If such a thesis can be substantiated then it may be
asserted that the utilization of the concept rural as a polar type to urban may be severely questioned in certain types of sociological investigations because of the wide variations within the rural polarity.

In addition to a descriptive and comparative analysis of these sociological variables, attention is further directed to the pattern or constellation of the several sociological variables. Thus, are communities marked by a high degree of isolation from the outside world in contrast to communities marked by a lower degree of cultural isolation further characterized by a family system in which the family is a more powerful influence in the socialization process? Are more culturally isolated communities further characterized by a particular kind of religious or educational system? In brief, attention is centered on the configuration or the pattern of relationships between the individual sociological variables. This relationship between the individual variables is termed the cultural configuration for each community. The analysis is centered around the testing of a hypothesis regarding the differential characteristics of the system of interaction, the family system, the religious system, and the educational system in communities with varying degrees of cultural isolation. Are there any such relationships in the several communities is then the second major problem of the dissertation.

The final term in the dissertation title needing some clarification is the phrase contemporary rural communities. The word contemporary is self-explanatory. Reference is to four rural communities that were studied in 1939 by members of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the Department of Agriculture.
The term rural community is unfortunately not so unambiguous. There have been many definitions of and heated dialectics concerning this concept. 1 It is not necessary in this dissertation to engage in this controversy. For this analysis, the rural community shall be defined as that group of people living in a geographical area in which the basic social and economic requirements of the local rural inhabitants are met and in which the greater share of human interaction among the local inhabitants takes place. In this study, concern is manifested with communities based on both the village and scattered homestead type of settlement. Emphasis is placed on certain significant sociological characteristics of the pattern of social relationships and social interaction in the several communities. Although the geographical aspect of the community boundaries is recognized, it is the interrelations between the community inhabitants that more specifically concern this investigation.

It is also necessary to define several socio-psychologies to be used in the subsequent analyses. This is needed because of the ambiguity found in current sociological writings over such key concepts as norms, values, and attitudes.

In the following analysis norms are defined as ideational aspects of culture which are standardized in the local community. These cultural products constitute the substructure of community life. The norms largely

determine the ways in which the individual thinks, acts, works and plays. They are the culturally defined correct ways of human behavior. They include the customs and the mores of the local culture. In large part the norms determine the definition of social situations imparted to the young in the process of socialization. This conception of the norms is very similar to the definitions of Sherif and Cantril.¹

The terms norms and values are frequently used synonymously. In this analysis, these two concepts are differentiated. One's opinion of the norms of the culture will be termed a value. The child usually accepts the norms of the culture without questioning them. However, with increasing knowledge and expanding contacts, the individual may begin to question the norms. On the other hand, the individual may continue to subscribe to and believe in the existing normative system. In the latter instance the person's value system is closely aligned to the social norms. Thus, in actuality, the norms of the group and the values of the individual may be highly similar or dissimilar. Conceptually, they refer to two distinctive functional concepts.

One more socio-psychological concept must be defined. This is the term, attitude. An attitude is defined as the interpretation of a concrete situation. It is the evaluation that the individual places on specific


ideas or objects. When the individual makes decisions involving his
valuations, he then expresses an attitude.

An example may clarify the distinction between these three inter-
related concepts, norms, values, and attitudes. In a particular community
let it be assumed that it is generally held that all people should be
thrifty. This is a social norm. Jones is in thorough agreement with this
norm while Smith believes it to be a foolish belief. Thus, these two
diverse opinions toward the norms are termed values. Since Jones eval-
uates thrift as an important mode of behavior, he spends little and saves
much money. Smith, on the contrary, spends much and saves little. These
contrary views regarding the spending of money may be defined as attitudes
toward the spending of money.

E. Selection of the Communities

One of the immediate problems encountered after the problems of the
investigation had been carefully delineated was the selection of the com-
munities for the comparative analysis. The decision to restrict the
analysis to contemporary rural communities limited the number of possible
communities from which selection could be made. An examination of the
social anthropologist's concept of the ethnological present revealed a
number of theoretical difficulties in the comparative analysis of commu-
nities studied by different investigators at different periods of time.
Despite these difficulties a number of studies of rural communities analyzed
over the past thirty years were carefully reviewed to gain insights for the present study. The work of Williams ¹ offered many interesting observations and the analyses of Sims, ² Sanderson, ³ and Zimmerman ⁴ and others were reviewed.

After a critical appraisal of recent community research, it was finally decided to utilize the six studies of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare as the raw material for the investigation. These community researches were selected because (1) they were conducted

MacLeish, K. and Young, K. Culture of a contemporary rural community, Landaff, New Hampshire. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Rural Life Studies No. 3. 1942.
Kollmorgen, W.M. Culture of a contemporary rural community. The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Rural Life Studies No. 5, 1942.
relatively recently; (2) they were carried out by a group of skilled investigators; (3) they were conducted as a unified project. A common manual of instructions was used by all investigators. (4) Finally, the type of information obtained through these studies allowed for a comparative analysis of sociological factors relevant to the major problems of the dissertation. ¹

Fairly elaborate and precise techniques were established for the study of the six communities. The manual of instructions included the following procedures:

1. Collection and analysis of all statistical data available in the areas.
2. Identification and delineation of all neighborhoods and communities in the area.
3. Obtaining information by schedules of information on social participation, in both its formal and informal aspects.
4. Gathering of data relevant to values of the people by means of detailed interviews of a selected sample of informants. ²

The field workers were supposed to follow the same procedures. In addition to community delineation, neighborhood, institutional and associational zones were to be determined. All pertinent data from secondary

² Ibid., p. 439.
sources were to be used in the study. The analysts were further ordered to work systematically with fifteen to twenty participant observers who were supposed to represent the class structure of the community. Loomis' sociometric charts were further to be utilized to point up interactional patterns of significance. Attitude studies of high school seniors and others in the community were to be made. Finally, the field analyst was supposed to live in each community from four to six months and a period of eight to ten months was to be expended on each community.  

Unfortunately, the time allotted to the studies was found to be insufficient to carry out fully the above instructions. Sociometric techniques were used only in one study, and much statistical information that could have been obtained was not gathered. In many instances, the economic aspects of the investigation entirely overshadowed the sociological analysis. This is not a negative criticism, but merely a statement of fact. In the analysis of such phenomena as class structure, the analysts showed a lack of knowledge or an incompetency in analysis in differentiating social status and economic groupings. The hypotheses of Warner could have been neatly tested as well as the basic personality structure conception of Linton and Kardiner; yet despite these criticisms, it was felt that the analyses on first reading offered adequate data for

1 Ibid., p. 439.
the purposes of this research.

After careful study and restudy of the six community studies, it was finally decided to limit the analysis to only four of the six communities. The two communities eliminated were Harmony, Georgia and Landaff, New Hampshire. The Georgia study was eliminated because of the complication of the bi-racial factor and because the data in many instances seemed to reflect the opinions of the investigator rather than an analysis of objectively obtained data. The New Hampshire community was dropped because of its industrial characteristics which would largely upset any possible conclusions regarding rural communities per se. Further, not only were the eliminated communities marked by types of analyses that were extremely difficult to use in a comparative analysis, but of further significance the residual communities tended to form two dichotomous categories. This latter statement will be elaborated in the general comparative analysis.

C. The Qualitative Characteristic of the Data

To those individuals who demand statistical evidence in support of substantive propositions, this research will be a sore disappointment. Their contention that some of the analysis theoretically could have been conducted through the use of statistical analysis would certainly be correct. For example, it would have been exceedingly helpful to know the exact size of the average family in the four communities. Yet, such an elementary statistic was not presented for all four communities. The
original analysts may be justifiably criticized for their failure to present such basic data.

On the other hand, despite the statistician's insistence that he can handle in a statistical manner any concept operationally defined, it is relevant to raise the issue of the necessity of offering statistical evidence before propositions can be accepted as substantiated. It is the contention of the writer that statistics is a valuable tool of the scientist, but not his only tool. Frequently, assumptions underlying the use of statistical analysis are overlooked by the investigator in his haste to be "statistically scientific". For example, the assumption of the exogenous characteristic of variables in correlation analysis is frequently forgotten or bypassed by researchers in the social sciences as they attempt to ascertain the correlation or the regression line between variables.

It is pertinent to raise the issue of can certain sociological factors be statistically measured? How can one measure primary group interaction? Certainly one can count or ask the informant the number of times he talked with members of his family. Yet, is it the number of times or the quality of the interaction that is significant? One may speak with many individuals many times during the day, but the intimacy of the relationships may be extremely variable. Such qualitative aspects of interaction may be inferred from the use of statistical techniques. But the keen observer through participant observational techniques may tell us more about and may describe more accurately than the statistician, the intensity and the intimacy of personal relationships. This is a crucial matter for the
sociologist if his subject matter is viewed as the study of human inter-
action. It may be added that although much statistical analysis of a
high order has been undertaken by sociologists, the insight and the know-
ledge obtained from these researches about human interaction is slight.
This is not a denial of statistical methodology, but rather should be
construed as a challenge to use statistical techniques to obtain more
significant knowledge regarding sociological phenomena. Further, it
suggests the possibility of the greater use of non-quantitative research
methods in sociological investigations.

In general, the data of the investigation are qualitative. This
implies that the analysis is largely based on a "more-or-less-than"
approach rather than on a precise enumeration of exact statistics with
standard deviations. There will be found no statements such as the
degree of familialism is 60 per cent stronger in El Cerrito than in the
Kansas community. But there will be statements such as familialism in El
Cerrito is much stronger than in Cornville. Granted that the former state-
ment, if it could be made objectively, would yield us more precise know-
ledge than the latter. Yet this does not vitiate the view that the
latter statements does offer us useful knowledge previously non-existent.

It is hoped that one of the results of this investigation will be
the uncovering of suggestions as to how such an analysis can in the future
be more rigorously conducted. It is certain that if the present investigator
had conducted each of the four field studies, many un-asked questions would
have been asked to enhance the comparability of the data in the four com-
munities. Lessons, however, have been learned by the investigator, and it is hoped that at a later date, he may have the opportunity to benefit from the limitations of the community studies to be analyzed in this dissertation when he gathers primary data in rural communities.

D. The Procedure of the Analysis

The introductory material prerequisite to the subsequent analysis has now been presented. The historical and contemporary perspective for the research has been indicated, and the basic problems have been formulated. In this section a brief description of the procedure to be followed in the body of the thesis shall be presented.

The first major consideration of the dissertation is an analysis of the differing degrees of cultural isolation in the several communities. Initially, the concept cultural isolation is defined. This is followed by the creation of a continuum of cultural isolation that represents the extreme theoretic possibilities of cultural isolation that could exist in rural communities. This device is used to establish a framework for the specific study of the variable cultural isolation. Then each community is separately probed, and the available evidence is presented indicating the degree of cultural isolation existent in the community. After the individual analysis of the four communities is completed, a comparative study of the four communities is undertaken in order to present the variations between the communities on the factor studied. The signif-
The results of the research are then summarized.

* The research committee examined the results of the experiments. The results were analyzed, and efforts were made to examine the experimental conditions.

- In order to examine the experimental conditions, several variables were measured in relation to one another. Hypotheses were then directed to the experimental analysis.

- A part of the integration

  * The structure of the results of the committee is the third major factor of the experimental analysis. The problem of the experiment, the hypothesis of prediction, and the other factors of variables generated are analyzed to present a systematic study of the variables.

  * A committee recommends that in each community a similar procedure be followed for each variable.

  * In general, a similar procedure is followed for each variable. The variance noted is

  * Jansen points of communities are pursued in bolded terms and the range of
CHAPTER IV. CULTURAL ISOLATION

A. Introduction

In this chapter the analysis of sociological variables in the four communities is initiated. The communities will be differentiated on the basis of the degree of cultural isolation from the larger society. Attention will be directed to ascertaining the variations between the communities as to their separation from the extra-community world.

It has been noted by many students that the rural community and the urban community may be differentiated by the number of contacts per individual, the area in which human interaction takes place, and the type and intensity of interaction. It has further been shown that the urban environment allows for a greater number and more types of diffusion agencies and that blocking mechanisms are more influential in restraining social and cultural change in rural communities. However, the proclivity to use rural and urban as polarity concepts has resulted in largely neglecting the important sociological observation that there may exist tremendous variations within rural communities on the basis of some of these observed

---

rural-urban differentiating factors. 1 In this part of the analysis attention is specifically focused on the significant factor of cultural isolation. Initially, the concept will be elaborated, and this will be followed by the development of the extreme degrees of cultural isolation theoretically possible in rural communities. Then, an analysis of the individual communities will be undertaken and finally, the variations in cultural isolation between the communities will be established. The differences in the interactional systems of the communities will be probed in the following chapter.

B. Definition of Cultural Isolation

Isolation may be briefly defined as the absence of contact and communication between individuals, between groups, and between individuals and groups. The effects of lack of communication and social interaction on the individual personality have been noted by a number of sociologists and psychologists. 2 In this chapter, however, attention is directed to the limitations that circumscribe the range of contact and interaction of the several rural communities with the Great Society. Is the local community thought of as a strong we-group by its inhabitants? Are contacts

---

1 It should be noted that such differentiations also may exist in urban communities. This problem, however, is not considered in this investigation.

2 For example, see Davis, Kingsley. Extreme isolation of a child. American Journal of Sociology. 45:554-555. 1940.
with the extra-community world to be avoided? Does the community desire to separate itself from the outside world in its emphasis on a localistic consciousness of kind? Are there special barriers tending to perpetuate the distinctions? Are the interests and norms of the local community enmeshed in the culture of the larger society or are the two highly disparate? Are the bounds of interaction limited to the territorial periphery of the community? This is the type of query that is relevant to the analysis.

It may be conceptually helpful to point out the distinction between the geographer’s and the sociologist’s concept of isolation. The geographer views isolation as a matter of separation in space. For example, a small community five hundred miles from a metropolitan center would be marked by a high degree of geographical isolation from the larger center. However, for the sociologist distance per se is not the important factor. Rather, he is concerned with the degree of communication and interaction existent between the two communities. Thus, if there is a great deal of communication between the two communities; if metropolitan newspapers flow from the metropolitan center to the smaller community; if the inhabitants of the smaller center frequently shop and visit in the larger community, then geographical isolation may be of slight importance since communication and interaction exist despite geographical separation.

Another basic aspect of the sociological concept of cultural isolation is the existence or non-existence of the feeling of belonging to groups or societies larger than the local community. This social psychological factor is of extreme importance. Another way of stating this is that the area in which a feeling of consensus exists may be stringently limited to the local community or may extend to the Great Society. Factors of significance here are the existence of an awareness of the interrelationships of the local community with the larger world, similarities in basic normative systems, the lack of special barriers such as linguistic and religious differences, and recognition of common interests and mutual problems.

Isolation, then, in this context refers to the degree of separation of the community from the Greater Society. In order to establish some sort of theoretical framework for the analysis of the communities, it is necessary to raise the question of the various degrees of isolation possible between rural communities. Is there something implicit in the very nature of agricultural life that results in agricultural communities being ubiquitously greatly isolated from the larger society? Such an assumption seems to be implicit in the dichotomization of life into rural and urban segments; in fact, Sorokin and Zimmerman have argued that the very existence of agriculture results in a number of sociological concomitants that are invariable and ubiquitous in space and time. However, the view taken in this analysis is that these sociological concomitants are not necessarily ubiquitous or invariable in rural life. It is main-
tained that intra-rural variations may be as important and perhaps more important than rural-urban variations for an understanding of human interrelationships in rural life. In this section the analysis is concerned with cultural isolation as a variable factor.

C. The Continuum of Cultural Isolation

The theoretically possible extreme variations that could exist in rural communities from the viewpoint of cultural isolation will now be developed. In a rural community marked by the maximum degree of cultural isolation, there would exist "complete" separation of the local community from the outside world. The area and dimensions of local interests would be bound by the periphery of the territorial basis of local group life. Occurrences outside of this provincial nexus would be irrelevant to the local inhabitants. The outside world would be a strange and mysterious world, and local community sanctions would demand that no community member transcend the boundaries of the local community. This rural community, then, would possess a distinctive culture. Life within the confines of the local community would of necessity be economically and socially self-sufficient. There would exist no communications with the Great Society. No radios or newspapers would disseminate information regarding occurrences in the outside world. This society, then, would be marked by a low degree of social change since inter-community diffusion as a catalyst of social change would not exist. Recreation by necessity
would be familial and localistic since the local mores would not permit outside agencies to enter the community. Not only would the local group tend to view the outside world as an "out-group" in Sumner's use of that term, but as a corollary, the outside world would view this rural community as peculiar, and as separate from the Great Society. In sum, then this rural grouping would be marked by an absence of diffusion agencies, an area of mobility limited to the geographical periphery of the community, and in consequence would be completely separated from the outside world. The ways of life would be distinctive; a specific and unique culture would be in evidence.

On the other hand, the rural community marked by a minimum of cultural isolation would be separated only spatially from the larger society. This spatial isolation would be of slight significance since the ways of life and the system of norms would be scarcely different from those of the larger society. Here the average agriculturist as a matter of habit would transcend the limits of the geographical periphery of the local community. Physical mobility would be limited only by the inability to purchase gasoline to run one's automobile. Specialized goods and services would be procured from the most advantageous places. One would buy his household appliances perhaps at the larger metropolitan center many miles away and his groceries in the most reasonable grocery in an area of perhaps thirty miles in diameter. The radio hourly would inform the local people of news events in the outside world. Daily newspapers would be found in every home. This rural aggregation then would be in
no way mentally apart from the changing tempo of the Great Society.

Further, the local community would recognize its dependency upon the outside world and it would perceive that events outside the community vitally affect the local welfare. The community would be concerned with matters of state, national, and international importance. It would recognize that events external to the local scene eventually might impinge on the local community in terms of income, scales of living and other important matters. This local world would be fully intermeshed with the larger society.

In sum, then, a rural community theoretically could be marked by a high or low degree of contact with the outside world. On one hand the rural community could constitute a separate society with a clearly distinctive culture. On the other hand the rural community could be merely physically separate from the Great Society but culturally very much in harmony with and a part of it. In the one instance geographical isolation would be tantamount to cultural isolation; in the other geographical isolation would crumble before the onslaught of diffusion agencies, wide range of mobility and a feeling of interrelatedness to the Great Society.

With this theoretical framework in mind, let us now turn to the communities themselves. It can hardly be expected that any of the communities will fit the description of the above elaborated polar types. However, the degree to which the communities correspond to the polarity concepts may offer insight into the variations between rural communities on the factor of cultural isolation. The analysis now centers
on appraising each community separately as to the degree of cultural isolation. This will be followed by a comparative analysis of the communities.

D. El Cerrito

It has been suggested that the horizon of interest for one living in a rural community could be viewed as extending no farther than the cultural limits of the immediate community or as encompassing the problems and concerns of the Great Society. In El Cerrito the more limited perspective more nearly describes the "world" of the inhabitants.

This tiny Spanish-American village represented one of many similar cultural islands to be found in the hinterland of Las Vegas, New Mexico. An important factor in the isolation of the community was the very composition of the people. All the residents were of native or Spanish-American stock, and the existing culture represented the remains of a long process of acculturation between the Spanish and Indian heritages.

Today the native still speaks the language, enjoys the customs, and is endowed with the superstitions of Andalusian Spain. Nor is there any conflict in the combination. Time and struggle have compounded these elements into a singular product—the native or Spanish-American people.

This distinctive racial group communicated with each other in their own traditional language, Spanish, and they clung to a body of traditions and customs with a long historical background. The racial, linguistic, and cultural differentiation of this group had resulted in a strong "esprit de corps" feeling within the community. The existence of one dominant religion was another powerful factor that influenced the insularity of the group. The Catholic faith permeated nearly all aspects of life and the value structure of the people was intimately correlated with the sacred religious sanctions of the church. The family, too, constituted another factor of significance in the cultural isolation of the group. Few families in the community could not claim at least a third-cousin relationship with every other family. These several factors resulted in a meaningful local community, a society of warm and intimate blood relationships, a society in which each member felt that "he belonged". The importance of community ties was most apparent when one of the members left the community. He found that it was difficult to communicate with outsiders; they did not share his norms and it was difficult to engage in interaction with those who had different sets of claims and expectations. It is then not hard to comprehend why nearly all those who left the community for employment eventually returned, and why few families expressed a desire to leave the community even under economic duress. It is evident, then, that a strong feeling of consciousness of kind existed in this grouping.
So it was that the primary concerns of the people were local concerns. The greater part of their lives were spent in interacting with a small number of intimately known personalities. Problems of an extra-local nature were of slight concern to the El Cerriton because he had few contacts with individuals and ideas external to the village.

Another factor that helps to account for the continued isolation of this group was the lack of communicating mechanisms with the outside world. There were no telephones in the village, and the nearest phone was at a neighboring village sixteen miles distant by automobile (three miles distant by foot). There were only two dilapidated automobiles in the community and operating costs severely limited their use. Only two families owned radios and they functioned only when their owners could afford to buy batteries. One of the owners of the two sets reported that he listened to news broadcasts but that the rest of the villagers were not concerned with affairs of the outside world. Newspapers were the exception rather than the rule. Only two religious newspapers and three copies of the county paper, all printed in Spanish, came regularly to the community. Not one family subscribed to popular or farm magazines.

Not only was the outside world relatively unsuccessful in penetrating El Cerrito, but of equal importance was the fact that local people only infrequently transcended the territorial limits of the community. Visits outside of the village were not common. In fact, none of the women left the community more than once or twice a year. Although the men were away from the community more frequently than the women in search of em-
ployment or on buying or selling trips, nevertheless they did not feel a part of the larger world. Those who were away for a year or even longer periods still thought of El Cerrito as their place of residence and eventually returned.

The high degree of cultural isolation exerted a profound influence on the children.

During a child's formative years he is closely associated with every other child in the village. Seldom does he see the outside world or the people living in it.... Until he is old enough and experienced enough to take care of himself he is seldom given the opportunity to go outside the village. He hears his parents and older brothers and sisters talk of the outside world but it is usually something far beyond his experience. Thus, his only familiar world is the immediate area around him. He soon becomes accustomed to identify himself with it.¹

Viewing such an isolated pattern of socialization in the psychoanalytic view, it is not difficult to perceive the importance of this early conditioning period in the personality development of the individual. The center of one's interests tended to be localized to El Cerrito. Enforced by the limited contacts with the outside world in later life, the individual's outlook was oriented around the small village in which he was reared and in which he had spent the greater share of his life.

However, a superficial analysis of the community might indicate that the local folk conceived of their area of interest as wider than the localistic culture. Such a view would be supported by the fact that

¹Leonard and Loomis, op. cit., p. 63.
the villagers accepted government aid in all forms and went outside of the village for work. However, these contacts were limited in number and primarily were made to obtain additional income. The dire poverty of the El Cerritans forced some of the males to seek relief from the government or to work as farm laborers. After the period of employment had terminated, however, the migrants invariably returned to the village. The crucial point, then, is not that some of the El Cerritans had some contacts with the outside world, but that the villagers did not feel a part of the larger world. They did not feel at home among the Anglos. Most of them did not understand the language of the Anglo in both a literal and meaningful sense. In sum, the El Cerritan was not only largely physically isolated from the Great Society, but he was also mentally isolated because his culture was so separate from that of the extra-community world. The normative system of El Cerrito was based on a unique evaluative system. It emphasized the importance of family solidarity and family welfare. The basis of consciousness of kind centered on an awareness of a unique culture with strong traditions and well defined goals. The outsider was a part of the "they-group" to the tightly knit "we-group" of El Cerritans. In brief, El Cerrito was marked by a high degree of cultural isolation from the Great Society.

E. The Amish Community

The Amish socio-religious community represented an exceedingly interesting system of relationships to probe for the people represented
a group that followed as a matter of religious policy the promulgation
of nearly every possible means to isolate its members from the larger
society. This isolation was applied to nearly every phase of life except
agriculture in its production and marketing aspects.

The Amish viewed themselves as a "peculiar people" who led a non-
conformist way of life because of their literal interpretation of certain
passages in the Bible. The Biblical passages may be epitomized by the
statement that God's chosen people were not supposed to conform to the
general practices and customs of the world. The application of this
belief resulted in a body of customs and mores that sharply differ-
entiated the Amish from other people.

The Amish men all have long hair, bunched across the forehead
and at the back of the head. All men part their hair in
the middle. Unmarried men shave, but married men must wear
a beard though they may not grow a moustache. The outer
articles of clothing for men, women, and children are made
at home and are cut along the same pattern for each group.
The men and boys wear broadfall trousers, secured with plain,
home-made suspenders. The dress coats have no lapels and no
outer pockets and are secured with hooks and eyes (work coats
and jackets may have buttons and even zippers). All male
members wear broad, flat, black hats in winter and broad,
flat straw hats in summer.¹

The women were also restricted by a number of church rulings.

Identical dress patterns had to be worn by women of similar age groups
while only solid dark colors were permissible. Young girls had to
braid their hair while women were not allowed to curl or cut their hair.

¹Kollmorgen, W.M. Culture of a contemporary rural community, the Old
Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C.,
The hair styles of all the women were exactly similar. No "store" hats could be worn since the church had prescribed special head coverings and bonnets.

These dress customs represented only one cluster of "musts" in the community. The church further forbade the ownership of automobiles and telephones. No Amishman was permitted to own or use a radio or musical instruments nor allowed to read non-Biblical story books. Tractors could not be used in the field although they could be owned and used for belt power. It is significant to note that the Amish were denied ownership of two of the most powerful catalysts of secularization, the radio and the automobile. To not comply with the explicit sanctions of biblical teachings would result in severe reprimands by the community and possible excommunication from the fellowship of the Amish. The prohibitions of this socio-religious group and the rigid enforcement practices utilized as constraining influences were logically consistent with the policy of separation that served as the substructure of the Amish nonconformist way of life.

Although the Amish were culturally isolated to a high degree from the extra community world, economically they depended for the greatest share of their income upon the sale of their commercial products. Although the average size of Amish farms was only about fifty acres, yet the annual per farm gross income reached $4,000 to $5,000 from the sale of tobacco, milk, wheat, cattle, and poultry products. It is further
of interest to note that the former high degree of self-sufficiency was distinctly in retreat. Many of the families bought their bread from commercial bakers' trucks, and it was reported that grocery and meat trucks served many of the Amish families. However, vegetable gardens were still maintained and canning was a common practice.

The Amish went to town for business reasons or for medical advice when they deemed it necessary. However, they viewed urban centers with their movies, taverns, specialty shops and dance halls as evil. They strongly believed that the "pernicious" influences of the city were largely to blame for the "moral degeneracy" of mankind. They subscribed to the doctrine that agriculture was the only holy way of life and in consequence, geared the socialization process to making competent farmers and housewives out of their children. These strongly held beliefs were supported by religious sanctions and a body of nonconformist rules covering nearly all aspects of life. Although the church did not approve of non-Biblical books and popular magazines, the Old Order Amish did receive daily newspapers and farm journals. In general the Amish did not participate in government programs since they would not participate in any organization not controlled by the church. Although the Amish possessed definite views on extra-community problems, their attitudes were highly flavored with the normative system emanating from their literal interpretation of the Bible. They believed that most economic and social problems were created because of the worldliness and the materialism characteristic of modern society. They belonged to
that his cause better and action pattern for over three hundred years of the old order. In general the differences we keep the theoretical doctines. The theory of the middle centuries had some of the modern communists that the old order another part of some of the same kind. However, these families had not fully succeeded was established by the breaking away of a number of personal and local authorities had rather mediated the communalism and upon that peculiar manner had been a theory of society, the communalists had used a definite form of community. The general process of one or more classes of society and their development under a definite form of community. The process of the movement of non-community in that larger process. The relation between the two processes of the movement of people mediated by a high degree of art. General processes for the use of English to creep into the community and with another important aspect of the separation of the work from the work of political parties and took little interest in political matters.
sanctions, this group had maintained its program of differentiation and its resultant, a "peculiar" culture.

F. Cornville

In contradistinction to the high degree of cultural insularity of El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish the community of Irwin, Iowa represented a contemporary community that was marked by a much greater degree of contact and affiliation with the Great Society. Hereafter, this community will be designated as Cornville.

The 250 families in this agricultural setting had largely broken the bounds of cultural isolation through their increased mobility and the more ready adoption of diffusion mechanisms as an integral segment of the local culture.

The purchases that were made in the village center were limited to low cost items for which there existed frequent demand. Overalls and house dresses, for example, were procured in the local center. However, for items of a more specialized nature, special trips were made to other towns as distant as thirty miles from the community. Livestock and farm produce were sold in the larger metropolitan centers such as Omaha and Council Bluffs and the more expensive purchases for furniture and household conveniences were made in these large urban centers. Although the residents of the Irwin community had much more in common with one another than with the inhabitants of the larger centers, nevertheless,
they did not view these urban centers as separate and apart from the local scene. They were not viewed as places of iniquity but rather as useful shopping and recreational centers. The automobile and hard surfaced roads were important factors in the rapprochement between the city and the rural community. The wide area in which contacts occurred was further corroborated by the fact that young people often went fifty to seventy-five miles for such recreational affairs as dances and they frequently drove to nearby towns to see movies. Wednesday night was movie night in Cornville and since the local theater showed mainly second rate pictures, the people used their freedom of mobility to travel to nearby towns to attend the movie they desired to see. Although the local doctor took care of the normal illnesses of the people, the specialists operating in larger centers were used for more serious illnesses and operations. The dentists in Harlan were patronized and morticians were secured from Harlan and Manning.

The existent agencies of diffusion further tended to minimize the degree of isolation of the Irwin community from the larger society. Every family owned a radio, and this mechanism of diffusion was perhaps the most important in bringing the news of the outside world to the local people. General news broadcasts were eagerly listened to and farmers relied on the radio for market reports. In such a highly commercialized farming area, market prices were items of keen interest to the agriculturist. Besides its news value, the radio was a highly important recreational device. Popular and semi-classical music and comedy
programs were most popular with the people. International news as well as national news was received by the people of Cornville as quickly as by the urban dweller. The local people learned of new products and heard old ones extolled as frequently as the urbanite. The witticisms of the comedians, new popular tunes, and innumerable new cultural traits were communicated as quickly to the local people as to the residents of Chicago. The radio, then, was an important factor in the rapprochement between the local community and the Great Society.

Newspapers, too, played an important role in the diminution of isolation. Daily newspapers from Des Moines, Omaha and Council Bluffs were widely read in the community. It was interesting to note that the Des Moines papers were preferred to the other papers because they presented a better coverage of state news. Two county weeklies were the major sources of local news. Most families subscribed to both a metropolitan and a county paper.

Farm journals also were important information dispensers. Many of the farmers subscribed to these journals, and they were regarded as authoritative sources for the discernment of new trends and techniques in agriculture. Price trends and technological changes were of especial interest to the farmers. Other periodicals that circulated in the community were women’s magazines, digests, and picture magazines. It was further reported that state and federal bulletins were highly valued and were viewed as an important government service. They were utilized mainly in the solution of specific agricultural problems.
The movies, too, constituted an important agency in the dwindling isolation of the community. It was reported that the movies represented one of the most important reasons why many young people desired to leave the area. They saw other ways of life on the screen and new desires and new standards were inculcated in many of the young.

It is evident, then, that the residents of the Irwin community were not insulated from the larger society. It was true that there existed a closer affinity to Cornville than to New York or Chicago. Yet, events that transpired in these distant places were recognized as being of great significance to the local inhabitants. Prices for their commodities, were determined in Chicago. The amount of their AAA payments were determined in Washington. The costs of their farm equipment were related to policies determined by union and management in New York. The significant aspect of these interrelationships was not that they were true; rather, it was that the local people were aware that these interrelationships existed and that decisions made and actions taken in these distant places vitally affected the welfare of Cornville. There existed no language barrier or unique ethnic factor that tended to separate the local people from the Great Society. The inhabitants of Cornville subscribed to no special set of norms that necessitated the erection of interactional barriers between themselves and extra-community agencies and people. They felt that they belonged to a larger society in addition to the local community. The residents of Cornville desired to participate
in and take advantage of the new ideas and "material progress" of the extra-community world. It was evident, therefore, that the degree of cultural isolation existent in this community was significantly less than in the more folk-like communities of El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish.

G. Wheatville

Whereas formerly the general area of geographical mobility was limited to the day's team haul, most of the farmers in Wheatville considered their immediate locality at the time of the study to be no less than one hundred miles in diameter. The local people were no longer oriented to a particular village center. The individual's wishes, not the team haul, were the determinants of the individual's contacts with the outside world. Since Wheatville did not possess a good theater, the farm people drove to Dodge City, Garden City or Liberal for their movie entertainment. Medical needs were satisfied in Montezuma or Dodge City. Within the zone of the average farmer's mobility cities, towns and villages competed for the business of the residents of Wheatville. The area in which frequent contacts were made was revealed by the following account of a typical resident's range of mobility.

1The Sublette, Kansas community will be termed Wheatville throughout the dissertation.
Mr. B lives 10 miles northeast of Sublette and occasionally goes to the courthouse to consult with the county agent or the AAA committee. While in town he buys some groceries the family needs at once. Most of his supplies are bought either in Copeland or Garden City, 15 and 35 miles away. He says that for the past year there has been a grocery store in Copeland where he can buy to advantage; except for it he would buy most of his supplies in Garden City. There is no physician at Sublette or Copeland so he must go elsewhere for health service. During the year he has taken his family to an osteopath in Montezuma (29 miles), who sends him on to Dodge City (another 23 miles) in case of more serious illnesses. Many machine repair parts are not carried in stock in the smaller towns. As Dodge City is a center of distribution, Mr. B goes directly there for repairs. He says that during some seasons more than a month may elapse between trips to Dodge City, but at other times he may go twice a week. Most of his wife’s clothes are bought there. The so-called community sales are held weekly in the larger towns, and during the slack seasons he likes to go to them to keep abreast of the local prices at which commodities are selling.

It was evident, then, that business, recreational and other interests attracted the farm people to different centers for particular needs and services. Bell’s statement that the “community as a geographical area which can be outlined on a map with a village center in which major business and social activities are conducted does not exist in Haskell county” was supported by the evidence. The automobile had widened greatly the limits of the individual’s mobility. This freedom of movement further assumed a dynamic aspect. As new or better services could


2Bell, op. cit., p. 68.
be obtained elsewhere, there existed the proclivity to patronize these more advantageous sources. No longer did the outside world come to the residents of Haskell County only through the shelves of the local village store; the people frequently sought the advantages of the outside world. It was evident, then, that a great deal of geographical mobility existed and that contacts over a wide area represented the range of interaction for the people.

Another measure of the degree of isolation was the number and types of diffusion agencies that were found in Wheatville. A radio was found in nearly every home. Although news and market reports were the most frequent programs listened to, evening programs were also very popular. Urban newspapers were delivered daily to almost every farm home. Most of the farm families subscribed to at least one or two farm magazines and most homes had a table piled high with journals and magazines. Magazines for parents were taken by many families with small children, and magazines for women were very popular. The most important types of recreation were no longer familial or limited to contacts between immediate neighbors. The moving picture constituted one of the most popular forms of recreation; it was reported that many of the people attended them once or twice a week. These outside diffusion mechanisms continually kept the residents apprised of the ever occurring changes in the larger society. The steady stream of information and news disseminated by these impersonal diffusion agencies tended to break
down distinctions between the local community and the larger society.

It was no wonder then that world problems were frequent subjects of local conversation; that national politics and government programs were heatedly debated. With the introduction of power machinery, the problems of the outside world, particularly the market and the international situation, became of tremendous significance to the farmers of the area. These farm people were keenly aware of wheat prices and price trends. They were posted on crop reports and familiarized themselves with crop predictions. The price of wheat and cattle was a large factor in the profits or net losses for the year. The general prosperity of the nation and world trade conditions were recognized as integral elements in local welfare. It was evident, then, that in this community there existed an awareness of the interdependency of the local community and the Great Society.

Wheatville may be summarily described as a community that has broken down the bonds of kinship and territory as the moderating influences upon its relationships with the outside world. Whereas prior to the advent of quick means of communication and transportation the area of human interaction had been limited to the extent of the team haul, at the time of the study most farmers conceived their immediate locality to be no less than one hundred miles in diameter. The local people were no longer oriented to a particular village center. The outside world filtered in to the local people through the numerous diffusion agencies that were
integrated into the local ways of life. The culture of Wheatville was
not unique but included a host of elements found in other rural and
urban communities. This community had many interests in common with
the Great Society and the local people felt a part of the extra-local
community world. In short, Wheatville was marked by a low degree of
cultural isolation.

H. The Comparative Analysis

The communities have now been individually appraised from the
viewpoint of the existent degree of cultural isolation. Those charac-
teristics of cultural isolation in each community deemed significant
and about which evidence could be found were described. It is now nec-
essary to probe the differentiation between the communities. Such an
appraisal should offer insight into the variations that are possible
in communities primarily dependent upon agriculture for a livelihood.

Initially, there existed a perceptible difference in the importance
of diffusion agencies in the several communities. In Wheatville and
Cornville, such links between the local and exterior world as the radio,
newspapers, and magazines were important factors in the minimization of
cultural isolation. These impersonal media of communication continually
kept the people informed of the dynamic world about them. The impact
of these agencies assumed large importance for they tended to sunder
the provincialism and to expand the horizon of interests of the people.
Problems of an extra-local nature were recognized as concerns of the inhabitants of Wheatville and Cornville. The news reports of the radio and the newspapers constantly kept these agricultural people in close touch with the Great Society. They listened to the same radio programs and read the same metropolitan papers as the urban resident. Their horizon of interests then was considerably larger than the geographical limits of the local community. On the other hand, El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish were noticeably lacking in these diffusion agencies. There were no radios in Amish homes while these communicative mechanisms were of slight importance in El Cerrito. There existed few newspapers and periodicals in the Spanish-American village while church prohibitions limited the reading matter of the Old Order Amish. Certainly, these latter communities were in relatively much less contact with the outside world than Wheatville and Cornville. Further, whereas the movies were an important recreational factor in Wheatville and Cornville, they were of little significance in El Cerrito and prohibited by the Amish.

To the Amish, movies were evil and conducive to immoral conduct. In the less culturally isolated communities, movies had been accepted as a permanent part of the recreational facilities of the community. From the standpoint of the number and types of diffusion agencies in rural communities, Wheatville and Cornville were sharply differentiated from El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish community.

Another relevant factor in the determination of differential cultural isolation is the range of mobility of the individual. Whereas the Wheat-
ville people considered their normal area of contacts no smaller than one hundred miles in diameter, the El Cerritans were confined in general to their tiny village settlement. The Cornville farmers did not recognize the geographical boundaries of the community in their normal pattern of interaction with the outside world. For specialized goods and services it was shown that they travelled thirty miles and more. Young people attended dances fifty and seventy-five miles distant from their homes, and people travelled many miles to witness a better movie than was showing in the local village center. The Amish in this respect offered an especially interesting situation. Although contacts were made with the city for the sale of their farm produce, nevertheless they were able to isolate themselves culturally from the urban centers. This facility to participate in economic relationships with urban centers and at the same time to divorce oneself from urban non-economic contacts must be primarily attributed to the effectiveness of the powerful sacred sanctions that dominated the living patterns of this religiously oriented community. On the other hand it should be noted that in contradistinction to the El Cerrito grouping, the Amish did not live in a cloistered village. Their farms were spread over a large area in Lancaster County, and the people engaged in much inter-visited between themselves. Thus, although the area of geographical mobility was not spatially restricted, yet the people with whom the Amish interacted on a highly personalized level were specifically designated. This points up the important consideration that cultural isolation is not necessarily a resultant of limited
geographical mobility, but rather is closely related to the types of people one interacts with. Indeed it is true as in the case with the El Cerritans that geographical isolation often results in a delimitation of the individuals one interacts with; however, the Amish situation indicates that the cultural selectivity factor is of extreme significance and may occur without the existence of the geographical factor. ¹

The analysis of the individual communities also revealed variations in the very composition of the community inhabitants themselves that tended to enhance or diminish the degree of cultural isolation. For example, the El Cerritans constituted a distinct racial group in which there existed a strong kinship pattern. Nearly every family was related to every other family. Again, the use of Spanish as the group language in opposition to the more frequent use of English in the Greater Society limited, for example, the reading of newspapers printed in English. The Amish likewise tenaciously clung to the German language as a barrier to relationships with the outside world. Their "peculiar" normative system sharply differentiated them from non-Amish. On the other hand, Cornville and Wheatville were not marked by any distinctive linguistic, racial, or ethnic differential. In consequence, these barriers to intercommunication with the larger society were not operative in these communities.

¹This analysis is not to be confused with Cooley's individualism of isolation and functional individualism since Cooley was concerned with individual isolation in the former concept, and with an individualism of choice in a highly specialized society in the latter. See Cooley, C.H. Social organization. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1918, p. 93-94.
It was apparent, then, that the degree of communication with the
Great Society was highly variant among the several communities. When
Cornville and Wheatville are compared with El Cerrito and the Old Order
Amish the differentiation is most clearly exposed. However, it should
further be noted that whereas the basis of isolation in El Cerrito was
an inability to participate in the Great Society due to the distinctiveness
and insularity of the local culture, nevertheless there existed no
overt policy and group determined decisions to maintain the differenti-
tation. In this respect the cultural isolation was passive. The bases
of differentiation were historically and culturally determined and there
existed slight objections to the local people participating in the
material advantages of the larger society. However, in the case of the
Amish, the cultural isolation may be described as active. Here were
found continued efforts to maintain the isolation of the group as an
important function of the group. The seriousness of this attempt to
maintain the "peculiar" characteristics of the group was testified to
by the use of the device of excommunication when any of the church
determined customs and mores were disobeyed.

In the last analysis one of the most significant aspects of cultural
isolation is the socio-psychological factor of the existence or lack of
existence of a feeling of consensus with the Great Society. Here again,
oticeable variations were in evidence. The Amish certainly did not
consider themselves as an integral part of the Great Society. They
possessed their own unique culture and participated in an esoteric web
of interrelationships that was limited to their own brethren. The
El Carritans, too, hardly recognized any interrelationships with the
larger society. They did not visualize as their problems matters external
to the local community. The extra-community events were largely a part
of a strange and foreign world and the villagers did not feel that they
were a part of the complex Great Society. Their inability to meet the
Anglo on equal terms, the sense of inferiority that arises when one cannot
decipher variant cultural meanings, the existence of dissimilar system
of norms resulted in the outside world being well nigh incomprehensible
to the people of El Carrito.

Cornville and Wheatville on the other hand had a greater awareness
of their interrelationships with the Great Society. The local population
recognized that they had much in common with other aggregates of people.
The young people danced to the same music that urban young people danced
to. The local residents read the same newspapers and attended the same
movies as many non-rural groups. They possessed many of the same conven-
iences as other large segments of the population. Problems of national
and international scope were recognized as of importance to the local com-
munity. These people had much in common with the extra-community world.
Their world was not rigidly circumscribed but rather was continually ex-
panding. These latter communities, then, were much more fully inter-
meshed with the Great Society and in consequence were marked by a
relatively low degree of cultural isolation.
CHAPTER V. SYSTEM OF INTRA-COMMUNITY SOCIAL INTERACTION

A. Introduction

The communities have been differentiated on the basis of cultural isolation. It was shown, for example, that intercommunity diffusion agencies were powerful mechanisms in Cornville and Wheatville and were relatively unimportant in the other two communities. It was further demonstrated that the normal degree of geographical mobility for the local inhabitants varied greatly in the four communities. The emphasis in the previous analysis was placed on relationships of the communities with the outside world. In this chapter, however, the focus of the analysis will be directed primarily toward the interpersonal relationships within the communities. Attention will be centered on the differentiations in the characteristic patterns of social interaction found in the communities. More specifically, then, it will be necessary to probe such differentials as the relative importance of primary and secondary group relationships, the emphasis on cooperation and mutual aid, and the interaction of persons as complete or segmental personalities.

Another important phase of the interactional system is the range or extensity of social interaction. However, an analysis of this aspect of human interrelationships was treated in the preceding chapter as one of the factors determining the degree of cultural isolation, and in com-
sequence will be treated only incidentally in this section.

It is initially necessary to clarify two basic concepts to be used in the subsequent analysis. These are primary and secondary group relationships. The concept of the primary group was central to the sociological analysis of Cooley. His emphasis centered on the intimate face-to-face aspect of primary groups:

By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a 'we'; it involves a sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which 'we' is the natural expression.\(^1\)

The chief characteristics of a primary group, then, are: (1) face-to-face association, (2) the unspecialized character of that association, (3) relative permanence, (4) the small number of persons involved, and (5) a high degree of intimacy among the participants.

Cooley, however, did not extend his analysis to conceptualize the opposite polarity of the primary group. In his concern for an explanation of the nature of human nature, he had no need for such a term. Other students, however, have spoken of secondary groups. Unfortunately, this

---

concept has not the precise meaning denoted by the primary group. In this dissertation, the term secondary group will be used to mean a group that is marked by the specialized nature of the association and by a relatively low degree of intimacy among the participants. In the subsequent analysis, for example, farm organizations and women's clubs in most instances will be viewed as secondary groups.

B. The Continuum of Social Interaction

In order to sharpen the analysis of the interaction systems in the several communities, the theoretically opposite types of systems of interaction that could exist in rural communities will be established.

In the one instance the interactional system would be characterized by no secondary group situations. Every interpersonal relationship would be primary in nature. Each individual would be cognizant of the life history and family background of every other individual. The interactional system would be marked by highly personalized and intimate relationships between the inhabitants of the community. Thus, people would know and associate with each other as complete or unspecialized rather than segmental or specialized personalities.

In this rural community would be found a great deal of neighborliness and mutual aid. Sharing of work and of experiences would be common practice. There would exist a great deal of visiting among the local inhabitants and there would be few or no relationships with individuals
outside the geographical locus of the local community.

Recreation and social activities would be highly personalized and non-commercialized. There would exist no special interest groups for some of the community inhabitants since the interests of all the individuals and the community would coincide. Further, the intimate characteristic of interaction would vitiate the need for special groupings to bring the local people together.

Again, the individuality of the person would be subjugated to the will of the group. Conformity to the common normative system would constitute a basic element in the interaction pattern. Behavior patterns would therefore assume a collective guise and the individual would be interacting as a member of a family or of the community rather than as a discrete personality. Although there would be few diverse roles to be played by any one individual, these roles would be played continuously and fully. Human relationships would not be superficial and peremptory, but rather natural and relatively permanent.

At the other extreme on the continuum of systems of interaction would be found a rural community in which secondary groups played a major part in the social organization of the community. There would be a number of specialized associations representing the divergent views and diverse interests in the community. The functioning of these secondary or derived groups would tend to impersonalize the existent system of interaction. Interaction between community members would still be
face to face in many situations, but no longer intimate. The individuals would meet and interact as members of farm groups, church groups, and other special interest groupings, but not as persons who knew each other as full personalities. The interaction system would therefore consist of a number of separate and often discrete associational activities and relationship patterns in which all community members participated equally would be infrequent.

The behavior pattern would further be individualized in contra-distinction to the collectivized character of the other polarity. One’s actions would be determined in terms of benefits accruing to the individual, not the community. The utility to the actor would constitute the basis of the moral sentiments, in the way Hume might have expressed this idea. Here would be found slight mutual aid excepting when the cooperative effort yielded distinct mutual benefits to the cooperators. Sentimentalism and neighborliness would be superseded by cold calculation and objectivity.

Recreational activities would not be personalized, but rather commercialized and individualized. The movies and the radio, for example, would supplant community dances and celebrations in which both old and young participated. Leisure time would be spent mainly in pursuing special interests, and family recreation would be largely an anachronism. Thus, the will of the individual would be the determining factor in the types of interaction engaged in, and the sanctions of the community would
not be taken seriously if they interfered with personal desires. Then, too, the number of contacts per individual would be large and the duration of contacts in most instances would be short. Sophistication as opposed to intimacy would set the mold for manifold interaction situations. With this continuum framework in mind, attention will now be directed toward an analysis of the existent system of interaction within each community.

C. El Cerrito

The system of social interaction in El Cerrito may be described as highly personalized and intimate, and one in which primary group relationships dominated the social organization of the village. The very physical structure of the community was conducive to primary group relationships because of the propinquity of the dwellings. Each home was only a short distance from every other residence, and in most instances one's next door neighbor was also a close relative.

The main contact between the villagers was informal visiting. There was no formality whatsoever in these relationships and every household was open to any villager who desired to call. In one instance fourteen different visitors came to one household during a single afternoon, and some of them came three and four times. This frequent pattern of visiting was a common practice, and when housewives did not call at their neighbors' homes it was assumed that they were busy with their own
visitors or else ill.

This visiting pattern was established primarily around kinship relationships.

The house of the parents of several married sons and daughters is the nucleus for the different visiting groups. The wives and children of such families may come to the central house a dozen or more times in a day. They come to distribute a piece of news or to borrow a little something for the next meal. The children are continuously running in and out of each others' houses. They are together so much that it is difficult to learn to which house they belong.

The importance of kinship relationships was further corroborated by the fact that the greater the degree of consanguinity between individuals, the more visiting that occurred between them. For example, second cousins visited each other less frequently than brothers and sisters or parents and children.

The compactness of the local village and the relatively slow rate of social change were significant factors in the high degree of primary relationships in the community. Each family knew the background and the activities of every other family. The parents of the present generation were playmates in the preceding generation. There had been hardly any permanent movement out of the community so that relationships were not transitory but rather of long duration. All were members of the same church and each was fully aware of the traditions of the community.

---

The mutual claims and expectations of the villagers upon one another were unambiguous; the esprit de corps of the local community was not based on any single factor, but rather was a result of a number of common cultural denominators. All were members of the same racial group and possessed the same cultural background; all believed in the same theological principles and practiced the same rituals. All spoke the same language and most did not comprehend the complicated language of the Anglo. All lived the greater part of their lives in the small village area. The net result was that each person knew every other member of the community as a complete, rather than segmental, personality. These common characteristics plus the high degree of cultural isolation from the Great Society resulted in an interactional pattern that was intimate and highly personalized.

Another measure of the interactional system of a community centers on the importance of special interest groups in the community. In El Cerrito, there existed no farm organizations, women's clubs, or young people's organized groups. There were no special associations devoted to particular interests of certain individuals within the community. This lack of derived or secondary groups reflected the insignificance of the outside world to the local villagers. They felt no relationship between themselves and other farm groups. The small scale of their farm enterprises and the high degree of self-sufficiency supported this insular viewpoint. There existed no need for special clubs to bring community
Another characteristic of the system of interaction in the common...

or reflection better.

Then, a sort of hesitancy of consciousness of kind, and a homogeneous pattern

result of the interaction between the community. The system, the common frame of reference, the common attitudes towards system, the consciousness of the community were the common norms

comprehensive of the community were the common norms and the common

common... the groups that emerged... and the common

common... the groups that emerged... and the common

form that common emerged to maintain the attention and support

form that common emerged to maintain the attention and support

the interests of all. Here were found not three or four opinion

the interests of all. Here were found not three or four opinion

needed for a group for the common interests were...

in association with each other most of the time. There was no tense.

important together as a group for the common interests were...
life. Perhaps the outstanding manifestation of cooperation in the community and the single association in El Cerrito was the Ditch Association. The function of this organization was to control and maintain the irrigation system. There were no membership dues but every farmer with irrigated land had to belong if he were to obtain water rights for his land. An assessment was made of one day's labor for each acre of irrigated land. The bigger land operators normally compensated the smaller land owners in some way when they performed the labor assessments of larger operators. The association elected its officers—the mayordomo and three members of the ditch committee. The mayordomo inspected the main ditch at certain intervals and determined when repair jobs were necessary. The committee were the legislative body of the association since they decided on any new rules; they also saw to it that the old rules were enforced. They were in charge of the distribution of the water supply. The officers of the association were elected annually at a general meeting of the entire village. Cooperation by all members was demanded and violation of one's responsibilities would result in forfeiture of water allotments or the paying of a penalty in the form of extra labor.

There existed a great deal of borrowing and lending among the villagers. The women frequently borrowed from their neighbors when supplies ran out. The loaning of farm equipment was common practice. "A man may borrow a plow for an indefinite length of time with no thought of returning it
when the job for which it was borrowed was completed. It matters little who has it or for how long if the owner knows that it is still within the community." Further, harvests were normally family affairs, and the division of the produce was made on an informal basis. For example, a father and his two sons would work their land in common, would have a common wood pile, common barns, and common storage of food and crops. There frequently was both common and pooled property among close kinfolk.

When money was borrowed, no written records were kept. Food loans, also, were recorded only in the memories of the participants. To keep records of such forms of mutual aid would have constituted a distinct transgression of the mores. Neighbors were to be trusted and one was not allowed to request repayment of loans from one's neighbor. This pattern of mutual trust resulted in quick repayment of loans since loans were viewed as family obligations and must be repaid. Whereas debts owed to community outsiders were impersonal and not matters of great concern, loans within the community were personalized matters and received priority over obligations to individuals outside of the community.

D. The Amish Community

In the socio-religious community of the Amish the system of interaction may also be described as highly personalized and intimate.

---

1Leonard and Loomis, op. cit., p. 64.
Relationships occurred primarily between individuals with homogeneous linguistic, ethnic and religious backgrounds and in consequence, a strong feeling of synegenism overshadowed most interactional situations. The unique culture of these people with its emphasis on separation from non-brethren further served to solidify the Amish into a cohesive aggregate in which the common body of symbols, beliefs, and expectations were meaningful only to the group members. Not only then did the proscriptions of the church isolate the group from outside contacts but they further tended to strengthen the "we feeling" among community members.

It was basically in the informal pattern of recreation and in religious activities that the primariness of the interaction system was to be noted. Since the Amish were forbidden to attend movies, dances, fairs, card games and other worldly recreational affairs, they turned to each other for the fulfillment of "pleasures". So it was that visiting constituted the chief form of recreational activity.

Sunday, a day of rest and worship, provides a splendid opportunity for visiting. The fortnightly services are the important events of their days, and give people a chance to hear what is going on elsewhere and more particularly in the community. It is possible to arrive at the place of worship some time before services begin at 9 o'clock and it is unusual to leave right after the Sunday meal has been served at the end of the services. Men, women, and children find plenty of company at these gatherings for conversation and play.1

While at church the young folk would find out where "singing" was to take place that evening. A designated place would be determined for the young people to meet and pair off. At the home where the "singing" was to be held, the young people sang church hymns and played games. These meetings broke up before midnight. This limited pattern of recreation resulted in a highly personalized pattern of interaction for the young people.

Secular holidays such as New Year's Day and Thanksgiving Day were primarily days of visiting with friends and relatives. Religious days such as Easter Sunday, Ascension Day and Pentecost were usually followed by a day of visiting.

The most important non-familial interaction, then, was visiting between the Old Order Amish, and this personalized type of interaction was closely aligned to church meetings and religious holidays. In a community where so much emphasis was placed on non-conformity, the family played a significant role in the system of interaction. The basic tenets of the beliefs of the Old Order Amish were insculpted into the child's value system through the family. Parents were very concerned about any incipient deviant behavior of their children and in consequence kept constant surveillance over their behavior. Other than church gatherings and visiting, the family constituted the basic group in which most interaction occurs. The importance of familism, however, will be treated in great detail in a later part of the thesis.
Then too, an integral part of the normative system of the Amish community was the recognition of close affinity with brethren. Cooperation and mutual aid were logical consequents of such an ideological system. Barn raising bees, for example, were still the characteristic way for an Amish farmer to secure the erection of a new barn. Operations requiring a great deal of man power such as the harvesting of grain, filling silos, and making hay still remained highly cooperative affairs. Neighborhood rings existed, but Kollmorgen points out that this type of cooperation was more frequently confined to near relatives, and that cash settlements were normally made when differential amounts of work were performed by the participants. It was evident, then, that the commercialized system of farming had made inroads on the old patterns of mutual aid. Threshing, for example, could now be done with a small crew of men and hardly required any exchange of labor; the making of cider, formerly a cooperative affair, had largely been given up as a home produced item. Although some cooperation was evident in the butchering of meat, commercial butchers were now more frequently used.

The school situation was also important in inculcating a feeling of oneness among the children. When young children attended the local Amish schools, their classmates were usually not individuals with heterogeneous religious and ethnic backgrounds. Rather each had a homogeneous cultural background and had been indoctrinated into the same set of basic beliefs; each meticulously followed the dress folkways prescribed by
The system of information in correlation was studied by an international
committee.

The system of information, that of manuscript, the information
that was copied over into another diary, was an important factor in
the system of their feelings toward one another and the consciousness of
their situations. From such a matrix of similar events, research on
the roles of their mothers, the importance of disease, the disease
remains, and the stories their situations would be exactly the same.

Ay the other hand, the stories were taught that were to become
the interests of each. They were taught to each other as full rather than
regimental personalities.

Only knew the brothers and sisters of each other. In conclusion,
and considered in that the situations of their parents, each
the amount. These students were the same as those they played with
the amount of

109.
the speed of farm work with the result that there was more time for cooperation with less probability of individual loss.

At the time of the study, haying, threshing and corn picking constituted cooperative activities. Other than these activities, however, mutual aid was practiced primarily only in periods of individual crisis. For example, during the harvest season sixty men harvested 2,000 bushels of corn for a family in which the father had recently died. Some farm operators attributed the decrease in cooperation to the decline in neighborliness between farm operators on contiguous farms. The automobile and good roads allowed neighbors to select their friends on the basis of congeniality and interests and as a result neighborly visiting had been curtailed.

Young and old alike believe that the increased pace of modern life has had much to do with the decline of visiting. 'We just don't have time to go to people's homes as much as we used to' is a frequent expression. There is a widespread feeling that despite the decline in formal visiting, there has been an increase of contacts through meeting on the village streets, in the stores, in church congregations and other organizations, and in school activities. Telephone conversations, which are long and varied and run the gamut of farmers' interests, are another form of contact which early settlers did not enjoy. 1

It was evident then that although visiting still remained an important type of personalized interaction, yet selective visiting had supplanted the neighborhood pattern of association of former times.

---

In the recreational activities of the people, impersonal forms of amusement had made a steady infiltration. Barn raising bees were a thing of the past and church recreation had declined in importance. In place of the intimate and personalized recreational events of former years had come the movies and the radio. Most of the younger people went to the movies once a week while it was reported that adults attended less frequently. It was of interest to note that historical, educational, and musical pictures were preferred by those interviewed. This sophistication in taste substantiated the previously described increasing cosmopolitanism of Cornville. Nearly everyone found listening to the radio an enjoyable pastime and it was reported that listening to music over the radio had resulted in a great increase in the popularity of commercialized dancing. Yet side by side with these impersonal forms of recreation were found some highly personalized forms of recreation such as church sponsored activities, picnics and parties. Young people frequently gathered for get-togethers at each other's homes and the adults still enjoyed informal gatherings such as card games.

Furthermore, there were a number of associations operating in Cornville. However, there were no farm organizations that operated on the geographical community level. Rather, they were organized on the township or county basis. The farm association to which the largest number of community members belonged was the Farm Bureau. Since Cornville covered parts of four townships its Farm Bureau members had to attend
meetings at four centers and these centers did not include the community
center, Irwin. 4-H club activities and agricultural extension programs
as parts of the program of the Farm Bureau were likewise not conducted
on a community basis. However, the several township units were segments
of the county Farm Bureau and the state organization. Extra-community
affiliations were therefore emphasized in opposition to community organ-
zation. Artificial political units rather than community units made up
the farm organization structure. It was reported that many women in
the community were affiliated in the home project work of the Extension
Service and the Farm Bureau. There were several girls' clubs in two of
the townships within the orbit of Cornville while one boys' club was
organized primarily on a community basis. This organizational structure
tended to weaken community cohesion since it divided community members
into distinct and separate groups. Although no specific data were pro-
vided in this study regarding special women's clubs, it was reported that
most of the women did participate in such organizations.

Of particular interest was the diversity of opinion about the
"morality" of dancing. Many of the older people and the church leaders
were severe in their condemnation of this type of recreation. In spite
of this opposition dancing had steadily grown in popularity. The young
people countered the arguments of the dissenters by claiming that "if
they didn't dance, or at least go to the dance and watch, they would
deprive themselves of the company of other young people. Many of them,
both dancers and those who attend but don’t take part, say they are not fond of dancing, but that there is little other recreation available in the community. Those who criticize dancing say that once people get started, they want to do nothing but dance; that smoking and drinking follow, and then even more serious moral breakdown. ¹

This specific instance of ignoring the dictates of elders assumes significance when one reflects on the way such a matter would be handled in the Amish community. If the church leaders declared that certain types of behavior were not in accord with Amish belief, they would automatically be prohibited. There would be no opportunity for another viewpoint, and deviations would not be tolerated. But in Cornville, individual desires were overcoming the demands of the elders.

Summarily then, primary group relationships remained an integral part of the system of interaction, but secondary relationships were equally, if not more important. Although there was no unanimity of opinion in regard to the decline in cooperation, mutual aid was primarily restricted to crisis situations. Impersonal and commercialized recreation such as the movies, dancing, and the radio were important means of recreation, and it was evident that individual desires could supplant the wishes of the elders.

¹Moe and Taylor, op. cit., p. 54.
As in the case of Cornville, secondary groups played an important role in community life in Wheatville. This does not imply that primary groups were of slight significance in this community. The family and play groups, for example, constituted important socialization agencies in Wheatville. However, from the standpoint of probing the system of interaction one of the significant differentiations between the communities is that many activities performed in intimate interaction situations in the Spanish American and Amish communities were performed under impersonal and non-sentimental conditions in the Iowa and Kansas communities. Sociologically, this suggests a lesser degree of cohesion and a different basis of consensus in Cornville and Wheatville than in the other communities.

More specifically, many special formal interest associations functioned actively in Wheatville. Approximately one-fifth (18.8 per cent) of the 367 farm operators residing in the county belonged to the Farm Bureau. Quarterly family meetings were sponsored by this agricultural organization and frequently over 200 people attended these functions. The Farmers' Union was also represented in the county. However, it was neither as large nor as influential as the Farm Bureau. Its major concern was the sponsoring of a cooperative fuel association. Further, there existed many women's clubs in the area. A sample of their names gives some indication of the original purpose of the associations. Social
Neighbors Club, Read a Book Club, Bible Study Club and Social Hour Club were typical of the numerous associations for women. The membership in each club varied but most had between ten and thirty members. Many of the clubs in addition to or in substitution for their original purpose of organization devoted a large share of their time to bridge playing. These special interest groups represented the nexus of social life for the women. In these groupings they wore their best clothes and displayed their latest "sophisticated" acquisitions.

Most of the women belonged to at least one club. Of 231 individuals belonging to sixteen clubs selected at random, 121 claimed membership in only one organization, 58 belonged to two, 32 to three, 14 to four, and 6 to five clubs. Besides these special interest groups for women, numerous other associations were found in Wheatville. Age group clubs, child study groups, the Girl Reserves, 4-H clubs, the Masons and the Odd Fellows were among the most important.

In these organizations the individuals gathered to pursue some special interest. These interests were not commensal, but rather particularized for various members in the community. Whereas bridge playing was accepted as a wholesome form of recreation by many, it was condemned as an evil influence by others. This type of diversity of belief resulted in specialized forms of associations to promulgate the

---

1 The total membership of the 16 clubs was 419. However, data were gathered for only 231 individuals.
divergent beliefs and interests of the people. In sum, then, the interests of the individual were not necessarily the interests of the many.

Prior to the introduction of mechanized equipment and the automobile, however, the bulk of social interaction had fallen under the heading of primary group relationships. Most of one's associational contacts were highly personalized and lasting, and each individual knew every other person as a full personality. Sharing of work was customary practice, and not to help a neighbor in distress constituted a severe transgression of the mores. The spirit of cooperation pervaded all aspects of life. As Bell has indicated:

For work that required more labor than the family could supply, neighbors were called in and were 'paid back' when they needed help. Records of such indebtedness were not kept and there was no attempt to translate them into money. One man said, 'One year I broke my leg just in planting season and my neighbors did my work in two days'.

Before mail routes were established through the county, whichever family went to town brought the mail for the families along the way. When winter roads were bad, two or three men went to town together and brought back the mail and whatever goods the families in the neighborhood had ordered. The pattern is very different now. As one man said, 'We used to all help each other; now it is every man for himself.'

This pattern of informal cooperation has greatly changed. Why the change? The answer is stated fairly well by one of the farm operators when he said, "It is not so much that people have changed. People are pretty much the same as they always were. It is just that we live and

---

work differently now. It was evident that farm life was now built around the mechanized wheat crop. Wheat farming was definitely an individualistic and risky business. As harvest time neared a single dominant thought prevailed - get the crop in as fast as possible so that the vagaries of nature must not be given any extra chances to ruin the crop. Each farm operator thought individually of harvesting his own crop as quickly as possible. The wide disparity in size of farms was also partially responsible for the decline in neighborhood cooperation.

The small operator cannot help the large one on a cooperative basis, for the large operator will never have time to repay him. The large wheat operator is also more business minded than the smaller farmer; he hires a large part of his labor and is in the habit of balancing his costs against his receipts.

Then again, the mechanization of agriculture had decreased the need for cooperative effort. The tractor and the combine had cut the use of man power to a half or third of former requirements. Thus, the old neighborhood pattern of sharing work had become antiquated. Yet, on many farms father and son worked cooperatively or in some instances two friendly families performed some work together. However, that the former neighborhood pattern of cooperation had in general disappeared was readily apparent. The growing division of labor and consequent increased specialization had accelerated the breakdown of neighborhood ties.

---

1 Bell, op. cit., p. 73.
2 Bell, op. cit., p. 74.
to engage in

choose from a variety of possibilities the type of activity that
was most preferable to you in which the companionate that the
individual, too, had enjoyed the chance of associating that the
individual was also another important improvement for recreation.

In the radio was also another important improvement in terms of recreation.

Advertisements and many reprints exceeded them once or twice a week. I think

hobbies were a very popular form of recreation for the common

examples one's free time

personally, forms of recreation were much more meaningful means of

over in opposition to the certitude and the old order among people.

partly in total the value of the other group. Now

management in terms of effectiveness. In fact, the effectiveness

no importance in terms of effectiveness. However, that the family was of

there, it would be incorrect to maintain, however, that the family was of

of consciousness that one selected the associations for recreation exactly

in the determination of recreation of trains? It was rather on the acquaintance

nevertheless, recreation and the development. So longer did physical

enjoyment of the recreational opportunities of the people. In most of

another instance into the interaction system may be greatest by

read, impression and an interesting type of recreation

pattern of cooperation and mutual aid had encouraged to a more extent

by these cooperation rather than by negotiation. In short, the former

skillful cooperation were now found in the course of the report. Jobs were performed
For example, young people attended dances many miles from their homes or movies thirty miles away. The school, too, offered many opportunities for social participation for community members. The role of the school in the communities will be discussed in detail, however, in the chapter on education. In sum, it was evident that secondary groups were of great importance in the interaction system of the community. There existed a number of associations catering to specialized interests of individual community members. The range of mobility and the large number of special interest groups in the community resulted in many interaction situations of an impersonal nature and the meeting of people frequently as segmental personalities. Satiation of one’s own desires represented the criterion for recreational activities, and the most popular forms of recreation were commercialized and impersonal. Finally, mutual aid was of slight significance in the community.

G. The Comparative Analysis

The communities have been individually analyzed on the basis of important distinguishing characteristics of the existent system of interaction. It will be recalled that one of the major purposes of this research is to attempt to ascertain the variations found in rural communities in certain aspects of group life. Hence, the analysis now turns to establishing the differentiation between the communities when attention is focused upon the internal system of interaction in the communities.
The first major variable factor is the relative significance of primary and secondary group relationships. A comparative appraisal of the communities reveals that rural communities can possess an interactional system in which there exist hardly any secondary group contacts, and on the other hand derived group relationships can be extremely important in community life. It was noted that the Amish, for example, forbade specialized groupings and alliances with non-brethren with the consequence that there were no secondary groups within the community. Likewise, in El Carrico, there existed not one association to which only a small segment of the community members belonged. Here was found no prohibition against such groupings; however, there seemed to exist no recognized need for special interest groups. The interests of community members were found to be non-differentiated, and the common linguistic, religious and ethnic ties served as a substructure for one large primary group, the village community.

On the other hand, in Cornville it was noted that there existed special women's clubs and that only a portion of the farm operators belonged to particular farm organizations. Many of the associations were established on political as opposed to community lines with the consequence that the extra-community as opposed to the localistic aspects of the associations was emphasized. It was in Wheatville that secondary groups served as especially important agencies of formalized interaction. Special associations served the manifold interests of particular com-
munity members. These groupings tended to segmentalize the relationship patterns into a series of discrete clusters of associational activity. Superimposed upon primary group situations such as familial relations and visiting between congenial persons was a variety of established groups in which the members met at a specific time and at a specific place for a specific limited purpose. This formalization of interaction was in distinct contrast to the informality of the system of interaction in El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish community.

Partially as a result of the differential importance of primary and secondary groupings, it is further evident that there exists noticeable deviations in the intimacy and warmth of interaction between community members. This was especially noticeable in the amount and type of visiting between families and individuals. In El Cerrito visiting was in constant evidence between the inhabitants of this close knit community. In fact it was the most common form of communication between the local people. In the Amish community it was noted that the outstanding form of recreation was also visiting between the brethren. It was not found that there was no visiting in Wheatville and Cornville. But it was revealed that visiting had declined in importance. Other more impersonal forms of recreation had supplanted many phases of the former patterns of personalized interaction. One of the most popular forms of recreation in both Wheatville and Cornville was found to be attendance at movies. Listening to the radio was also another popular
form of recreation that had supplanted the former use of leisure time in more personalized forms of interaction. Again, whereas in the Amish community the types of permissible recreation were extremely limited, in Cornville and Wheatville the fundamental criterion for recreational activities was individualized satisfaction. The availability and the use of the automobile had enlarged the scope of possible recreational activities and contacts with the result that the individual could select from a varied number of activities the type of enjoyment he desired. Thus, the interaction of community members was not restricted to the community, but rather extended to numerous contacts with extra-community individuals and agencies.

Another aspect of the system of interaction in which differentiation may be explored is the extensity of mutual aid and cooperation in the communities.

In El Cerrito it was seen that the very basis of farming was postulated on cooperation in the Ditch Association. Here was found frequent lending of tools and equipment. The women relied heavily on mutual cooperation in their work in the home. Harvesting was largely a family affair and the division of the product was conducted on an informal basis. At the other extreme was Wheatville where the mechanized system of large scale farming had been generally adopted and where the old pattern of neighborhood cooperation had almost completely broken down. These farm operators relied heavily on the village and town centers for
specialized services rather than on a neighborly exchange system. Lending and borrowing were calculated activities rather than the informal procedures as in El Cerrito. In the Amish community and Cornville, there still existed some vestiges of cooperative activity, but it was evident that mutual aid was in the process of decline.

Another significant factor of differentiation in the systems of interaction centered on the relationship between the interactors themselves. Thus, in El Cerrito the individuals engaged in interassociation as full personalities. Each knew every other member of the community intimately, rather than in a specific role. A was known by B not merely as a member of a particular organization or as an individual whose residence was nearby. Rather A was known as a member of a particular family, as a member of the same church, as a member of the Ditch Association. He was recognized as belonging to a specific family group and his life history and idiosyncrasies were common knowledge. In interacting with A, B was fully cognizant of this constellation of factors, and interacted with A as a complete personality. In El Cerrito also, interaction between community members was conducted on a similar basis. It is not to be inferred that no interaction situations in Wheatville and Cornville occurred on the same level as in the other communities. Intra-family relationships, for example, were largely associations between full personalities. However, the distinguishing characteristic between the communities is that in the latter ones, a host of relationships within the
confines of the community were conducted on a segmental level whereas in the former nearly all intra-community interaction was between individuals acting as complete and full personalities. Since the variations in the diversity and extensity of contacts were pointed out in the previous chapter, this aspect of the system of interaction need not again be explored.)
CHAPTER VI. THE FAMILY SYSTEMS
mores of the group. In Samoa and among the Maori, for example, it is reported that the crafts are taught to the child by experts in the community rather than by family members.¹

The family group then represents the initial social milieu of the child. It largely determines the pattern of behavior and of conduct during the earliest years of personality formation. The attitudes, fears, beliefs and evaluations of the group are channelized to the embryonic member of the society primarily in the nexus of family relationships.

The major purpose of this chapter, however, is to discern differentiating characteristics of the family in the several communities. We accept Cooley's thesis that the family is the elemental primary group. Yet, do the communities differ as to the degree to which the family shares with other agencies the task of indoctrinating the child into the norms of the local culture? Does the family determine the life goals of the child? Does the individual sever his relationships with the family when he marries? Are children expected to support aging parents? Are individual objectives subordinate to family goals? Are family relationships stable and are the roles of family members severely limited? This is the type of query that is relevant to the subsequent analysis.

E. The Continuum Analysis

In order to make the analysis more rigorous, theoretically extreme polarities of family systems in rural communities will be established.

On the one hand the family would represent the primary and dominant agency in the socialization process. It would operate as the basic and most influential inculcator of the norms of the culture and would impart to the child the knowledge regarding the claims and expectations of the society.

Further, the family would constitute the primary source of decision making for matters of importance affecting the individual. The decisions regarding one's future would be determined by the family rather than by the individual. Vocational choice and mate selection would not be individual decisions; they would be subject to parental determination and the will of the family would overrule the desires of the individual.

Once married, children would not sever relationships with the family. Rather new responsibilities would merely be added to existing familial relationships. Visiting between family members would be common and the individual would feel always conscious of his membership in the family. The strong sentimental attachment to the family would be evidenced by the desire of family members to remain near each other. In consequence, even under severe hardship family members would not desire to leave the community. If economic necessity forced some members to migrate they would continue to feel an emotional affinity to the remaining family members and they would return as quickly as possible.

Further, stability would characterize family relationships. There would exist no divorce or separation between spouses; children would
feel a close attachment to parents. Family bonds would be strong and parents would be respected. In such a community marriages would be regarded as sacred events and would further represent occasions for family and community rejoicing. Property would be owned in common by the family, and the earnings of individual members would revert to family holdings. Parents would feel obliged to aid their children in every way possible to establish themselves as adult members of the community. Children would further be obliged to support aged parents and such aid would be willingly offered. Any family member who was in need would be helped by other family members. Thus, there would exist a strong familial consciousness of kind, a feeling that the family was much greater than any individual member.

The individuals would always act as family members rather than as individualized personalities. The criterion for action would be the effect upon the family, not individual welfare. Finally, in such a familial system, family members would not be concerned with their own specialized interests and desires. The women would be expected to devote all their time to the household and rearing of the children. In short, the family system would be characterized by a high degree of familism.

At the opposite polarity of family systems the family would not constitute the all-important agency in the socialization process. Many functions performed by the family in the other polarity would be performed by extra-familial groups. The school, the church, interest
groups and other specialized agencies would be of extreme importance
in the socialization process.

Then, too, the family would not represent the primary determinant
of decisions affecting the individual. Such decisions as choice of
future occupation, selection of marriage partners and life goals would
be determined in the last analysis by the individual, not the family.
The family might act as an advisory agency, but final decisions would
be individual decisions.

When a child married, his relationships with his parents and
brothers and sisters would for all practical purposes be severed. The
visitation pattern would be characterized by no special associational
contacts between family members. One's family would be viewed ob-
jectively rather than subjectively, and viewing the family homestead in
a sentimental fashion would be considered irrational. The major function
of the parents would be to make the child self-sufficient. Once the
child had obtained the age when he was able to earn his own living
parental obligations would cease. Parents would attempt to accumulate
savings for their own old age for they would expect no assistance from
their children. There would exist no compulsion to aid family members
in need, and mutual aid would be no stronger between family members than
between community inhabitants in general. The family as something beyond
its individual component members would have little meaning. Individual
propensities and needs would determine the existent behavior patterns.
In such a community one would expect to find a family stem with unstable family relationships. With each individual concerned with his own interests, conflict situations within the family would be frequent occurrences. There would exist no subordination of individual desires to family objectives. One would expect that women would engage in many extra-familial activities and would devote a minimum of time to household tasks and care of the children. One's earnings would belong to the individual rather than to the family. Thus, in this family system there would exist minimum concern for family welfare; individual interests would not be subordinate to family goals. With this theoretic framework in mind, the individual family systems will now be analyzed.

C. El Cerrito

In this Spanish-American village community it was primarily in the intimate relationships of the family that the unique social heritage of El Cerrito was transmitted to the child. Within the constellation of familial interaction situations the young child soon learned his status and his role in the family and community life. It was reported that by the age of three the child was already aware of his subordinate status to his older brothers and sisters and recognized that he must obey them. Further, deference to elders was inculcated to children in this early period of socialization and the expectations of and the duties toward group members were thoroughly engrained into the value system of the child. The isolation of the community from the outside world resulted
in few or no contacts for the growing child with other than family or community members; in consequence, the importance of the family as an agency of socialization was especially significant.

In this standardized process of socialization, traditionalism was emphasized rather than progressivism. The child was trained in the practices of the Catholic faith at a very early age and the Scholastic system of morality was implanted into the child through the value system of the family. The family and the church tended to reinforce each other as constraining influences in the lives of the people.

It was within the orbit of this patriarchal system of family relationships that the sense of community was instilled into the individual. Loyalty to the family, the community and the church were the central themes that the family imparted to the embryonic members of the community. It was the family in which the attitudes, the frame of reference, the norms, and the customs and mores were taught to the child. Among these culturally homogeneous people were found no formalized age or sex groups for the children.

The school constituted a relatively unimportant influence on the development of the child. Attendance was poor and the school’s functions were largely limited to teaching English and arithmetic. Few parents expected that their children would transcend the eighth grade, and it was reported that many never attained this low limit of educational achievement. By the time a boy attains the age of twelve or thirteen
he was expected to help in the support of the family by working in the fields with his father or hiring out to anyone who would use his services. The relevant point, then, is that the school was of slight significance in the socialization process. It is the family in conjunction with the church that holds the key to one's understanding of the process of socialization in the community. Other institutions or groups were of slight significance in the personality development of the child.

The way of life in El Cerrito may be further described as marked by a high degree of familism. The child did not sever his relationships with the family when he married. He remained an integral part of the family even though he left the home of his parents. However, new duties and responsibilities were assumed. Yet family expectations required his giving material support to parents and other family members in need. This mutual aid was not a one way process but rather a reciprocal matter since all family members were expected to aid others in the family circle that were in need. Family members were further required to attend and participate in all family functions.

In case of a family reunion, first communion, marriage or death, his presence is assured unless distance or personal misfortunes is great enough to justify his staying away.¹

The poverty of the El Cerritans further necessitated travel by male members of the community over surrounding states in search of em-

ployment. However, it was reported that the attraction of the home and the village and the strong feeling of sentimental attachment to the family invariably resulted in these migrants returning to the community. It is of further interest to note that although the local people expressed appreciation for government aid, they objected to the consequences of the youth programs that required the young people to leave the village for N.Y.A. or C.C.C. camps. Contacts with another way of life in which they obtained cash for their own use and could participate in amusements not normally available to them had weakened the traditional loyalty to the community in several of the young people. Even in these instances a large share of the income earned was turned back to the family.

The money, property, and material goods of the family were collective goods rather than individual possessions. Fathers and married sons frequently owned property in common and the harvest was shared informally among them. The villagers tenaciously clung to their land and endured severe deprivations in order to keep it. Their meager property holdings were not viewed as mere capital investments. They were thought of as family property handed down from previous generations. The land that the farmer plowed was the land his father farmed; the El Cerritan was determined to keep his land and transmit it to his children. The land was normally near the home and it was viewed as part of the home. The normative system of these people required that the land be bequeathed to sons and daughters on an equalitarian basis. Upon the death of the parents children regardless of age and sex shared equally; however, it
was generally recognized that the male members possessed the privilege to buy their sisters' shares of the inheritance. It is of further interest to note that brothers frequently bought tools together or that they often bought different tools with the understanding that they would exchange them with each other.

Another characteristic of the family system was the large amount of informal visiting among family members. Thus, the amount of visiting among members of the community was positively related to the degree of consanguinity. The greatest amount of visiting occurred between parents and children and between siblings. Other relatives were reported to visit frequently with each other, but to a lesser degree than members of the immediate family. The taking of meals at another family table is another indication of the degree of intimacy between people. In El Cerrito, it was reported that those families which partook of meals at other places than their own were in nearly all cases close relatives of the host. It was in the visiting relationships of brothers and sisters and parents and children that most meals were taken. Thus, the number of families who took more than five meals together during the year were with few exceptions former "klein familia" members. Again, the amount of visiting of the children was further related to closeness of kinship.

This kinship determinant of visiting relationships further points up the inclusiveness of the family. Although there was community recog-

---

1 Leonard and Loomis, op. cit., p. 41.
nition of degrees of kinship relationship as was evidenced in the visitation pattern, yet analysis reveals that in many ways the family system had characteristics of the "gross familia" family. Thus, nearly every resident in the village could claim at least a third cousin relationship to every other inhabitant. The marriage system could be characterized as endogamous, and in fact it was reported that in recent years the increasing closeness of kinship had become so general that the younger members of the community were forced to go beyond the confines of the community to seek marriage partners. In a sense, then, the community may almost be described as one large family.

Another distinguishing feature of the village was the subordinate role of the woman. Her activities were much more restricted and her privileges to deviate from the norms were fewer than for the male members of the community. Thus, a woman was expected to fulfill the expectations of the group in rigorously adhering to the practices and the teachings of the church. Through her strong religiosity she could even minimize community disapproval of a deviant husband. It was reported that her primal function was to produce children, and her interests were largely limited to the rearing of them and the maintenance of the home. To engage in functions of an extra-familial nature would result in condemnation by the other members of the village. Thus, her role in the local community was clearly defined and aberrations from the unwritten prescriptions regarding the place of women in the community would culminate in social
ostracism. The resultant exclusion from village life would constitute severe punishment in a community where visiting and conversation with the other women were the only escapes from the monotonous routine of care of children and housework. It was the wife, then, who represented virtue and goodness in the family. Her actions reflected the "ideal behavior of family members". She had to be pure, religious and obedient to the husband. Her complete life had to be devoted to her home and to her family. All money matters and dealings with the outside world were left to the husband. The local community was much less strict in its control over the activities of the males. He was supposed to provide support for his family, carry out his obligations to the community, and attend church occasionally. If these responsibilities were fulfilled, he was permitted considerable freedom in conducting his personal affairs.

D. The Amish Community

The family may be described as the most important agency through which the child learned the peculiar customs and the separationist mores of the Amish. It constituted the basic mechanism in the socialization process. Parents were expected to inculcate the values and teach the unique precepts of the Amish credo to their children. They knew that the survival of the group as a unique community was dependent upon the success of their indoctrination of the young with the Amish way of life.
This awareness of the importance of control over the early years of their children largely explained the determination of the Amish not to yield any of their duties to outside agencies such as public schools.

The explanation of the "different" way of life and the training of the young to participate in it was no small task.

Children must be told why they cannot have clothes, bicycles, and many other toys like those of other children; why the family cannot have electric lights, a car, a radio. The total impression of the child must be one of separateness, difference and one of strong disapproval of the world and all its doings. That the children may understand the religious services and read available religious books, including the Bible, they must be taught to speak and read German. ¹

The parents attempted to pattern the personalities of their children in the unvarying mold of the traditional ways of life. Proclivities toward individuality and progression were suppressed while conformity was encouraged. The child was taught that acquisitiveness for personal aggrandizement was evil and that egotism and ostentation were shameful. They learned that in most areas of life there was one right way of acting or behaving and that the situations in which alternatives were available were few. They were taught to obey their parents and respect without question parental authority. In short then, in the Amish community the family exercised a powerful influence on the development of personality of the child. In personality maturation, uniqueness was minimized and sameness was emphasized. The importance of this early training cannot be over-emphasized as a factor in the solidarity

and the feeling of consensus in the community.

Not only were the peculiar ways of life made explicit, but also the career of the child was not viewed as a matter of individual choice. It was not suggested to the young boys that their occupation be farming. Rather, they were told that they would be farmers. Training in their formative years was based on the assumption that the young people would always be rural people, and to attack this assumption was prohibited by the mores. It was thus taken for granted that the children would be farmers. Not to farm constituted not only individual disgrace, but also was considered disgraceful for the family and the community.

It was reported that by the time the child was eight or nine, he was proficient in many household tasks and in doing chores. He milked cows at this early age as well as engaged in field work. It was no wonder then that by the age most rural children graduated from high school, Amish children were proficient farmers.

It has already been suggested that the Amish resisted all efforts to allow "worldly" agencies to enter into their unique way of life. Thus, in the process of socialization the family yielded few or no prerogatives to other institutional agencies. The Amish desired to have their children proficient in reading, writing and other elementary subjects taught in the grade school. However, no education beyond the eighth grade or the age of fourteen was allowed. A high school education was viewed as a squandering of time that should be devoted to learning how to farm or
or becoming a good housewife. The Amish believed that children learned worldly habits and evil ways in high school. Again, children were not allowed to belong to special age or sex clubs for they were not permitted to associate with non-Amish children. The influence of the church will be noted in the next chapter, yet it is pertinent to point out that the teachings and beliefs of the church were primarily promulgated through the primary group relationships of the family. It is evident, then, that the family was the dominant socialization agency, and other agencies with the single exception of the church were ineffectual in affecting the maturation of the child.

Another aspect of the family system that is pertinent to the analysis is the degree of familism present among the Old Order Amish. The high degree of familism among the Amish was indicated by the help parents gave to children in order that they might establish themselves as adult members of the community. In the process of climbing the agricultural ladder, the children received a great deal of help from their families. Many of the young men rented from their parents or relatives, and the desire of the elders, enforced by religious belief, to see these younger members of the family become successful farmers resulted in special aids. For example, rent payments would be lowered, and if the tenure relationship was on a share basis, the father or relative would supply a greater share of the fertilizer or seed than was usually required.

Further, the rationale for the high degree of savings among the Amish may be found in their desire to purchase land so that there would be
enough farms for their children. Money was loaned or given to the children to help them become established. Upon marriage, parents normally gave the new couple livestock and household equipment with which to start farming and homemaking.

When a child married, relationships were not severed with other family members. Rather, additional relationships developed. The individual remained an integral part of the family group, but now assumed the functions and duties of a husband or wife. Parents were still respected and revered. The importance of visiting in the system of interaction has been previously pointed out, yet it is pertinent to note that the frequency of visiting was related to closeness of kinship. Thus, the family tended to expand rather than contract upon the marriage of a child although some changes in familial interrelationships occurred.

Another index of the degree of familism is the individuality or familial collectivity of ownership of property, money and other material goods. Thus, although the young Amish men often "hired out" in early years, their income was turned over to the parents. It was implicitly assumed that those earnings would be returned to the child when he married, but the significant point was that until that time this money was family property, not individual property. The common interest in family property was further seen by the ubiquitous practice of offering assistance to family members in need. The unique and economically sound practice of caring for aging parents further substantiated the familial aspects of the ownership of property.
The aged Amishman and his wife can not leave the farm in their declining years because of the church regulations. They may move to a crossroads village, but this is uncommon. The Amish farmer is rooted to the soil and that is where he wants to remain. When the time comes to retire from active farming—usually when the youngest son or daughter marries—the ageing parents move to a separate part of the house known as 'Grossadawy house'. Sometimes this is in addition to the main house and sometimes it is a separate unit. Even if it is merely an addition, it may contain from one to three rooms downstairs and an equal number upstairs. House services and Grossadawy additions help to explain why the Old Order Amish cherish large houses.\(^1\)

This institutionalization of the solution to the problem of the care of aged parents offered mutual advantages to the child and the parents. The retiring father did not completely terminate his relationships with the farm. He helped with the farm enterprise in both a managerial capacity and in the performance of activities requiring a small degree of physical exertion. The Grossmutter sewed and helped with household tasks. Thus, the experience of the parents was of value to the children when the children assumed active management of the farm.

Then too, the older people were not undue burdens on their children. Most of the food consumed by the parents was grown on the farm and there were no rent bills to pay. In short, the family assets remained intact with resultant benefits to both parents and the children.

Another indication of the high degree of familism was evidenced by the fact that family members were not allowed to migrate from the local

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 62-3.
community. This axiom of Amish life was founded on biblical sanctions. It has already been shown that one of the tenets of the Amish way of life was the belief in the "holiness" of the rural life. Thus, there was no annual exodus of family members in search of better opportunities. The Amish believed that to live among non-Amish was sinful, and in consequence they attempted to make opportunities for the way of life they viewed as righteous for their children. This inbreeding, in both its biological and social aspects, tended to solidify family life surrounded by a socially contraventive society.

Again, divorce or separation was not found in the community. The only grounds for separation was adultery and it was reported that informants could not recall a single instance of separation in the community. The endogamous pattern of marriage is seen in the rigorously carried out church precept that marriage may only be consummated between individuals in full fellowship with the Amish church.

Another interesting factor was the number and types of roles of the family members. The limitations of the data necessitate a restriction of the analysis to the roles of the married woman. The married woman played primarily two roles, that of a wife and mother. She did not engage in club activities or participate in community functions as an individual. Her roles were familially determined and familially played. It was her task to inculcate in the child the stringent mores and inviolate customs of the community. It was her duty to maintain a good household and to teach her daughters how to be proficient in their later
roles as Amish mothers and wives. Her activities, then, were centered in the home and her activities were stringently delimited.

In sum, then, the Amish family system is characterized by a high degree of familism. The members of the community recognize family authority and subordinate individual desires to family goals. The roles that the individual plays are dominantly family roles and these roles are played fully and continuously. The family is a tight-knit network of relationships in which individual members realize and fulfill community determined claims and expectations. Without comprehension of the high degree of familism, one would find great difficulty in understanding the Amish way of life.

E. Cornville

In the Irwin community, too, the family played a highly important role in the insculption of the accepted ways of behavior to the child. It represented the most important primary grouping in the lives of the people. However, in the Cornville community many functions formerly performed by the family had been transferred to other agencies in the community.

It was within the constellation of family relationships, nevertheless, that the basic normative system of the community was imparted to the child. Parents attempted to teach children in their early years the "virtues of honesty, frugality, friendliness, and hard work." They

---

were informally instructed in their obligations as members of the family grouping and the community. However, the family purposefully relied on the school to teach the child how to accommodate himself to his fellows. In addition to formal education, the school functioned as the agency through which the special abilities and talents of the young people were developed. It was here that the child was supposed to express his inclinations for art, music, sports and other special interests.

However, as soon as children were physically able, they were given special farm responsibilities and they assumed the role of working members of the family. The complexity of their duties was gradually increased so that by the time they were seventeen or eighteen they could carry out farm or household assignments without supervision of their parents. However, parents recognized that their children would not necessarily follow farming as an occupation. The general opinion of the older people in the community seemed to be that there was hardly any future in agriculture. It should be recalled that the community had recently experienced the tribulations of a severe depression. However, many of the young people were more optimistic about farming as a career than their parents and believed that rural living offered greater security and more freedom than city life.

In order to determine what actually happened to young people after high school graduation, the ten high school graduating classes from 1930 to 1939 were analyzed. Of the 87 male graduates on which information was
available, 43 had moved out of the community. Ten of these had moved out of the State. More boys were serving in the Army, Navy, and C.C.C. than there were boys and girls in attendance at college. This large number of young men who had joined the armed forces (prior to the advent of Selective Service) indicated the limited opportunities available despite the expressed beliefs that farming was an occupation that many desired to follow. Further, of the 67 female high school graduates, nearly two-thirds (65.7 per cent) had migrated from the community. Eight of them had left the state. In comparison to the mores of the Amish against leaving the local community, Cornville accepted the fact that it would lose a large segment of its young people.

Of further interest was the declining influence of the family as the center of recreational activities for the children. The most popular source of recreational activity for the children was the movies while the school had replaced the family in serving many of the needs of the young people. Participation in athletic contests and a variety of extracurricular activities under school supervision was deemed an important part of the young people's training. It was reported that parents took a great deal of interest and pride in the accomplishments of their children in these activities.

Attention is now directed to other aspects of the family system in the community. A characteristic feature of the family system in Cornville was the aid offered to family members during a period of severe
economic hardship. In the lean years of the thirties parents shared their homes with the families of their married sons and daughters and gave material help to them. The cohesive function of the family during economic crises was evidenced by the statement of one of the community members:

Were it not for the comfort our family was to us, we wouldn't have been able to take what we did. Our children buckled in and helped. We all had to work together to keep going at all. We sympathized with each other, stayed at home more because we couldn't afford to go very much, and got through it somehow. Some of our neighbors lost their farms. It was hard on their families but it would have been harder for them if it hadn't been for their families.¹

It was further reported that approximately forty per cent of the farmers would pass their land on to their children or have it administered as an estate in their behalf. The major items of wealth, however, that were passed on to the children were farm implements and household goods. The effects of the growing increase in tenancy were reflected in the inheritance parents left their children. Many parents expressed the desire to offer more aid to their children but did not possess the wherewithal to do so. Of those parents expressing a desire to help their sons, the ideal farm situation was thought to be one in which the family members lived on contiguous farms. This ideal situation, however, was generally believed to be unobtainable. Other farm operators believed that they would be rendering their sons a service by not helping them to get estab-

¹Moe and Taylor, op. cit., p. 55.
farm operators took in the coffers of some of their parents. They deposited
another nick of the degree of farmlessness was revealed in the pride

If they in the pre-eminent days
members (living at some distance from each other to associate more frequently

'retailers,' whereas on the one hand ease of mobility had allowed for more
dimensions. Family members often stayed together to attend these
families gathered together for play, important discussions, and feastive
moving popular pastimes during the summer months. Members of these
and school centered social activities, family picnics and reunions as

part of the community. Despite the interest of commerce and recreation
numerous, and family reunions remained important parts of the associations
one other family at least once a week. Family events such as weddings
It was reported that most families in the community attended with at least

Although there were still the most important factor in the development
attitudes were in evidence.

the most profound feeling toward land, a notion of cultivation and
opportunity believed they could have fared better as tenants. In the place of
opportunity, they could have fared better as tenants. In the place of
sentimental attachment to farm land as family heritage. Many farm
the severest of the depression and thus contributed to the breakdown

In farming

like farmers since they believed that there was a doubtless future
in telling of the struggles of their pioneering parents and the tenacity
to their religious and political convictions. It was reported that
family portraits and albums were in evidence in most of the farm homes.
Among those families who had been fortunate enough to maintain the same
property for several generations, family homesteads were regarded in a
sentimental manner. Perhaps the best description of the degree of
familism in Cornville is that family solidarity was "more a way of think-
ing than a way of behavior". Under the stress of economic difficulties,
secularizing influences, and increased physical mobility, the existent
belief was that claims and expectations between relatives outside of the
"klein familia" relationships were not much stronger than between neighbors.

In opposition to these forces making for strong familism was the
diminishing importance of parental control in the selection of marital
partners. It will be recalled that in El Cerrito and among the Old Order
Amish, family and church sanctions restricted the selection of mates.
But in Cornville most parents indicated that they did not make any effort
to control the choice of their children's marriage partners. The attitude
characteristic of most parents was epitomized in the following comment:
"There is no definite attempt to control marriage, other than control
through giving of opinion. I want my sons and daughters to know that my
ideas are, then they may do as they wish." 1 The young people, too,

1 Moe and Taylor, pp. 56.
Although the work of women on the farm under the co-operative movement was not a subject that was much in the public eye, it was recognized that the work of women was not only necessary for the maintenance of the farm but also for the economic well-being of the family. It was of further interest to note that although many members cooperated in the management and the work on the farm, the co-operative movement was not as widespread as it might have been. The co-operative movement was in sharp contrast to the co-operatives which were more prevalent in other parts of the country. However, a handful of people, primarily women, played a significant role in the development of the co-operative movement. The husband of a woman, for example, was involved in the co-operative movement and was one of the key figures in the movement.

In the importance of relationship, such factors as cooperation and support are more significant than the mere mechanics of it. The co-operative movement was a household-related movement that had deep roots in the community.
formed at home. These were (1) it saved labor, (2) it allowed the women more free time, and (3) it was more convenient. The decreasing functions of the family were explained by one woman as follows:

We do at home as much as we can while at the same time trying to keep up with the other demands on our time. It may be cheaper to do a lot of things at home, but we can't do them and the other things we want and have to do. 1

The activities of the women were not limited to household tasks. They played bridge frequently and their time budget included visiting with friends and participation in extra-familial relationships. In contradistinction to the role of the woman in El Cerrito and the Amish community, the position of women in Cornville was characterized by a greater amount of freedom, a more equalitarian type of relationship with their husbands, and participation in roles outside of the immediate familial nexus of relationships.

In short, the family system in Cornville was marked by a series of characteristics conducive to and antagonistic to a high degree of familism. Although family cooperation was in evidence and the family remained the most important primary grouping in the community, it was found that other factors such as lack of opportunity for children within the community and the loss of family functions to other specialized agencies resulted in the diminution of familism.

1 Ibid., p. 59.
F. Wheatville

The family constituted the basic group in the social organization of Wheatville. In this community where formalized religion and mutual cooperation among neighbors did not act as powerful determinants of the system of interaction, the familial complex represented the area in which the great share of primary associational relationships occurred.

However, it was especially evident that the importance of the family in the socialization process diminished as the child grew older. As an infant he was completely dependent upon the family for orientation into the strange world about him and he accepted the definitions of social situations indicated by parental or sibling behavior. The code of morality, the claims and expectations of his fellows, and his status and roles were largely learned in the primary relationships of family interaction. Yet, as was the case in Cornville, the family in Wheatville was not the only important inculcator of the accepted ways of behavior in the socialization process. As the child maturated, the school assumed many of the functions performed by the family in El Cerrito or among the Amish. In addition to its task of formal education, the school became the center for the informal training of the young for social participation in the community and in the Great Society. It was in the classroom that the child met children whose parents were of diverse nationality, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. It was here that the groundwork was laid for the necessary accommodations that would confront the Wheatville youngster
memories in the theme of the old order. Any

Then too, the family extended much more leaning and choice to the

Armenian and the Geotlia community.

above to other institutions and associations in the community. Then in the
of these associations agencies on the less impressive of the family.
the school system. These were institutionalized associations occupied

broadly, engaged in their meal, bounded to the club or part to

research. The young people attended the movies, played basketball at

extra-curricular activities. Further, these exceeded the school

morning to six of the night during the school year enlivened in school and

at the children were away from home from sight in the

number of special age and sex groups constituted to specialize needs of

system of infrastructure in large the it was shown that these exceeded a

activities of the youth to special interest groups. In the activities of the

behavior of the community. In the process of infrastructure the child into the accepted way of

American communities. The young children were isolated from education

who would live in a dynamic society.
or the El Cerritan villagers. It will be recalled that the substructure of the socialization process among the Amish included the assumption that the child would always lead a rural life. However, among the people of Wheatville, no such dictum was proclaimed for the children. That farming is the best way of life was not a unanimous belief in Wheatville. A typical view was expressed by one farm operator as follows: "If I had a boy who wanted to be a farmer, I'd kick him all over town."

The decision concerning one's future occupation was not necessarily family determined. It was an individual decision based upon the desires and the proclivities of the individual. This does not imply that family discussion and advice regarding such problems did not occur. The crucial point, however, is that in the last analysis decisions regarding occupations were individually determined rather than family dictated. In support of this contention, Table 1 reveals the activities of the male graduates from Sublette high school from 1936-1939.

The data clearly indicate that after graduation from high school nearly three-quarters (72.1 per cent) of the high school graduates were in activities other than farm work. When one compares this situation with that existing in the Old Order Amish community where all young men

---


2Ibid., p. 102.
Table 1. Activities of male graduates from Sublette high school 1938-39 (inclusive)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farming for themselves</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At home on farm</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonfarm work in Haskell County</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonfarm work outside Haskell County</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. armed forces</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In college</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>43</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

must farm, the differentiation is striking. Thus, in Wheatville, farming was simply one of a number of occupations the individual could choose from, and in the last analysis the decision regarding occupational choice was an individual one.

It is of interest to explore also the degree of familism existent in Wheatville. One aspect of familism is the extent to which parents help their children to take their places as adult members of the community. For those children who desired to farm parents normally offered a great deal of aid. In general, the son drew heavily on his father's machinery and frequently resided in the parents' home. Fathers frequently rented sections of land for their sons and then offered special advantages to them in farming it. In Wheatville where the type of farm operation required large cash outlays for machinery and current expenses, it was difficult for a young man with limited resources to secure the capital
necessary to engage in farming. Without the credit rating of their fathers and the other manifold aids given to them, few of the young men would have been able to become farm operators.

Another device whereby male children were helped was the common practice of parents allowing their sons at high school age to have forty to one hundred acres which the child could put into wheat for himself. In return for helping his father, the son was allowed to use his father's machinery to work his own acreage. To help him get started the father usually paid for the needed gas and oil. The resulting income was not family income, but the personal property of the boy. He could spend or save it as he wished. Through this mechanism many young men accumulated enough money to pay partially for farm machinery required in their later independent farm operations. Others saved enough money to pay for their high school and college expenses. It was interesting to note that although the income was secured through family cooperation, the expenditure was the individualized decision of the son. Thus, whereas on the one hand the money earned could be saved for later use when the son began to farm independently in the community, on the other hand it provided the wherewithal for the son to migrate to other areas where it was presumed that opportunities were greater. In the former instance, family relationships were kept intact as family members were kept near one another. In the latter, family relationships were weakened as the child broke away from the
intimate relationships of family interaction. Here again, Wheatville
was differentiated from the El Cerrito and Amish communities. Under
the Old Order Amish church beliefs, it was sinful for the young man to
leave the community and migration was consequently forbidden. In El
Cerrito economic necessity forced many of the males to migrate in search
of work, but they invariably returned. However, in Wheatville a large
percentage of the high school graduates annually left the community and
this exodus pattern was accepted behavior.

However, for those children who remained in the community family
ties were not broken when the children married. A typical example will
indicate the degree of familism among the remaining familial members:

Mr. M is an old settler. He had four children — one son
and three daughters. He now lives on his home place with
the son, his youngest child, and daughter-in-law. One
daughter married a local boy and now lives on a farm about
12 miles away; another daughter lives on a farm in the ad-
joining county, and the third lives on a farm in Colorado.

The father has done less work during recent years. He has a
few cattle, but there is not much attempt to formally divide
the income. Both father and son are interested in improving
the place.

The two brothers-in-law in the county work with each other
more than with anyone else although both have close neighbors.
The families visit together more than with others. The sisters-
in-law frequently spend the afternoon together, helping each
other with work. Frequently these two families and the one in
the adjoining county, more than 40 miles away, spend Sundays
together. After a recent feed-crop failure in Haskell County
both families hauled most of their cattle up to the farm in
the other county, which is an irrigated district, where they
were cared for by the other brother-in-law, who in turn
frequently has welding and other repair work done by his
brother-in-law on the home place.
They see the sister in Colorado rather frequently and speak of her as though she were only a few miles away.\(^1\)

The above example demonstrates the numerous and strong relationships among family members. It was further reported that several of the young men in the community refrained from adopting new farm practices because their parents disapproved. Again, it was reported that three rather large family groups were especially evident in the community. Their pattern of relationships cut through their social status positions in the community. When one of the family members found himself in trouble, the entire extended family rallied to his support. These three families further represented a potent political force. Without their support the probability of a candidate winning an election was slim.

It is of further interest to note that the husband-wife bond was exceedingly strong and was rarely broken by divorce. In periods of financial stress due to the vagaries of climate or the market place, it was apparent to all family members that the head of the household could not be blamed for the lack of money income. Further, most of the farm families found themselves in the same condition.

Not only were husband-wife relationships apparently stable, but parent-child relationships appeared to be congenial. A possible explanation for this was the fact that the home still remained an economic unit. Many of the older boys worked hand in hand with their fathers. The high degree

\(^1\)Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
of mechanization offered manifold opportunities for the younger boys to help during harvest periods. Again, the correlation between income and weather eliminated many of the unreasonable demands that children ordinarily make upon their parents.

The high degree of familism was further indicated by the frequency of family reunions. Weddings and funerals were family functions that all family members were expected to attend. When a member of the "gross familia" was dying, family members were usually in attendance.

However, on the other hand, several negative factors were in evidence minimizing the strength of familism. In the first place, the desire for ownership of land was not very strong. In the decade previous to 1940 owners of farm property in many instances fared worse than the tenant operators. Burdened with interest and taxes, the owner was forced to forgo luxury expenditures, and despite this frugality, many operators lost their property during the drought years. This insecurity in property ownership tended to develop a calculating attitude toward land as simply one of the economic factors of production. The sentimentality found in El Cerrito or among the Amish toward the family farm was not evident in Wheatville. It was largely an economic grounds, not emotional attachments, that decisions were made relative to the farm.

Another factor of differentiation between the communities was the role of the women. It will be recalled that the role of women in El Cerrito and among the Old Order Amish was a subordinate one. In Wheat-
The appearance of a degree of formalism on the other hand, seems to indicate that the approach was not purely theoretical. The system was operationalized by the Attainment of the system's objectives and it was further complemented by the presence of a community-based approach.

In some respects, the implementation was found a formal system in which the attainment process was not the primary concern. The community's involvement was more essential than merely a passive one in the broad sense of the term. However, it was reported that men do not attend meetings where the question of interest is concerned with the practical aspects of the work. The fact that most women participated in the classes where they could discuss garden produce and tomato scores and handling longer periods with working after the garden. They also showed that they and were more often involved in the community. The women were engaged in many extra-curricular activities, while however, the women engaged in the community.
6. The Comparative Analysis

The family system of each community has been individually analyzed. To test our hypothesis regarding the variations in rural communities it is necessary to view the family systems in the four communities in a comparative manner. To this problem the analysis is now directed.

Initially, in all four communities the family constituted the most important agency in the socialization process during the highly important early formative years of the child's personality development. The data certainly lend support to Cooley's thesis of the nature of human nature. It was within the framework of the personalized and intimate associational contacts of the family that the child learned the elemental necessary types of behavior to function as a social being. It was the family that implanted the basic frame of reference and the initial attitudinal rationale upon the "tabula rosa" of the mental substructure of the newborn infant. However, although the techniques used in this early period in the socialization process were in the main similar, yet the ideologies, the ideas, and the criteria of the normative systems inculcated to the child were dissimilar. In short, the patterns and the dominant themes of the several cultures were highly variant, and it was the parents' task to initiate the child into the localistic culture.

In the Amish community the child had to be taught why he must act and live differently than the "unrighteous people" who did not subscribe to
the theoretical world. A study of mental processes revealed in the young people becomes especially evident an interest in the role of the child in the society. The individuality of the individual is to be different. There was no overt effort to make the child realize that his own inner world was important. The universality of the adult world, however, did not mean that the mother who interpreted most of the role of conduct that the child adoption was not granted the unique social heritage to the young.

In an attempt to make the family consolidate the most important of the teachings that the family imparted to the young members of the family, a group of groups that the society and the subculture of which we need not speak. The emphasis on consciousness of kind and community that he belonged to a group. This emphasis on the child's consciousness in cultural behavior would be treated as formal discussion. The socialization of the child

would have more meaning only when socialization is complete. This further from outside influences. To train the individual is to train the individual. A study of mental processes revealed in the young people becomes especially evident. The individuality of the individual is to be different. There was no overt effort to make the child realize that his own inner world was important. The universality of the adult world, however, did not mean that the mother who interpreted most of the role of conduct that the child adoption was not granted the unique social heritage to the young.
early years of personality development. Their range of contacts was limited to the periphery of the local community. The high degree of consanguinity in the community and the personalized associational system resulted in the establishment of intimate ties with the community and its members. The horizon of the children's interests and the scope of their outlook hardly transcended the territorial periphery of the tiny community. With few upsetting or disturbing factors the family found it a relatively simple task to impart to the child the feeling of syngenism so characteristic of their village life. Traditionalism rather than progressivism characterized the value system implanted to the child. In alliance with the church and as an agent of the church, the family inculcated a strong feeling of religiosity and respect for parents and elders to the young.

In Cornville and Wheatville, too, the family represented the most significant agency that laid the foundation for the personality structure of the developing child. However, in these communities there was found no overt effort to convey to the child the feeling that he was different from people who did not reside in his own community. The families rather treated their children as individual personalities who must take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Great Society. Although some parents complained of the influence of movies on children, there was no desire to abolish movies. The lack of any peculiar linguistic, ethnic, or religious peculiarities resulted in training and indoctrination into a larger world than the local community. Children were urged to develop
their capacities even if the end result would culminate in emigration from the family circle and the community. The socialization process in Wheatville and Cornville did not emphasize any necessity for the child to remain a part of the local society. The end product of the parents' efforts in the socialization process was not to shape the child's personality into any set mold, but rather to develop his unique capabilities. Other than a flavoring of the child's frame of reference with the traditional system of Christian morality, the recipe of the socialization process was highly seasoned with the development of the ability in the child to think independently. Living in a cultural milieu which they recognized as dynamic, these parents recognized that their knowledge was limited and in consequence, turned to extra familial agencies for help.

A comparative appraisal suggests, therefore, an additional variation in the operation of the socialization process in the communities. This is the relative differentiation in the importance of the family as an agent in the socialization process relative to other institutions and agencies in the community. In the Amish community, other than the limited formal education it offered, the school imparted few new ideas to the children. It was one of the school's functions to help solidify the frame of reference imparted to the child by the family. The youngsters belonged to no special age and sex groups. Their playmates were determined by religious and family sanctions. In cooperation with the
teachings of the church, it was the family that was the dominant and all important mechanism for indoctrination of the child into the Amish way of life.

In El Cerrito, too, were found no age and sex groups for the special interests of the children. Their interests were presumed to be similar and by the time the child reached the age of thirteen or fourteen he had to help with the farm enterprise or the household. Here too, the combination of religious practices and beliefs with the informal instruction of the family was very important in the socialization process. Other institutional agencies or special secondary groupings were of slight importance.

However, in Cornville and Wheatville, the family in alliance with the church was not the supreme inculcator of the beliefs, values and life goals of the individual. The family represented but one of several important agencies influential in the socialization process. In addition to formal education, the school transmitted the greater part of the intellectual social heritage to the child. It served as the center of recreational and social activities for the young people. Ideas unfamiliar to the parents were taught to the children. Superordinate-subordinate relationships and the techniques of cooperative activities were engaged in during the process of formal education and extra-curricular activities. Many situations that the Amish or El Cerritan child never became aware of were familiar interactional occasions for Wheatville and Cornville
children. They participated in various types of clubs; they were encouraged to pursue their special interests; their opportunities for self expression and individuation were greater. Contacts with people from outside the locus of their community were relatively frequent. They were reared with an awareness that the extra-community world might offer opportunities to them. Many of their brothers and sisters lived in cities and other communities. Thus, through their variety of contacts and through the agencies of diffusion that were a part of the local community, they were not culturally insulated from the Great Society. In most instances they felt a part of it. It is largely through the extra-familial activities they engaged in and the cosmopolitan aspects of family life that such a recognition of identification with the Great Society existed.

One final differentiation between the communities in regard to the family and the socialization process should be noted. This concerns the determination by the family of the future occupation and type of life the child will lead. In the Amish community it was pointed out that the life pattern of the child was established by the parents and deviations would not be tolerated. His occupation, his religious beliefs, his place of residence, his familial relationships, and the criterion for his marital partner were clearly defined and the pattern was invariably followed. Although the rigidity of the pattern was not so great and the number of alternatives for the young El Cerritan were not as few as in
the case of the Amish youngster, nevertheless if community ostracism was to be avoided, the range of allowed deviations was small. However, in Wheatville and Cornville a large number of parents hoped their children would not farm. They believed that their children must make up their own minds regarding occupational decisions. They maintained that parents should advise on such matters, but the ultimate decision must be that of the child. Further, parents felt that the child must exercise his own discretion in selection of his mate. Although parents would like their children to live nearby, most realized that many of the young people had to migrate. Further, the range of aberrational behavior was relatively greater than in El Cerrito and among the Amish. There were fewer negative dictums and less parental control over the behavior of the children in their recreational activities. In sum, self determination rather than familial determination was more characteristic of the Iowa and Kansas communities.

Attention is now directed to a comparative analysis of the degree of familism in the several communities. Initially, the communities may be differentiated on the basis of the extent of mutual aid between family members. In the Amish community, parents willingly assumed the obligation to help their children establish themselves on farms. A primary goal of the parents was to accumulate enough land so that their sons would be able to farm. Special advantages were allowed children who rented from other family members. When children married parents presented them with livestock and household equipment. Cash or credit was freely extended to young people. The belief in the
rural life as the righteous way of life underlaid the strong efforts of parents to proffer all types of help to their children so that they could follow the peculiar way of life of the Amish. In addition to parent-child mutual aid was found the Grossdawy arrangement whereby parents were assured protection in their old age. The family assets were kept intact and the continuity of the family homestead was assured. Further, cooperation was evident between family members outside of the klein familia orbit. Not to aid a family member would result in community disapproval. The earnings of children were also construed to be family property until the child married.

El Cerrito parents lacked the economic resources to help their children get started. However, at an early age the child was expected to aid his parents in the farm enterprise. If a son left the community to seek employment, the greater part of his earnings were turned back to the family. Family expectations further included a great deal of cooperation and sharing between family members. The fruits of the harvest were in most instances divided informally between family members. When non-klein family members were in need, aid was always offered and the meager wealth of these poverty-stricken folk was shared.

In Cornville and Wheatville there was also found evidences of family cooperation and mutual help. Parents in most instances helped those children who desired to farm by offering them financial aid or special privileges. However, the fact that it was assumed that many
children would leave the community resulted in there being no strong urge to establish institutionalized arrangements such as were found among the Amish to keep children in the community. The income earned on the family farm or elsewhere by the children was not family income. In these communities the extent of family cooperation was limited in the main to "klein familia" relatives. There was slight differentiation between aid rendered to neighbors and extra-klein familia members in distress. Again, parents did not expect nor did they receive a great deal of aid from their children in their old age. There was found no Grossdawdy arrangement; parents attempted to save enough for themselves in their declining years of productivity. Whereas in the Amish community family cooperation was reciprocal between parents and children, in Wheatville and Cornville the parent-child mutual aid pattern was a one-way process.

Another differentiating factor centers on the attitudes of family members toward the family homestead and farm. On this factor the communities are to be sharply differentiated. Among the Amish was found a sentimental attachment toward family property. When parents reached the retirement age, the farm was not sold so that the parents would possess the capital to retire. On the contrary, through the Grossdawdy arrangement, the family farm was turned over to one of the family members, and the parents remained on the farm. In El Cerrito, there existed a definite emotional attachment to the family farm. It was noted that the
people would endure severe privation before selling their small parcels of land. Parents were expected to bequeath their land to the children, and not to do so would constitute a severe transgression of community mores. However, in Cornville and Wheatville this sentimental attitude toward the family farm and land ownership was much less in evidence.

The high degree of tenancy plus the economic beating taken by land owners during the depression and drought years of the thirties resulted in a more economically rational view toward the family homestead and farm property. Here was found a more cold and calculating appraisal of land as one of the factors of production. Farm equipment rather than land was inherited more frequently by heirs.

The degree of familialism further is indicated by existent beliefs and attitudes of the family toward migration out of the local community. In the Amish community to leave the local community permanently would result in excommunication from the fellowship of the Amish. All children were expected to lead rural lives and to live in relatively close proximity to other family members. Among the El Cerritans, sanctions against leaving the community were not as severe as in the Amish community. The dire economic plight of these people required many of them to leave the community in search of farm employment or governmental assistance. However, this migration was temporary in nature, and those leaving invariably returned. The feeling of consciousness of kind and the intimacy of the personalized pattern of interaction among the people resulted in a
state of anomie for those villagers who were forced to live in the
Great Society due to economic duress. But in Wheatville and Cornville,
families expected that a large share of the young people would leave the
community and the family primary grouping. In contrast to the Amish
community, parents made no explicit effort to keep their children in
close proximity to them. Many parents felt that there were few opport-
unities for their offspring in the local community and suggested that
their children search elsewhere for more advantageous opportunities.
The individual welfare of the child, rather than family welfare was the
paramount concern of the family. On this score, the degree of familialism
was lower in Wheatville and Cornville than in the other two communities.

Again, the communities may be differentiated on the importance
attached to family events and familial activities. In El Cerrito and the
Amish community recreation was much more familial in nature than in Wheat-
ville and Cornville. In these latter communities family members partici-
ipated as individuals in numerous special interest groups. The movies
and listening to radio constituted important instances of individualized
recreation. However, among the Amish the most important source of
recreation was inter-family visiting while in El Cerrito, community
dances and religious festivals were family affairs. More importance was
attached to weddings, funerals, and other family functions in the Amish
and El Cerrito communities than in the other communities. Weddings and
funerals were viewed as highly important community events, and all com-
munity members were expected to participate. However, in Wheatville and Cornville church weddings were infrequent and only close relatives and intimate friends were in attendance. Such events as family reunions and family picnics did occur in the latter communities, but their frequency had been steadily diminishing as commercialized and impersonal forms of recreation were accepted by the people.

Another aspect of the family systems centers on the roles of family members. The analysis was largely restricted to the role of the women in the familial systems. In general it may be said that the role of the woman was more subordinate in the El Cerrito and Amish families than in the other communities. In the former communities the woman's activities were limited to her duties as a homemaker and care of the children. The husband supervised all money matters and he exercised an authoritarian control over the family. Wives engaged in extremely limited interaction situations and only transcended the bounds of the local community infrequently. Their lives were more sheltered and insulated from the outside world. However, in Wheatville and Cornville, familial relationships were more equalitarian. Wives participated in farm organization meetings and overtly expressed their opinions on subject matters which were not the concern of El Cerrito and Amish women. They participated in a variety of special interest groups and were active in school activities. Their roles were more varied than those of the women in El Cerrito and the Amish community; sanctions regarding their
behavior were fewer in number and less severe. They functioned as community members as well as family members, and in Wheatville, it was noted that they were more articulate in expression and more certain of their views than the men.

Despite these variable conditions in family relationships and family functions, it is of interest to note that in all four communities there existed a high degree of family stability. In the Amish community as well as in El Cerrito divorce was not allowed due to religious sanctions. However, whereas in El Cerrito an erring husband would be forgiven, in the Amish community such a transgression of the mores would result in an annulment and certainly would end in excommunication for the deviant person. However, no such occurrence was reported in the Amish community. It was further reported that divorce was a rare occurrence in Wheatville. The inadequacy of the data in regard to divorce in Wheatville and Cornville limits further discussion of this aspect of the family systems.

Yet, it was reported that in these latter communities husband-wife as well as parent-child relations were highly stable and marked by a low degree of conflict and contravention. The granting of allowances or incomes to children plus the realization of lack of parental blame during economic crises may partially account for the stability of relationships within the family.

The existence of highly stable familial relationship in spite of differing degrees of familism suggests an interesting hypothesis for the student of family analysis. Thus, there may exist certain minimum require-
ments for stability in family relationships regardless of other cultural differentials. In the configuration analysis, however, certain aspects of this problem will be dealt with.

In sum, then, it is evident that there existed distinct differentials between the communities when the optic of analysis was focused on the family systems. To argue as Professor Locke has done, that the analysis of these communities indicates that the rural family is highly differentiated from the urban family may be true and is of interest. But his analysis tends to minimize or lose sight of the variance in familialism in the communities. To construct Aristotelian categories or dichotomies such as rural and urban and then to proceed to point up the similarities between rural family life as opposed to urban life is acceptable procedure in the early stages of investigation of societal phenomena. However, to ignore the differentiating factors in the phenomena studied must be seriously objected to since the variation within a grouping may be of as great or greater significance than inter group differentials. This analysis has attempted to divulge some of the important variations in family life among the four communities studied. It is concluded that in general the family systems of the Amish and El Cerrienta communities were highly differentiated from the family systems of Cornville and Wheatville. However, the family systems of Wheatville and Cornville were characterized by certain aspects of familial behavior conducive and

---

antagonistic to a high degree of familism. (This heterogeneous mixture of sociological concomitants will be explored in some detail in the configurational analyses.)
In order to sharpen the subsequent analysis of the different communities

* The communities analyzed

* Your communities

Concerned with establishing verifications in the religious systems it is then be en agnosy of social control, the subsequent analysis will take many aspects of life and the interaction of importance of religion and domain of one or few of sects theorems to such problems as the interaction of religious or mutual interaction or mutual sanctioning of sects because of the interaction of the data. Attention will be directed to aspects of the religious systems. The approach to the problem is taken to that section in the section of the parameters derived to an analysis of certain represent only one aspect of any type of secret-scouting analysis. Although the complex relationship of the role of the church and religious sanctions in the present chapter the analyses is directed to the difference.

V. Introduction

CHAPTER IV. THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

176
In such a system, cooperation and coordination would
* that would completely amount to cooperation for the support of the important
there would be not one opinion, but a number of opinions or definitions of
As in such a community, in the movement of the people, in such a community,
As an important step in which scientific standards were of the importance
In the present opposition to the formation of Aqabah was read
such a rapport
In such a community, the question of the opinion would not be tolerated
* agree in
As in such a community, the result in several petition or attempts or these more could
be promoted by opinion enough, and attempts of the rapport would be between the more and the people. Centers of agreement or points would
In such a community, there would exist a shift of differentiation
* the community held body of several people
on the rapport of people, and would be a manifestation of
on the rapport of people. The ultimate question of nearly all behavior would consider
all spheres of life and would determine the fundamental frame of reference
As an opinion would be of extreme importance. * It would perceive into merely
in the community, manifesting itself in the community's needs of all community members. * In the transaction of community's wants
* manifestly
there would be not one opinion, that would serve the
to the principle already. * There would exist no section or definition of the community would be
of one end of such a community, the community would possess a specific
estimation of
deeper possibilities of rapport systems in rural communities will be
create a number of special groupings in the population that would con-
sider members of their own religious cliche differently than individuals
affiliated with other denominations or sects. This division of relig-
ious beliefs would weaken the influences of the church in the community
since there would exist no unanimity as to what is proper and improper
behavior on moral grounds.

Not only would there be a number of churches competing among them-
selves, but many spheres of behavior would not be affected by religious
beliefs but rather by rational and utilitarian motivations. The individual
would not ask himself if the contemplated action was in keeping with the
will of God but rather if it yielded personal satisfaction according to
his own standard of satisfactions. Thus, as an agency of social control
religious influences would be relatively insignificant factors in con-
straining the individual in many types of behavior.

C. The Amish Community

Whereas church beliefs and sacred sanctions are of only secondary
importance as the basis of consensus in many rural communities, among
the Old Order Amish they represented the foundation for the esprit de
corps of the people. All of the inhabitants of the Amish community were
members of the single church and believed in the dogmas and the precepts
of a particular interpretation of the Bible. The unanimity of belief was
attested to by the practice of excommunication of those who would not
abide by the proscriptions of the single church. There was no room for compromise in belief and those who chose to disagree were compelled to leave the fellowship of the Amish.

When it is stated that the Amish belong to one church, it is not implied that they all attended one congregation or held services in a distinctive church building. Actually the Amish did not have church buildings, but rather held their services at the homes or barns of the brethren. This opposition to church buildings had long historical precedence and was an aspect of the nonconformist beliefs of the group.

The Amish community included several thousand members and it is obvious that they could not all meet in one place. Therefore, the area was divided into districts including approximately one hundred church members. In 1940 there were eighteen districts in Lancaster County. The attendance at services was larger than the membership of the district. This was true because only baptized individuals were members, and baptism occurred between the ages of 15 and 20. Since younger children attended the services with the parents the attendance was normally much larger than the total number of members.

Services were conducted on every other Sunday, and the farmers took turns in holding services at each other’s homes. Those with large homes accommodated the group in winter while in summer the barns of those with smaller homes were used. Since 150 to 200 persons attended church services and at least a Sunday noon meal had to be served, great preparations were
made for the meetings.

The host and hostess, realizing that their efficiency will be appraised by friends and neighbors on the coming Sunday, overlook no details in setting the place in order. Most of the work falls on the women, although much is done outdoors as well. The house is cleaned and set in order from garret to cellar. All the floors are scrubbed and rag carpets cleaned .... Pots, kettles, pans, and tubs are cleaned. The kitchen range and heating stoves are polished .... The yard may be raked and the fence whitewashed. Everything in the farmyard is put in its place.1

Church services were important community events. It was here that the families as families gathered for religious devotion and community fellowship. At these gatherings the hymns of their forefathers were sung, the traditional justification for their peculiar ways were reiterated, and it was here that the Amish reinforced each other in clinging to their unique beliefs and patterns of action.

The web of relationships between the Amish that distinguished them from other people was primarily a result of adherence to a complex of mores which emanated from a literal interpretation of the Bible and the awareness of the tragic history of their ancestry. The socialization of the child laid heavy stress on the indoctrination of the young into an appreciation of the history of and the reasons for the sufferings and religious persecutions of the Amish in a hostile society. They were taught to think of themselves as martyrs, as chosen people, much in the same manner as the Jews viewed themselves as the chosen people in the orthodox tradition. It was largely for religious reasons that the Amish were differ-

sent from other people, and the explanation of their peculiar ways of life was to be found in their religious beliefs.

The two basic principles determining the social behavior of the Amish were the principle of the unequal yoke and separation from the outside world. The former may be ascribed to the following passage in the New Testament: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath light with darkness." The belief in the separation from the outside world was derived from the admonition in the Bible that the world and the church were separate entities, the former being unholy and iniquitous, the latter holy and good.

Most of the peculiar mores of the Amish may be viewed as the resultant application of the principles of unequal yoke and separation. For example, in matters of dress nonconformity was practiced due to the application of standards of apparel for Christians as indicated in the New Testament. The Bible dictated, according to the Amish, that clothing worn by Christians should be substantial, modest, and economical. There must be sex distinction in dress and jewelry and ornaments may not be worn. Women must wear devotional head covering. Each of these prescriptions was taken from a literal interpretation of certain passages in the Bible, with the logical consequence that the clothing worn by the Amish met each of the above criteria.

The endogamous marriage customs of the Amish, the viewing of pride as a great evil, and their refusal to bear arms may all be traced back
to particular interpretations of biblical text and a rigid adherence to
these interpretations. Attitudes of hostility toward government aids to
agriculture, the belief in the rural way of life as the only righteous
way of life, and opposition to advanced education flowed from the relig-
ious views of the group. These aspects of the normative system point up
the fact that the sanctions and the dogmas of the church applied to nearly
all spheres of the ways of life. Their religious beliefs were not a group
of beliefs that they were particularly aware of only at church services.
On the contrary church sanctions permeated nearly every phase of life and
regulated the activities of all. The question may be raised as to the
commercial activities of the Amish. Does this not indicate the influences
of secularization on the community? Other than the tractor, most Amish
farms used many modern farm conveniences in their practice of agriculture.
The significant factor here is not that the Amish sold their products,
but rather what they did with their money. It was not expended on new
automobiles, modern conveniences in the home, or used to attend movies,
buy radios or take vacations in California or Florida. Rather it was
spent on farm land because the rural way of life was viewed as the only
holy way of life; it was expended on enlarging one's home so that it
could accommodate church services. Much of it was saved so that their
children could later farm and continue in their parents' rural way of
life. Thus, the pattern of income expenditures was greatly affected by
the Amish theological beliefs.
As in the case of the Old Order Amish the people of El Cerrito belonged to one church. All were members of the Catholic faith and the influence of the church on the ways of life of the inhabitants was very great. Despite these similarities several distinctions between the communities are evident, and these will be probed in the course of the analysis of the church system of El Cerrito.

Since the tiny Spanish-American villages in the vicinity of Las Vegas were too small to support a priest, a parish was normally made up of a number of villages. Thus the priest who served the needs of the El Cerritans lived in a village sixteen driving miles from El Cerrito. He was able to be in El Cerrito normally only once a month and at that time conducted the mass and heard confessions. During his absence regular services were held under the supervision of a local woman who received a small fee from the church for her services.

Leonard and Loomis report that the attendance was usually good and that only a few ever stay away. All the worshippers took part in the service and everyone knew the hymns and rituals. After the church service the men usually gathered in front of the church to exchange news and to engage in conversation.

Such meetings afford the men their most frequent occasion of getting together in a group. The conversation is directed to the entire group. The topics are local happenings or any
The use of church gatherings as a place for visiting in both El Cerrito and among the Old Order Amish should be noted.

It was reported that church assessments were paid promptly and even periodic special contributions were made by the impoverished people. Despite the shortage of money for the bare necessities of life somehow they managed to buy the candles for special religious observances and the needed clothing for the child's first communion. It is further of interest to observe that the women were particularly devout. They were charged with the carrying out of most of the ritual in connection with the church service. Although some men stayed away from special services, a woman would never fail to attend except for illness or some similar misfortune. This differential deference to the church indicates one distinction between the Old Order Amish and El Cerrito. Whereas if a male member of the community stayed away from church services such an act could be rationalized in El Cerrito; it would not be tolerated by the Amish. The men of the Pennsylvania community demanded that each member come as a unit of the family group, and other than sickness, there existed no justification for non-attendance.

Again, the function of the women in religious services was decidedly different in the two communities. In the Amish community it was the men

---

The determinants of the social order in these instances, but other factors, too, were of
for the unconvincing reasons of the violent acts. Hence, it was not the
was the reason of the events, and the factors that accounted
the lack of income that accounted for the lack of accommodation and radios and
the economic factors, the
command structure or radios, it was not necessary. A human nature that
not keep connected to the presence of the radio, although not many
necessary to become a holy way of life. Then, although the country was not
in order to gain a radio because of a church, better. Nevertheless, was not
the radio were not destroyed by the country and were not forbidden to ride
were not determined by church sentiments in any of these, and they
nonetheless, the fact of radio as the better of the aman, the existence and were
battles in the Spanish American War, this became part of the
the which determined certain aspects of their behavior. Yet, the factors
the frame of reference for some, especially just as the factors of
the church hinted the marriage would of the individual and determined the
in El Fértido, it was used time that the sentiments at the church
such an observation is not made to minimize the importance of the church
upon the way of life in El Fértido, than among the Old Order.

Of especial interest was the relatively lesser influence of the
of the priest, and the woman may be described as more devout than the men.
was the woman who conducted the services in the absence of the
Led the services, and the woman's role was not secondary.
who assumed the major role in the services. In fact, they preceded and

184
importance in accounting for differential behavior between the El Cerritans and extra-community individuals. In the Old Order Amish community, the behavior pattern of the people in the instances cited may be traced basically to the dictates of the church.

Despite the lesser influence of the church in certain areas of behavior in the El Cerrito community than in Amish life, the church still may be viewed as one of the most powerful institutions in the village. During three months of the year services were held from one to three times daily. Leonard and Lesmis reported that the church was the best kept building in the community and that many people were always available for performing needed repair jobs on the church.

The importance of religious influences is seen by the following description of the observance of holy days.

Holy days are rigidly observed and Ascension Week receives special consideration and compliance. No work is done on these days because of the general knowledge that serious punishment would surely be meted out to the offender. The stories they tell of violations and subsequent retribution are many. All are familiar with the experience of a local farmer who, a number of years ago, plowed his corn on a holy day, only to have it destroyed by hail the next day. That the punishment was special was proved by the fact that adjoining fields were unharmed.¹

The annual community celebration in honor of the community's patron saint was a highlight of the people's activities of the year. This function lasted for two days in December, and careful preparations according to well defined procedures were made for the event. All the activities

¹Ibid., p. 9.
were conducted by the local villagers, and the priest was the special
guest of honor. The affair was conducted under the supervision of two
elected leaders who supervised the activities. On the eve of the Patron
Saint's birthday the celebration began. The highlights of the affair were
the special mass, community dances, and preparation of large amounts of
food and drink for the villagers.

Whereas baptism into the Church among the Old Order Amish did not
occur until the child reached the age of fifteen or later, the El Cerritan
child by the age of ten usually was thoroughly familiar with church ritual
and the practices and teachings of the church. Books on the catechism
were made use of at an early age and it was reported that if the teacher
in the local school was willing to help teach the catechism to the children
she was especially praised by the villagers.

E. Cornville

In Cornville denominationalism was very strong. There existed not
one church to which all community members belonged, but rather a number
of churches - each catering to segments of the population. In the com-
munity were found Lutheran and Methodist congregations as well as the
Church of Christ. Earlier in the history of the community there was a
Presbyterian church, but it had fallen by the wayside in the competitive
struggle between the denominations.

The prevailing attitude expressed toward the churches seemed to be
that they were necessary and desirable and played an important part in
community life. Most people agreed that they deserved they support of
the community. However, in spite of these verbalisms, most people
attended churches infrequently or not at all. This inconsistency between
expressed belief and action was a reflection of the increasing importance
of secularising influences on the community. Other agencies competed
for the interest and time of the people while the increased range of
mobility allowed for a greater variety of alternative uses of one's time.
The declining influence of the church was explained by one non-church
goer as follows:

The churches in Irwin aren't as influential because of
decreased attendance. As one reason for this decrease, take
the radio. It is possible for us to stay home on Sunday
morning and listen to religious services which are more
interesting with better ministers and better music than
we could hear in our own churches. This has a second effect
of getting young people in the community still further away
from the churches for while they would probably attend church
with their parents, if their parents stay home and listen
to radio services, the young people prefer to do something
else. When these young people get into homes of their own,
they not only won't go to church, but they will not listen
to religious services on the radio.¹

The above opinion suggests that the radio had at least a dual in-
fluence on the importance of the local church in community life. In
the first place it tended to decrease the local influence of the church
and local sanctions since it provided a substitute device for local church
attendance if one desired to secure "religion". Religious influences

¹Moe, E.D. and Taylor, C.C. Culture of a contemporary rural community.
No. 5. 1942. p. 65.
was not made by telling people the core reason behind the problem. Their system of values
improvement of relations in the community provided fewer barriers for the in-
the less.
In the case of the kottu, the main community
itself. Where adults need to be part of people to be able to
the population and major aspects of relations. The
participation ratio rose for children attendance. It is not possible
in the second phase, the evaluation of reasons why had substantiated by

*attenuated rela-

personnel and the main aspects found in the consistent opinion
frame of reference was paramount. The role of the
the main mentor and commitment members were in input.
the input, the main mentor and commitment members were in input.

the source and commitment basis of better written. For the
the source and commitment basis of non-improvements.
The source provided evidence of the community and main of the non-improvements.
The community. Thus, although some awareness and better in children
protesting and major aspects of relations were introduced into many of the main
the source of each other. The transcription factor then the
democratization aspects of relations and expanded the scope of the
education in moral matters. Such radio programs tended to diminish the
that the listener might never see become the core of interpretation and

in relations matters. A name and an impressive voice of someone
people were the listeners mentors and trained observers the core of com-
this became non-looked and more impressed.
with many other more materialistic and mundane notions in the evolution of individual ethical systems.

Again, in contradistinction to El Cerrito and the Amish community a highly critical attitude was adopted toward the local ministry. It was reported that in general the ministers were not important leaders in the community. It was claimed that they lacked leadership qualities, showed slight interest in the community, and frequently never stayed long in the community. Some people stated that several of the ministers were not liked as individuals. The religious functionary, then, was not conceived as a representative of God or as endowed with any special spiritual powers. They were viewed as ordinary individuals who were employed by the local churches. Their sphere of influence was extremely limited and relatively insignificant in the community. Religious beliefs did not provide the substructure for the ways of life of the people. Religion was largely a "Sunday matter" or something not to be taken too seriously.

The disenchantment of the church was further seen in the divided opinion regarding the consolidation of churches in the community. Many argued that a single and centralized church would have greater funds to obtain interesting speakers, good music, and "those things that increase attendance". This viewpoint revealed the secularistic influences in the community. As in the case of the movies the better the program the larger the attendance epitomized this viewpoint. The individual denominations opposed such movements on the grounds that they represented the opinion
of those who did not believe in the divine nature of the church. The
fact that so few people attended church regularly implies that the
divine nature of the church was questioned by many.

As an agency of social control, the churches seemed to function as a
passive rather than as active agencies. The ministers preached for or
against a particular activity, but utilitarian motivations seemed to
supersede church sanctions. For example, nearly all churches condemned
dancing as an immoral practice. However, dancing was steadily increasing
as a form of entertainment for young people. This overt rejection of
the exhortations of the ministry constituted pertinent evidence in support
of the proposition that the influence of the church as an agency of social
control was of relatively minor importance.

F. Wheatville

In contradistinction to the Old Order Amish and the El Cerrito com-
community, Wheatville had not one church to which all community members
belonged, but rather a number of churches with which local inhabitants
were affiliated. There were four non-Mennonite churches in the area.
These were the Methodist Episcopal in both Satanta and Sublette, a
Nasarene and a Christian in Sublette, and a Church of God was located in
the northwestern part of Haskell county. A few of the people in the
eastern part of the county were reported to attend churches in Copeland.
The existent variety of churches tended to create a pattern of in
and out group relationships within the community. Bell reported that
most informants considered the Christian and Methodist churches as "just
common churches". The Nazarene church was viewed by non-members as a
little radical in its beliefs and practices. This group considered their
religion a very serious matter and severely condemned the looseness of
moral actions of non-members. The Church of God was viewed by many
residents as an undesirable influence in the area. It was even more
"radical" than the Nazarene church and "some people cited several women
of the group who had become insane and said they thought that the insanity
was due to the religion". ¹

Most of the residents were members of the Methodist and Christian
churches. The role of the churches in the community may best be described
as passive rather than active. Although the great majority of the people
claimed that they accepted the literal interpretation of the Bible, the
church itself played a relatively minor part in the lives of the people.
Bell reported that although the residents when interviewed claimed that
there were large attendances at church on Sunday, actually only a small
proportion of the population attended church. Few families attended church
regularly. When one contrasts church attendance in Wheatville with church
attendance in El Cerrito or the Old Order Amish community, the differential
significance of the church in the communities is thrown into bold relief.
It will be recalled that all families attended church services regularly

¹Bell, E.H. Culture of a contemporary rural community. Sublette,
1942. p. 87.
in the Amish community and nearly all in El Cerrito. However, in Wheatville few families were regular church-goers and those who attended represented only a small portion of the total population.

The poor church attendance was indicative of the declining influence of the church in Wheatville. The church in this community can perhaps be described as one of many associations competing for the attention of the people. The churches competed among themselves for members as well as with the school, clubs, and commercialized recreation for the time and attention of the people. In Wheatville, the church did not prescribe what could and what could not be taught in the schools. It did not prescribe what type of recreation one could engage in or the type of clothing one must wear. It functioned rather as a specialized agency serving only a segment of the community and the people it served in most instances did not choose to partake regularly of its offerings.

Participation in religious activities in Wheatville, then, was a matter of individual choice. True it was that the religion of one's parents normally determined the religion of the child. Yet, the child at a later time could change his religious affiliations, and he would not become an outcast in the community. Such an action would result in excommunication from the Amish and El Cerritan communities.

It was further evident that church sanctions did not permeate many facets of life. The rationale for farming was not found in church beliefs. Church rulings did not determine the nature of one's recreation. Although
the ministers preached "moral sermons" every Sunday, few of the local people attended church services. The influence of the church was largely limited to teaching ethical principles, but it was evident that these principles did not particularly affect the ways of life of the people.

Another distinguishing characteristic of the community is both the implicit and explicit questioning of church belief by members of the community. For example, that the efficacy of prayer is questioned is corroborated by the following frequently told story.

During a long drought one of the churches decided to have a day of prayer for rain. According to this story, after the gathering had visited for some time the preacher said "Well, I guess we had better begin now". One old man looked outside and upon returning said, "It's no use starting yet. The wind's still in the southwest.'

In spite of utterances to the effect that church membership was a good thing, many people pointed out that some of the good church members were dishonest. For example, the failure of the cooperative elevator at a nearby town was laid to the fact that the people selected a good church member to run the cooperative. This church member embezzled so much of the cooperative funds that the cooperative failed.

It is also of interest to note that the several non-believers in the community were not ostracized but on the contrary were considered individuals of high integrity. Most people believed that Christian ethics were a part of their liberal attitudes, and their tolerance and fair judgment were praised.

The above examples serve to reinforce the observation that although

---

1Ibid., p. 89.
most of the people gave lip service to the belief in the literal interpretation of the Bible, in actuality most of them paid little attention to their verbalized beliefs in practical every day living.

G. The Comparative Analysis

The religious systems of the four communities have been described. The next logical step is to probe on a comparative basis the variant significance of the church and religious sanctions in the several communities. Such an analysis should offer some insight into the range of differentiation that exists in the church systems of rural communities. It further will constitute evidence in support of the thesis that the existent variations in rural life throw grave doubt on the use of the category rural as a generic and polar concept for the study of human interaction.

Initially, the communities may be differentiated by the number of religious or denominational systems existing within the geographical locus of the community. In El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish community only one church existed, and the intrusion of another denomination or sect would not be tolerated. Thus, those members of the Old Order Amish community who joined more liberal Ammonite groups were ejected from the socio-religious community of the Old Order Amish. Again, in El Cerrito, there was found only one religious system, the Catholic credo, and every member of the village was a member of the single church. To abandon the church would result in social ostracism and expulsion from the community.
This unanimity in religious belief in El Cerrito and among the Old Order Amish resulted in the church becoming a powerful cohesive factor in community life. All members of the community belonged to the same church, believed in the same religious symbolism, and in consequence shared a singular frame of reference in their evaluative systems.

In contrast to this unanimity and singularity of religious belief are the heterogeneous situations found in Wheatville and Cornville. In these communities denominationalism resulted in intra-community factions and a constellation of in and out group relationships. The members of the Church of God in Wheatville, for example, were viewed as an undesirable element in the community by many of the residents and the Nazarene church condemned the "unrighteous" activities of members of the Methodist and Christian churches. These variegated formulations and practices of Christianity within the spatial limits of a single community resulted in competitive and contraventive activities between the church groups. Rather than functioning as an integrative influence as in the case of El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish, the existence of religious influences served to weaken community solidarity and increased community conflicts and antagonisms.

Another significant distinguishing characteristic of the religious systems in the communities is the varying influence of church sanctions on the ways of life of the people. The analysis of the communities indicated that religious influences may be all pervading or affect only certain segments of the ways of behavior of a people. In the Amish com-
munity religious influences exerted tremendous influences on the ways of life of the inhabitants. Interpretation of biblical passages accounted for the peculiar dress of the people, their mode of transportation, their recreational behavior, and their educational beliefs. The principles of unequal yoke and separation that served as the underlying determinants of behavior were resultants of the literal interpretation of biblical passages. The Amish viewed farm life as a holy life and themselves as God's chosen children. Such beliefs were not superficial utterances of the people. They were sincere convictions of the Amish, and their whole pattern of living was a demonstration of the earnestness of the strength of their convictions. Religious sanctions, then, covered nearly all phases of life. Most decisions as to the way the individual must behave were based upon rigid adherence to the Scriptures. The individual's entire life was patterned upon a series of specific proscriptions of the church. There were few areas of alternative behavior. In most instances there was only one right way of conduct, and this singular method had to be obeyed. Among the Old Order Amish then, one is always forced back to religious beliefs to understand the ways of life of these people. The core of the local culture was firmly aligned to the religious system.

In sharp contrast to the Amish was the slight influence of the church in Wheatville and Cornville. In these communities religious influences were restricted to a much narrower area of life. It was not church rulings that determined the mode of dress or the educational curriculum. The
accepted types of recreation were not decided by the church. Other agencies and influences like the school, fashion, specialized groups, and impersonal mechanisms such as the radio and the newspaper were also important devices in the patterns of human behavior.

The church, then, was only one of many influences that determined the ways of behavior. Yet it should be noted that religious influences did not equally affect all groups. Thus, in general it may be said that the members of minority churches such as the Church of God and the Mennonite church were more restricted in their activities than the Methodists and Congregationalists. These latter denominations did not attempt to constrain their members' behavior in the same degree as the former churches. The existence of denominationalism with its consequents sharply differentiated Wheatville and Cornville from El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish communities.

Although the religious system in El Cerrito did not permeate as many facets of life as in the Old Order Amish grouping, yet the single church was a powerful constraining force in the community.

Another important differentiating characteristic is the degree to which church sanctions could be challenged in the four communities. In the Amish community to challenge existing church rules was equivalent to heresy. In the Spanish-American community, too, the church could not be challenged. The decisions of the priest and the tenets of the Catholic faith were binding. To question religious sanctions was to invite expulsion from these communities. In Wheatville and Cornville, however,
the variety of churches in itself created division of opinion regarding religious beliefs. Many of the inhabitants openly admitted that they did not attend church, and others questioned the preaching of the ministers. This disenchantment of biblical teachings was perhaps best explained by the realization that prayer alone was not enough to bring rain in periods of drought, and that material forces played an important part in the welfare of the people. Again the critical viewpoint taken in regard to the functionaries of the church seem to result in a critical appraisal of their teachings. Thus, on the one hand, church sanctions were never challenged and on the other hand, they were critically appraised.

A final matter of interest is the differential importance of the church as an agency of social control. In the Old Order Amish community the church may be described as the most powerful mechanism for restraining the behavior of community members. Since the very basis of solidarity among the Amish was their unique religious beliefs and an insistence on the maintenance of their separationism, infractions of the customs and mores were severely dealt with by the group. But it was not a civil authority or informal social controls that dealt with infractions. It was in the religious meetings of the Amish through the lay ministry that punishment was meted out to offenders of the clearly established rules of separation and unequal yoke. The child through church attendance and familial interaction soon learned that not to follow church dictums meant individual disgrace and social ostracism. Through the technique of
shunning the church invoked its prerogatives of active social control and through excommunication it held the power of demanding severance of the individual from the community of brethren. To be read out of the Old Order Amish grouping was social suicide, and the fear of such an eventuality was a powerful constraining factor for those who might contemplate deviation from the rigidly determined proscriptions of the Amish. Thus, in this community, it was the established rulings of a religious code of behavior that forbade dancing, attending movies, or the drinking of liquor. It was the church that disallowed intermingling with non-Amish or the joining of the armed forces in time of war. It was the church that did not sanction high school attendance. In sum, religious sanctions overshadowed the behavior of the people and the church acted as the dominant mechanism of social control. The other significant agencies of social control such as the family, gossiping and other informal techniques of social control served as additional devices to enforce church sanctions.

In the El Cerrito community it was noted that the Catholic Church did exercise considerable influence as an agency of social control. The catechism was taught to the child at an early age, and what one must and must not do was largely determined on the basis of the will of God. This theological orientation resulted in the fear of God becoming an important aspect of the system of social control.

However, in Wheatville and Cornville the church was not an active agency of social control. For example, in Wheatville despite the
In certain societies, the influence did not constitute such a
powerful equation of societal control. In which society, had taken hold, the authority did not constitute
did not constrain the behavior of the people. In these societies, in
continued to grow in popularity, peer of God and church disapproved
denunciation of denounce as an immoral act by the authorities, denounce
200.
CHAPTER VIII. THE SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION

A. Introduction

The communities have been differentiated on the basis of cultural isolation, system of interaction, and certain aspects of the family and religious systems. In this chapter the variations between the communities in regard to the importance and functions of education are explored. Attention is directed specifically toward an analysis of the amount of schooling deemed essential for children, the functions of the school in the community, and the attitudes of the people toward education. Further consideration is given to the relationship of education to the other institutions operative in community life and to the importance of non-school educative agencies.

As in the preceding investigation of sociological variables, each community will be separately studied and then a comparative analysis will be presented. The analysis is initiated by a presentation of the extreme polarities of a continuum of educational systems theoretically possible in rural communities.

B. The Continuum Analysis

Theoretically a continuum could be established in which no formal educational agencies existed at one polarity. In such a rural community
the family or other groups would perform many of the functions of the school. However, for the purposes of the subsequent analysis, it will be assumed that in both polarities on the educational continuum specialized agencies exist outside of the family for the explicit purpose of educating the child. With this assumption in mind the polarities of the continuum will be developed.

On the one hand the functions of the school would be extremely limited. Its primary purpose would be to instruct the child in the clearly defined minimum educational skills deemed necessary by the community. It would attempt to teach the child how to read and write and would instruct him in elementary arithmetic computation. The school would not be allowed to present new normative ideas to the child but would merely offer certain techniques necessary for his participation in the group life. Since the functions of the school and the knowledge it is supposed to impart are limited, the amount of schooling that the child would receive would be restricted. Schooling beyond an elementary education would be deemed a waste of time and the community would not subsidize the cost of more advanced education.

The school would not sponsor an extra-curricular program. Recreational activities would not be centered in the school but rather in the home or the church. As an agency in the socialization process the educational institutions would be of slight importance since its activities would be largely restricted to teaching simple skills to the child. In his adolescent years the child would not be under the supervision of the school
since his formal education would have terminated upon completion of the elementary school. Educational activities would be of slight significance in community life and the local inhabitants would not turn to education for the solution of their problems.

On the other hand at the other end of the education continuum the school would represent a powerful force in the community. The functions of the school would not terminate with the teaching of elementary subjects to the children. The minimum level of education would perhaps be a high school education and many young people in the community would attend college. The school would constitute an important mechanism in which the child would recognize his affiliations with and his part in the Great society. The school would offer courses in a variety of subjects and would attempt to widen the horizon of interests of the student. Young people would be encouraged to obtain more education and the high school would act as a preparatory agency for those pupils who would attend college.

The school would sponsor numerous extra-curricular activities in which the individual would be allowed to develop his own particular capabilities. The manifold programs that the school engaged in would offer a variety of interactional situations in which the child would have to adjust to his fellows. In this respect the school would act as a significant factor in the socialization process. The educational agencies would further receive the full support of the community. Parents would be organized in associations to keep in contact with the school and the activities of the school would be accepted as community affairs. In sum, the local
residents would place a high premium on education and would recognize
the school as one of the most important formal institutions in the
community.

G. El Cerrito

The education that the child received in El Cerrito was extremely
limited. Upon reaching the age of twelve or thirteen, a boy normally
would leave school in order to help support the family. In consequence
not many of the boys completed the eighth grade. It was reported that
some of the male children at the age of sixteen had not reached the sixth
grade. Although the girls were able to attend school more frequently and
for a greater period of time than the boys, their education, too, ceased
upon completion of the eighth grade.

The primary function of the school was to teach the child English
and arithmetic. These subjects were stressed because it was recognized
that unless they were mastered the young people would be unable to compete
with the Anglos. Although parents desired to have their children speak
English well, few of the boys and girls spoke English with a high degree
of proficiency. The meager education received by the child was partially
a resultant of the inadequacy of teaching personnel and lack of instruc-
tional equipment. It was reported that the teacher was inadequately prepared
and was not even proficient in the speaking of English.

Such isolated rural communities as El Cerrito represented unattractive
teaching assignments and in consequence, the village had to be satisfied with an inferior brand of teaching. Further, it was reported that the school lacked teaching materials necessary for imparting a new language to the child. The only modern equipment for imparting knowledge was the standard text book whereas all other materials had to be fashioned out of crude materials at hand. The teacher, too, lacked the skill and techniques to handle the special problems arising in the local school situation. Further, the functions of the school were distinctly limited. It did not serve as the recreational center for the community. It offered nothing in the way of adult education. It taught no specialized skills to the youngsters. Parents showed slight interest in the school, and they were not consulted nor did they desire to participate in the determination of the activities of the school. There existed no Parent Teachers Association or any similar organization whose function it was to bring a closer rapprochement between the parents and the teacher. In short, the function of the school was basically to impart elementary skills to the child. Occupational techniques and household skills were taught in the home and religious instruction was supervised by the church.

It is of interest to raise the question of the rationale underlying the educational system. Despite its low level of instruction and seemingly insignificant role in community life, the school was considered one of the most important institutional agencies in the community. In contrast to the Amish community with its church determined educational program, the school
in El Cerrito did not operate as an agency to increase the separatism of the village people. The El Cerritans did not insist on separate schools for their children. The physical isolation of their habitat resulted in the fact that only El Cerritans attended the village school. The El Cerritans considered the school as the agency that served the important purpose of bridging the gap between the village world and the Great Society. In the school the child learned English and simple arithmetic. These tools were essential for the child in his later relationships with the Anglo. The El Cerritans recognized that the dire poverty of the community would force many of the young people to seek work outside of the community. The school, then, was supposed to provide the necessary training so that the culturally circumscribed child could eventually deal with the outside world. But the school was not supposed to develop an inquisitive viewpoint in the child. It was not supposed to implant an awareness in the child that the outside world might be a more desirable world. Its function was utilitarian. In the event that the child was forced to leave the community temporarily to earn money for his family or to secure government aid, he would possess the elemental requisites for such contests.

Here was found no desire to develop the special capabilities of the young people. Parents possessed neither the economic resources nor the desire for children to obtain higher education. The several young men who attended the N.Y.A. school indicated a proclivity to leave the community in search of greater opportunity. Such inclinations were condemned by the local inhabitants for they would result in the disintegration of
They believed that their children should not be forced to attend school.

They did not believe that their attendance of education in their position may or may not on the role and importance of education in their position and emphasized their

The old order which had previously formulated and emphasized their

Attitude.

Do The American Community

come and suffer together.

The common better seemed to be that the country agent helped one another.

Several to the shortage that the volunteers and the agent had ever tried to conduct him. In the latter, and education to them the agent could obtain the cooperation. No more then three local communities.

the volunteers. Most of the people did not know of his services or how they were utilized. Reported that the country agent was a stranger to them. In the previous reported that the country agent was able to read and understand

explanation. But the first and how or them would be able to read and understand

The people were united in the support of the people. The country community members. The people were united in the support of the people. The people were united in the support of the people. People. The people were united in the support of the people. The people were united in the support of the people.

But this is the role of adult

people

people

people

people

people

The hierarchy of such a country is a country and homogeneous

people of the potential effects of improved education standards on

people to remain in their local place of residence. It is further raised the

people that are significant in the remaining people in power and authority

metre. It reflects the potential influence of social and cultural

the community. This situation is of especial interest to the student of

207
where children of non-conformists were in attendance. They believed that for children to secure more than an eighth grade education was unwise and in consequence, a high school education was impossible for an Amish child. It was their conviction that experience gained from working in the fields or in the household was far more valuable than "book learning". These separatist views had resulted in sharp conflicts with proponents of compulsory high school education and the consolidated school. In the early part of 1941, the Amish presented a petition to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania regarding school legislation. The following quotation epitomizes the Amish view:

Throughout time past we have chosen and do yet choose to be a farming people. Farming is one of the tenets of our Religion. We wish to have our children educated by the best available means including Scripture in the home and church, three R's in school and actual experienced training under Parental supervision at home and on the farm.

To this end, we the Plain Churches petition you to give our petition serious consideration to the end that children in rural districts be not compelled to attend school beyond a 160 day term (which term after the present school year, automatically changes to 180 days, unless action is taken by your body in this next Legislative session); we also petition that the children of Plain People be granted exemption from school attendance upon request of Parent or Guardian and upon completing primary studies of the elementary grades or after attaining the age of fourteen years; we further would desire to have sufficient privileges to establish independent schools where the public school districts determine upon consolidation and transportation.¹

south for theouth boy's. Such knowledge was secured on the home farm
by their mothers at home. Again, there were no courses in vocational art,
these skills were taught. Early did not learn to cook and sew in school. The
women were taught to sew in number. The
necessary for the individual to be prepared in the peculiar
gave the student the choice of secondary school, that the community be prepared
the individual opportunities of the child. The time for the student to
be prepared to leave the school. By the time he reached the school, the
community was to the best of his education in the community
...some of the primary schools, to the secondary school of
experiences in the secondary school. By the time he entered the
center of the community, the child was prepared to

...legibilities for the child. It is desirable that the
essentials for the high school, the amount of education

...be taught. To keep the child away from the high school

...the age of fourteen, work permits were secured for them in order

...the very survival of their non-vocational culture. When the

...opposed the community high school education. They believed that such an

...teaching. The three "I's" of the Amish, theorefore, grade education. In their view the task of the school should be

...schooling their children should receive should be limited to an essential

...amount of...
under parental guidance. There was no instruction in athletics because such an expenditure of time would be considered wasteful. There was no instruction in history, economics, or sociology in the school because such knowledge might result in doubt about their ways of life. In brief, the functions of the school were extremely circumscribed. Its role was incidental in community life; its singular task was simply to teach the child elementary reading, writing and arithmetic.

Underlying these limitations on the extent of formal education and the functions of the school was the deep seated normative system of separationism and non-conformity of the Amish. Their attitudes toward the functions of education were a logical extension of the high degree of consistency between their norms and values. For example, the Amish severely opposed the consolidated school for its establishment would result in Amish children associating with non-Amish and non-farm children. They feared that if their children attended consolidated schools they might stray away from the rigorously defined Amish way of life. They feared that once the child became accustomed to the less severe folkways and customs of the non-Amish children, it would be difficult for him to follow the peculiar nonconformist practices established by the church. This awareness of the necessity of minimum interaction between the Amish and non-Amish testified to the sociological insight of the brethren in their insistence on the greatest degree of separation between the "we" and the "they" group.
School bus transportation, for instance, necessary in con-
nection with the consolidated school, would provide daily
transportation to the children of the Old Order Amish. After
their grade school years, the children would take rapid and
convenient motor transportation for granted, and this would
place an added strain on the regulation forbidding the ownership
of cars. A number of informants expressed strong opposition to
school bus transportation.¹

Further, the Amish attitude toward compulsory high school education
was consistent with their normative and valuational systems. They maintained
that if their children were compelled to attend high school, such education
would constitute a real threat to the survival of their community life
and their separationist ways of behavior. They argued that advanced
schooling would result in their children becoming aware of ways of life
that the Amish deemed unrighteous. For example, many would be tempted to
leave farming and the Amish viewed agriculture as the only righteous
occupation. They opposed high school and college courses also because
they believed such training tended to make children lazy and failed to
strengthen them physically. They argued that the time devoted to advanced
education should be spent in teaching children how to become good farmers
or farm wives. They believed that the source of this "practical instruction"
should be parental guidance on the farm or in the household. They further
held that education developed an appreciation for leisure whereas the Amish
believed that the work day should be long and hard. They feared, too, that

¹Ibid., p. 66.
higher schooling would teach the benefits of the new and would undermine the separationist mores of the group.

Finally, the Amish maintain that the high school age level represents "an extremely critical period in the lives of boys and girls, a period when parental supervision and vigilance are essential." They believed that teachers were not competent to guide and discipline their children during this crucial age period. They maintained that only the church and the family could adequately perform these supervisory functions.

The educational system in the Amish community can in general be described as traditional rather than progressive. The purpose of the school was not to teach the new, but rather to teach a static body of elementary skills. It purposefully limited the sphere of knowledge imparted to the child and discouraged inquiries into those areas of inquiry that might upset the accustomed ways of life among the Amish. In this respect, it tended to reinforce the peculiar way of life since it discouraged consideration of deviant ways of life and other normative systems. The formal educational system stopped short at that point where the child had obtained the skills and tools to advance to the study of more complex subject matter. The educational functions after completion of grade school were largely transferred to the family. It was within the family group that the young people were taught how to become efficient farmers and farm wives. In the family nexus they learned the technical skills required for the rural life which they would lead. Book learning yielded

\[\text{1Ibid., p. 68.}\]
It was generally held that once the Industrial had selected his future
the Free School Board would not introduce the proposition of higher school graduation or attend college.
In many cases it should be in higher school. At this time an idea was growing
1926 to 1928 introduced that on this was one of higher school whose age least
in school education. It was reported that a check of school enrollment
showed that each child should receive should be no less than a
higher school attendance. It was generally believed that the minimum amount of
attendance school or normal county schools
schools that were attended therefor were then being to attend the consolidated
one of the town schools where not parents schools with an average of two
the town schools were not parent schools with an average of two
the county schools were attended by two of the county schools were attended
one the town schools where not parent schools with an average of two
the county schools were attended by two of the county schools were attended
the important part of community if we
the residents of community showed that education increased as a

E. Committee

The proceeds sponsored by the community and real estate
and instructors paid from them from the
were not used by the
instructors in the
were not used by the
the proceeds sponsored by the parents assumed the responsibility of

212
occupation, he should obtain all the necessary education to perform his future work well. Although some of the residents indicated that they believed that there were many people in college who had no right to be there, many others indicated that a college education was desirable if it could be afforded. Other parents with limited education seemed especially desirous that their children receive a higher education. In sum, the prevalent belief was that the amount of education deemed essential for children was a minimum of a high school education.

The functions of the school in Cornville were not limited to imparting certain types of formal education to the young. The school played an important role in the socialization process. Through its extra-curricular and recreational activities, the children were offered manifold opportunities to develop their special abilities. In the play and classroom situations, the young people learned the rules of behavior and the accommodative techniques necessary for participation in group life. The school did not attempt to delimit or circumscribe the knowledge or the interests of the child. Rather, it encouraged the young people to develop an inquiring viewpoint in the variety of courses offered in the high school. In Cornville elementary education constituted simply the first step in the educational process. It provided the basic tools necessary for more advanced learning. In the high school the child acquired an understanding of many aspects of the Great Society and developed an historical perspective for the status quo. The student was urged to discover and
develop his own particular capabilities. In the high school, village
and country students attended classes together and there existed no
disparity between them. There was no effort exerted by the school to
encourage the children to follow farming as a career. On the contrary,
the emphasis was on the individuality of the child and the development
of his individual interests. The high school also served in many instances
as the second stepping stone to more advanced education. It functioned as
a preparatory agency for further specialized training of many of the
young people. If the advanced training were to result in the child's
leaving the community, no effort was made to redirect or to shatter the
child's interests. In short, the schools in Cornville functioned to
enhance rather than to limit the outlook of the young people of the
community. It encouraged them to continue their education and provided
the children with the basic training prerequisite for further study.

In addition to the above functions of the school, it also served as
a center of recreational and social activities in the community. The
schools sponsored athletic activities and sport competitions. It carried
on playground activities, ring and party games, and encouraged the young
in the development of their hobbies. School parties and basketball games
were usually held in the high school gymnasium. It is of interest to note
that dancing was not allowed in the school gymnasium. Many of these
activities were attended by community members as well as the students.
It was further reported that the local Parent Teachers' Association actively
supported the activities of the school.
In Cornville, then, the school was viewed as one of the key institutions in the community. Children were not kept out of school to aid their parents with the farm work. The purpose of the school was not merely to impart a body of formalized knowledge to the child. The school also provided an important bridge between the local world and the Great Society—a bridge that many of the children would later cross and never recross. The school thus played an important role in the social mobility pattern of the community. With the commercial skills acquired in their classes in shorthand and typing, the girls possessed the capabilities necessary for employment in cities. In the courses in the physical and social sciences, high school students became acquainted with new subject matter and acquired new interests. In turn, many of the young people were forced to leave the community for college or employment as a result of their widened horizon of interests. The school, therefore, constituted an important dynamic force in the community. It served not as a static or traditional agency, but rather as the medium through which many new ideas filtered into the community.

Finally, adult education proved to be of great importance in the community. The Parent Teachers' Associations represented one of the most influential associations in the community and carried on a vigorous program in support of school activities. It was reported that agricultural bulletins and farm journals were used frequently by the farm operators in their farming operations. The complexity of agricultural production had
resulted in a greater reliance on educational agencies. The county agent services were used by a large number of the farmers and keen interest was shown particularly in new farm practices developed at the state agricultural college. These people were aware that advancements in agricultural research vitally affected them and they were eager to keep abreast of new improvements. In short, education was recognized as extremely important to community life and individual and community welfare.

F. Wheatville

In Wheatville, too, the school may be described as one of the most important institutions in the community. Not only did it function as the basic instrument of formal education, but it further constituted the pivotal point for the social life of the young people and the recreational activities of the adults.

The minimum schooling that community members believed that each child should obtain was a high school education. It was reported that practically every child in the community had graduated from high school. Several occurrences corroborating the belief in the necessity of a high school education were described. In one instance the case of an alleged juvenile delinquent was being discussed by a group of local prominent citizens. The basic premise of the discussion was that the child must be allowed to finish the school year.

Each suggestion for the disposal of the case was considered in the light of its effect upon his school activities.
Several businessmen from Satanta, where he went to school, contributed money to pay his board and room while he continued in school.1

Another instance exemplifying the importance of education revolved about two boys whose mother lived in another county. The boys were in large part forced to support themselves. Several of the members of the community banded together and agreed to pay the expenses required to keep the boys in school. In brief, in this community a high school education was deemed the minimum essential schooling that every child should obtain. Further, college training was considered desirable for young people. Many of them attended the junior colleges in Garden City and Dodge City. Of the 43 male graduates of the Sublette high school between 1936 and 1939, nearly one-third (13) entered college. However, only 6 of the 38 female graduates attended college. It is evident, then, that the amount of schooling received by the young people in Wheatville was much greater than in El Cerrito or the Amish community.

The function of the school in Wheatville was not limited to teaching the child certain elementary skills. The school sponsored an active extra-curricular program. Football and basketball were popular sports, and in the spring field and track activities were very prominent. Intercommunity competition was encouraged by the school and inter-school meets were important community events. In addition to sports activities, the school

sponsored music festivals, plays, and a host of other activities. The extra-curricular activities were important functions of the school and most teachers were occupied with them until five or six o'clock in the evening.

Largely as a result of its manifold activities, the school served as an important center of recreational and social activities for the community. For inter-school competitions local businessmen assumed the responsibility for providing transportation for those who wanted to attend tournaments in other communities.

In several instances, mixed groups leave for Garden City or Liberal. One group was typical; it was composed of the welfare director (driver), the banker’s wife, a farmer’s wife, a woman on A.D.C., and another who receives direct relief. Several of them reported that they had a fine time and a good visit.

Football and basketball games were important local events and they were well attended. In one instance 50 residents attended a basketball tournament 200 miles away in which the local high school boys participated.

The manifold activities sponsored by the school encouraged the young people to develop their special capabilities and to expand their individual interests. Commercial courses in bookkeeping, typewriting and shorthand were taught. In sharp contrast to El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish communities, the children received instruction in a variety of subjects

\[\text{Ibid., p. 85.}\]
and more intensive training in English and mathematics. The function of
the school further included preparation for more advanced training in
college. It was evident that in addition to giving a well-rounded formal
education, the Wheatville schools also emphasized social and recreational
programs. The activities of the school constituted an integral part of
community life. They further offered many opportunities for the informal
training of the young for participation in group life.

The school, further, served the important function of creating an
awareness in the young people of their affiliations with the Great Society.
No effort was exerted to inculcate a feeling of differentiation between
the school children and the larger society. The child learned that he
belonged to a larger society in addition to the local community. He
was taught a myriad of facts about the nation in which he lived and the
opportunities it offered him. No effort was made to attempt to restrict
the future occupation of the young people to agriculture. In fact, no
courses were offered in vocational agriculture. If the child desired to
farm, such training must be obtained at home. The role of the school
was not viewed as one of preparing the student to earn a living. Its
role was to point up the fact that social and economic problems can
only be solved through education.

Wheatville farmers further recognized the implications of agricultural
research to their farming operations. Although they expressed disagree-
ment with some of the results of the controlled experiments of the
agricultural colleges, they nevertheless attended meetings at which new
farm practices were discussed. Agricultural bulletins were widely read and nearly every farmer took at least one farm journal. The importance of education in Wheatville is summarized by Bell's description of the Kansas community: "Education is the modern force to which the people look for a solution of their problems."¹

G. The Comparative Analysis

The individual communities have been studied on the basis of the role and functions of education in community life. In this section a comparative analysis will be presented in order to discern the existent variations in education in the four communities.

Initially, the minimum level of education deemed essential for young people varied widely in the four communities. In El Cerrito an eighth grade education served as the minimum although many children could not even claim this amount of schooling. The Old Order Amish, too, required their children to secure only an elementary education. Through religious proscriptions Amish children were forbidden to attend high school. It was believed that "book learning" was largely a waste of time and that experience was the only true teacher. In sharp contrast to El Cerrito and the Amish community were the relatively high educational standards of Corning and Wheatville. In both of these latter communities every child was expected to complete at least a high school education. In

¹Ibid., p. 86.
many instances children further continued their education in college to pursue their special interests.

Not only was a large disparity evident between the communities in the level of education deemed essential for children, but there also existed great differentiations in the functions of the school. In the Amish community the single function of the school was to teach the child certain elementary skills. The school did not constitute a social or recreational center in the community. It played a minor role in the socialization process since the modes of conduct and of behavior were strictly established by the church and the home. It was assumed that the young people would all lead a rural and separationist way of life and time spent in formal education of the Amish children beyond the grammar school was viewed as wasted time. In the village of El Cerrito the functions of the school were limited to teaching the children elementary subjects. No effort was made to lay the groundwork for a more advanced education since it was commonly accepted that formal schooling would terminate at the completion of the eighth grade.

In contradistinction to the limited functions of education in El Cerrito and the Amish community, the school served a variety of functions in Wheatville and Cornville. In addition to teaching the children elementary English and arithmetic, the school functioned as an important agency in the socialization process. In the recreational and social activities of the school, the children participated in diverse inter-
actional situations in which they had to accommodate themselves to the rules of the group. In the tournaments and competitions sponsored by the school, the young people made new contacts and travelled beyond the local confines of the community. The world of the child was not circumscribed by the territorial periphery of the community. The school proved an important instrument in expanding his contacts with and interests in the Great Society.

In the classroom, too, no effort was made to delimit the body of knowledge imparted to the child. In his high school courses the student developed an appreciation of the fruits of science and of the complex world in which he lived. The value of education in the solution of social and economic problems was stressed. Training was offered in the social sciences and the student's responsibilities as a citizen were emphasized. There was no desire in the parents or the teachers to differentiate the young people from individuals in other communities. On the contrary much emphasis was laid on the common interests and mutual cultural heritage of the child and other segments of society. The task of the school, then, was to impart as much as possible of the larger cultural heritage to the child. In this respect Wheatville and Cornville were sharply differentiated from El Carrite and the Amish communities. In the latter communities, the offerings of the school were strictly limited either by design or lack of knowledge and economic resources.

Again, in both Wheatville and Cornville, the school constituted a central agency in community life. Parent Teachers' Associations supported
A central principle leading away from their separative pattern of life is

Hehers education would create new desires and new ambitions in the student

They recognized that

Any program of formal education would endanger the very

The parents commonly regarded education beyond the elementary level because

sentiment on the present better to bring the time of formal education

It is evident, then, that the community may be further altered

school sponsored

In the case of the practical and compulsory but more higher courses of in

Interests independent of the special and professional interests are in

at the source of many reevaluations and reevaluations. The school was not

community the situation and the pattern of the school in the role

not serve as a center of reeducation and social reeducation. In those

and education in general in community life was slight. The school did

or by conflict and wrong the wrong, however, the importance of the school

people must turn to for the solution of their problems. In the situation where education

schools. They believed that education was the most source to which the

socio-educational and community were proud of their

questions raised were always the important of the people upon the

question of supervised personnel regarding the community's one of the first

suggested proposed reeducation the community asked the school. By the school

educational and community were proud of the

members attended majority of the
Thus, to allow their children to participate in higher education would be inviting community disintegration. The Amish, therefore, feared education as a challenging force to their religiously oriented behavior. In addition to the fear of education, the Amish further firmly believed that the training received on the farm under parental supervision at high school age was of more value in fashioning good farmers than the formal education of the high school. On the other hand, in Wheatville and Cornville parents encouraged their children to seek a more advanced education. The community did not fear the effects of education. On the contrary the local people welcomed them and believed that without a high school education one would not be able to participate fully in community life. Further, there was in evidence no fear that the results of education would lead to the disintegration of the community. The prevalent belief was that the community would survive only if education were applied to local problems. Further, it was anticipated that many of the young people would necessarily have to leave the community and parents desired their children to be prepared in the event this situation developed. In El Carrico the implications of advanced education to community survival were recognized; yet, no overt effort was evident to restrict the education of the young. The low level of education may be mainly attributed to the poverty of the people.

Finally, distinct variations were evident in the use of and the attitudes toward adult educational facilities. The Amish would have nothing
On the contrary, too, the farming communities showed tremendous difference in the research of experimentation. Further, some operators participated in numerous bulletin were received by most farmers. Keeping interest was shown in and continue farm publications and some college experiment stations in farm bulletin or journals were received. However, in both instances no farm bulletin or journals were received. However, it was noted that some operators of college-extension farmers. In contrast, it was noted that secretaries of the college of agriculture and industrial farmers to do with "book farming" recommendations.
CHAPTER IX, SUMMARY OF THE ANALYSIS OF
SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES

The major objective of this section centered on an analysis of the
variations in sociological variables in four rural communities. More
specifically the problem focused on the differentiations in cultural
isolation, system of interaction, the family system, the religious system
and the system of education in the four communities.

The analysis of cultural isolation as the variable factor indicated
that perceptible differentiations existed between the communities. It
was observed that the four communities were highly differentiated on the
factor of cultural isolation. Whereas in El Cerrito and the Amish
community only few diffusion agencies penetrated the local community, in
Wheatville and Cornville a number of diffusion mechanisms had become
established as integral parts of the culture. It was found, also, that
noticeable differences existed in the number and kinds of contacts the
local inhabitants had with the outside world. It was seen that the Amish
severely restricted their contacts with the extra-community world and
that the Amish infrequently left the geographical confines of the local
community. However, in Wheatville and Cornville the range of geographical
mobility was large and extra-community contacts were many.

It was further noted that there existed sharp differentiations in
the degree to which the local community tended to be intermeshed with the
Great Society: The cultures of both El Cerrito and the Amish society were unique and largely separated from the extra-community world. A number of cultural barriers tended to differentiate the local people from extra-community people. On the other hand, the normative systems of Cornville and Wheatville seemed to be much less sharply differentiated from those of the larger society. Progressivism seemed to characterize the mental outlook of the people in contrast to the traditionalism and conservatism found among the Amish and in El Cerrito. It was also established that the communities were differentiated on the basis of the degree to which the local people identified themselves with the extra-community world. Whereas the horizon of interests of the Amish and the El Cerritans were provincialized and interrelationships with the outside world were recognized as of slight importance, a closer identification with the extra-community world seemed to characterize the other two communities.

A number of differentiations were established between the communities when the analysis centered on the system of interaction. It was observed that marked differentiations existed in the relative significance of primary and secondary groups in the communities. Whereas the Amish forbade specialized associations and none were in evidence in El Cerrito, secondary group contacts flourished in Wheatville and Cornville. Whereas nearly all interactional situations were characterized by intimate and natural relationships between community members, in Wheatville and Cornville it was found that a personalized pattern of interaction was much
less in evidence. Commercialized recreation and a wide choice of recreational activities were available in these latter communities, but were of slight significance in the Amish and El Cerrito communities. It was further noted that whereas in El Cerrito and among the Amish, people interacted with each other as full personalities, in the other communities many interactional situations occurred between segmental personalities.

In regard to the family system it was also concluded that noticeable variations were in evidence. The primary differentiations in the communities were found to be in the extent to which the family shared functions with other agencies in the socialization process; in the extent to which the family rather than the individual was dominant in the determination of such matters as future occupation, mate selection, and life goals; in the degree of familism in the several communities as evidenced by aid and mutual cooperation among family members, attitudes of family members to the family homestead and farm, beliefs and attitudes toward migration out of the local community, importance attached to familial activities, the roles of the wife and mother, and in general the subservience of individual welfare to family welfare. The comparative analysis revealed significant variations, especially when El Cerrito and the Amish community were compared to Cornville and Wheatville.

Variations were further observed when the analysis centered on the system of religion in the communities. The communities were specially
differentiated on the number of religious or denominational systems
existent in the community, in the relative influence of church sanctions
on the ways of life of the people, and in the importance of the church as
an agency of social control. Finally, the variations existing among the
communities in their respective educational systems were noted. It was
seen that the minimum level of education for young people deemed essential
varied widely in the four communities and that noticeable variations were
evident in the functions of the school. Thus, whereas the school con-
stituted a central agency in community life in Wheatville and Cornville,
it was of slight significance in the community organization of El Cerrito
and the Amish community. It was further noted that wide differentiations
were evident in the prevalent beliefs regarding the value of formal
education and adult education. In both the analysis of the religious
and educational systems the contrasts were especially sharp when Wheat-
ville and Cornville were compared to the other communities.

It is now pertinent to ascertain the possible theoretical significance
of these variations in sociological variables noted in the comparative
analysis of the four communities. The analysis seems to support the
contention that viewing rural life merely as a polar type in contra-
distinction to urban life neglects the important factor of significant
intra-rural variations. It suggests that rural communities when appraised
through the sociological optic may be marked by varying degrees of inter-
communication with and differential degrees of integration with the Great
Society, by differential systems of interaction, and by variations in the
institutional systems. Thus the analysis suggests that a rural community may constitute, in actuality, a cultural island within the larger society or may be an integral part of it. Yet, despite these possible variations, all agricultural communities would be lumped into the single category of rural in opposition to the urban polarity in the rural-urban dichotomy frame of reference. The wide diversity within rural communities found in the present analysis of a relatively small number of communities suggests that rather than setting up frames of reference in an either-or context (that is rural or urban), it may be more advisable in many types of investigation to establish theoretical frameworks in which the focus is centered on an analysis of specific variables.¹ Thus, Wheatville and Cornville may be more similar to many small urban communities than they are to El Cerrito and the Amish community. And these latter communities may perhaps be more similar to peasant or even primitive societies. Viewing societies, then, on continua of sociological variables (for example, cultural isolation) not only may present a clearer and more trenchant analysis of phases of social relationships and human interaction, but on a theoretical level it allows for the embracing of many types of communities, rather than restriction to the questionable rural-urban dichotomy approach.

Recognition of the heuristic value of breaking away from the rural-urban dichotomy further implies that the arbitrary fracturing of society

¹In the latter part of the dissertation it is pointed out that the study of relationships between sociological variables may also offer significant theoretical knowledge.
The analysis further suggests that a frame of reference that

matter is of especial enlightenment in the present era of rapid social

molecular engineering is still an open question. The

theoretically presupposition in pure social science

is etched with a series of social structural constraints; it is an exceed-

what if the investigator is dealing with an attachment community

prerequisite that bears upon societal context. To conduct a

or societies into the next articulation assumes of rural and urban is a

Reference
CHAPTER X. CULTURAL CONFIGURATIONS

A. Introduction

In the preceding chapters the analysis centered on the diversity in a series of sociological variables in four rural communities. Within this intra-rural frame of reference attention was directed to existent variations between the communities in order to show certain limitations of the rural-urban dichotomy approach to the sociological analysis of rural life. On each of the five factors studied it was concluded that wide variations existed among the communities, and in consequence, that to adopt the theoretical position that rural communities are characterized by an invariable and ubiquitous set of sociological constants constitutes an extremely tenuous conclusion. The analysis further supported the contention that the heuristic utility of the rural-urban dichotomy frame of reference may be questioned because of the wide range of sociological variability in rural life. The analysis also pointed up the possibility that the comparative investigation of rural communities within the theoretical framework utilized in this research may yield a more meaningful sociological explanation of rural life.

In the process of analysis leading to these conclusions, it was necessary to appraise individually and collectively a series of contemporary American agricultural communities. Each community was separately
dissected and certain interactional and institutional aspects of community life were studied.

This analysis of sociological variables, however, provides the raw material for the study of another problem in addition to the study of sociological differentiation in rural life. It offers a body of relevant data that can be utilized for the consideration of the relationships or associations between segments of culture. This problem constitutes the subject matter of the remainder of the dissertation. The inquiry into the association or relationship between segments of culture may be termed the study of cultural configurations.

B. Anthropological Background

Until relatively recently anthropological research has emphasized heavily the study of culture traits or of discrete segments in culture. There was relatively little attention devoted to the analysis of culture as totalities or as distinctive wholes.¹ Individual researches stressed the study of specific segments of a culture but slight interest was manifested in the patterning or the configuration of the cultural elements.

One of the first anthropologists to break away from the mere description of cultural traits was Malinowski. He criticized severely the work of the students of diffusionism and argued that the effort expended on culture traits presumed to be existent in dead societies should be used in

studying living primitive peoples. Malinowski developed his analysis around the functional aspect of cultural traits. He probed the meaning, the purpose, and the uses of culture traits in the Trobriand Island culture. He was not interested in the family system or the religion of the community per se, but rather in their functions in the local culture. Yet, Malinowski must be criticized for he succumbed to the logical fallacy of generalizing from a non-universal particular. From his limited study of the Melanesians, he concluded that Trobriand culture traits were central to all primitive societies. He did not consider that differentiated cultures might possess distinctive culture trait complexes.¹

It is of interest to note briefly that the configurational approach has been stressed in many fields of social inquiry. In his psychological investigations Stern seriously criticized the work of psychologists who concentrated on discrete aspects of personality.² He maintained that personality analysis must emphasize the wholeness or the indivisibility of personality structure. The Gestalt psychologists, too, have severely attacked other "psychological schools" for their atomistic research. They argue that concentration on the simple mechanisms of association neglects the wholeness or configurational perceptions of the individual.³

¹Ibid., p. 45.
²Ibid., p. 46.
In the realm of social investigations Dilthey consistently stressed the importance of ideological configurations in understanding social phenomena. In studying significant philosophies of life, he pointed out that these systems become implanted in the values, attitudes and sentiments of the people. In addition to his much criticized thesis of the life cycles of culture, Spengler also attempted to establish the divergent Apollonian and Faustian configurations in the historical development of Western civilization. The most recent comprehensive attempt to develop comprehensive configurations is found in Sorokin's thesis of the fluctuation of cultures between the sensate and ideational polarities. However, Sorokin's macroscopic approach to the study of culture may be severely criticized because of its implicit valuational schema and because of its superficial and unrigorous treatment of "centuries of data". A more carefully designed approach to the problem of cultural configurations may be found in the work of Benedict. Her thesis is that:

A culture, like an individual, is a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action. Within each culture there come into being characteristic purposes not necessarily shared by other types of society. In obedience to these purposes, each people further and further consolidates its experience, and in proportion to the urgency of these drives the heterogeneous items of behaviour take more and more congruous shape. Taken up by a well-integrated culture, the

---

1 Benedict, op. cit., p. 47-8.
2 Ibid., p. 48-50.
most ill-assorted acts become characteristic of its peculiar goals, often by the most unlikely metamorphoses. The form that these acts take we can understand only by understanding first the emotional and intellectual mainsprings of that society.

Benedict, therefore, emphasized the underlying purposes of societies and pointed up the proposition that individual cultural traits assume meaning only when viewed in an ideological or ideational framework.

Linton's analysis corroborated Benedict's thesis and his description of the Tamala and Comanche cultures especially showed the importance of understanding the "substructure of motivations" in the explanation of human behavior in cultures. This type of analysis combined with recent advances in psychological theory has resulted in new insights into the problem of personality development. The correlating of institutional study and personality structure may herald a significant advance in sociological analysis. It is of interest to observe that Parsons is of the opinion that such structural-functional frames of reference constitute the basic theoretical framework for the development of systematic sociological theory.

1 Benedict, op. cit., p. 42.
Another approach to the study of cultures has been emphasized by Redfield. In his study of four communities in Yucatan Redfield probed the interrelationship between a number of social or cultural variables. By selecting four communities that were chosen to represent points along a continuum of cultural contrasts in Yucatan, he was able to test the hypothesis that disorganization, individualization, and secularization were causally interrelated with mobility and heterogeneity and with one another.

It is this latter study which is most relevant to the analysis in this dissertation. Redfield was essentially attempting to explore the relationships between certain aspects of culture. His purpose was to raise significant questions about the relations between a number of cultural variables.

The problem is seen as one of the relation among variables. No one of these is the sole cause of the others, but it is assumed, subject to proof, that, as certain of these vary, so do others.

Redfield took the isolation and homogeneity of the communities together as the independent variable. Individualization, secularization and disorganization of culture were regarded as dependent variables. Redfield found that the community marked by the lowest degree of isolation and homogeneity was characterized by the highest degree of individual-

---


2Ibid., p. 34.
ization, secularization, and disorganization of culture; that the community marked by the highest degree of isolation and homogeneity was marked by the lowest degree of individualization, secularization, and disorganization; and that the other two communities were marked by intermediate characterizations dependent on the extent to which the cultural variables were present. In brief, Redfield concluded from his comparative analysis of the four communities that the same relative order corresponding to their spatial order from a single important center of modifying influence, served to range the communities as to the progressively increasing or decreasing extent to which the social or cultural variables were present.

C. Statement of the Problem and the Hypothesis

The analysis of this investigation is now directed toward the problem of the relationships between variables in cultures. In the earlier consideration of intra-rural community variation, data on five aspects of culture were presented to point up significant differentiations in agricultural societies. These five variables were cultural isolation, system of interaction, and certain aspects of the important family, religious and educational institutions. It is evident that most of the selected variables are integral aspects of most societies and that they would be listed in a statement of cultural universals. However, it should be recognized that many other significant aspects of culture are not
Chapter III

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.

The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy. The main hypotheses of the subsequent analysis is that there exists a certain combination of factors that are greater in number of variables in the economy.
Attention is no longer directed to the variations between communities when the focus of analysis is on a specific variable. The investigation is now directed to the interrelationships between the variables. The five variables whose interrelationships are being probed are cultural isolation, system of interaction, the family religious and educational systems. It should be noted that although marked differences were noted among the communities on each variable studied these were differentiations of degree rather than of kind. For example, cultural isolation was present in some degree in all the communities; yet it was concluded that El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish communities were more culturally isolated than Wheatville and Cornville. This conclusion was supported by evidence that showed that the former communities had fewer contacts, fewer relationships, and fewer areas of mutual understanding with the extra-community world than Wheatville and Cornville. It will be recalled that when each of the variables were individually studied in the four communities, a theoretical continuum was developed in which the extreme polarities of the variable were delineated. Thus, when it is stated that Wheatville was characterized by less cultural isolation than El Cerrito, the concepts "more or less" derived their meaning from the established continuum. Another way of stating this is that on the continuum of cultural isolation Wheatville would fall nearer to the extreme polarity in which no cultural isolation existed than El Cerrito and that El Cerrito would fall nearer the opposite polarity than Wheatville. It is in this
sense that El Cerrito is marked by a higher degree of cultural isolation than Wheatville. The uses of such concepts as more or less and higher and lower in the subsequent analysis are therefore rigorously restricted to a substructure of the continuums developed for each variable in the analysis of intra rural variations.

It is evident, therefore, that the investigation of interrelationships between the five variables is based on a background of five continua which were developed earlier in the dissertation.

It is now necessary to specify explicitly the hypothesis to be tested in the subsequent analysis. The hypothesis being tested is that communities characterized by a high degree of cultural isolation in contrast to communities with a lower degree of cultural isolation are characterized by:

1. A system of interaction in which contacts are more intimate and in which interactors meet more frequently as full in contrast to segmental personalities; and a system of interaction in which secondary groups are less significant;
2. a family system in which the family is more dominant in the socialization process and in which there exists a higher degree of familism;
3. a religious system in which religion is more important in its effects on the ways of life and as an agency of social control; and
4. an educational system in which formal education is more limited and in which functions of the school are more restricted.
D. The Analysis

In the analysis of cultural isolation as the variable factor in the earlier analysis of sociological variables, it was concluded that sharp differentiations were evident between the communities. El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish society were found to be characterized by a high degree of cultural isolation whereas Wheatville and Cornville were marked by a lower degree of cultural isolation. These conclusions were substantiated by the following evidence:

1. El Cerrito and the Amish community had few intercommunity diffusion agencies; Wheatville and Cornville had many diffusion agencies. Thus, whereas radios were prohibited to the Amish and only two were found in the El Cerrito community, in both Cornville and Wheatville nearly every family owned a radio. There existed few newspapers and periodicals in El Cerrito and the reading matter of the Amish was severely restricted. However, in both Cornville and Wheatville nearly every home received newspapers, magazines, and periodicals. Again, the movies were of slight importance to the El Cerritans and prohibited to the Amish; but in Wheatville and Cornville they proved to be one of the most popular forms of recreation.

2. The inhabitants of El Cerrito and the Amish community infrequently left the geographical confines of their communities. Contacts with members outside of the community were restricted or severely limited. In Wheatville and Cornville, however, the range of geographical
between the local scene and the extra-communal world.

informational problems. They were aware of the informational

with the Great Society. They were interested in articles, national,

mentioned and commented the local scenes reflected much in common

informational with the extra-communal world. However, in

sets were prominent and there extra wrapped in the

identity the scenes with the Great Society. Their horizon of interest

The members of the GI Center and the American communities did not

4. to participate more fully in the larger cultural world.

extra-communal world. On the contrary, the local informational
desired people. They expected to derive to be separate and apart from the

progress seemed to characterize the mental outlook of the local

extra-communal more nearly with their Great Society

Extra-communal people. Their members. However, the people of the extra-communal and communal were not

Acutaneously correlated, but rather with the Great Society. Extra-communal

them from extra-communal marked differences in character and their mental outlook. Numerous

Acutaneously and commented with the Great Society. Their horizon of interest

The outlines of both GI Center and the American communities were nothing

Extra-communal members from transcending the bounds of the local communal

Acutaneously were large and no barriers were found to retention communal

244
that, if not the other two communautés. However, in the

I should think the former communautés are characterized by a higher degree

maintained with permanence and confirmed since it has already been stated

question if is then necessary to complete the argument and By Certitude coum

In addition, between the two groups of communautés, to answer this

sense between communautés with nothing less or not the hypothesis of trinity

of the section of the reasoning is another or the base question then

marked a lower degree of ontological distinction and permanence and communautés

degree of ontological distinction and permanence and communautés "What

which communautés will be traced as communautés characterized by a higher

Time, Certitude and the

research of the propositions to be tested are essential. Attention to the

estates of the hypothesis of essential equivalent communautés. In what is

Thus, the hypothesis of the communautés preserved the bases for the

Attention to the lower degree of ontological distinction than in Certitude and the other two

Thus, it was concluded that the permanence and communautés were marked a

deprecated by both communautés. Attention to the communautés preserved the bases for the

In consequence of the extraordinary, the communautés were preserved. Hence,
it is only necessary to summarize this data in a comparative framework (i.e. the more culturally isolated vs. the less culturally isolated communities) to secure the evidence indicating whether the hypothesis is rejected or affirmed.

In order to support or nullify the hypothesis regarding the relationships between the variables, it is now necessary to determine whether the communities with a lower degree of cultural isolation possess the differential characteristics suggested by the hypothesis. Thus, if Cornville and Wheatville show the variations hypothesized relative to El Cerrito and the Amish community evidence will have been presented in support of the hypothesis.

In this section, then, it is necessary to view the interactional and institutional systems of Wheatville and Cornville in comparison with those of the other two communities. To this task the analysis is now directed.

Compared to the El Cerritan and the Amish interactional systems, the system of interaction in Cornville and Wheatville was less intimate and one in which interactors met less frequently as full in contrast to segmental personalities; and one in which secondary groups were more significant. Thus, whereas in the Amish community and in El Cerrito nearly all interaction occurred in primary groups, in the other communities specialized associations were active in the community. In these latter communities derived groups served the multifarious interests of particular community members. It was further established that these special
Attitudes in contrast to emotional personal attitudes then in the less emotional

situations personal variety has been more experienced as in personal

Then too, the data indicated that in the contrast and the anomaly were

and Iz COMMITTEE COMMITTEE

were not necessarily large to intra-committee the intra-committee or committee

participation. In these committee's, the inter-committee, and a greater number of contacts and a larger number of contacts have a greater number of contacts and are attended for an amount that was found that the wide range of geographic and committee, to committee, in the less comuniteo. Other committee's, in the less comuniteo. The greater amount by committee's, were committed to committee's. In the amount of these intra-group forms of commitment were experienced regularly and the amount of these more emotionally committed and the amount of the more emotionally committed forms of commitment were of slight or no importance and were reported as the most important types of commitment and importance and adherence. The personal form of commitment did exist in committee. Attitudes proved to be the primary source of change between committee's, but too, in contrast and the anomaly of committee was seen that

were not in evidence among the old order which and in the contrast

Introduction were a number of secondary groups, some secondary groups

imposed on the extraneous primary groups, in contrast and the presence of formalized questions of association changed the interaction pattern into

247
isolated communities. The church affiliations, the value system, the family relationships, the personal idiosyncracies and other important factors regarding community inhabitants were common knowledge to all. Thus, in interacting with each other the people were cognizant of this constellation of factors, and in consequence interaction occurred on a highly natural and personal level. In the less culturally isolated communities, however, such relationships were less frequent and impersonal relationships were more in evidence. Various institutions and special interest groups competed for the time and attention of segments of the local population. The cluster of common bonds resulting from a singular and homogeneous religious and ethnic system with long historical precedence evident among the Amish and El Cerritans was not found in the other communities. In the less culturally isolated communities, the basis of consensus was less emotional and sentimental and more utilitarian than in the other societies. Parents did not attempt to restrict children who desired to leave the community permanently in Wheatville and Cornville; but in the more culturally isolated communities they did. This stronger sense of attachment to the community among the Amish and the El Cerritans and the greater insistence on separation of the "we" and the "they" group were basic factors in the differentiation of the interaction systems. In sum, viewing El Cerrito and the Amish society as communities characterized by a high degree of cultural isolation in contrast to Cornville and Wheatville, marked by a lower degree of cultural isolation, it is concluded that the evidence does not necessitate the rejection of the hypothesized
relationship between cultural isolation and systems of interaction.

In testing the hypothesis, it is further necessary to discern whether the communities characterized by a high degree of cultural isolation in contrast to Wheatville and Cornville with their lower degrees of cultural isolation possessed a family system in which the family was more dominant in the socialization process and in which there existed a higher degree of familism. A comparative analysis of the two sets of communities lend support to this proposition. Whereas the data established that the family was an important agency in the socialization process in all four communities, it was further evident that the family yielded many more prerogatives to other agencies in Wheatville and Cornville than in the other communities. Formal age and sex groups were important in the less culturally isolated communities and were nonexistent in the Amish and the El Cerrito societies. The school performed fewer functions in the latter communities that were related to preparing the child to assume his roles in the local society. Whereas vocational instruction was completely under the supervision of parents in El Cerrito and the Amish community, in the other communities non-familial agencies assumed much more important roles as advisory agencies for the young people. In Wheatville and Cornville, the family willingly relied on the school to teach the young people how to interact with his fellows. Recreation was much less familial or family determined and was intimately related to activities of the school, special clubs, and commercialized agencies such as the movies. In these communities, then,
the family was only one among a number of agencies that played significant roles in the socialization process. However, in El Cerrito and the Amish community, such an agency as the school was of minor significance and other agencies of importance in the less culturally isolated communities were of slight significance. In consequence, the data urge the conclusion that the family was less dominant in the socialization process in the less culturally isolated communities.

In regard to the differences in familism, the data lend support to the hypothesized relationship between the family system and cultural isolation. When income was earned by children in Wheatville and Cornville it did not revert to the family as was the case in the other two communities; it remained in the possession of the child and the expenditure of such income was determined by the child, not by the parents. Again, in the socialization process the family did not attempt to mold the personality structure of the child into a rigid mold as was the case in the more culturally isolated communities. The welfare of the individual, too, was more important than family welfare in Wheatville and Cornville in contrast to the other two communities. Again, while mutual aid between parents and children was a reciprocal process among the Amish and the El Cerritans, the evidence indicated that parents did not expect or receive a great deal of aid from their children in the other two communities. Further, there was little effort to restrain children from leaving the family circle when the outside world offered greater oppor-
tunities in the less culturally isolated communities. Although mutual aid and visiting did exist among family members in both Cornville and Wheatville it was apparent that familial cooperation and visitation were of less significance in these communities than in the others. Although a small amount of family recreation was in evidence in the less culturally isolated communities, it was the paramount form of recreation in the Amish community and highly important in El Cerrito. The individual was more subservient to the family in the Amish and El Cerritan communities. It is apparent, then, that the family as an entity in itself and as something to be preserved was recognized more fully in the more culturally isolated communities. In short, a higher degree of familism was apparent in these communities.

The data, further, tended to support the hypothesized relationships between cultural isolation and religious systems. In the Amish community particularly, it was found that religious sanctions permeated nearly all aspects of life. The basic theological beliefs of unequal yoke and non-conformity served as the guiding principles of behavior. In El Cerrito, too, the permeation of the religious system into many aspects of life was evident. The sanctions of the Catholic Church largely constituted the substructure for the individual's behavior. Holy days were important religious occasions and to work on such days constituted a severe transgression of the mores. But in Wheatville and Cornville, although most people expressed belief in the literal interpretation of the Bible, it
was found that these verbalisms did not materially affect their behavior. Whereas nearly everyone attended church services in the more culturally isolated communities, only a minority of the population in Wheatville and Cornville regularly attended church. Promotion of the churches in some instances were in conflict with one another in Wheatville and Cornville where denominationalism flourished. In these less culturally isolated communities many of the churches were simply specialized associations to which people in the community joined or did not join at will. In the other communities, however, all members believed in and acted in accordance with the teachings of the church. The church, then, in the Amish and El Cerrito communities were active agencies and highly influential in the determination of the ways of life. In Wheatville and Cornville, the influence of the churches was more passive.

As agencies of social control, too, the church in Wheatville and Cornville were of much less significance than in the more culturally isolated communities. Whereas violation of church prescriptions would result in "shunning" or excommunication in the Amish community and the fear of God was an important factor in constraining deviant behavior in El Cerrito, religion was of less influence as an agency of social control in Wheatville and Cornville. The critical attitude toward the functionaries of the churches and their special "brands of religion" was an important factor in this secularized viewpoint. There existed no fear of being excommunicated from the church. Most people did not believe
that God would punish them for not attending church. The admonitions of the clergy were not taken seriously. Rather, it was seen that in these less culturally isolated communities utilitarian and more hedonistic motivations served as the basis for behavior. In these communities churches were believed to be stabilizing influences in the community, but they did not seriously serve as powerful agencies of social control. It is evident that in the more culturally isolated communities, religion was more important in its effects on the ways of life and as an agency of social control.

Finally, the data tend to support the hypothesized relationships between cultural isolation and the educational system. Thus, the minimum level of education in El Cerrito and the Amish community was much lower than in Wheatville and Cornville. More specifically, whereas the Amish prohibited children from attending high school and in El Cerrito some of the children did not complete the eighth grade, in the less culturally isolated communities the minimum level of education deemed essential for children was no less than a high school education, and many of the young people attended college. The data further indicate that the functions of the school were more restricted in the more culturally isolated communities. In the Amish and El Cerritan societies the functions of the school were limited largely to teaching elementary skills. However, in Wheatville and Cornville, the schools not only offered a more complete educational program; they also sponsored diversified extra-curricular programs.
They attempted to encourage the children to develop their special capabilities and provided opportunities for the young people to increase their contacts with the extra-community world. The data further showed that the schools in Cornville and Wheatville served as integral, not incidental parts of the social organization of the community.

E. Summary and Discussion

The basic purpose of this chapter was to determine the relationship between cultural isolation and four other variables. The evidence seemed to lend support to the general conclusion that communities characterized by a high degree of cultural isolation, in contrast to communities with a lower degree of cultural isolation, are marked by a more personalized and more primary system of interaction; a family system in which the family is more influential in the socialization process and in which there exists a higher degree of familism; a religious system in which religion is more important in its effects on the ways of life and as an agency of social control; and an educational system in which formal education is more limited and in which functions of the school are more restricted.

The above proposition, however, is not established as a result of this investigation. The best that can be said is that some evidence in support of the above enumerated relationships between a set of variables has been presented. Certainly, many more studies are needed before it can be concluded that definite covarying relationships exist between sets of interactional and institutional variables.
The evidence presented in this dissertation can be questioned on many grounds. It is admitted that the techniques utilized in the research were crude; it is further admitted that the secondary nature of "the raw material" for the investigation did not yield certain kinds of data that would have been exceedingly relevant to a research of the present type. The very splitting of the communities into two groups differentiated by cultural isolation could also be questioned. For example, is it enough to compare the two communities marked by a higher degree of cultural isolation to those with a lower degree of cultural isolation? Is it not further incumbent on the investigator to compare Wheatville with Cornville and the Amish community with El Cerrito? To such questions all that can be said is that on the continuum of cultural isolation developed the Amish and El Cerritan communities would fall very close to each other near the polarity of extreme isolation and that Wheatville and Cornville would fall near each other somewhere considerably below the other two communities. But how far below the former communities would Wheatville and Cornville be placed? Exactly how near to each other would Wheatville and Cornville be? Is Wheatville forty, fifty, or eighty per cent less culturally isolated than El Cerrito? To these questions no existent research offers answers. Yet, despite these questionable aspects of the research and the crudeness of the analysis, it is contended that the investigation does offer evidence in support of the relationship of the variables.
But what is the exact nature of the relationships? Is it the factor of cultural isolation that is "the cause" of the variations in the other four variables or is it one of the other factors that is responsible for the covarying relationships of the remaining four variables? As to this no definite answer is possible. However, this problem deserves further consideration.

In the Amish community, the thesis could be best defended that the religious variable is the "causative" factor. Thus, the data seem to suggest the conclusion that the cultural isolation of these people was primarily due to their unique religious beliefs. As a matter of religious policy the Amish attempted to insulate themselves from the more secularized world about them. The highly personalized system of interaction was largely a resultant of the religious prohibition of Amish participation in "worldly" affairs. The functions and roles of family members, the dominance of the family in the socialization process, and the subservience of the individual to the family may best be explained in terms of the religious beliefs of these people. The educational system of the Amish, too, can be explained by the religious beliefs of these people.

But in El Cerrito, the church was not one that espoused a "peculiar" set of religious notions. It is known that the Catholic church is important in many types of cultural environments. That its theological system is adaptable to many types of cultures is seen in its powerful position in many large cities. However, it should be noted that the
influence of the Catholic Church may vary tremendously depending on the homogeneity of the culture in which it is established and the number of religious beliefs it must compete with. It well may be that under a particular kind of cultural setting, the church may be the "causative" factor in determining the nature of interactional and institutional systems.

In Wheatville and Cornville, though, did the relatively insignificant position of the church determine the type of educational and familial systems? Or was it the low degree of cultural isolation or the manifold contacts with the extra-curricular world that were the determining factors? No answers are possible to these questions from the analysis presented in this research.

However, it should be recognized that the determination of the reason why a community is marked by a particular type of culture and the determination of the relationship between sociological variables are two distinct, although interrelated, problems. This research has attempted to offer some evidence relative to the second question, and has not concerned itself with the first one. It may be that Benedict's approach, namely that segments of culture can only be understood in terms of the emotional and intellectual substructure of a society, is the best attack on the first problem. In sum, this research, then, was concerned only with the interrelationships between variables in cultures. That certain covarying relationships seem to exist between segments of cultures was
the general conclusion supported by the evidence. The "why" of these relationships is another problem, a significant problem not dealt with in this dissertation.

In terms of developing a more systematic body of knowledge about human interaction and the social environments in which people live, it is necessary to view the findings of this research in relationship to the conclusions of Redfield's investigation. It will be recalled that Redfield found that:

The changes in culture that in Yucatan appear to 'go along with' lessening isolation and homogeneity are seen to be chiefly three: disorganization of the culture, secularization, and individualization.¹

It may be said that the conclusions of this study tend to support Redfield's conclusions. Redfield views organization as a concept descriptive of the degree to which cultures exhibit "an interrelation of parts and inner consistency".² He concluded, then, that communication and contact tends to increase the disorganization of culture. If Redfield's definition of organization is followed, then it can be said that in the present study those communities characterized by a lesser degree of cultural isolation were more disorganized than the other two communities. Thus, the various elements of culture tended to fit into a more homogeneous pattern in the Amish community and El Cerrito than

---

¹Redfield, op. cit., p. 339.
²Ibid., p. 183.
In regard to the relationship between interaction and communication, this research corroborates the need for research and understanding of the complex dynamics involved. Specifically, the relationship between interaction and communication is a crucial aspect to be explored. The study aims to address the necessity and importance of understanding the interplay between these two concepts. It emphasizes the need for further research to elucidate the underlying mechanisms that govern these interactions. The theoretical framework developed in this study provides a foundation for future research. This work contributes to the understanding of the intricate relationship between interaction and communication.
The church was a much weaker institution and sacred sanctions were of less importance in the less isolated communities. Again, the communities characterized by a greater degree of isolation placed more emphasis on the family and the community as collectivities and less emphasis on individual welfare than in the less isolated communities. In brief, then, this research offers additional evidence in support of the covarying relationships of a number of variables in culture.

Finally, the conclusions of the investigation suggest that further analysis such as the one undertaken in this study may result in the eventual determination of a typology of rural communities or communities in general. If such a typology of communities could be developed, it would mean that by determining if a particular community had one or two characteristics, one could also state with a high degree of accuracy that other concomitant characteristics were present. It is obvious that if such a schema could be developed, it would be of tremendous practical value to those engaged in promulgating or diffusing programs to rural communities.
subject to the following limitations:

When the hypothesis approach to the educational setting was presented, it was manifestly different from the initial hypothesis research and development of certain educational and professional programs and the presentation of certain moves for the development of the educational field in rural education. After a

both the formal and professional aspects

in which the educational setting is concerned with the studies of human activity as a part of educational development or a theoretical approach to education it is well documented that the subject matter of educational research is necessary to consider when a move towards a more theoretical approach is made in the framework in rural social education.

This research represented a question and a reevaluation of Attestation and a question of the framework of the theoretical and a reevaluation of...
on each variable wide variations existed among the communities. In consequence of this analysis it was argued that to adopt the theoretical position that rural life is characterized by an invariable and ubiquitous set of sociological constants constitutes an extremely tenuous postulate for rural sociological research.

Thus, it was maintained that the heuristic utility of the rural-urban dichotomy analytic frame of reference must be severely questioned because of the wide range of sociological variability in rural life. The analysis further suggested that the comparative investigation of rural communities within the theoretical framework utilized in this research may yield a more meaningful sociological explanation of rural life.

With the data obtained from the analysis of the five sociological variables, it was further possible to consider the problem of the relationship between interactional and institutional variables in culture. The investigation of cultural configurations resulted in the conclusion that the research tended to substantiate the general proposition that communities marked by a high degree of cultural isolation in contrast to communities with a lower degree of cultural isolation are characterized by:

1. A system of interaction in which contacts are more intimate and in which interactors meet more frequently as full in contrast to segmental personalities; and a system of interaction in which secondary groups are less significant;

2. A family system in which the family is more dominant in the socialization process and in which there exists a higher degree of familism;
3. A religious system in which religion is more important in its effects on the ways of life of the people and as an agency of social control; and

4. An educational system in which formal education is more limited and in which functions of the school are more restricted.

It was further observed that this research offered some evidence in support of the conclusions reached by Redfield in his study in Yucatan of relationships between variables in culture.
LITERATURE CITED


Duthie, M.E. 4-H club work in the life of rural youth. Chicago, National Committee on Boys and Girls Club Work. 1936.


Kollmorgen, W.M. Culture of a contemporary rural community. The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Rural Life Studies No. 5. 1942.


———. Social relationships and institutions in seven new rural communities. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. 1940.


Mead, M. Family encyclopedia of the social sciences. v. 6. p. 65.


Redfield, Robert. The folk culture of Yucatan. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 1941.


Sorokin, P.A. Social and cultural dynamics. v. 3. New York, American Book Co. 1937.


The migration to towns and cities. Am. Jour. of Soc. 32:450-55. 1926.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to take this opportunity to express his sincere thanks to Dr. Raymond E. Wakeley for his supervision of this study. His invaluable constructive criticisms, his helpful suggestions, and his constant interest in the research are gratefully acknowledged.

The author further desires to express his appreciation to Dr. Reuben Hill for his penetrating criticisms and his interest in the research. Many thanks are due to the other members of the sociology staff of Iowa State College for their interest in and suggestions relative to the investigation.

The author also wishes to thank Dr. Robert Redfield, Dr. Louis Wirth, Dr. W.L. Warner, and Dr. E.C. Hughes of the University of Chicago for their suggestions and their cooperation in the planning of this study.

To Mrs. Lydia White for her help and cooperation in preparing the manuscript, the writer is also grateful.