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MEANINGS OF COMMUNITY IN MODERN AMERICA: SOME IMPLICATIONS FROM NEW TOWNS

by

Peggy Wireman

Submitted to the

Faculty of the Department of Sociology

of The American University

in Partial Fulfillment of

the Requirements for the Degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

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ABSTRACT

This study is an exploration of the meanings of community in modern America. It examines these in a new community, Columbia, Maryland, where both residents and the developer were self-consciously attempting to create community. The focus was on the Columbia Association (CA) and, specifically, the efforts of one village board to influence the 1975 budget allocations. The hypothesis was that certain aspects of community are valued by residents in modern American communities, but that the implementation of these values is hindered by certain material interests.

The method was participant observation followed by semi-structured interviews of major participants regarding the community concepts identified during the participant observation and from the theoretical literature.

The major findings of the research are: (1) the identification of the existence of a special type of relationship which combines traits of primary relationships and secondary ones. We have called it an intimate secondary relationship; (2) the discovery that residents valued the racial, class and other heterogeneity of Columbia, but that the meaning of successful integration

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within a segregated society is not singular. It includes access, a daily atmosphere free from racism, and complex relationships among individuals and groups which relate in different ways, at different rates and with varied meanings and implications; (3) residents valued certain aspects of community, including democratic processes and support for ways of creating identification with their community, but their implementation of these values was frustrated by the control of the community association by the developer as well as by their own support for property values. The considerable resources of the CA were not utilized in a major way to support the family, or to influence external institutions which affect residents, but primarily for recreation and to enhance the monetary value of property.

The properties of an intimate secondary relationship are: (1) warmth, intimacy, rapport and knowledge of another's characters, (2) a lack of socializing, sharing of personal data, or acquaintance with each others' families, (3) a commitment limited in time and scope, (4) a tendency to occur around the conducting of public business in a public place. Such relationships provide residents some intimacy, yet enable them to control the amount of distance. They perform important functions in a community which is highly mobile, heterogeneous, with changing patterns of family relationships and changing values.

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The study of Columbia is followed by a brief examination of another new community, Reston, Virginia. Similar patterns have been discovered. Both the values of residents and the interests which are served are affected more by national societal factors than factors in the new community itself. New meanings about community are emerging which reflect adaptation to the conditions of modern society. Columbians' values about community reflect different meanings about property, about homogeneity, and about relationships than would have been found in a more Gemeinschaft setting.

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PREFACE

This study exists because numerous individuals have been willing to share their time, energies and insights. The members of the 1975 Oakland Mills Village Board were gracious about being observed and kind enough to include me in their informal beer sessions after meetings. My special thanks go to Susan Cohen and to Henry Clark, both of whom criticized drafts and answered numerous questions about facts and interpretations over a period of months.

I am also grateful to each of the persons interviewed for their time, and even more for their willingness to openly explore with me the meanings of community and the relationships within it. They include: Henry Clark, Susan Cohen, Ed Windsor, Henry Daidone, Edmund Guest, Bernard Gorda, Valerie Kitch, Helen Ruther, Alan Ray, Alvin Thompson, Patty Klosko, John Bis, Beverly Reaume, Ora Anderson, Norma Rose, Raymond E. Meals, Padraic Kennedy, Michael D. Spear, James Fitzpatrick, Pat Carto, Linda Odum, Aubrey Edwards, Roger Ralph, Annette Felder, Rhea Hamel, Mrs. Jean W. Toomer, Mary Lorsung, Michael Marshall, Roy Appletree, Roosevelt Jones, David B. Wolfe, Mona Blake, Douglas Kleine, William Johnston, James Miles, Lee Shur, Joanne Brownsword, David Hill, and Thomas J. Burgess. Others who were helpful in exploring the idea of intimate

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A number of people were kind enough to read the draft carefully and spend hours making suggestions. Special thanks are due Alan Ray, Pat Carto, Ted Baker, and Roy Appletree.

The dissertation would never have been begun without the support for my academic work which I received over the years from Barbara Kaplan and Morton Leeds. It would not have been completed without the support from the chairman of my committee: Jurg Siegenthaler, who both helped impose a structure on the work and provided unspoken support that the struggle to better understand the complexities of community was worthwhile. His continued courtesy, ability and assistance are gratefully acknowledged.

The task of completing the work was also furthered by my father, Raoul Blumberg, who edited the draft, and by ABL Associates who managed the typing process. The work benefitted also from critique by the other members of my committee, Gert Mueller, Goeffrey Burkhart, and Robert David. The errors which remain are my responsibility.

This work resulted from a long process of examination of meanings of community which began during work at the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference in Chicago and has continued during employment at the New Communities Administration of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

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The experience of intimate secondary relationships and my knowledge of race relationships both began in Chicago. Special thanks are due Victor Towns and Raymond Tillman.

The value of this dissertation thus results from residents in several communities who were willing to share their insights with me and to enter into meaningful intimate secondary relationships.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

The purpose of this study is to examine the meaning of community in modern America. Much of the sociological literature discusses the eclipse of community which has occurred in the course of the historical processes of urbanization, industrialization, bureaucratization, and the growth of modern values. Nevertheless, the quest for community continues, if perhaps only as a nostalgic longing. We are concerned here with the question of what aspects of this concept are relevant today. Our empirical task was to identify what aspects of community, if any, were valued by residents of modern-American towns. Our general hypothesis was that some aspects of the concept of community would be valued by residents in a modern setting but that the actualization of those community aspects would be limited by a variety of material interests.

We selected for our major case a new community, Columbia, Maryland, because both its founders and its residents have been self-consciously addressing the issue of community formation, and because Columbia was designed as a complete community with an employment base,

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residences and a range of institutions and services. We further focused our attention on the Columbia Association (CA), a nonprofit organization which builds, operates and maintains various amenities and provides community services. We considered resident attempts to influence the budget of the CA an appropriate focus for our study, since private values could become effective through this process.

Our research methodology was deliberately open-ended enabling us to examine our subject through different approaches. The CA structure includes separate boards for each village. Our first empirical efforts consisted of participation observation of the Board of the Village of Oakland Mills. We observed regular and special meetings as the Board prepared for hearings and CA Executive Committee decision meetings on the 1975 budget. We also attended the hearings and Executive Committee sessions. Our observations included hours of informal discussions with the Oakland Mills Board members in restaurants after meetings. Since some values are so well accepted that they are never articulated, we followed up our participant observation with lengthy semi-structured interviews of the major participants. We also examined various secondary materials, including several other studies of Columbia. Finally, we further checked the validity of our findings by conducting a brief study of a similar

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new community, Reston, Virginia, to determine whether a similar pattern could be determined. (For further details on methodology, see Chapter VIII.)

The study itself is multi-dimensional in scope, since it considers empirical data relating to relationships at the level of individuals, the small group, the community, and the society. Because the study reflects the complexity inherent in modern communities, it may be useful here to describe its major sections and findings.

In Chapter II, which provides theoretical analysis, we describe findings from the sociological literature on community which we considered as a framework for the empirical part of our study. First, we briefly introduce the distinction between values and interests crucial to our hypothesis. Then we examine the concept of community as set forth by Tönnies, criticisms of Tönnies' work, and amplification of that work by other sociologists. We then examine the historical changes of modernization to which Tönnies was responding in his conceptual efforts. These include urbanization, industrialization and bureaucracy. Having presented the major societal forces which make achievement of community so problematic, we then return to the examination of some alternative definitions of community which may have more relevance to modern conditions than Tönnies' original formulation. We

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conclude Chapter II with an introduction to one of the alternatives to the loss of community, the deliberate planning of new communities. We illustrate how such planning is a continuation rather than a refutation of basic American traditional values. Finally, we briefly examine the reasons for the selection of our major case.

Chapter III, Columbia: An Overview, provides basic data about the new community studied, the CA, the Oakland Mills Village Board, the particular budget process observed, and the community-related concepts which were raised during that process. By the time of this study, Columbia already resembled a town with a population of 35,000, a regional shopping mall, industry, commercial centers, a hospital, schools (including four institutions of higher learning) and a variety of clubs and organizations. The CA had a multi-million dollar budget. Creating Columbia required borrowing substantial sums of money and complex financial and corporate arrangements. These will be summarized briefly, since community processes within Columbia must be understood in the context of Columbia's creation by a private profit-making corporation. In understanding Columbia, it also is necessary to realize that Columbia is not an autonomous incorporated city but an integral part of Howard County and governed

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by its Board of Supervisors. The private CA provided many of the amenities critical to marketing unavailable from the County.

During our initial participant observation, we identified a number of aspects of community which received support from residents. Utilizing those, and certain aspects which we considered relevant from our theoretical reading, we identified six concepts which we examined more thoroughly during the interviews. These form the body of Chapter IV. Since most definitions of community include location in a defined physical territory as a given, we first examine Columbians' attitudes towards evaluation of their community as a physical place, its safety and attractiveness. We discovered that Columbians did not consider it appropriate to utilize the resources of the CA to enhance community safety. They considered the prime objective of the CA to enhance community attractiveness. This was not, however, primarily for aesthetic reasons, although the beauty of Columbia was appreciated. The major reason for utilizing CA resources to promote the attractiveness of Columbia was to enhance property values. We suggest that this emphasis reflects not only a basic value of most Americans, but also the influence of developer-control of the CA and the convergence of interest between the developer and the residents active in CA affairs, almost all of whom

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were homeowners. This concern with the value of property for its monetary exchange possibilities more than its present use probably is increased by the expected mobility of Columbians, most of whom do not expect to remain in their present homes or community indefinitely.

One of the traditional aspects of Gemeinschaft is its homogeneity, and many planners have considered this a necessary ingredient in creating modern community spirit. The next section of Chapter IV addresses the support of Columbians for a different formulation of community. We examine their support for a program designed primarily for black teenagers, many of whom were from the subsidized housing units. From this and other evidence we conclude that Columbians do support the ideal initially stated by the developer of a heterogeneous community. We examine in more depth some of the subtle meanings of the racial aspects of that heterogeneity. We find that while integration is a success in Columbia, the meaning of successful integration is complex and subject to varied interpretations by different participants.

Integration has sometimes facetiously been defined as "that period between the time when the first black moves in and the last white moves out." In contrast, in terms of housing integration, Columbia has been outstandingly successful. The minority population is 20 per cent, compared with nine per cent for Howard

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County as a whole. Another county within the Washington, D. C., metropolitan area which is more comparable to Columbia in income is Montgomery County, which is 89 per cent white and much of this is in concentrated areas. By contrast, Columbia's black population is scattered throughout the community, and resales of houses seem to occur to members of both races on a generally random basis. Further, Columbia has managed to achieve both racial and economic integration simultaneously. Seven per cent of the housing is subsidized, and additional low- and moderate-income families live in nonsubsidized apartment units. Although the subsidized housing has a higher concentration of blacks than other housing, it is 60 per cent white and scattered throughout the community.

Integration in Columbia is also an unqualified success measured in terms of access. Columbia blacks have full use of facilities and services within Columbia and move throughout the community comfortably, with the expectation that they are welcome. Lower-income residents of both races find access limited for economic reasons, but Columbia has made considerable effort to alleviate this restriction through such devices as sliding scales and an earn-a-membership plan.

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In terms of another level of integration, freedom from instances of racism, Columbia blacks probably are better off than elsewhere, except in all-black neighborhoods where they generally are subject to institutional racism of fewer public services delivered to their neighborhood. Instances of racism do occur in Columbia, but they are frowned upon by the majority of the white residents. In some cases, the offenders may not be Columbians but employees of the school system or other external institutions which offer services in Columbia.

There are instances of subtle racism and of simple uncomfortableness and misunderstandings between people who have grown up in different subcultures. Young children of both races reportedly play together freely, teenagers tend to segregate themselves by race rather than by class, and there is a minimum of socializing among adults of different races beyond friendly chatting with neighbors or fellow members of various committees. America's black middle class traditionally has depended upon clubs which combine civic and social purposes for their social life and as sources of prestige, security and mutual aid. (Warren, 1975). Blacks in Columbia have continued this tradition and have formed a number of groups including chapters of national organizations. Nevertheless, the opportunity for socializing with whites exists as well as participation in the Columbia

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organizational structure. The latter is utilized by at least a few blacks and provides an avenue for protecting black interests.

Lynne Burkhart, who conducted a study of race and class in Columbia, concluded that the simultaneous existence of both class and racial integration has strengthened each. The black middle-class will not permit demeaning remarks about the lower class since such remarks often are a euphemism for racial prejudice. Concern with appearing racially prejudiced can also motivate whites to support programs for low income residents of both races. In addition, the existence of low-income residents in the community, recognized by all as a legitimate part of the community, has provided the middle-income black resident with more flexibility in his ability to express aspects of black culture which do not conform to middle-income white tastes. Burkhart interprets the blacks' separateness and occasional hostility not as an indication of the failure of integration but as an expression of their political power to assert their rights as blacks to determine their own standards.

> . . .this is not a cultural struggle over the values of either lower-income or blacks, but a political struggle framed in the cultural metaphor of class. . .the confrontations. . .represent a power struggle not over what is an appropriate life-style, but over who has the right to determine how an individual, or collectivity of individuals, shall conduct his life. (Burkhart, 1975:256).

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What has happened in Columbia is that the community residents have accepted an ideology of a heterogeneous community, based on the basic American belief in equality, rather than the ethos of prestige through exclusiveness and comfortableness through homogeneity.

Having determined that Columbians do not express their feelings about community through the need to relate only to a homogeneous group, we now examine another focus for community, the primary group of the family. Specifically, we had wondered to what extent Columbians utilize the resources of their CA as a means of strengthening the family. Since almost all definitions of community stress its importance as a setting for family activities, we had hypothesized that in a self-conscious community-building effort considerable resources would be devoted to strengthening this institution or to considering seriously alternatives to the faltering nuclear family. We were mistaken. Considerable attention had been devoted to planning Columbia in a manner which enhanced the nuclear family -- one respondent somewhat facetiously commented that "this place was designed for a four-year old." The CA also made major efforts in support of pre-school education. During the reduction of the CA budget, however, early childhood programs were severely reduced. In addition, the other community efforts to support family life, the Family Life Center

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and various women's groups, received extremely limited CA support, and there have been no CA efforts to focus on basic problems of the nuclear family in our society.

From an examination of the family, we turn to the question of psychological identification with the larger community. We examine in detail the types of commitments displayed by members of the Oakland Mills Village Board towards their village and its community center and the community processes which it facilitated. The Board did exhibit strong psychological identification with the village and its members were frustrated by their inability to more completely control the democratic process during the budget allocation process.

The next two sections of Chapter IV consider the question of community control over institutions. We had hypothesized that one aspect of community is the ability to control those institutions which affect community life. We discovered that Columbians were quite concerned about controlling the institution within the community, the CA. They were, however, frustrated by the actual control of that institution by the developer and, ultimately, by the external lenders. In attempting to influence the budget process, the residents suffered from a variety of tactical advantages enjoyed by the developer. Residents did not utilize their CA in a significant manner to influence control of County

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institutions even though they represented considerably larger financial resources and controlled institutions such as schools, which are crucial to residents' lives. Nor did residents focus on other external institutions which provide services in Columbia.

Having considered the various concepts about community which were supported by Columbians, we then begin to examine one of the major findings of the study in Chapter V. We develop what we believe to be a new concept which we have called intimate secondary relationships. We observed such relationships among members of the Oakland Mills Village Board and through interviewing determined that they also exist in other community boards. We also had observed such relationships while working in a similar community in Chicago years ago. In addition, we conducted interviews with persons connected with community work in other cities and nations who reported the occurrence of similar relationships and helped us in further developing the concept.

An intimate secondary relationship is one which has a particular set of characteristics, some of which usually are associated with primary group relationships and some of which are more commonly found in secondary group settings. The characteristics include: (1) warmth, intimacy and sufficient knowledge of a person to know their character, (2) a relative absence of

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socializing, sharing of personal data or acquaintance with the individual's family, (3) a commitment limited in time and scope, (4) a tendency to occur around the conducting of public business in a public place. Such relationships perform the functions of enabling strangers to meet and enjoy some degree of intimacy, yet regulate the amount of contact. We suggest that such relationships are especially important in communities, such as Columbia, where there is significant mobility and heterogeneity. Such relationships also serve functions for a changing family structure. We believe that providing occasions and locations for the formation of such relationships is one of the chief latent benefits of the village boards and the community centers.

In Chapter VI, we examine the community activities and the CA in terms of the support which they provide for the process of community-building. We consider how Columbia and the CA have responded to the processes discussed in our earlier theoretical chapter, namely, urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization. We conclude that while the CA has provided some important support for community psychological identification and has facilitated formation of friendships and intimate secondary relationships, on the whole its resources have been utilized primarily as a means of enhancing the property values of the community. Despite the CA's

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multi-million dollar expenditures, problems such as family tension and drug abuse were addressed only through private individuals or nonprofit organizations scrounging for foundation grants and other funding, just as in communities where community organizations have no financial resources.

Although there is considerable convergence of interest between residents, especially the resident leaders who are homeowners, and the developer, this convergence of interests does not entirely account for the directions taken by the CA. Those also have been influenced by the CA's original establishment as a parks and recreation association and its continued control by the developer and ultimately by external lenders. Thus, regardless of community support for various values about community, in cases of conflict between those values and material interests, the material interests will prevail.

Finally, in Chapter VII we briefly examine how the concepts identified as valuable to Columbia residents were supported by another similar community, Reston, Virginia. The community association there is even more reflective of material interests and protective of property values, probably because it is a homeowners' association rather than a more inclusive structure and because it lacks strong village associations. In terms of supporting the family and a heterogeneous population, the

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Reston community association was even less active than Columbia's. Finally, we identify many of the same complexities of a successful racial and class integration in Reston which we have observed in Columbia. Our concluding section contrasts these approaches to community with those of communities planned in a more utopian fashion. Utopian communities generally have concerned themselves more directly and forcefully with the major societal changes as discussed in the theoretical section. They have addressed problems of industrialization through withdrawal from industry or restructuring work, problems of changing family relationships through restructuring the family and carefully controlling the socialization of children, and problems of bureaucracy through creating alternative patterns of authority.

Even though the residents of new communities have not concerned themselves with implementing community concepts to the same extent as residents of utopian communities, some aspects of community are valued, yet become difficult to implement because of conflicting material interests. The dynamics of community building are not simple. This study addresses a series of contradictions among values as well as between values and interests. Nor are the motivations of individuals or organizations singular. Rouse, the developer of Columbia, both wanted to make a profit and build a better community. Statements by CA staff

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and the developer about community values can be both sincere and adept public positions. The architectural review committees both protect the property values and enable residents to affect the actions of their neighbors in more of a Gemeinschaft-like fashion than if their only recourse were to the courts. In addition, communities change over time, and Columbia has changed significantly even since this study was begun. There have been suggestions that as Columbia and Reston become more established, the new residents do not know or care about the original values. This is something that only additional research can determine. Our study only indicates some of the dynamics of community formation during a particular time span.

Although we have not discovered immense concerns with conscious utilization of community resources for affecting changes in a number of major aspects of community and societal life, we have found that residents do value certain aspects of community. The findings of this study further illustrate the complexity of the meanings of community in modern American life. The discovery of intimate secondary relationships represents an adaptation to mobility, to changing values and family structures, and to heterogeneity. We believe that the complexity of the racial and class integration in Reston and Columbia indicates that the meaning of successful integration is not singular but occurs at several

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different levels at different rates and with different meanings and implications. As some of the relationships exhibited are not wholly primary nor wholly secondary, so the integration observed is an adaptation to a new community pattern not entirely homogeneous nor entirely heterogeneous in actual relationships. Finally, the developer, the residents and the community association have created a mix of values and of interests, of increased corporate control and of some avenues for development of community spirit. Thus, along a number of dimensions, this study explores the changing meanings of community.

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CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

The Concepts of Values and Interests

Neil Smelser (1962:24) defines values as "generalized ends. . . which provide the broadest guides to purposive social behavior." They "state in general terms the desirable end states. . . ." (Smelser, 1962:25). Norms are "the regulatory rules governing the pursuit of these goals." (Smelser, 1962:24). Interests focus on protecting or furthering special advantages for the individual or a group with which he identifies. (Neal, 1965:9).

The relationship between values and interests has been a central debate within sociology. Dahrendorf (1968:129-151) traces it back to the debate between Socrates and Thrasymachus in Plato's Republic. It was central to Weber's dialogue with Marx and, most recently, between functionalists and conflict theorists. Briefly, the central questions revolve around whether society is held together because it is in the interest of men to act in ways which maximize the overall values of society, and they are willing to subordinate their personal individual or group welfare or whether society is held

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together by constraint and power, with the values of society merely being rationalizations for the individual and group interests of the powerful.

The first position assumes an underlying consensus on values, the second assumes an underlying conflict of interests. The first assumes that systems tend toward self-regulating equilibria and tend to address drastic social change as both disruptive and caused by intrusions into the system. (Parsons, 1962, Bendix and Lipset, 1966: 47-72.) The second assumes that stability is created either by direct restraint on those who would otherwise naturally assert their own interests, or indirectly through socialization of the less powerful into believing that it is appropriate for them to have less power and resources than the powerful. (Dahrendorf, 1959 and 1968; Marx, 1969.) In one case values are the expression of an underlying consensus, in the other they are a means of maintaining the status quo despite an underlying conflict. The first position stresses ideas of status and reward to those who fulfill the positions necessary for maintaining society's functions, the second stresses ideas of class. (Neal, 1965; Gouldner, 1970, Merton, 1967.)

The above positions have relevance for a study of the meaning of community today from several angles. As

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will be explored more fully in the next section, for many authors the term "community" implies the assumptions of the first position. Dahrendorf mentioned the continuance of the debate in the nineteenth-century between "a Socratic Gemeinschaft and a Thrasymachean Gesellschaft" (1968:136). Today, many of the values being expressed in conjunction with new communities reflect a nostalgia for Gemeinschaft.

In addition, as will also be discussed later, many of the underlying assumptions of new community planning are reflective of underlying trends in American intellectual history which have tended to favor the first position. It is the purpose of this study to shed light on which community values are considered relevant by planners and residents; to examine whether the rules which supposedly implement such values actually do so or whether they support others, perhaps conflicting values; and finally, what interests are being served. As in a study of priests' reaction to social change by Neal (1965), we do not primarily attempt to determine which general sociological position is correct, but will concentrate on specifying under what conditions actors maximize interests and values. This study will demonstrate which are the crucial interests and values about community and what are some of the conditions are under which they are being maximized.

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The Concept of Community

Tönnies

The most famous definition of community is that of Ferdinand Tönnies, who distinguished between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. (Tönnies, 1963). Tönnies' concepts have been widely used and abused, partially because he employs them to refer to three different conceptual categories and partially because readers have frequently ignored their status as ideal types. Tönnies, himself, says quite clearly that the concepts are scientific conceptualizations to be utilized in understanding, not exact descriptions of any specific empirical reality. In discussing associations, for example, he calls "all kinds of association in which natural will predominates Gemeinschaft, all those which are formed and fundamentally conditioned by rational will, Gesellschaft. . . . The essence of both Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft is found interwoven in all kinds of associations, ..." (Tönnies, 1963:249). Similarly, in discussing the historical change in society from Gemeinschaft-like to Gesellschaft-like conditions. Tönnies did not mean to imply that attributes of Gesellschaft would not be found in a predominately Gemeinschaft society or vice versa. Part of the confusion has come from his use of the terms

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in connection with a type of will, a type of social grouping, and a type of society.

Tönnies distinguishes between natural will and rational will. Natural will is that which evolves naturally as the individual child grows. It includes his ability to perceive and conceptualize, but within a framework and spirit of intuitive understanding rather than of calculation. Rational will describes the ability to imagine the results of a series of possible actions and measure the potential action solely in terms of its effect on the result. (Tönnies, 1963:104). The means are considered only in terms of the end. There is a further distinction between rational will which is "as clearly conscious as possible" and intellectual will which "gets along well with subconscious motives which lie deep in man's nature and at the base of his natural will. . ." (Tönnies, 1963:247). Although Tönnies acknowledges that rational will exists in Gemeinschaft settlements, not only is it more prominent in Gesellschaft settlements, but also, "Gesellschaft makes such a condition general and necessary." (Tönnies, 1963:170). Part of the difference between natural and rational will is in the perception of other human beings as being connected with the essence of oneself and, therefore, perceived with an underlying good will, or perception of other human beings as being totally separate from one's

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own essence and perceived with an underlying distrust if not outright hostility.

Tönnies distinguishes human groupings on the basis of the type of will which underlies their unity. "All intimate, private and exclusive living together. . .is understood as life in Gemeinschaft (community). Gesellschaft (society) is public life. . . ." (Tönnies, 1963: 33). He states that ". . .the theory of Gemeinschaft starts from the assumption of perfect unity of human wills as an original or natural condition. . . ." (Tönnies, 1963:37). He discusses the natural interdependence of mother and child, husband and wife, members of a rural neighborhood, and friends linked through common interests and mutual understanding.

In contrast,

> The theory of Gesellschaft deals with the artificial construction of an aggregate of human beings which superficially resembles the Gemeinschaft in so far as the individuals live and dwell together peacefully. However, in the Gemeinschaft they remain essentially united in spite of all separating factors, whereas in the Gesellschaft they are essentially separated in spite of all uniting factors . . .as contrasted with the Gemeinschaft, we find no actions that can be derived from any prior and necessarily existing unity; no actions, therefore, which manifest the will and the spirit of the unity even if performed by the individual; no actions which, in so far as they are performed by the individual, take place on behalf of those united with him. In the Gesellschaft such actions do not exist. On the contrary, here everybody is by himself and isolated, and there exists a condition of tension against all others. . . . (Tönnies, 1963:64-65).

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The types of groupings characteristics of Gesellschaft are those based on barter and contract: the marketplace, the city, the state.

Finally, Tönnies uses the terms to describe historical periods in which either Gemeinschaft or Gesellschaft types of human groups and expressions of human will were more prominent. "To conclude our theory, two periods stand thus contrasted with each other in the history of the great systems of culture: a period of Gesellschaft follows a period of Gemeinschaft." (Tönnies, 1963:231). The earlier period is characterized by family life with concord, rural village life with folkways and mores, and town life controlled by religion through the church. The later period is characterized by city life with convention, national life with legislation controlled by the state and cosmopolitan life controlled by scholars through public opinion.

Criticisms and Amplifications of Tönnies

Tönnies' concepts have been criticized for being simplistic, misleading, and inaccurate, perhaps partly by users who ignored their complexity or their ideal type nature. The fact that the first English edition of Community and Society was published in 1957 may have contributed to the confusion which is inherent in his discussion. Nevertheless, his sentiments are clearly on the

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side of Gemeinschaft, as may be gleaned from the passages quoted above. His ideal types are not value free. They contain different conceptions of the basic nature of man: Gemeinschaft equals cooperative and concerned with the general welfare and Gesellschaft equals individualistic and selfish.

Although Tönnies' analysis revolves around the question of what values are being maximized in different circumstances, he largely ignores the question of whose interests are being served. Although he seems to recognize that authority can be based on fear as well as on respect (Tönnies, 1963:39-49), he is not very concerned with this since he seems to believe that there will be natural limits to abuse of power because of the mutual concerns inherent in Gemeinschaft.

> These inequalities can be increased only to a certain limit, however, because beyond this limit the essence of the Gemeinschaft as the unity of unequal beings would be dissolved: In case the superiors' legal power would become too great, their relation to the common sphere of right would become indifferent and without value, and the inferiors' legal power would become too small and their relationship thereto unreal and insignificant. (Tönnies, 1963:46). (Underlining is the present author's.)

Thus, by a trick of definition, the problems of abuse of power in Gemeinschaft are resolved, since a Gemeinschaft in which power is abused is no longer Gemeinschaft.

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In a similar manner, Tönnies' discussion of the nature of women is merely a collection of stereotypes:

> In the dance the passionate, graceful, and purposeless movements, which if subjected to conscious attention would tire one to death, are developed naturally in the feminine nurture of the daughters. They also easily learn meaningless gentle things as well as meaningful strange things. . .which are always the weapons of the weaker sex. . .how averse trade must be to the feminine mind and nature. . . . (Tönnies, 1963:163-65:193).

There is no discussion of how the values of the Gemeinschaft might have been used to inculcate upon those of inferior status their own limitations and necessity of using their skills to serve the interests of others.

At least in his Community and Society, Tönnies considers only the negative aspects of individualism, the idea of dog-eat-dog. He does not consider any of the myriad roots of individualism in either the Greek humanistic concept of the dignity of man or the Protestant reformation.

In addition to the limitations of his analysis mentioned above, Tönnies does not carefully distinguish the different possibilities that might arise from clustering different elements in his types. His clustering presents polar types, one of which is rural, pre-capitalistic, pre-industrial, valuing the group rather than the individual, held together by cooperation, utilizing sanctions of censure or internalized shame. The other

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clustering is urban, capitalistic, industrial, and held together by contract utilizing legal sanctions. Research has shown that all pre-industrial groups do not share the idealistic, warm group life imputed to Gemeinschaft, but display competitiveness, hostility, and mental illness. (Bernard, 1973:92-96). Other studies have explored the prevalence of Gemeinschaft relations within cities and even within formal organization. (Gans, 1962; Blau, 1971).

There have been other conceptual attempts to categorize the historical changes through polar types some of which parallel or further amplify Tönnies' concepts. Sorokin's familistic and contractual relationships correspond to Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. Familistic relationships involve mutual love and unlimited participation while contractual relationships are limited to narrow aspects of the participants' lives, are self-centered, and utilitarian. Cooley discussed the family, children's play groups and old-fashioned neighborhoods as primary groups with an unspecialized nature, relative permanence, and face-to-face meetings among a small number of relatively intimate participants. (Tönnies, 1963).

Durkheim has described the changes in society as a movement from conditions of mechanical solidary to organic solidary. In the first, society was homogeneous

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and bound together by a common system of beliefs and sentiments, the collective conscience. In the second, a heterogeneous group was held together by the interdependence of its parts and a different type of collective conscience, egoistic or altruistic order. Redfield contrasted urban society with folk society, which is homogeneous, isolated, nonliterate, with a strong sense of solidarity, simple technology, little division of labor, strong kinship ties and a sacred attitude towards acts and objects. Becker further elaborated on the distinction between societies characterized by a sacred approach towards life and secular societies. He provided subtypes which can be used in analyzing the processes of secularization or sacrilization. (Tönnies, 1963).

Another author who recognized the limitations of polar types is Parsons who amplified on Tönnies' Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft in his famous pattern variables. They include:

1. Affectivity versus affective neutrality: which refers to whether immediate self gratification or its deferment is expected.

2. Specificity versus diffuseness: which refers to whether the scope of a relationship is narrow, like that between a bureaucrat and his client, or broad and inclusive as between a mother and her child or between spouses.

3. Universalism versus particularism: which refers to whether action is governed by generalized standards (equal opportunity) or in terms of a reference scheme peculiar to the actors in the relationship (e.g. neoptism).

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> 4. Quality versus performance (also called ascription versus achievement): which refers to whether the characterization of each actor by the others is based on who or what the person is or what he can do, on whether he is the son of a duke (ascription) or a college graduate (achievement). (Bell and Newby, 1973:26; Parsons, 1962).

The fifth pattern variable is self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation which refers to whether the role expectation is that the individual is permitted to act according to his own private interests or whether he is obligated to give priority to the values and interests of the group. (Parsons, 1962:81).

Individuals and institutions in modern America tend to exhibit or demand specificity, universalism, performance, affective neutrality and permit if not encourage a considerable amount of self-orientation. Thus, the bureaucrat is selected for his job on the basis of qualifications rather than personal relations or kinship with incumbents and he is expected to treat all clients according to rules which apply to them all. His relationships tend to be limited to specific tasks with each individual and he is not suppose to let emotions determine his actions towards the individual. Similarly, in urbanized communities, much behavior is governed by bureaucratic rules and relationships are frequently restricted to specific tasks performed with little personal rapport or knowledge.

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Nevertheless, the opposite variables are manifest in certain circumstances and relationships and combinations of the variables are also possible. In terms of this study, we shall explore what conscious effort, if any, is being made to create a community setting where certain of the opposite variables more typically connected with Gemeinschaft can be manifest.

Concepts of Community and Historical Trends

The purpose of this section is to place the discussion about community in a historical context. It addresses the same historical set of conditions which concerned Tönnies and which created the movement from Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. It will consider further meanings of community which are not synonymous with Tönnies' polar clustering of pre-capitalistic, rural and pre-industrial characteristics or Parson's pattern variables. Let us consider some major long-term societal changes affecting the values and interests which have been maximized under different historical conditions: urbanization, industrialization, bureaucratization.

Urbanization

Major effects of urbanization on community have been seen in the impact of size per se, the increased

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interdependency with non-community areas, and the increased importance of the societal value system on residents.

Simmel and Wirth have been among the most important analysts of the impact of size and other concomitant variables. Simmel, in his famous "The Metropolis and Mental Life" discusses the impact of the "intensification of nervous stimulation" upon the psychology of urban man claiming that it causes him to react "with his head instead of his heart." (Wolff, 1950:410).

Combined with the use of a money economy, the effect is to cause the urban man to become more calculating since he is no longer a part of a "small circle in which the inevitable knowledge of individuality as inevitably produces a warmer tone of behavior, a behavior which is beyond a mere objective balancing of service and return," (Wolff, 1950:411). The increasing size also forces an emphasis on punctuality and exactness, impersonality and, finally, a blasé attitude. There is an increase of personal freedom and potential for creativity. Wirth describes the changes in terms of a shift from primary to secondary relationships, as urbanites meet in highly segmental roles for utilitarian purposes. He also stresses the importance of heterogeneity. (Wirth, 1938). For Simmel the individual's response to the number and diversity of people and impersonality of his surroundings

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is to stress and develop the unique and particular in himself. Thus, overwhelmed by size, diversity and the responses demanded in a monetary economy and from secondary relationships, man is left alienated from his surroundings, his fellow man and his own inner self.

There have been sociological statistical documentations of differences between urban and nonurban dwellers, ranging from differences in family composition, in suicide, in rates of mental illness, and even in death from lung cancer. Not all of these, of course, are necessarily due solely to size. The reaction against size has been expressed in much of the recent urban reform efforts and literature, including demands for decentralization of city services. These, however, are reactions against the depersonalization of bureaucratization and racism as well as against the autonomy of size per se.

Part of the movement to the suburbs has been considered as a desire to return to smaller, more intimate communities. The smaller size of the suburban setting also, of course, facilitates a homogeneity of class, race and family stage which may be of more importance in choice than size. The model used for the neighborhood in many new communities is the early twentieth century Perry concept of sufficient homes to produce children for an elementary school. By law as

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well as ideological tenet, new communities built under the Federal program, called Title VII new communities, must contain a diverse population. There has been considerable debate among staff and developers about the best methods of creating diversity without hurting marketability. Various limits have been placed on the number of dwelling units which could be built without economic diversity. Interestingly enough, the exact number permitted was not influenced by sociological data, (partly because there were none immediately available) but by the economics and business methods of the building industry, where a builder generally buys a large number of lots and builds houses of a similar design. The number of lots a builder will generally want to buy in one clump was known, the number of children of substantially different economic backgrounds who could be successfully absorbed into the same area was not known. Therefore, the needs of builders tended to carry more weight.

The second aspect of urbanization, caused by the specialization which is a part of both urbanization and industrialization, is the extent to which communities are self-sufficient or dependent upon outside areas. This is, of course, a matter of degree. The pre-historic Indians of Ohio Valley utilized copper from the Upper Michigan peninsula. Typically, however, the rural village was largely self-sufficient. Although new

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communities in America often attempt to include industry, commerce and a complete system of social and cultural institutions within the new community, none is self-sufficient.

Roland Warren has described a "great change" which has been occurring in American life with "the increasing orientation of local community units toward extracommunity systems of which they are a part, with a corresponding decline in community cohesion and autonomy." (Warren, 1963:53). The change has occurred through increased division of labor, differentiation of interests and association, greater systemic relationships to the larger society, bureaucratization and impersonalization, transfer of functions to profit enterprises and to government, urbanization and suburbanization and changing values. He distinguishes between the community's vertical pattern as "the structural and functional relation of its various social units and subsystems to extra-community systems" and its horizontal pattern or "the structural and functional relation of its various social units and subsystems to each other." (Warren, 1963: 161-162). In a new community the local school district and local welfare department might have horizontal relations with each other but would have stronger vertical relations with various State and Federal departments. The developer himself will have important vertical commitments

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to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and to various financial institutions.

The third factor of urbanization, combined with the increased technological efficiency of both transportation and communication, is the impact of societal values and institutional systems on the locality. A new community is not only related to a nearby city for an economic market but also dependent upon national conditions of recession or prosperity for economic survival since these conditions influence such crucial factors as the availability of mortgage money, interest rates and people's feelings of economic security. In addition, the attitudes of the new communities' residents towards work and leisure probably tend to be shaped by the changes in the national culture rather than by conditions in the new community. To date, despite a Congressional mandate to innovate, none of the Title VII new communities has included anything that was innovative in the sense of not having been tried in other communities. There is considerable visiting by developers of other new communities, as well as discussions with a nationally based staff with access to free national telephone contacts with all the new communities: there is also a national organization of new community developers which has held regular workships and published a newsletter. The Federal government staff generally feels obligated

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to utilize the best of national professional standards in judging an application. Although there is considerable discussion about making each community unique to fit the special needs of that locality and its residents, both the proposals themselves and the final plans are remarkably similar. It is, however, not merely that the developers and HUD are imposing a model on the new community. The potential buyers are remarkably similar, since they are participants in a national culture. The proposals and plans reflect national rather than local trends and fads. Ecology is in. Racial integration is no longer a major factor of discussion. No one is proposing facilities for communal child rearing.

Industrialization, "Post-Industrialization and Bureaucracy"

Whereas Simmel stressed the alienation of man caused by urbanization, Marx stressed the result of industrialization under capitalism. Labor is "the worker's own life-activity, the manifestation of his own life." (Marx, 1969:75). When he sells his labor to another to secure means of subsistence he has turned himself into a commodity. "He does not even reckon labour as part of his life, it is rather a sacrifice of his life." (Marx, 1969:75). Marx contrasts this to the feelings of the craftsman for his tools and his use product. The industrial worker lacks the ability to control his tools, the

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disposition of his product and the shaping of a piece of work into a meaningful whole. The latter aspect of alienation of the worker has recently been addressed by a number of writers and some industries advocating humanization of work through restructuring so that a group of workers can produce an entire product.

David Riesman discussed another aspect of alienation in the relationship between modern man and his work. (Riesman, 1950). Basically, Riesman suggests that increasingly with the growth of bureaucracy and shifts from primary industrial production, the worker is less concerned with manipulating machines and more involved with manipulating other people. This affects the type of personality demanded and supported by the present work environment with a decrease in autonomy needed and an increase in sensitivity to others. The worker becomes other-directed.

Another effect of industrialization has been the shift from the extended family and the growth of nuclear families, smaller families, and more isolated individuals separated from any family unit through nonmarriage, divorce or death of spouse. A recent article by Eli Zaretsky, "Capitalism, the Family, and Personal Life," discusses in detail the division between work, defined as that which occurs outside the home for wages, and personal life, defined as that which occurs within the

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home and the sphere of influence of women and children. The family becomes not an integral part of economic existence, with contributions by each member of the family to its economy, but an area for personal satisfaction and expression. (Zaretsky, 1973). This leads to an anomaly where care of the sick is work only if it is not for a member in the family's own home. Women's groups have recently been engaged in debates about volunteerism, with the National Organization for Women stating that the willingness of women to perform vital societal functions as volunteers prevents society from rewarding those tasks with proper wages and status. (N.O.W., 1974). This devaluation of women's home activities has implications for analysing the activities in a new community, since community life may be considered an extension of home life, a sphere for relaxation but not related to progress in one's serious life work.

Another aspect of industrialization has been the increase in prosperity, leisure and availability of consumer goods. The new communities reflect these facts, especially in the emphasis of their community associations on provision of recreational facilities.

The increased mobility which is both a part of and necessity for present American production, affects community in a variety of ways. Whyte, in his The Organization Man, talked about the young mobile executives,

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examples of Riesman's other-directed men, who considered their community as a temporary resting place while they prepared for the next promotion. (Whyte, 1957). The skyrocketing prices of houses in Columbia, Maryland, and other new communities may encourage people to consider their homes not as places where they sink roots, but as financial investments to be temporarily enjoyed before being turned in for a new and better model.

Major effects of industrialization, therefore, include alienation of worker from his work, from his fellow-workers and from his family, an acceptance of geographical and personal mobility and increased emphasis on leisure. In terms of new communities, the question becomes to what extent they reflect, promote, or take action to counterbalance these trends.

The growth of bureaucracy which is often concomitant with growth of industry, has separate effects. Weber discusses this not only as a form of organization which demands certain types of behavior of its participants, but also addresses the underlying authority system. He traces a shift from acceptance of authority on the basis of tradition to acceptance on the basis of legality. The fundamental categories of rational legal authority include a continuous organization bound by rules, specified sphere of competence, hierarchy, a technically trained staff, separation of staff from

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ownership of the means of production, formal recording of official acts, and absence of appropriation of his official position by the incumbent (that is, the office and its benefits belong to the office rather than to the person of the individual occupying that office). The essence of bureaucracy is a "spirit of formalistic impersonality." (Merton, 1952:27).

For the purposes of this study, the process of bureaucratization has two implications. The first is that most of the members of a new community participate regularly in bureaucracies as students or workers and that their other activities, such as grocery shopping or obtaining health care, are increasingly controlled by bureaucracies as well. This probably affects their personalities and probably increases the emphasis on the personalization of family discussed by Zaretsky, since few other areas of modern life are free from the formalism of bureaucracy. This may influence both individuals' choice of facilities and amenities which they desire for the new community and the type of participation they seek in the community association and other groups. On the other hand, the very process of creating a new community is a formal, planned activity. In addition, control tends to move from an original dynamic individual to a corporation, with final decisions on major matters being made by government officials or bankers far removed

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from the daily activities of the community. Indeed, the entire process of new community building could be seen as a rationalization of land allocation with careful cost benefit analysis. One aspect of the research will be to examine to what extent the residents and/or their community association also approach community life in such a rationalistic fashion.

The effect of the three trends, industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization, is to stress the rational aspects of life -- the Gesellschaft rather than the Gemeinschaft -- and the development of skills and abilities necessary for secondary rather than primary relationships including impersonality and other-directed adaptability. The values stressed included impersonality "fairness," monetary rewards, rationality and adaptability. It is relevant to examine the new community to determine where, in these terms, various expressed goals lie, and where actions of the community association and other actors take place. Which values are being maximized, and whose interests are being served? Do the values being maximized differ in a new community situation from those generally prevalent in this industrialized, urbanized, bureaucratized, consumer-oriented society? Does the new community address the issues of alienation from work raised by

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Marx or Riesman, the reactions to size and heterogeneity raised by Wirth and Simmel, the meaning and value of family or the increasing bureaucratization of modern life?

Alternative Definitions of Community

Multiplicity of Definitions

Besides the terms discussed so far, there have been a number of amplifications of Tönnies' concepts and other definitions of community. Indeed, sociologists have been studying the question of community for centuries without settling on a single definition. (Bernard, 1973; Nisbet, 1966; Warren, 1966). Hillery found 94 different definitions of community. (Hillery, 1955). After a comparative study of ten communities, he listed 19 traits which occurred frequently, then concluded that the only three common in all examples studied were the family unit, a territorial base, and some form of cooperative activities. (Hillery, 1968). Other traits included in many definitions were shared values, lack of role segmentation and shared functional interdependence.

Jessie Bernard's The Sociology of Community discusses several models including the ecological model which concerns itself with the distribution of different types of activities, like industry or housing, in the

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city and the resulting effects on residents; a model which traces the status structure of the community; and the power structure model concerned with the identification of the power structure. (Bernard, 1973). In his book, Community in America, Roland Warren (1963) discusses the community as space, as people, as shared institutions and values, as interaction, and as a social system. He suggests that most definitions include a specific geographic space where people are clustered, have shared psychological concerns, attitudes, or values, and have shared interests and behavior patterns. In considering the community as interaction, Warren is concerned with action which occurs at a local level in the context of community concerns, as opposed to behavior which, while occurring at the same geographic location, affects mainly individuals or extracommunity systems. The post office is an example of a national system which provides services to individuals at a community level without becoming involved in interactions within that community.

All these different approaches are addressing the problem of the definition of "community" in an industrial society. If the word "community" is not synonymous with the ideal type of Gemeinschaft, what is it, and does it exist in today's society?

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In 1963, Warren believed that, despite the increasing vertical orientation of American communities, there was a sense in which the concept was still valid. He defined community as "that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance." (Warren, 1963:136). By that he meant functions needed in day-to-day living, including production-distribution-consumption, socialization, social control, social participation, and mutual support. Warren distinguished communities according to the extent that they have autonomy, the extent to which the service areas of local units such as churches or schools are co-terminous, the extent of psychological identification by residents with the community and the strength of the community's horizontal pattern.

A different question about communities of limited liability arises in relation to special purpose communities, such as military bases, as well as the recently constructed leisure worlds for the elderly, or suburban bedroom communities. For the purposes of this study, "community," unless specifically stated otherwise, will mean a territorial area where there are both residences and places of work, a range of age groups, and some attempt to achieve territorially-based interactions. This is contrary to some of the new thinking about community discussed in the next section.

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Recently, Warren has questioned whether the geographic based community has major relevance in today's society. (Warren, 1974). Suzanne Keller has stated that the neighborhood community is of relevance only for the elderly, housebound mothers and small children. (Keller, 1968). Toffler, among others, points out that a businessman may have far more affinity to his colleagues across the continent, with whom he meets regularly and talks frequently over the telephone, than with his next door neighbors. (Toffler, 1970). Melvin Webber has also questioned the relevance of territoriality for community today. (Webber, 1970).

In an article, "Order in Diversity: Community Without Propinquity," the author suggests that the chief advantage of propinquity is reduction in the time/energy/money costs of communication, therefore, geographical propinquity becomes increasingly less important with technological advances in transportation and communication. (Webber, 1970). One function of territorial community is facilitation of interactions through reduction of communication/transportation costs. This function may be more important to some residents, such as young children and their mothers, than to others, such as high-income businessmen.

In an analysis of the various current approaches to community, Marcia Effrat discusses two non-spatial

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approaches to society. The former considers community as the individual's personal system of interrelationships, explored through social network theory or voluntary organizational memberships. The latter includes community of interests, such as professional or occupational relationships or memberships in a minority group such as an ethnic or deviant group. (Effrat, 1973).

Israel Rubin suggests that the ability to serve as an intermediary between the family and the larger society is a key aspect of community. He quotes Durkheim as having stressed the necessity for intermediary bodies and notes that Durkheim suggested that territorial ties were weakening. (Rubin, 1969). In fact, Durkheim suggested the potential importance of intermediary groups based on industries. (Durkheim, 1964, pp. 1-3).

Rubin rejects the assumption that necessary functions of a community are to provide for daily needs of individuals, help preserve the culture and society, or provide specialized services, since these functions do not have to occur at a community level. He sees no reason why a community needs to include family or religious behavior and have a diffuse rather than a specific structure. He states that the elements of a community today would be intermediate size; presence of

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significant primary and secondary interaction; key institutional setting, that is involving an important aspect of life; relative stability, that is, the community persists over time and individuals spend a significant part of their adult life there; and concreteness, not merely a community of interests. Rubin's article is provocative. He does not, however, indicate a setting for this type of community.

Continued Relevance of Territory? Importance of Other Traits of Community? Questions Raised.

The sociologically interesting questions is not to what extent the elusive concept of "community" is valid or invalid as a theoretical construct, or even to what extent a particular geographic area is or is not a "community," but rather what has happened to the interactions of individuals and groups traditionally considered to occur in community settings and to the functions which traditionally were considered to be performed there? Do residents still want these interactions or functions to occur at a local community level, are these or other interactions and functions occurring at a community level, and do residents make conscious choices to support certain functions or interactions at a community level? An exploration of these questions involves an attempt to sort out the different dimensions of

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"community" and will involve an examination of the relationship between these dimensions and territory.

In considering the problem, it seems relevant to attempt to divide community dimensions into three categories: a physical environment category, an institutional dispersal category, and an interaction category. The physical environment category includes those aspects inherently connected with a territorial base, physical objects such as land and buildings, their design and relationship to each other. In this sense, the territorial community is first of all a place in which people move as biological beings in relationship to physical environment. But it also includes the effects of that environment on interpersonal relations and values about that physical environment. Relevant questions become the physical attractiveness of the community, the types of visual and other aesthetic relationships it embodies, the types of interactions it encourages, and the types of symbolic attachments which it evokes. It would also include design aspects affecting safety and the physical attributes affecting property values. (Effrat, 1973; Newman, 1972; Hillery, 1968).

The second category covers the fact that people residing in the same area are to some extent treated similarly by certain institutions, such as police, fire protection agencies, public schools, and supermarkets.

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Different institutions have different catchment areas, certain individuals may not be considered eligible for the services of an institution located in or serving their area, and individuals may choose to forego geographic convenience and utilize institutional services located outside their immediate geographic community. Nevertheless, in some measure, residents sharing geographic propinquity share common institutional services. (Warren, 1963).

Institutions and individuals differ in terms of the degree to which the former locate in the territorial community primarily for convenience. Examples would be a post office, industry, or a supermarket chain. The concern of such organizations for the territory would be limited to concerns for aspects of the first category; i.e., that as a place the territory was safe, attractive, had good transportation and so forth. (Warren, 1963).

Institutions located in a community merely for convenience would probably be highly vertically integrated and react with individuals and other institutions at the territorial community level only to the extent necessary to achieve institutional goals formulated elsewhere. This may be true even when the institution did not select a location in the community for convenience, like a school system which simply includes the community in its administrative area. Developers of

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new communities have found that the only way to influence the education offered in the territory of the new community is to create institutional change throughout the entire school district in which the new community is located. (Clinchy, 1972).

Institutions located within or serving the new community differ not only in the degree to which they are subject to control on Warren's vertical continuum, that is by business headquarters located elsewhere or state or Federal regulations, but also the degree to which they are receptive to establishing horizontal relations with other institutions offering services in the same territory. Do the school and library systems, for example, share or duplicate services? Do the schools and drug counseling programs cooperate or conflict? Do agencies provide referrals to appropriate experts?

A third way in which institutions may differ in their relationship to community is the extent to which the services offered in a community offer significantly different approaches to societal problems or basic societal problems or basic societal institutional arrangements. As we shall discuss later, efforts to create new communities in Israel embodied attempts to restructure major societal institutions, including the family and the economy.

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The third category, which might be called the interaction category, includes actors whose presence is relevant because of interactions with other actors. For example, the relevance of a grandmother who lives in the territorial community is not the addition of one more biophysical actor or the fact that transportation costs to visit her are lowered, but that her presence allows maintenance of a primary group family relationship. The territorial community may or may not serve as the physical locale for a variety of important interaction patterns and functions. It also may be important as a focus for a psychological sense of identity, a feeling which will presumably be enhanced if either the community is the locale for other relevant activities of the individual or if it serves other psychological needs, such as the need for status.

In terms of planned communities, we face the important question as to what extent and in what ways the planning has facilitated interaction of individuals within the territorial new community and what types of interactions have been enhanced? To what extent have the planners been able to achieve any identification of the major functional institutions relevant for "community" life with the territorial base of the new community? To what extent have the physical attributes

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been designed to promote attractiveness, safety, or other community values?

This raises related questions about the types of integration which are feasible or desirable for an individual and for his community. We are talking about integration at several levels including those of the socio-emotional balance of the individual, the neighborhood and institutions. At the individual level one type of integration, which formerly occurred at least theoretically in the "traditional" community, was the opportunity to have interactions with other human beings without undue role segmentation. This does not mean that individuals did not play different roles and relate to other individuals accordingly, but that interaction at least would be with persons who had some comprehension of the various aspects of the actor's personality and the varied roles he was expected to play. This type of relationship traditionally occurs in primary groups. The ideal type primary group would be the traditional family where members would be familiar with all of a person's activities and role obligations. Assuming that this type of whole knowledge is desirable, is it possible in today's split-level family, where the classified nature of the husband's work may prohibit his discussing it with his family or their even visiting his place of work? Another locus for primary groups has been the neighborhood.

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Numerous authors have claimed, however, that the primary group nature of the neighborhood is the result of the overlapping nature of the various roles of the individuals who live there, rather than vice versa. (Hillery, 1968).

Many new communities use as their basic geographic unit the neighborhood unit plan, which provides for approximately 5,000 persons separated from other areas by greenways, with an elementary school as the physical and symbolic community center. The original design assumed that primary group relations would develop, since the persons would be homogeneous in income, other socio-economic characteristics and life style. Recently there has been considerable debate in planning circles as to the desirability of socio-economic integration at a neighborhood level and on whether neighborhoods do serve any meaningful purpose. (Perloff, 1973; Keller, 1968).

In terms of this study, crucial questions are whether residents or other agents involved in the process choose to support the growth of any of these potential aspects of "community" in their territory. Do they use their resources of time, energy and money to promote their community as a physical place, as a place for primary group relations, as a place for convenient location of institutional services, assertion of local control over institutional service delivery, coordination of institutional services, or utilization

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of institutions for new approaches to societal problems?

The previous discussion has demonstrated the complexity and vagueness of community-related concepts and their different uses by different authors. The following discussion may help to summarize and clarify what has been presented in this section and will indicate the direction of the research effort.

When discussing community or certain aspects of it, it is frequently difficult to determine whether the discussant is referring to a definition, an empirical fact, a value, or a place where something valued can occur. For example: (1) a community is a place where something exists or occurs (a definition); (2) something exists or occurs in this place (an empirical fact which may or may not imply that this place meets the definition of a community); (3) what is valued about the concept of community or a particular community is that it is (by definition) a place where certain things occur such as having warm relations with others; (4) a particular community is valued because certain things do occur there although they do not necessarily have to. For example, as will be discussed further on, residents of Columbia, Maryland, wanted democratic processes to apply in their community, and they wanted their community to be a place where a variety of types of persons lived. Neither democratic processes nor heterogeneity are contained in

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the Gemeinschaft definition of community, neither exists as an empirical fact in all community situations, and the idea of the value of a community being related to the ability of a variety of people to live together, making decisions by democratic process, may be unique to the American experience.

Unfortunately, most discussions about community shift suddenly and rapidly among these four aspects. The main thrust of the empirical research was to determine what values about their community are held by the residents of a particular community, to what extent those values are maximized, and what the barriers to their maximization are.

Reactions to Loss of Gemeinschaft: Planned Communities

The preceding section has raised many issues regarding the nature of modern communities and of the changes which have occurred in more traditional communities. Some agents have responded to historical changes, specifically to industrialization, urbanization and bureaucratization, by creating utopian communities designed to modify the effects of those processes. In the final chapter of this study, we briefly shall consider the religious communities established in America in the 19th century, the American secular communes of the 20th century, and the Israeli kibbutz. Now we will

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address another approach, the planned movement, specifically the attempt to create planned new towns or new communities.

An Overview of New Communities and the Traditional Nature of their Assumptions

In the late nineteenth century an Englishman, Ebenezer Howard, developed the idea of a garden city which would incorporate the advantages of industrialization but avoid many of the defects of urbanization. (Howard, 1965). People would live close to where they worked, in an area with plenty of trees surrounded by a greenbelt. The neighborhood unit of Perry recommended a homogeneous population of approximately 5,000 grouped around an elementary school and play areas, which would serve as the symbolic and social center of the community. (Perry, 1929). Unlike many of the utopian communities, these planned efforts did not reject industrialization or capitalism.

Several new towns embodying these principles were built in England during the early part of the twentieth century. After World War II, the British officially adopted a policy of large scale support for creation of new towns. By now, some thirty new towns are planned or under construction.

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Americans were influenced by the British experience as well as by their own glorification of rural and small town America. After World War I, a group which included Clarence Stein and Lewis Mumford formed the Regional Planning Association of America to consider new ways of development, including new communities. They were influential in the building of several communities which incorporated some of the garden city principles including Sunnyside Gardens, New York, Radburn, New Jersey, and the Greenbelt towns built as part of the New Deal. (Stein, 1957).

In the sixties, two large-scale new towns embodying many of the same principles were started outside Washington, D.C. under private sponsorship. The examples of Reston and Columbia, as well as earlier efforts, were instrumental in encouraging passage of the legislation in 1970 which authorized the Federal government to guarantee mortgages for developers of large scale new communities which met certain requirements, including providing an economic base, provision of substantial amounts of low-and-moderate income housing, good physical and social planning, provision of adequate community amenitites and facilities including education, health, culture and recreation.

To date, the New Communities Administration (NCA) of the Department of Housing and Urban Development has

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guaranteed mortgages for some 15 new communities, called Title VII projects, which range in proposed population from 17,000 to 150,000, with a median of 49,000.

Before a Title VII community is approved an intensive review is conducted to insure that the proposal meets the statutory requirements. Once the review is completed the plan for the community is embodied in a legal document called a Project Development Plan. NCA is responsible for monitoring the implementation of the plan over a 20-year period. Most of the communities project some form of resident community association which will operate and maintain the community facilities, such as community centers and recreation facilities, which are built by the developer.

Recently the government-guaranteed new communities have encountered severe financial difficulties, and the government has suspended approval of any new projects. The present administration and financial difficulties of the Title VII program do not, however, detract from the importance of new communities as a proposed societal model for the purposes of this study. Such difficulties do, however, emphasize the fact that the development of new communities is definitely part of the capitalistic system and is ultimately dependent upon making profits in the private market. Columbia, which is not a Title VII project, was also adversely affected by the recent

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recession and drastically reduced expenditures, as we shall discuss in the next chapter. We shall now consider how the underlying assumptions of new communities planning are also a reflection of other traditional American values.

The assumptions underlying at least the rhetoric of new community planning have their roots in the mainstream of American intellectual thought. An eminent American historian, Ralph Gabriel, found three beliefs persistent in American thought through the nineteenth century. They were: a belief in the rationality of man, and in his perfectability; a belief in the scientific method, and, as a corollary, on the effect of physical environment on social behavior; and a belief in the manifest destiny of American. (Gabriel, 1956). David Noble has concluded that these beliefs were not destroyed by the closing of the frontier in the late nineteenth century nor by World War I but have persisted to the present. The assumptions underlying new communities seem to be a part of this mainstream of American thought. (Noble, 1965).

The assumption of new community planners, using the term very broadly to include all involved in performing such planning even if not professional planners, is that through rational decision-making and careful planning they can eliminate many of the problems which

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have plagued existing cities. Columbia hoped to eliminate, for example, the need for time-consuming and expensive commuting. Houses are arranged in clusters because this arrangement eliminates some streets and utility lines, saving costs and leaving more land for development or open space. Schools are expected to be used during weekends and after hours, thus eliminating the need for duplicate facilities.

The plans of the Title VII developers are submitted to NCA where they are carefully reviewed by a team of technicians. Plans for the educational system, for example, would include projections for the 20-year development period of school children expected, revenues to the school district expected from taxes on the new residential, commercial and industrial facilities, and costs to the school district of educating the children. The more elaborate models differentiate between numbers of children produced by different types of dwelling units and an inflation factor. (Educational, 1973).

Once the plan is approved, it is incorporated into a legally binding Project Development Plan. A typical Development Plan includes sections on housing, housing mix, recreation, education, health, transportation, commercial facilities, innovations, and perhaps day care, cultural facilities, and social services. In

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each section, the developer states what he expects to have achieved by the time of final development, what are his specific commitments towards achieving those goals, and what he will do in the next three-year and one-year periods. The plans differ in terms of specificity of commitment, from rather vague statements about promoting something through commitments to use the developer's best efforts, to specific commitments to transfer land, hire staff, or provide facilities.

In Columbia, an elaborate computerized economic model was developed. Changes in plans are considered carefully to insure that they do not change the overall economic viability of the project. Many of the principles for design of the community are incorporated into the convenants which run with the land and are thus binding on all future owners. Covenants are extremely difficult to amend. The purpose of the covenants is to insure that the future development of the community proceeds as planned. For example, a sample set of covenants for a Title VII project was 45 pages long and included sections on landscaping, trees, TV antennas, signs, fences, parking, animals, clothes drying facilities, etc. The level of detail extended to specifying the type of screening for garbage cans. (Shenandoah, LTD., 1974). The assumption of those who negotiate the covenants clearly must be

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that it is possible to foresee and plan for the life styles of future residents for an indefinite period of time.

The underlying assumption of a planned effort is not only that men are rational but also that they are good and that conflict is a result of the malfunctioning of a basically stable system, not inherent in the nature of the system itself. The assumptions are those of Parsons, including a belief in a system which is in basically harmonious equilibrium. (Parsons, 1962). The new community is viewed as a classless society. Although there is a provision for low income housing there is no attention given to possible conflicts between these residents and others in class terms. There is a tacit assumption, or at least hope, that the low-income residents will have middle class values. There is concern about providing sliding fees so that they can participate in facilities, but no discussion about refusing to sell land to industries which do not pay adequate wages.

The underlying assumptions are not only ahistorical, they also do not take into account the needs of the institutions which will implement the plans. Developers present plans to NCA which detail the size and location of schools and "innovative" educational policies without discussing the plans with the School Boards.

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The assumption seems to be that the plan is so logical and good that sensible men will adopt it readily. Developers are frequently somewhat surprised to discover that local officials are skeptical or outright hostile to the idea of a planned community. This resistance can be based on differences between locals and outsiders, rural and urban viewpoints, as well as a desire to preserve the political and/or social status quo.

Many developers, of course, are extremely sophisticated and sensitive to local conditions. There is little explicit discussion, however, of the fact that the delivery of the type of services they want might require serious institutional change. Nor is there exploration of previous recent efforts to achieve institutional change through a variety of programs in the sixties or the reasons why so many of those attempts either failed or resulted in minor achievements.

The lack of serious discussion about institutional change seems to relate to two other assumptions: one is the self-contained nature of the proposed new community, the second is the rather Parsonian assumption of cooperation. (Parsons, 1962). One aspect of the self-contained nature of the community is indicated by a desire of most developers, even those whose developments are basically suburban,for the new community to have its own schools, a college, a hospital, a complete social

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service delivery system, an internal transportation system, theaters, concert halls and art centers. At least in the human service delivery area, there is frequently little understanding on the part of many developers of the horizontal, and especially vertical, nature of the social service delivery system which reflects the nature of our local, State, Federal governmental system. Decisions about location of a school may rest more on the status of a Federal court ordered desegregation plan than the desire of either the developer or the local residents.

Another aspect is the somewhat vague hope that new community residents will be somehow improved through residence in the new community. This ignores the fact that the major factors affecting the individual's life are likely to be determined by national events, such as war or depression, or societal trends like the civil rights or women's movements. It does, however, reflect a faith in rationality and in progress which Gabriel has indicated are typical aspects of the mainstream of American thought. (Gabriel, 1956).

Finally, new communities planning reflects the manifest destiny strain in American thought in its belief that it is creating a model for future development. This aspect has been used by staff of NCA and individual new

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communities to obtain grants and special considerations from other government agencies.

We see, then, that although developers of new communities attempt to create an alternative to typical urban sprawl, many of the underlying premises of the movement reflect basic American beliefs.

Selection of the Major Case of Columbia and Its Community Association

Thus, the use of the new community to explore the continued relevance of traditional communal values in modern residential American communities is justified by the embodiment of many of the traditional community values in the new town/new community concept, by the adoption of this concept by the government as a model for the larger society through the passage of the new communities legislation, and by the fact that in such communities a conscious, deliberate effort is made to create "communities" as opposed to merely providing dwellings. Thus, such communities become "deviant," unusual cases: some values beyond immediate profits were involved in the various stages of decision-making, or at least, decision-makers used such values in the creation of "community" as one of the means to increase profits. Such settings become, therefore, a good place to explore the various aspects of community which their residents consider to be desirable.

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Columbia, Maryland, was selected because it is one of the major models of American new community development, it has a sizeable population (in 1975 approximately 35,000), a strong and active community association, and a history, since the first residents moved into Columbia in 1967. That is, it has existed as a community long enough to have established some community traditions and institutions. It also has served and continues to serve as a model for other developments.

A decision was made to focus not on individual residents as individuals but on the organized community association, such as exist in most new communities. These associations build, operate, and maintain community facilities, using money from an annual assessment on all land. They have considerable potential for impact on the development of a new community because of the resources they command; because they are the one formally organized representative group which can confront the developer; and because they become a focus for the expression of community values and norms. Whereas the attitudes of individuals about "community" are interesting, those attitudes are only sociologically relevant if they influence either an individual's locational decisions or become expressed through public action, which in modern American society usually means through an organization. Thus the statements of values expressed in the context of

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the community organization, the monetary and other decisions to support these values and the residents' efforts to influence the community association provide a way for exploring the meaning of community in modern America.

In particular, the community association is a relevant unit for study because of the following characteristics:

A. Context

1. Community associations exist as part of deliberately planned communities and are designed as a part of the overall community structure. They are the outcome of a rational planning process.

2. They exist at the beginning of a new community which undergoes rapid growth in population, in physical area and structure, and in development or expansion of institutions. They, therefore, can potentially influence the processes of growth of individuals or the institutional accommodation to that growth.

B. Structure

1. Community associations have a quasi-governmental structure. They are incorporated bodies with powers embodied in convenants running with the land.

2. They have large financial resources based on annual assessments of all community property and fees for use of facilities.

3. They initially are controlled by the private developer with a gradual increase in resident control, staged with the population growth.

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C. Potential as a Community Shaper and/or as a Focus for Conflict

1. They provide an organizational structure for resident action.

2. Because of their semi-democratic nature, they can claim to speak for the community.

3. They control considerable funds used for recreational and other community purposes.

The specific incident selected for detailed study was the Oakland Mills Village Board role in the controversy over the Columbia Association budget in 1975. The controversy promised the likelihood that ideas about the community would be discussed during its course, and decisions about resource allocation seemed to provide a measure of community values. The activities of the Oakland Mills Village Board were selected because the Oakland Mills subdivision of Columbia has had a history of an unusual amount of participation and had become the only village to run its own village center through a management contract with the Columbia Association.

Following our investigation and analysis of Columbia, we tested our findings by a brief examination of a similar community, Reston, Virginia. We did not conduct a complete case study, but rather questioned key leaders regarding the approach in Reston to those concepts which we had identified as being crucial to the meaning of community in Columbia.

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Reston was useful as a comparison because it also is a new town located within the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C., and is similar to Columbia in age, size, general planning principles, and demographic characteristics. It differs, however, in two major respects both of which are useful for our purposes. First, the original founder went bankrupt and is no longer a force in the community's development. Second, instead of a community association, Reston has a homeowners' association which does not permit tenants to vote and generally has a more limited role than the Columbia Association. We conducted interviews with representatives of key community organizations to determine whether the values and interests which we had studied in Columbia manifested themselves in a similar fashion in Reston.

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CHAPTER III

COLUMBIA: AN OVERVIEW

The Community and Its People

Rouse's Basic Plan

Columbia is the creation of James W. Rouse, a Baltimore mortgage banker and shopping center developer, who came to believe that the way to meet the country's urbanization problems was through the creation of new communities. Between 1962 and 1963, he assembled more than 13,000 acres in Howard County, Maryland, between Baltimore and Washington, D. C. After an 18-month planning period, construction began in 1966 with the first residents moving in 1967. By 1975, Columbia had a population of 35,000. The ultimate goal of 110,000 was targeted for 1981.

The plan for Columbia now consists of nine villages of approximately 12,000 residents, with each village containing three or four neighborhoods. Neighborhoods contain such things as elementary schools, pools, recreation areas, and meeting rooms. Villages contain secondary schools, more elaborate recreational facilities and commercial facilities. The Town Center is planned as a regional shopping center and office building complex

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along with residential units. There are several industrial parks and total employment is expected to be 65,000 by 1990. Twenty-three per cent of the land is devoted to open space. Columbia includes apartments, townhouses and single-family dwellings. A health maintenance organization has been established, with a hospital and a prepaid medical service. Opportunities for higher education in Columbia include a two-year community college, a branch of Antioch College, a new four-year college (Dag Hammarskjold College) and programs of Loyola College of Baltimore. The Columbia Directory lists 177 organizations and clubs available to Columbia residents although many are located in other parts of Howard County. In addition, there are 16 public schools in Columbia, churches, village centers and other facilities and activities connected with the Columbia Association (CA) which will be described shortly.

Concerning the goals of Columbia, Rouse has commented that the task is to provide a community. He envisioned a place

> in which man, his wife, and children are important; come first -- ahead of buildings, streets, and automobiles -- a community in which in physical form, they can identify; find boundaries to; feel responsible for; be proud of -- a community which in human terms cares about them. (Rouse, 1966).

In 1974, the CA developed a statement of goals. They were to:

> provide the opportunity for physical, intellectual, social and emotional growth and well being for each

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> individual in Columbia; to enhance and maintain the quality of the physical environment; to foster effective participation in community decision-making and program implementation;. . .to develop and maintain the economic viability of the Association. (CA, 1974b, table of contents).

To further the goals of physical attractiveness and beauty, Columbia was planned to have substantial amounts of open space and integration of nature throughout the community. This emphasis is similar to that of the Garden City and City Beautiful movements in planning. It is also, however, a means of increasing marketability and thus profits. In addition, clustering houses and increasing density enables considerable savings on such costly infrastructure as streets and sewer lines.

Another of Rouse's goals was that the new community would be a place where a variety of persons could live. It would be racially and economically integrated. Supposedly, everyone who worked in Columbia would be able to live there. Columbia was to be a place where people could associate comfortably in human fellowship with institutions to which they could relate easily and control.

Richard Brooks, in New Towns and Communal Values: A Case Study of Columbia, Maryland, details what he considers to be the most important communal aspects of Columbia's values: the stating of shared goals, seeking local autonomy in the development process, attempting to achieve local control of decision-making, and social integration including reduction of barriers between

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institution and residents, promotion of informal relationships, and mixing of social classes. Brooks suggests that Rouse's genuine concern about creating a community which leads to a good life was reflected in the kinds of questions which he asked during early planning discussions.

> What is the purpose of the community?. . .What would constitute a successful community?. . .Is the mixing of people/economically, culturally, racially/within a community important to individual growth?. . . What kind of neighborhood or community makes an individual feel secure, comfortable and important?. . . What about the elderly?. . .What about adult education?. . .What about the college educated housewife/grandmother of 45?. . .How can the community communicate to itself about itself effectively?. . . Might there be a new and different solution to the relationship between the people, public services and the role of local government in a community? (Brooks, 1974:32).

Brooks notes, however, that a statement of goals created by a work group of behavioral scientists and program development specialists emphasized not only communal goals but also ideas of individual freedom and competitive marketing. (Brooks, 1974).

Rouse has always emphasized that the new town had to be profitable. This emphasis is related to his belief in the free enterprise profit system as well as to a conviction that Columbia would only be successful as a model for the rest of the country if it produces a profit. (Kaplan, 1976; Rouse, 1967). In order to insure profitability, an elaborate economic model was developed. The

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need to insure profitability was emphasized in instructions to the staff, including a requirement that each subdevelopment return a specified profit. (Baker, 1975).

If Rouse had not believed that the new community could be successful economically, it never could have been built. In order to purchase the necessary land and build the infrastructure, Rouse had to borrow millions of dollars. The lenders had to be confident that the money would be returned. The economics of Columbia are thus directly related to the normal process of real estate development in the United States.

Basically, land is valued for its present use and its expected future use. Its present use value is determined by the ability of the owner to utilize it for profitable purposes, farming, mining, location of commercial buildings, housing and so forth. The value of the land also is correlated directly to its potential profitability. Thus, farm land used for farming surrounded by other farms has less value than farm land adjacent to a new shopping center since the potential exists that the farm land near a shopping center could be utilized for more profitable commercial buildings. Land cannot be used for housing or industry or commercial enterprises until it has proper zoning and infrastructure, that is, good roads, water, sewer facilities, and utilities. Once these expensive facilities have been provided, the value of the land

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increases greatly. As additional population or commercial facilities are located nearby, the land values increase still further. Normally this urbanization process occurs on the boundary of already developed areas. In the case of Columbia and other new towns, the developer creates the urbanization process through balanced provision of employment opportunities, housing and other amenities and facilities.

In order to purchase the amount of land required for a new community and to build the infrastructure, substantial funds must be borrowed. The interest on this borrowed money becomes one of the major costs of development. The financing for Columbia has been complex and has changed somewhat over time. The land purchasing was begun by Community Research and Development Corporation (CDR) a firm created by Rouse for construction activities which included building shopping centers and other ventures including the Village of Cross Keys, a 72-acre Baltimore complex of an office building, a neighborhood shopping center, 1,000 townhouses, garden and high-rise apartment units, and amenities. In order to purchase enough land to build Columbia, Rouse needed substantial sums. Connecticut General Life Insurance Company agreed to loan $18 million, the largest single investment the company had ever made, in return for eight per cent interest on the loan and 50 per cent of the profits of the venture. A jointly

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owned subsidiary was formed, Howard Research and Development Corporation (HRD) with Connecticut General appointing three of the five members of the Board of Directors. HRD gave the Rouse organization a 15-year management contract. (CRD was later merged with Rouse's mortgage banking firm to form the Rouse Company, a public corporation which conducts a combination of mortgage banking, shopping center development and other ventures.)

In addition to potential profits through sale of residential land, the HRD investors expect to profit from the Columbia Development Corporation (CDC), a wholly-owned subsidiary of HRD, which builds and manages investment properties in Columbia, including the regional shopping mall, the village centers, apartments and office buildings. Columbia has since been refinanced with a new team of lenders providing additional funds. Connecticut General continues to have the largest interest and continues to control HRD.

The Community Association (CA)

HRD provides basic infrastructure, such as roads, but most of the community amenities, such as lakes, pathways and swimming pools, were built by the Columbia Association (CA). (See Chart 1.)

Although Columbia is unincorporated and is governed by the normal government structures of Howard County, the CA provides residents a quasi-government of its own. The

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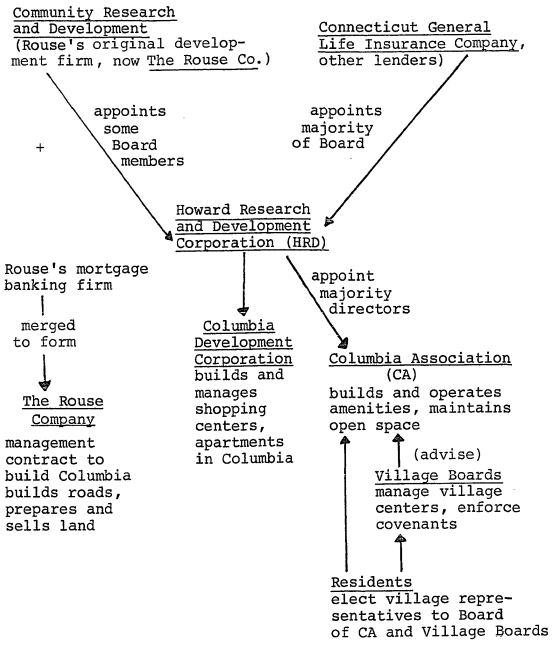
CHART 1: FINANCIAL STRUCTURES CONNECTED WITH DEVELOPMENT OF COLUMBIA



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CA is a non-profit, incorporated body "for the common good and social welfare, which includes provisions for "utilities, systems, services and facilities. . .with regard to health, safety, education, culture, recreation, comfort or convenience." (CA, 1974c, 9). It enables the developer to pre-service the new community, that is, to provide a full array of facilities and services before or when residents arrive rather than after a neighborhood or village reaches its full population. The developer loans money to CA to build the facilities. The CA operates the facilities and repays the developer over a long period of time from revenues from assessments which run with the land and user fees. The CA assessment is a first lien against the property.

The alternative ways of providing facilities for new communities are through normal governmental mechanisms, or through front-end loading. The latter occurs when the cost of the facilities is included in the prices of the homes in each neighborhood or village. The advantages of front-end loading are that the homeowner is not faced with annual assessments to repay the cost of the facilities and that the cost of the facilities is directly borne by the homes closest to it. The disadvantage is that it raises the initial cost of the houses, especially if used to provide amenities for an entire city which includes such items as large lakes. An alternative is to depend

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upon the local government, which generally means waiting until the residents have moved in and can apply normal political pressures. From the developer's viewpoint, the CA enables him to build the kind of facilities he wants exactly when he thinks they will be most useful in marketing his community, yet shifts the cost of the facilities to the future residents. The CA governing body is a board of directors which initially consisted of seven members, all appointed by the developer. As residents moved in, community representatives were added to the board at the rate of one for each 4,000 completed dwelling units. The developer's representatives gradually lose their membership on a fixed schedule established in the Articles of Incorporation. In 1975, the board's Executive Committee consisted of four developer votes and two and a half votes for community representatives. Regardless of the number of dwelling units completed, the developer's representatives were to be phased out by 1981, (CA, 1974c) but in 1975 CA borrowed more money and as a result, the developer's control was extended to at least 1985.

The community representatives are elected by an indirect procedure by which residents of each village elect a representative to the Columbia Council which then nominates, from its members, candidates for election to the board. The board then selects the members from the candidates nominated. The Council is permitted to

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nominate only the exact number needed to fill the places. The Council is an unincorporated creature of the CA, with no official functions beyond nominating members for the board and making recommendations to the village associations.

By 1975, the CA was a multi-million dollar operation. A book of background materials on the CA published in 1974 described its facilities as including neighborhood pools, an indoor swim center, lakes and boat docks, an athletic club, an ice rink, two golf courses, a horse center, an arts center, a public bus system, equipment to maintain 25 miles of pathways, tennis courts, playgrounds, open space, neighborhood and village center buildings. (CA, 1974c). In 1975, CA's assets included $8 million in facilities such as swimming pools and community centers, $6.3 million in lakes, parks and pathways, and $1.2 million in buses, furniture and equipment. (CA, 1975). The original operating budget adopted for FY 1975 was $2.5 million. (CA, 1975a).

The CA had a large staff with an elaborate structure as indicated in Chart 2. In 1975, the Division of Physical Planning was responsible for developing and maintaining the extensive open-space system and physical and mechanical maintenance of all the CA's physical facilities. The Division of Commercial Operations was responsible for developing, managing and marketing the facilities for

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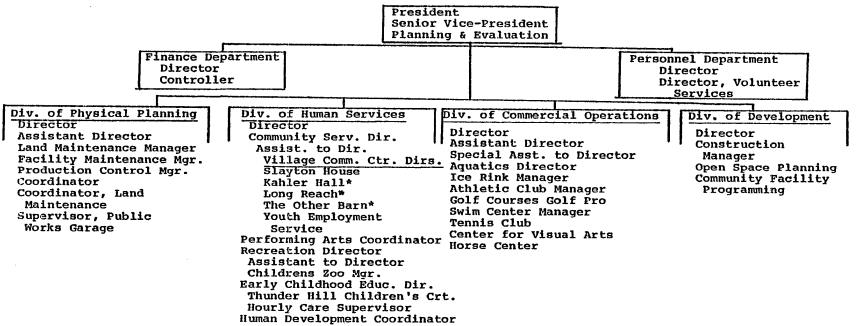
CHART 2: COLUMBIA ASSOCIATION ORGANIZATION CHART



*Managed by Village Board

Adapted From: "The Briefing Book: Background Materials on the Columbia Association," 1974.

which fees were charged, which included all facilities except parks, the open space and some programs operated by the Human Services Division. That Division operated early childhood education, performing arts, many recreation programs, and community services, including the community centers. In FY 1975, it was projected to employ 110 people and have an operating budget of $1.4 million. The Division of Development was responsible for development of the plans for future open space and facilities and for managing the architectural design and construction processes. (CA, 1974c).

In addition to the community-wide CA, the developer established non-profit village associations to promote health, safety, common good and social welfare of the respective residents and property owners. Besides making recommendations to the CA and public bodies, and sponsoring cultural, educational, social, civic and other beneficial activities, the village associations have specific responsibilities in connection with enforcement of the convenants. The covenants are permanent restrictions on all Columbia land which provide strict standards for property development and maintenance, including specifications on such details as the size of trees which an owner may remove from his property without specific prior permission. In contrast to the CA assessment, while the village associations can impose dues and assessments

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such charges are not legally enforceable. The resident who fails to pay merely loses some of his voting rights in the village association. Anyone who owns or rents a house or apartment unit is a member, but there is only one vote for each unit rather than one for each adult resident.

The village associations are governed by five-person boards of directors who serve for one-year terms. The Columbia Council Representatives are ex-officio members. The by-laws indicate that the village boards should have "regular" meetings and must meet at least annually. The by-laws do not require the meetings to be open to the public. Most meetings have been open, although some village boards have held closed working sessions.

In FY 1975, CA provided an annual budget to each village board sufficient to hire staff to administer board business, buy office supplies, publish a newsletter and operate the village and neighborhood centers. In addition, the CA paid for a half-time covenant advisor hired by each village association. (CA, 1974c).

The villages were planned to be focal units for the community with local shopping areas, pools and community centers. They were considered a crucial part of the governance structure. The major part of covenant enforcement is conducted by the villages and they are the election districts for selection of resident members of the CA Executive Committee. Much of the CA contact with residents

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is through village boards. The village centers serve as community meeting halls and village administrative offices as well as the location for many classes and social activities.

Columbia's Population

Before considering the Oakland Mills Village facilities in detail, let us consider some of the socio-economic characteristics of the entire community in the early and mid-seventies. As mentioned earlier, by 1975 Columbia had a population of 35,000 and considerable internal employment. Eighteen per cent of Columbia's residents worked there with the remainder commuting elsewhere, primarily to Baltimore, 19 per cent, and Washington, D. C., 17 per cent. (CA, 1974a, No. 4:Table IV 11).

Housing in Columbia ranged from federally subsidized apartments and townhouses to single-family units and townhouses priced up to $100,000. (Burkhart, 1975:167-168). Almost an equal percentage of residents live in apartments as in single-family dwellings, approximately 40 per cent in each category. The rest, 23 per cent, live in townhouses. (Burby, 1976:191). The median home value in 1973 was $58,000. The median rent was $226. (Burby, 1976:109).

In 1973, approximately 15 per cent of Columbia residents had family incomes under $10,000, 20 per cent had incomes between $10,000 and $15,000, 40 per cent had

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incomes between $15,000 and $25,000, and 25 per cent had incomes over $25,000. According to a CA survey in 1973, the average household income in each neighborhood varied from a low of $17,000 to a high of $42,800. The average for Oakland Mills Village households was $19,733. The median household income for neighborhoods was $14,800 and $47,500 with a variation among villages from $18,333 to $27,400. The median in Oakland Mills was $19,300. (CA, 1974a, No. 3:Table 111.6). In 1973, there were 532 units of subsidized housing in Columbia, or 6.9 per cent of the total.

Columbians were relatively young and well educated with professional and managerial jobs. Burby found that 76 per cent of the population was under 40 years old, compared with 57 per cent in a nearby community used for control purposes and 49 percent in a sample of 13 new communities. Forty-seven per cent of Columbians had graduate or professional training compared with 28 per cent in the control community and 24 per cent in a sample of 13 new communities. Although the differences in occupation status were not as striking, Columbians were still more likely to have professional or managerial jobs, 76 per cent compared to 74 per cent for the control community and 59 per cent for 13 new communities. (Burby, 1976:103;

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Center, 1974). Almost 80 percent of the household heads were married, with approximately eight per cent single, three per cent widowed, and 10 per cent separated or divorced. (CA, 1974a, No. 2:Table 11.1).

Rouse had planned Columbia as an integrated community and his plans have succeeded. Twenty per cent of the residents were minorities, primarily black. The extent of this achievement is evident when Columbia is compared with its control community which had less than three per cent minority occupancy, and the average for 13 new communities which was only four per cent. (Center, 1974:2). Blacks in Columbia generally are economically well off with a higher proportion of blacks than whites having incomes over $20,000. Eighty-seven per cent of both races had incomes over $10,000. Fifty per cent of the blacks, compared with 42 per cent of the whites, had incomes over $20,000. A slightly higher number of blacks than whites had incomes under $10,000, approximately 13 per cent and 11 per cent respectively. (CA, 1974a, No. 3:Table 111.5).

Income varied by type of dwelling unit. The median household income for apartments was $12,700, for townhouses, $18,800 and $22,300 for single-family homes. Apartment dwellers were also likely to be younger, median age 29 compared to 32 for townhouses and 35 for single-family homes. Fewer apartment dwellers had children, 35

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per cent compared with 75 per cent of the townhouse residents and 81 per cent of the single-family home residents. There was little difference in educational attainment of residents in different types of dwelling units. Eighty-six per cent of the apartment household heads, 88 per cent of the townhouse household heads and 94 per cent of the single-family household heads had at least some college education. (CA, 1974a, No. 4:1).

Despite Columbia's young age, approximately 20 per cent of its residents have moved already within the community. As might be expected, most of the moves, 81 per cent, were from apartments to single-family units with 19 per cent moving from single-family dwellings to apartments. (CA, 1974a, No. 4:Table IV.10). Almost 60 per cent of the residents in the Burby survey either indicated that they were certain to move, including outside of Columbia, in the next two or three years or were uncertain about their plans. (Center, 1974:11). As we will suggest later, the expectation of mobility has some implications for values about community and the role of the CA. Having briefly considered data about Columbia's facilities and population, let us now consider in more detail the facilities operated by the Oakland Mills Village Board.

Oakland Mills and the Oakland Mills Village Center

Oakland Mills, the specific unit of the present study, currently is the largest village in Columbia. In

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1975, it had a population of 10,509 compared with 9,083 for Wilde Lake, the next largest village. It is physically separated by a major highway from the more developed parts of Columbia.

The village has a history of being one of the more active villages. In 1972, it became the first village to operate its village center. Previously, all of the centers had been operated directly by the CA, which hired staff and arranged for programs. Residents considered the operation of the Oakland Mills Center unsuccessful. Under CA management, the Center was underused, physically unattractive, and not well maintained. The residents claimed that the problems could be solved by greater resident control and involvement. The Board, under a management contract with CA, assumed responsibility for planning, hiring and supervising all personnel and program implementation. The Board, in turn, came to delegate considerable power to a Facilities Operations Committee which has responsibility for overseeing the Center's daily operations.

The Center itself consists of two buildings, both of which are reconverted barns. One, The Other Barn, has a loft used for dancing and other classes, large community meetings, and is rented for private parties and entertainment events. Downstairs there is a comfortable entrance area with couches, a small lending library, and a Xerox

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machine. All walls are covered with burlap and used as a gigantic community bulletin board. The Board offices ajoin the entrance area, and the Board receptionist is separated only by a half door so that she can observe the area and talk to people. One the other side of the reception area there is a Post Office, obtained by considerable community effort and originally manned with volunteers as the first volunteer post office in the country. There also are three other rooms used for classes and meetings. The Barn contains space rented to the Howard County Commission on Aging for programs for senior citizens and space for a day care center on the first floor and the Oakland Mills Teen Center on the second floor. The arrangement with the Commission on Aging and the day care providers enable the Board to utilize the space for other community purposes during the evening and on weekends.

The services offered by the Center include answering questions for casual visitors, arranging for the rental of the facilities to community individuals or groups, advice on the architectural covenants, staffing the activities and committees of the Board and arranging for classes.

This, then, is the setting for our study. We observed the Oakland Mills Village Board during a period of intense activity revolving around the budget process of 1975. We attended village meetings, the public hearings and final Executive Committee sessions. We also examined

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the relevant documents and newspapers. Afterwards, we conducted semi-structured interviews with major participants.

The 1975 Budget Controversy

The major participants in the budget process are the CA staff, the CA Executive Committee consisting of developer's representatives and village representatives, the village boards, various CA program committees, and other individuals or groups who decide to become involved. According to the 1974 Briefing Book, adoption of the budget is normally a six-month process which begins with public hearings by the village boards to obtain the residents' ideas and includes several different opportunities for formal review by the village boards as well as numerous occasions for informal meetings between residents and the CA staff drafting the budget documents.

The process in FY 1976 was longer and more complicated than usual. It was preceded by what was known as a mini-budget process. During the summer, CA realized that the FY 1975 budget adopted in March had greatly overestimated revenues and underestimated operating expenditures.

The budget overestimations were caused by two factors. Due to the general slowdown of the economy, sales for housing were greatly reduced so less land was covered by the CA assessment. The assessment rate itself was lowered unexpectedly since it was tied to the assessment

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rate in Maryland, which the Governor lowered by 10 per cent. The CA budget was a deficit budget. The money received each year from assessments and user fees was not sufficient to pay the expense of operating the facilities and building new facilities for the newly developing villages. The additional money was borrowed. In 1975, the CA had long-term debts of $28 million. Of this, $20.5 was in bonds, $7.5 in subordinated notes which were guaranteed by HRD. In addition, CA had an additional $1.6 million in short-term debt. Unlike other new communities, Columbia was able to secure an agreement from the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) that the CA right to monies in the event of a foreclosure was superior to that of FHA. This has enabled the CA to obtain an A rating in the bond market, since the lenders can be assured of repayment so long as the projected assessments are sufficient to cover the bond repayment. Thus, the effect of the loss of revenues, due to decreased land sales and a lowering of the assessment rate, was not only the loss of immediate revenue but also the loss in the ability to borrow money or float bonds because the future income projections had been reduced. Later, CA staff estimated that the effect of the assessment reduction alone was a loss of $525,000 in the single year of 1976, without which loss CA could have floated $5 million in bonds.

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Faced with a large reduction in expected income, the Executive Committee recommended a budget reduction. The revised budget proposed was considered by the village boards and at a public hearing attended by approximately 200 residents. Although there was less than a month to respond, the Oakland Mills Village Board presented a detailed response to the proposed budget which included a request that the Barn renovation not be deferred, that CA executive level salaries be cut by five per cent, and that an outline of priorities be established for the FY 1976 process to avoid a duplication of the confusion and exhaustion of the mini-budget process.

The final Executive Committee decision cut $310,000 from the amount originally allocated for FY 1975 operating expenditures and deferred $2.3 million in capital expenditures. The operating budget of every CA division was reduced. All village budgets were cut 10 per cent. Fees were imposed for after-school recreation programs, the youth employment services program was instructed to begin operating on a break-even basis, and the Call-A-Ride service was eliminated. The Call-A-Ride service had provided pickup and delivery on an inexpensive basis for unscheduled routes and thus supplemented the regular service of the subsidized bus system. The Executive Committee made some changes in its original revisions as a result of resident input. Protest from residents had

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restored $25,000 to the transportation budget to allow fees to remain at 25 cents per ride rather than be raised to 35 cents. Funds for staff for grantsmanship were restored for human services activities. The Oakland Mills Village Board, faced with a proposed cut of funds to renovate The Other Barn, requested that $4,300 be removed from the Board's bank account to continue the renovation. This was done.

In September, at the meeting where the mini-budget was adopted, the Oakland Mills Village representative to the Executive Committee presented a memorandum on behalf of the Board outlining issues which the Board felt had not been satisfactorily resolved. They included a complaint that no rationale had been provided for not accepting some of the Board's previous recommendations, a request for a reevaluation of the criteria for the development of neighborhood centers and village facilities, better communication of budget information from CA staff to the villages, setting realistic limits initially for the FY 1976 budget, a request that CA examine its goals and objectives in terms of the budget restraints and be directed to decentralize and to focus on grantsmanship, and a request that the CA staff prepare a response indicating how they would implement the improvements. The Executive Committee chairman reportedly was annoyed with the residents' request for accountability from CA staff.

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At any rate, the resolutions were defeated, with all four developer representatives and one village representative outvoting three village representatives. (Oakland Mills Board Minutes, September 1974; CA Executive Committee Minutes, September 1974).

At a later meeting in September the Board did adopt a bottom line of $2.3 million. Michael Spear, General Manager of Howard Research Corporation, i.e., the developer, recommended that the Executive Committee hold working sessions with the staff before presenting the budget to the village boards. These working sessions created considerable community resentment because they were closed to residents. Residents felt that this gave CA staff members a better opportunity than residents to explain their views and to counter any resident opinions with which they disagreed.

The original schedule for the budget process allowed the village boards approximately six weeks to review the draft proposed budget and another two weeks to review a later version. Half way through the process, the Executive Committee decided that new financial projections made it imperative to cut the budget an additional $300,000. They requested CA staff to prepare an options paper indicating ways to accomplish this. The village boards had less than two weeks to comment. Nevertheless, the Oakland Mills Village Board submitted three documents which

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measured one-half inch thick. They included 10 pages of recommendations for changes in the community-wide budget, a 70-page document giving detailed budgets with backup analysis for the operations of the community center, the Teen Center and the Board itself, and a 14-page recommendation for a total restructuring of the CA Human Services Division, with a decentralization of its staff and services to the village level. The Executive Committee considered the recommendations of the various village boards in a series of closed sessions before drafting its own proposed budget. The Oakland Mills Village Board objected and asked its representative whether the persons from the village who had analyzed the budget could not also appear before the Executive Committee. This was not done. The Executive Committee budget was several days late in being developed and contained the recommendation that all villages be given an identical sum for their operations. The members of the Oakland Mills Village Board were furious. They felt that their efforts had been ignored and that the Executive Committee was totally unrealistic in treating the different village centers alike.

The Board chairman sent a two-page letter protesting the decision as "arbitrary and unfair." He complained that the approach "denies that villages are different sizes, that they have different facilities, and that they have different levels of commitment and involvement." He

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suggested that the approach was "illogical, reactionary, and contrary to the ideals on which Columbia was begun. It is simply anti-people." Another Board member wrote that the Oakland Mills Facilities Operations Committee and staff were more knowledgeable about running a community center than anyone else in Columbia, yet their thorough budget was cut without an explanation. The Executive Committee had accepted another village's idea that all villages should be treated equally. Accepting that proposal rather than the one "built on a successful two-year track record simply stunned us. . . .it raises a question about the Executive Committee: do you have the faintest idea what it takes to run a Community Center?" (Guest, 1975).

Because of the Executive Committee's lateness, the boards had only six days to prepare their responses for the formal hearings. Despite rigidly enforced speaking time restrictions of 15 minutes per village board, five minutes for an organization, and three minutes for an individual, the hearings lasted for two long evenings. The following week the Executive Committee met in open session to deliberate and vote. The process took three more long evenings, the last until after 1 a.m. Attendance at the public hearings was approximately 500 on the first night, 300 on the second. Approximately 100 people attended the Executive Committee sessions each evening and

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included men and women, youth and some elderly. The audiences were racially integrated, with blacks probably slightly overrepresented in relation to their proportion of Columbia residents. The Executive Committee decisions were reconfirmed by the Board of Directors a week later.

Major Budget Issues and Their Resolution

As the above outline has shown, the budget process was long, complex and intensive. We will shortly consider what it indicated about concepts of community in Columbia. First, however, a brief examination of the major issues and how they were resolved is in order. What changes were actually made in the budget? The major issues still unresolved by the time of the hearings were CA administrative expenses, especially salaries, transportation, the Teen Center, the budget process itself, child care, and the community centers. Lesser issues included the staff positions of volunteer services coordinator and planning and evaluation director; fees for tennis, the swim center, and athletic club; and a variety of other issues of concern to one group or several residents.

The decision about the amount of staff needed and the level of staff salaries for the CA executives had begun the previous summer and was continued at meetings and in the newspapers throughout the winter. The budget proposed a 7.5 per cent across-the-board increase to cover the increased cost of living due to inflation. Many community

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residents felt that not only should no increases be allowed, but also that the executive salaries should be cut. The President, who had received a 14 per cent increase the previous year, was making $48,000, in addition to which both he and the vice president for finance were furnished with a car maintained by the CA.

A number of speakers had suggested that the CA was overstaffed. One speaker said that the total administrative costs, including those of the operating divisions, amounted to 40 per cent of the budget, which was contrary to the primary goal of the CA of providing services to residents. He received large applause when he finished by declaring that "[I] will not see Community Association assessments be used to create programs my friends, family and I cannot afford to participate in." Another speaker forcefully questioned the need for a personnel officer, whose salary was $35,000, since the Community Association was not doing any hiring. He complained that when he asked for the rationale for a full-time personnel director for such a small organization, he was told that a better personnel department was needed during periods of staff reduction "because those people needed counseling and stroking -- I suggested that we had ministers over at the Interfaith Council." Another speaker complained that "it sounds like the Community Association is an employment office for hard times." There was, however, disagreement

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among residents on several positions, with testimony for eliminating the job of the Planning and Evaluation Director, for reducing it to half-time, and for retaining it as a full-time position.

There were even more jibes at the level of top salaries. Although no one questioned the competence of the CA President, speakers asked whether they could afford $48,000 a year. They questioned whether the CA needed that priced management ability. One speaker pointed out that "the Governor of Maryland gets $25,000, the Mayor of the large City of Chicago with 10 million people gets $35,000, the Under-Secretary of HEW with operational responsibilities for a budget of $100 billion gets $42,500 and the [Director of the] Community Association with a budget of $2 million gets $48,000."

The President had announced a voluntary restriction on any salary raises for himself months earlier, but no restrictions were placed on other salaries during the final Executive Committee deliberations. A motion was adopted to have an outside firm do an evaluation of CA management.

The total reduction in the administration expenses section following considerable protests during the hearings consisted of eliminating one part-time clerk at a saving of $1,600 and the reduction of some data processing fees at a saving of $35,000. The position of Director

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of Planning and Evaluation was retained as a full-time position as a result of community pressure, with the understanding that he was expected to more than pay for his own salary by obtaining funds for the CA from Howard County or private foundations. The final result was a budget for administration of $462,800, a reduction of $22,800, from the February Executive Committee proposed budget but still almost one-fourth of the total budget.

The transportation issue involved the extent of continued subsidies for the internal CA-sponsored bus system in Columbia. Convenient transportation, so that families would not have to own two cars, had always been part of the Columbia plan and the developer's sales publicity. The bus, however, had always operated at a considerable loss. The specific arguments during 1975 revolved around whether the fares should be raised, the schedule cut, and the extent of service to be extended to new neighborhoods. Some residents claimed that they had been promised bus service when they moved to Columbia and that it was necessary for children, old people, the handicapped, and families without cars, or even those with only one car if one spouse commuted. The bus system to Washington, D.C., or Baltimore from Columbia consists of an early morning commuter bus service during the week and several Trailway stops a day. In addition, some of the supporters of continued subsidies for

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transportation argued that only by proving continued commitment to the idea of public transportation would Columbia obtain appropriate support from the County or other agencies at a later date. During the Executive Committee deliberations, however, Spear questioned whether it was possible for CA to provide a public bus system which would ever be financially feasible when city governments had failed at this task. He pointed out that the system would become increasingly expensive as the geographic area under development expanded. The final result was to add $40,000 to the transportation budget, with an instruction to the resident transportation committee to revise the schedule as necessary to provide the best service within the budget restrictions.

Issues involving the Teen Center, the budget process itself, child care, and the community centers will be considered in more detail later during the analysis of the implications for the concepts of community involved. In terms of funds, the Executive Committee decreased the funds for child care by $5,300, increased the funds for the Teen Center by $20,000, added $25,200 for community center funding for four villages, and added $10,800 for community center trash pick-up rather than expecting that cost to be absorbed by the community centers. In all, $126,450 was added to the budget for various purposes after the hearings, a six percent

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change. The increased expenditures were offset by a $69,210 reduction in expenses, $23,000 in anticipated increased revenues from increased fees, and a reduction of $13,000 in capital expenditures.

Community-Related Concepts Raised during the Budget Process

The study of the budget process in Columbia was undertaken as a means of determining empirically what aspects of community were valued by residents in a town in which a self-conscious effort had been made to create "community" and what material interests ultimately were served.

During a period of participant observation of Oakland Mills Village Board activities, the budget hearings, and Executive Committee meetings a number of concerns were raised which seemed to cluster around six concepts: psychological identification of residents with their community, a desire for a heterogeneous community, a desire for a democratic and open decision-making process with widespread community involvement, conflicts between residents and the authority structure of the CA, the tactical advantages of the authority structure in those conflicts, and the relationship between the community of Columbia and its external environment. The residents did not express concern about a number of concepts of community which we had expected might be raised and which easily could have arisen in discussions over

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allocation of community resources. These included: community valued for physical attributes, community valued as a place for primary group interactions to occur or as a basis of support for primary groups, community valued as a place where residents could obtain services delivered in a coordinated, integrated manner, and community valued as a place where residents could control local institutions, such as schools.

As students of community power structures have pointed out, however, one of the methodological problems with approaching community through studying its decision-making processes is that of identifying non-issues. (Bachrach, 1962) That is, some issues are never raised in the community debate process because the existing values or power structure are simply taken for granted and not questioned. For this reason, followup interviews which were held with community participants probed both for data about aspects of community which were not observed during the budget controversy itself and for amplification regarding concepts identified during the budget process. All these concepts about community will be discussed in the following chapters.

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CHAPTER IV

COMMUNITY CONCEPTS EXPLORED

Introduction

During our participant observation, we identified concepts about community for which residents displayed commitment through supporting expenditures of limited CA funds for them. We also noticed a sense of strong community identification and strong support for democratic process. We did not observe any particular support for utilizing the CA budget for values associated with the family as an institution or concern with support for property values. Since the former is an integral part of definitions of community we probed during the interviews to determine whether resident leaders considered it an appropriate focus for CA attention. Since maintenance of property values is of vital concern to many suburban residents, we attempted to discover whether leaders in the new community also considered it of prime importance.

In our earlier theoretical discussion, we considered the fact that community can be conceptualized as physical territory, as a series of relationships or setting for them, and as a location of institutions.

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This chapter examines first questions related to those aspects of community inherently connected to its physical attributes. Next we focus on the question of whether homogeneity is necessary for a spirit of community and discover that Columbians strongly support an alternative formulation of their community as a heterogeneous place. Then we examine the community as a support for the primary group of the family. Next we consider psychological identification of residents with their community. That identification is manifest partly in a desire for democratic participation which, as we shall see, is frequently frustrated by the bureaucratic nature of the CA. Columbians' exercise of democratic control of the internal institution of the CA is frustrated by its control by external forces. Finally, we shall see that Columbians have not utilized their CA as a resource for attempting to control the external institutions, such as schools, which govern delivery of many services within Columbia. In reading these sections, it will be helpful to continually recall what is the concept about community values, what is the theoretical potential for utilizing the considerable resources of the CA to maximize that value, and what interests ultimately are served?

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Physical Aspects of Community Valued

We have conceptualized that some aspects of community which might be valued are those inherently related to its physical attributes. We explored the concern for physical appearance and safety. We shall also discuss the importance placed upon the economic value of the property.

In considering community as a physical place, we are not arguing that the physical attributes are unrelated to sociological factors such as socio-economic status. We are merely, for purposes of discussion, separating them from the quality and quantity of actual relations which we shall discuss in the next sections. For instance, it is possible for neighbors who have no relationship with each other to nevertheless simultaneously maintain their property in a similar fashion. The amount of trash in shopping centers can be a reflection of the amount of money spent on maintenance rather than the habits of the shoppers. We are here merely examining the value placed on the physical attributes of community residents, recognizing that their attitudes are likely a reflection of their socio-economic status.

Columbia is a physically attractive place, and all data gathered during this study indicated that Columbia residents value that attractiveness and simply assume that maintaining it is one of the chief functions of the CA. During the budget hearings, there was no major

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attack on devoting a large proportion of the overall budget to physical maintenance. During one Oakland Mills Village Board meeting, when members were angrily discussing the fact that they could not absorb the cost of maintaining the area around the Center and continue to provide quality programming, they made a number of comments that they would prefer to maintain their programming and let the trash accumulate. They did not, however, present this idea to the Executive Committee either as a realistic alternative or even as a threat.

During that year residents from Oakland Mills formed a citywide Open Space Committee advocating an alternative approach to land maintenance. They suggested that rather than mowing all the open space it would be preferable both for ecological and financial reasons to let most of it return to a natural state, with selective mowing in certain areas including those used for playgrounds. The following year during a further drastic reduction in the operating budget such a policy was adopted.

Resident concern with the appearance of their community was not based solely on consideration of personal aesthetic values. During the interviews it was clear that residents were aware of the effect of Columbia's appearance on potential residents. This affected the ability of Columbia to achieve its goals of

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becoming a city. It also affected the financial viability of the CA. The CA had borrowed millions of dollars expecting increasing assessments from a rapidly expanding residential area. Any slow-down in residential sales meant CA had less revenue than expected for operations and repayment of loans.

According to one village representative on the Executive Committee, this body spent hours in closed sessions debating whether to spend $3,000 on tulips for the Town Center or $2,400 to keep the fountain flowing in one of the village centers. He indicated that the developer told the Executive Committee that "people move to Columbia because it looks good" and that many potential residents were unconcerned about the concepts of a new town. A number of the elected representatives agreed and felt that it was more important to have tulips in the Town Center than child care or transportation. Others disagreed and the Executive Committee spent some 20 to 30 minutes during the final decision meetings arguing over the expenditure of $5,000 to keeping blooming plants around the trees in the Town Center. One village representative suggested that instead of paying maintenance men to dig up the plants and throw them away each season volunteers could plant perennials. The developer's representatives and some of the village representatives were unwilling to depend on volunteers for this task,

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although they were willing to depend upon volunteers to provide for many of the human service functions. They were also willing to depend upon volunteers to maintain the trees in the cul-de-sacs where people had already purchased their homes. The Owen Brown representative protested this, pointing out that the homes had been marketed with the understanding that the CA would maintain all of the open areas, that tree maintenance was beyond the knowledge of most residents, and that even in cities residents were not expected to maintain trees located on common property. He was outvoted.

The emphasis on property values was illustrated by another incident which occurred later the same year. An association concerned with the mentally retarded wanted to place several group homes in Columbia. Many residents protested vociferously. Informants indicated that one of the chief reasons, in addition to general fear of the unknown, was concern with property values. Several informants noted that many of the most vocal opponents were blacks using the identical arguments that would have been used against them in some less liberal communities.

The emphasis on value of community in terms of property value is not surprising. Property values are important in the American tradition. Owning a home is most Americans' largest single investment. Property values throughout the Washington metropolitan area were

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soaring during this period, and Columbia had proved to be a particularly attractive investment. Almost all of those interviewed owned homes and thus had a vested interest in the property values in Columbia. The likelihood of community valued as a place of investment is increased by the expectation of moving. Less than 50 percent of the respondents in the Burby study definitely planned to remain in Columbia beyond a period of several years. (Center, 1974:11). Thus, Columbia residents had a vested interest in viewing their community not only as an attractive and satisfying place to live but also as an important short-term economic investment. Their interests thus corresponded to those of the developer and the lenders who had a long-term investment in Columbia property.

Safety is another potential aspect of community as a physical place. On the whole, informants did not consider that concern with safety was an appropriate role for the CA. The CA had prepared a film on vandalism for the schools, the Town Center summer evening programs were started to attract people to the area and thus reduce the vandalism around the lake, and the willingness to expend funds for the Oakland Mills Teen Center was partly a concern with reducing teen vandalism. On the whole, however, the response was that police enforcement was a County function. On both traffic and crime matters

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coordination with the appropriate County personnel was largely seen as a village board rather than a CA function. Two members of the Oakland Mills Board had served on the village safety committee and complained that the CA had been unwilling to expend the necessary funds for security hardware for the Center, despite vandalism. Earlier, the Board had requested that CA subsidize increased surveillance of the Center area by security guards hired by the developer and the merchants for the shopping area. CA refused. One Board Member suggested that CA's reluctance to become more involved in security matters could manifest an unwillingness to admit that Columbia had any crime problem, for fear of the effect this would have on potential buyers. Regardless of the reasons, unlike concern with physical appearance, concern with insuring community as a safe place generally was not perceived to be a role of the CA.

Another aspect of maintenance of property values is enforcement of the covenants which restrict use of property and proscribe certain standards of maintenance. An architectural review board in each village is responsible for convenant enforcement but can be overruled by the developer. Several residents complained that, in fact, HRD had been unwilling to exercise its authority to sue residents who failed to conform. The reluctance to utilize the courts is attributed by residents both

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to a desire to achieve results through persuasion and perhaps an unwillingness to test the entire concept in court, certainly without a very strong case.

On the whole, however, covenant enforcement has not caused major conflict between residents and the developer. (Baker, 1976). Enforcement varies somewhat from village to village and from year to year depending upon the inclination of the architectural review board. In one case, a village board actually removed the chairman because he was actively looking for minor violations. The location of the debates about placement of fences and swing sets at the village level makes sense from the viewpoint of enabling effective resident control by the most affected persons. It also protects both the CA and the developer from being arbitrators of squabbles between neighbors. These can become intense. One village representative to the Executive Committee who previously had served on the architectural review board indicated that the extent of conflict there was much greater than on village or citywide issues. He mentioned that the question of location of a swing set was likely to cause considerable concern about effect on property values, while the fact that a black had moved into a house on the street was not considered noteworthy. This brings us to a more thorough examination of the entire question of heterogeneity in Columbia and how it affects residents' views of their community as a desirable place.

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Heterogeneity: A Valued Reality

The Context of Integration in Columbia

We have seen in the last chapter that Columbians share the basic American concern with property values. In many cases in America this concern with property values is either a factor in resident desires for racial and class homogeneity, or at least it is a convenient euphemism for both realtors and individuals. There are other reasons, however, for individuals desiring racial or class heterogeneity including pure snobbery (Smookler, 1975) and a desire to associate with persons of similar habits and values which is related to some of the sociological and planning literature related to community. We shall first examine some of these, then consider the existence of a counter-ideology and reality in Columbia. We identified support for heterogeneity as one of the chief factors in the budget process. As we examine it, however, we shall see that it illustrates some more complex aspects of heterogeneity in Columbia. We shall see that the questions of class and racial integration are subtly interwoven and the success of each is related to the simultaneous presence of both. We also shall examine some of the nuances of integration in Columbia, its difficulties, and the various levels of its success.

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Tönnies' classical concept of community implies considerable homogeneity. As noted earlier, Wirth and Simmel are among those who stress the importance of meeting a variety of people in the creation of the urban mentality. (Tönnies, 1963; Wolff, 1950). Part of the American ideal has been that of a melting pot where people of different nations could come and merge their differences so as to live together peacefully and where each contributed his own skills to create something new. The myth regards the diversity as positive, and the myth persists. The writings of settlement house workers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century abound with discussions of how to help children share the special foods or skills of their country. School book illustrations reinforce the myth.

Recently there has been considerable debate in sociological and planning literature regarding the question of homogeneity versus pluralism as an ideal of American communities. Glazer suggested that the ideal of a melting pot has not worked. He found that after three generations residents of New York and its suburbs had values and behaviors which differed substantially according to their ethnic and religious background and that they tended to select residential areas which reflected those values. (Glazer, 1963). Herbert Gans found that class differences in Levittown influenced attitudes towards child rearing and education and that

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these differences created community conflict. (Gans, 1967). His recommendation has been to segregate by class at the micro-neighborhood level, defining micro-neighborhood as the area of elementary school attendance. (Gans, 1973). In a study of new developments, however, Helene Smookler found that residents who lived in communities with class integration were more likely to be in favor of such integration and that this favorable attitude varied positively with physical proximity to the lower income residents. (Smookler, 1975).

Certainly since World War II there has been an increasing trend toward living areas that are segregated by income and stage of life cycle, with only minor variations in the pattern of segregation by race. Gans has suggested that income segregation is desirable since it permits the children to associate with anyone in their neighborhood without the risk of being exposed to children with different class values. That is, given the American belief that we are a classless society, it is difficult and awkward for persons of different classes to live near each other, especially in a new situation, since there will not be clearly defined and easily recognized rules of social distance which would exist in a society with a more rigid class structure. (Gans, 1968).

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In creating a new community, decisions about heterogeneity could be made along several variables: race, other ethnic groups, age, marital status, stage of life cycle, income, education, occupation, cultural tastes. A typical statement of purpose by a Title VII developer for example, reads:

> To provide as broad a range of housing types, styles, prices and amenities as possible so that as large a variety of prospective residents as possible can find housing in accordance with their needs and desires; to provide housing throughout the Project which will be soundly built and uncrowded and will accommodate persons of every age, marital status, family composition, ethnic background, race, religion, income level and life style; and to provide housing which is functional yet aesthetically pleasing both inside and outside and which harmonizes with the surrounding environment. (Shenandoah, 1973).

Developers make conscious decisions about whom they want to live in their community and how to attract them. Key decisions include: price of housing, type of housing, whether single family or multifamily and number of bedrooms per unit, amount of recreational facilities provided for different ages or tastes, presence or absence of facilities such as child care centers or nursing homes, the type of institutions or industry which can be attracted to locate in the community.

In addition to providing the type of housing and amenities which might attract the desired residents, the developer can influence the selection of residents

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by positive and negative marketing techniques. The Title VII agreements, for example, include detailed Affirmative Actions plans which require developers to take positive steps to market to minorities, including utilizing the minority press. Thus the question of creation of a heterogeneous community is not merely that of the individual values of the developer or residents, but also a question of what actions are taken to implement those values and what are the countervailing interests. Smookler, who studied racial and class integration in 26 communities as part of the Burby study, emphasized the importance of the actions of the developers for achievement of either racial or class integration. (Smookler, 1975).

As stated earlier, Rouse always had conceived of Columbia as a community which would be racially integrated, contain people at different stages of the life cycle, and contain an income diversity. Although the idea of a racially integrated community does not seem remarkable today, it was a bold step in the early sixties when Columbia was begun. Howard County was a rural, conservative area and rural Maryland frequently has reflected traditional Southern attitudes about race. The suburbs of Baltimore and Washington, D.C., with which Rouse would have to compete in selling housing were rigidly segregated. Rouse took positive actions to achieve racial integration. He did not hide his intentions from the

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Howard County residents even while struggling to obtain crucial zoning approval. He showed pictures of both blacks and whites in his advertising. He made it clear to realtors and builders that the community was to be marketed on an open basis. The success of his efforts can be seen in the fact that 20 per cent of Columbia's residents are minorities compared to less than three per cent in a nearby community with which it was paired in age and style of housing, nine per cent in Howard County, and 11 per cent in nearby Montgomery County, which is similar to Columbia in levels of income and education. Even more significant, blacks in Columbia are not concentrated in one area and resales appear to occur to members of both races randomly. In comparison, in many areas of suburban Washington, D.C. most integration has amounted to an extension of the black ghetto. Thus, Columbia has managed to avoid the cynical definition of integration too true for many of the suburbs of Washington, D.C., and other cities, that integration is that period between the time the first black moves in and the last white moves out.

Integration in Columbia has disproved another common belief, racial integration can only succeed if the members of two races are of the same class. Middle income families purchase relatively expensive houses that in some cases are within 100 feet of subsidized

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housing. (Smookler, 1975). Rouse had always envisioned Columbia as reflecting the entire range of a normal community. He wanted anyone who worked there to be able to live there. Brooks points out that defining the goal in terms of employment eliminates many poor who are unemployed, retired or on welfare. (Brooks, 1974). Studies performed for the New Communities Administration, however, have indicated that, assuming accurate assumptions about wages and single parent families, using a diversified employment base as a measure for economic integration would require a substantial amount of low- and moderate-income housing in a community. Rouse's other announced housing goal was that 10 per cent of the housing would be for low- and moderate- income households. That percentage probably is substantially below what would be required for a balanced employment base.

Given a sincere goal of providing low- and moderate- income housing, implementation of that goal depends on successful resolution of a variety of economic and practical problems. The first is the effect on the rest of the market of including low- and moderate-income housing. If the developer cannot sell homes to the rest of the market, he cannot survive. The problem becomes one of selecting the amount of such housing which a given community can absorb without adversely affecting property values, the distribution in each

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neighborhood or subneighborhood, the timing of construction, the advertising techniques, and the selection processes for attracting and screening potential tenants and homeowners.

The other aspect of successful implementation is the physical production of the housing. There are two problems here. First is the fact that the developer can sell land at higher prices for higher income housing. In order for low- and moderate- income housing to be economically feasible, it is helpful, if not absolutely necessary, for the land to be sold at below the going market rate, which Rouse did in some cases. (Brooks, 1974). Even if the land costs are held to a minimum, it is almost impossible to build low- and moderate- income housing without use of Federal programs, which frequently are either unavailable or minimally available. Finally, provision of such housing is sometimes impossible and always more difficult without the support of county officials who must approve zoning changes and building permits.

Initially, Howard County would not adopt a required Workable Program to form a housing authority for building low income housing. According to Brooks, Rouse did not feel that he could fight the County on this issue because he needed its approval for zoning and other matters. Later he also took the County's position against a group attempting to secure tax exempt

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status for moderate-income housing projects. (Brooks, 1974).

Nevertheless, the existence of even a modest amount of low and moderate income housing (seven per cent of the units in 1975 were subsidized) is a considerable achievement. Smookler stated that:

> . . .there is little question that the key influencing factor on all economic integration policies has been the manifest commitment of the developer James W. Rouse. The Rouse Company or its subsidiaries have not only initiated the construction of a majority of the subsidized units in the community, but perhaps more important, the developer has made a number of crucial decisions which will effect future acceptance of both racial and economic integration.
>
> Rouse has, in effect, created a community with a non-exclusionary ethos. Important actions which have facilitated the provision of low cost housing in Columbia include: (1) the recruitment of key personnel who also have a commitment to socio-economic integration; (2) early solicitation of strategies for implementation of economic integration objectives; (3) early announcements of economic and racial integration goals; (4) inclusions of goals in advertisement of the community; (5) facilitating the construction of low cost housing by writing down the cost of land; (6) development of alternate strategies for provision of low cost housing; and (7) working with organizations and residents of the community to establish credibility of economic integration. . . . (Smookler, 1975:73).

The CA has played no role in the provision of low- and moderate-income housing. At one point $10,000 was allocated for a study of possible contributions, but this was dropped during the budget cut-backs. CA has provided an Earn-a-Membership Plan where CA provided jobs for people to earn their package plan fees. They also

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had sliding scales for child care and, more recently, a package plan, which covers use of all the facilities, at half-price for residents of subsidized housing.

In considering Columbians' support for their community as a heterogeneous place it is useful to look in more detail at the structural conditions and behavioral norms that implement and reinforce this value. We shall first consider the demography of Columbia, then the role of the developer in establishing an ethos of tolerance and mechanisms for protection of property values. Then we shall examine more closely the dynamics of support for the Teen Center during the budget hearings. This will be followed by an examination of integration at primary group levels, the role of CA in intergroup relations in Columbia, and the role of what we shall call intimate secondary relations in a heterogeneous community.

Columbia is a middle-class community with a high income level, a high proportion of persons with professional occupations, and an unusually high education level. Each of these traits is independently correlated with racial tolerance. Therefore, from a demographic analysis, we would expect Columbia residents to display a high degree of willingness to live in a heterogeneous situation.

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The developer made a conscious decision to market Columbia as a total community with a diversity of people. This undoubtedly created a self-selection process whereby extremely prejudiced persons did not move to Columbia. Smookler, however, carefully considered this and determined that "attitude change can occur through contact with persons of different status, and proximity has considerable effect. . . ." Respondents in the overall study who lived closest to the subsidized housing were the least likely to object to racial and economic integration. (Smookler, 1975:122).

The standard of acceptance of diversity established by the developer's statements and publicity,as well as CA statements and documents, reinforced the generally liberal attitudes expected from highly educated, middle-income professionals. The expressed value was that of the American ideal city with a place for all Americans, a watered-down, non-explicit version of the melting pot theory. The norms expected were those of tolerance.

In addition to creating a climate in which verbal expressions of prejudice were likely to cause a negative response, the developer took many specific steps which would insure that property values would be protected. The convenants require a strict level of property maintenance. If an owner does not maintain his property the

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architectural review board can apply a variety of sanctions and ultimately can have the work performed and bill the owner.

No building can be built in Columbia until its plans have been approved by the architectural review committee. Since members of the architectural review committee are approved by each village board, residents have immediate access to them and ultimate control over them. The developer has ultimate control over the review boards until the village has been completed. This structure assures the residents that anything built in their neighborhood will be subject to review by residents of their village and that the village has sanctions which can be used against people who do not maintain their property. This research has not probed for nor discovered any conscious connection by Columbians between such mechanisms and racial integration. Nevertheless, the existence of such mechanisms should be reassuring to anyone with the fear, not uncommon in our society, that the presence of blacks or low-income persons will lower property values. In the usual inner-city situation, this fear becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy since the opening of an area to blacks becomes the signal for withdrawal of maintenance and other services by real estate dealers, apartment owners, and banks. Zoning restrictions against conversion of units

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into smaller apartments and building codes are frequently not enforced and the city itself often withdraws maintenance services as white residents move out. In Columbia the convenants provide immediate tools to residents to protect their own property values. Thus, in Columbia, there is a climate of opinion established supporting heterogeneity and mechanisms which would prevent such heterogeneity from adversely affecting the middle-class standards of property maintenance or property values themselves.

Columbians, as evidenced by the Burby data, did not perceive the presence of blacks to be a threat to their property values. Less than three per cent more Columbians thought the presence of moderate-income blacks, those making between $5,000 and $10,000, would harm their neighborhood than thought whites of the same income level would do so. In fact, the Burby data support the interest of Columbia residents in a heterogeneous community. Over 60 per cent did not feel that the low-income white families or low-income black families with annual incomes under $5,000 would harm their neighborhood. Ninety per cent (90.4 per cent) felt that the moderate-income white families (incomes $5,000 to $10,000) and 87.7 per cent felt that moderate-income black families would not hurt their neighborhood. When asked what they would like to see more money spent on in the community, the largest

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number of Columbia residents (50 per cent) indicated housing for low-income families. The next two items mentioned, public health facilities, 47.3 per cent, and public transportation, 43.2 per cent, were facilities likely to be especially beneficial to low-income residents, as was evidenced by the discussion on transportation during the budget controversy. (Burby, 1976:113; Center, 1974). Another study indicated that more residents felt there were too few subsidized units in their neighborhood, 17 per cent, than thought there were too many, 13 per cent. Of respondents who lived in neighborhoods with no subsidized units, 41 per cent said that units should be built in their neighborhood with 64 per cent citing the Columbia ideal as their reason. (CA, 1973:21). The respondents during the interviews in the present study, when asked to describe the ideal population for Columbia, made general statements about the desirability of having Columbia reflect the range of society.

In terms of the budget hearings, there was considerable support for the concept of a heterogenous community. Support for values can be expressed in a number of ways, including symbolic expressions of support for the concept and establishing norms supporting the values or mechanisms making the norms effective. Both were displayed during the budget hearings.

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Support was expressed for "the Columbia concept." One person protested increases of fees for tennis on the basis that it "(is) going to create a private club (which is) against the philosophy of Columbia." A member of the Early Childhood Board of Directors complained that an increase of day care fees "will force these families out of Columbia. These are hard working people. . .Columbia will become the elite upper class. This is not what I and my family came to Columbia for."

Such statements can be taken as expressions of value or as mere rhetoric. There was, however, support for specific expenditures that would primarily benefit the low-income residents, the elderly, and lower-income black teenagers. Much of the support for public transportation was stated in terms of its impact upon teenagers and the elderly. One speaker asked what the proposed cutback in hours would do to handicapped persons, non-car owners on weekends, and the elderly who wished to visit their hospitalized friends, since visiting hours were in the evening.

One of the major issues during the budget controversy was support for the Oakland Mills Teen Center. Teen Centers in Columbia have had a history of rapid change in users from all white to all black, with many of the blacks being low-income and many living outside Columbia.

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There has been friction among the black and white teens and between the teens and adults using the shopping and other facilities nearby. A year earlier, the Oakland Mills Board and a group of black residents had obtained a commitment from CA for an experimental program which would try to change the nature of the center from a drop-in place to one offering a more organized program with widespread involvement of community adults. The black director was widely respected and had achieved sufficient success in the short period. Many residents, therefore, were reluctant to cut funding before the program had an opportunity to prove itself. Other factors also were at work. Informants indicated that "in a white, middle-class community, one of the things that you do not do is ever directly endanger a black program." Such an action "would destroy all the fantasies that people have about their liberalism." A CA staff member put it more positively as the residents' "way of expressing their solidarity with a sense of social justice."

During the hearings several speakers suggested that the fact that the Teen Center served a small, special segment of youth should be openly acknowledged and supported on that basis. Mostly, however, the black nature of the program was generally a well-known but tacitly unacknowledged fact. The statements in favor of a continued high level of funding were generally either vague

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statements about support of youth, praise of the new director, or rational arguments for continuing an experiment to its conclusion. The only person to address the issue strongly in terms of race was the Center's director. She forcefully identified "the issue of race. . . ." as crucial, stating that teen programs in Columbia had a six year history of failure partly due to the "inability of blacks and whites, men and women to get along." She claimed that "Columbia is not going to be judged on its buildings, but (how it handles) its people problems. . . women, race, gay people, jobless." She ended by describing the courses at the Teen Center as focusing on "black problems, white problems, photography which is black and white and color."

When interviewed later, Board members indicated that the all-white Board had experienced some uncomfortableness in dealing with this issue and with the black lobby which supported it. When a CA staff member was asked about the reluctance of the developer's representatives to vote against the Center because of the racial implications, he responded that it was a reluctance "not only on the part of the Executive Committee but of all the village boards."

Any reluctance which whites may have felt about voting against a program primarily serving black residents was undoubtedly sharpened by the existence of a strong

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lobby for the program, composed of some whites and black middle-class residents, especially a group called the Black Fathers. Although the General Manager of Columbia, Michael Spear, had a long-standing policy of not meeting with individual groups in private regarding budget matters, he did meet with the Black Fathers and indicated that they had convinced him that the program was sound enough to warrant support. Although he denied a concern with adverse publicity, pointing out that a developer who makes decisions on that basis would soon be immobilized, other respondents perceived the situation differently. They suspected that the potential for bad publicity from the articulate middle-class black men had influenced the developer's switch in position during the final stages of the budget process. A member of the Executive Committee who normally tended to support the developer's positions commented that:

> HRD was getting a lot of bad press. . .one of the issues that was always discussed (in the closed Executive Committee session) as being very important, was that most of the lenders read all the local newspapers. . . . If you're going to a bond market to sell bonds, you're not really wanting to go there at a disadvantage.

He continued that:

> the hidden agenda was that the Oakland Mills Teen Center in effect was an all-black center, and I think that there may have been some concern that if they turned it down some of the residents would have seen that as an anti-black vote.

The same respondent, however, pointed out that it was not unusual for the developer to "bend over backwards to

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accommodate the residents. This was one more (example)."

The reluctance of residents to openly discuss racial questions is also indicated by the position of the CA with regard to race. In terms of actual role, the CA reflected the residents' color-blindness, at least in terms of public statements or programs. There has never been any special training for staff in black history, black terms or attitudes. The CA has supported swimming pools but not boxing. A member of the Black Fathers complained that it took two years to obtain lighting for the basketball courts. The CA staff itself was largely white, and it had been resident pressure that resulted in hiring of the first black staff members. One of the first of the CA staff to be eliminated during the budget cuts was the well-respected black director of volunteer services. During the public hearings, the fact that she was one of the few blacks in a position of leadership within the CA was not highlighted.

One of the respondents suggested that the CA could have played a role in alleviating the type of subtle difficulties in race relations described below through various awareness programs. He added, however, that the "developer would have done everything in his power to keep the CA out of that kind of thing. . . . Their job is to sell housing."

During the interviews respondents indicated that on the whole blacks were not active in Columbia affairs.

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One reason suggested, by whites, was the employment of both spouses in many black families. Another was their whole-hearted concentration on enjoying the middle-class suburban existence of Columbia. A third was perhaps some ambivalence in their own roles as both blacks and persons who "had made it" into Columbia. Whatever the reasons, although blacks were over-represented in attendance at the budget meetings, none were on the Oakland Mills Village Board or on the CA Executive Committee that year.

Some Nuances of Integration

As noted above, there was little direct discussion of the crucial fact of the racial implications of the Teen Center issues. We shall now explore further the general reticence of Columbians on the issue of race and suggest how this may affect and be the result of both the personal relationships among members of different races and the political realities in Columbia.

In most cases white respondents indicated that while they were friendly with black neighbors or acquaintances they did not have close personal friends who were black although their children did. This correlates with the observation made by one respondent that the young children get along well because they largely lack prejudice and the adults make a conscious effort to be friendly.

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> . . .a typical white family, for instance, or the typical black family, that moves to Columbia moves here knowing that Columbia is seeking racial equality. . .that Columbia hopes to not have prejudice towards one or the other. And they come and the white person looks at their black neighbor next door and says "Now, I'm going to be friendly to this person." And the black neighbor looks at his white neighbor and says, "Now we're going to be friends, and I'm not going to say that I don't like them or that they don't like me."

If this approach does not necessarily create intimate friendships and does not solve all of the problems it nevertheless can create a generally receptive and neighborly atmosphere. One of the respondents, who stated that "I'm not an affirmative-action person, mainly because I'm not prejudiced. I don't see anyone out there affirmatively acting for me," nevertheless summed up the situation stating "integration is an accepted way of life" in Columbia. Blacks confirmed this view. One discussed the fact that in Columbia she expected to be accepted whereas in some areas of the County she was not sure she was welcome. Overt expressions of racism are rare and not condoned.

Subtle expressions of racism do occur, however, as well as some friction and pure misunderstandings. One white observer commented that many of the whites moving to Columbia had liberal views but no personal experience with the various black subcultures. The result was that they did not know how to relate to the blacks they met

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and frequently insulted them without even being aware of it.

> Whites don't know how to read (blacks. They) don't know what the expressions are, the key words. (They) commit faux pas, and use words that offend. In addition to ignorance about language, there was frequently a subtle simple lack of response or recognition which would have occurred between whites which did not occur between the white and the black. In one case, a respondent was talking to a black man at a community function when the wife of a friend walks up and says "hi" and ignores him. If he had been white, she would have introduced herself. (You could see him) cringe.

The same informant suggested that whites did not look blacks in the eye. He stated that blacks in Columbia are suspicious of whites and frequently test them in subtle ways, tests which the whites too often fail, thus reinforcing the mutual distance.

The testing is particularly marked among youth, which may account for some of the difficulties in maintaining integrated teen facilities as well as some of the difficulties between adults and teens hanging around the village centers. The respondent further suggested that the black teenagers resent the fact that the whites fear them. In some cases a youth from a family with a $40,000 annual income would dress in blue jeans, hang around the teen center, and either by minor verbal comments or merely facial expressions test the whites to see if they would respond with fear. The whites usually did, although the threat was no greater than the type of interchanges

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they had with their children's white friends. The effect of the incident would be to reinforce the stereotypes and suspicions of both participants.

The problem for the teenagers is heightened by several factors. Unlike their parents, they did not consciously choose to live in an integrated situation although they were old enough to have well established prejudices. In school they are forced into constant inter-racial contact and sometimes subject to peer pressure to be loyal to their own race. We would speculate, however, that it may partly be the teenagers conscious or unconscious protection from facing the complexities of interracial dating and their parents' reactions to it. In addition, some blacks in Columbia and others who visit Columbia from nearby areas in Howard County come from lower socio-economic backgrounds with more agressive attitudes towards fighting. Also, the different tastes in music and styles of dancing are more important in teenage life than for adults.

Finally Burkhart concluded that black middle-class youth chose segregation because they "saw the potential for power as lying more in their 'blackness' than in their class position." (Burkhart, 1975:26). Whatever the reasons for the self-segregation of youth by race, it seems to make Columbia adults uncomfortable since it

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counters the Columbia ideology. Burkhart noted that it was rarely discussed openly, and that terms had acquired special meanings which enabled people to discuss questions of race and class in relation to teens publically without ever being completely open. That is, when the word 'teens' was used in a context referring to problems other than lack of participation in programs, it meant black teens. If the term 'black teens" was used it meant lower income black teens. Reference to "problems with teens" meant young black adults of high school age or older who congregated in public places. On the other hand, if people talked about "What else can be done for teens?" they generally meant white teens between ages thirteen and high school graduation. (Burkhart, 1975:197, 192).

Black adult respondents volunteered comments about a "very subtle kind of racism, on the surface everything seems to be all right." One black respondent suggested that whites and blacks come from different cultural backgrounds and "things have different meanings for both groups." There were reports, for example, of high school teachers addressing teenage black youth as "boy," seemingly unaware of the historic use of the term to deny the manhood of black men. In another instance, teachers for the new year's classes were giving demonstrations at a village center. When a black women began her talk and asked for volunteers to assist, almost all of the whites

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left the room. Later, the same teacher found that when she appeared for her class on Saturday morning the room generally had not been cleaned, despite continual complaints by herself and her students.

The existence of these types of instances should be considered within the context of how integration in Columbia works. As mentioned earlier, we had observed a lack of candor in addressing questions of race during the budget hearings; this was similar to the manner in which questions of class and race had been treated in another interracial community with which we were familiar, Hyde Park-Kenwood in Chicago, Illinois, which had an ideology about integration similar to that in Columbia. As we explored the question of race relations with Columbia residents we noticed a distinct uncomfortableness on the part of most respondents of both races.

We suggest that there are two reasons for this lack of candor. One is the ideology that color is irrelevant since we are all equal; that to notice color, and especially to connect any behavior patterns with color, is an admission of unconscious racism. Combined with this is the uncomfortableness often expressed by many whites who have never known many blacks and are afraid of inadvertently using the wrong words or displaying conscious or unconscious racism. Therefore, since people are uncomfortable with noticing any differences

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between themselves and their acquaintances of a different race, they ignore the fact of racial differences and are afraid to confront problems directly. This can create further mutual misunderstandings. In one case, white adults were being chased from the tot lot nearest their homes by black elementary school children and were afraid to either confront the children directly or discuss the matter with the childrens' parents. Such reluctance to expect appropriate behavior from their children can be insulting to black parents. One parent cited a teacher's permitting her daughter to play in school rather than work as an expression of racism, that is, the white teacher did not expect the performance from the black child that she would have demanded from a white one. Our point is that even given good will on both sides, racial misunderstandings occur. The fact that they generally are not addressed openly in Columbia probably does not contribute to a lessening of instances. Whites can be unknowledgeable about black culture or even inconsiderate and insensitive individuals without necessarily being racists. If no one tells them to stop using expressions with racist connotations, they continue the offensive behavior.

We suggest that while whites may be uncomfortable for fear of offending and because they have not known many blacks previously, blacks also may be uncomfortable

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since many must have come from segregated neighborhoods and have known whites mainly as teachers, bosses or in other formal situations. For them we hypothesize that the problem is not just being a minority in a situation in which their special experience or language may be misunderstood. They also must constantly face the problem of judging when frictions or minor disagreements are due to prejudice. One black board member indicated that for an entire year he was never sure whether his comments were being ignored because he was the new member of a previously close-knit board, or whether he was a victim of subtle racism.

He also objected to being placed in a position of being the instant authority on all matters relating to blacks. When a problem occurred involving blacks, other Board members would look at him and sometimes he would look away. His attitude was "don't look at me as if I'm the savior. I didn't want them to think that I was there to deal with the black problem. I was there elected to the Board just like they were." In addition, he felt it "crippled the white people on the board for them not to have the opportunity to deal (with the problem)."

The reluctance to discuss matters of racial differences or difficulties directly was evidenced also in Columbians' uncomfortableness about reporting that there

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is a minimum of socializing between the races and that a number of all black organizations exist. We suggest three possible reasons. First, is mutual uncomfortableness and fear of offending in a situation where the nuances of words and subcultures are unknown. One white reported that the presence of a black on a board who was treating every issue solely in racial terms became tiresome. The black just quoted was highly sophisticated and seemed entirely comfortable being interviewed on racial questions, but most individuals find it a strain to be in situations where they find themselves constantly weighing the exact implications of remarks to decide what response is appropriate.

Besides mutual uncomfortableness, differences in styles of socializing among blacks and whites were reported. Some were matters of taste, some reflected an entirely different structure of social organization. One black woman asked why would she socialize with whites since she liked different types of dancing, different types of entertaining and a different style of social life. Traditionally much of black middle class social life has revolved around clubs which combine social activities with fund raising for charitable purposes. Blacks in Columbia have established chapters of a number of these organizations and created new ones. Several

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chapters of national fraternities and sororities exist as well as a black singles club and a chapter of Jack and Jill. The latter is an organization of approximately 40 families which sponsors activities for children and social events for families. Membership is limited and by invitation only. Two organizations of black men have been created for a combination of political, civic and social purposes. One, mentioned earlier, is the Black Fathers with a core group of aproximately 10 members and perhaps fifty others who assist in certain activities such as fund raising events and sponsoring a highly successful basketball league. One of the two Baptist churches is predominately black, the other predominately white. Membership in these black organizations overlaps and involves entire families. The fraternities tend to have women's auxiliaries. The Black Fathers meet in homes. A favorite fund raising activity of sororities is sponsoring dances to which couples are invited to buy tickets. The total structure is quite different from that of the village boards, which we later shall discuss as involving intimate secondary relationships, or from completely unstructured exchanges of dinner invitations among several individual couples.

Although the existence of these black organizations was not mentioned as a reason for limited black-white socializing or limited black participation in CA

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and other activities we suggest that it was influential, if only because of the conflicting time demands. In addition, several blacks volunteered the information that much of their social life revolved around family and friends in Baltimore or Washington, D.C. A recent Baltimore newspaper article discussed the inter-city continuity among black social organizations and life and said that Columbia had recently become another black social center. (The Sun, 1976). Besides maintaining old ties, socializing in the cities provides access to black clubs and entertainers.

Here again, the level of communication between the races in Columbia seems limited. Mere knowledge of the existence of the black institutional structure does not seem to be widespread among whites. Indeed, one white respondent seemed indignant when the researcher asked about it, indicating that he had been active in Columbia affairs for two years before he had learned of it. Black references to this white researcher about the differences in the patterns of socializing were never very explicit.

Again, the existence of these half-acknowledged differences among the races, is important only as a reflection of the general ideology of nondifference which exists in Columbia and because of the potential for minor misunderstandings and hurt feelings on the

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part of whites who are friendly with individual blacks but not included in their social events which are club oriented. On the other hand, we suspect that blacks may feel excluded when not invited to participate in white social events without fully realizing that their interactions with whites primarily are in situations which generally do not lead to further socializing among whites. That is, blacks mainly know whites in Columbia because they are neighbors or members of the village boards or other organizations. Neighbors frequently deliberately avoid becoming personally intimate with other neighbors, as we shall discuss briefly in a later chapter dealing with intimate secondary relationships. White board members also generally are not personal friends in the same manner as are members of black civic organizations where membership tends to involve whole families and overlap with friendship circles. We do not know, but suggest, that the potential for feeling excluded exists if black perceive that more socializing occurs among whites in these situations than actually exists.

The fact that social relations among blacks and whites is limited and that members of each race may experience occasional bewilderment or even hurt feelings about this does not deny the substantial success of integration in Columbia. First, members of both races do

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have the opportunity to know each other and to further their mutual social interaction at whatever pace they prefer. Burkhart concluded that "the combination of mutual respect, assertiveness, and friendliness that characterizes casual contacts between blacks and whites in Columbia is unusual enough that it ought never to be minimized. . . ." (Burkhart, 1976:234-235).

Second, we earlier mentioned the considerable achievement in creating access for blacks to a desirable living environment. Blacks like living in Columbia. One black respondent, who had cited a number of instances which she considered racist, nevertheless, said she liked living there. When asked why, her response was that in other cities living sections are segregated and "the street sweeper doesn't come down the black streets" whereas in Columbia that type of discrimination could never occur. Perhaps because many blacks have had to struggle to obtain decent community services, they are more appreciative of Columbia than their white neighbors. According to the Burby study, black residents were more satisfied with Columbia than were the white residents. Blacks also liked Columbia more than blacks living in a nearby black middle income suburb liked their community. (Burby, 1976:466). Thus, the second level of success of integration of Columbia is the mere fact of physical integration which gives blacks an access to community assets they otherwise could not necessarily enjoy.

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Although our research did not focus on low- or moderate-income residents in Columbia, data from other studies indicate that integration has been successful for them. On the basis of studying five communities with subsidized housing, including Columbia, Smookler concluded that that, "Overall, their quality of life has improved by the move to new communities." (Smookler, 1975:144). While some have predicted that such residents might be isolated and unhappy within the more affluent community, this did not seem to occur. "They have more interaction with friends and relatives than their higher income neighbors or than the respondents in the controls. . . .(They)do not see their neighbors as 'hostile.'" (Smookler, 1975:140).

The residents of subsidized housing ranked facilities and services better than in their previous community and were more positive about job opportunities, cost of living and the type of people than residents in subsidized housing in control communities. (Smookler, 1975: 139).

Burkhart indicated that in many ways the residents of the subsidized projects were similar to other Columbians.

> The percentage of these residents who participate actively in the on-site self-management plan resembles that of relatively active townhouse associations. We have observed similarities in the number of units improved with flowers and

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> bushes (subsidized housing plantings are more modest in general), in the variation in child-rearing habits between strictness and permissiveness, in the numbers of children per household, in the density of social networks within the development, and the enthusiasm for a development-sponsored social event (yard sale, picnic, etc.). (Burkhart, 1975:218).

A CA study indicated differences between residents in subsidized and non-subsidized units in income, race, (60 per cent compared to 84 per cent), two-parent households (52 per cent compared to 80 per cent), and employment outside of Columbia (59 per cent compared to 73 per cent). Nevertheless, the similarities were striking and included satisfaction with Columbia, believing race relations are better, thinking that there are about the right number of people of the same social background in the neighborhood, extent of activity in community affairs, and belief in the amount of influence in Columbia decision-making. (CA, 1974e).

This does not mean that difficulties do not occur. A study of one of the projects which contained an income and racial mix discussed problems of differences in life style, especially noise. Yet the project has a waiting list of applicants of both races. The researcher also suggested that some of the problems could have been eliminated with more careful planning including special training for the resident manager. (Sandberg, 1973).

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Thus, for both low- and moderate-income residents and blacks integration in Columbia, if not trouble-free, has been successful. Part of this success relates to the ideological belief in Columbia as an integrated community discussed earlier. We now want to consider a third level of success of integration, the political level.

Burkhart concluded that the Columbia ideology provides blacks considerable political power through their potential ability to embarrass the community and threaten its self-image. We have seen earlier how this functioned in mobilizing support for the Teen Center. Another instance was related to us regarding a beauty shop owner who fired three operators, two black and one white, and was essentially forced by community pressure to rehire the blacks.

As we noted earlier, Burkhart examined the various euphemisms used to discuss race in some detail. She concluded that much racial prejudice was masked behind class prejudice, always expressed in terms of realistic problems with residents of subsidized housing. Whereas we did not collect data on this, as noted earlier, our research did support her discussion of the general obtuseness of discussions regarding sensitive issues and the power which this provided black residents.

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Burkhart pointed out, for example, that white Columbians consistently perceived the subsidized units as being "'80 or 90 percent black'" although the actual figure was less than forty percent. Whereas we did not collect data on this, as noted earlier our research did support Burkhart's description of the general obtuseness of discussions regarding sensitive issues and the power which this provided black residents. Burkhart concluded that this vagueness of discussion and unwillingness of anyone to be branded as racist actually enabled blacks, or advocates of programs for low- and moderate-income residents, considerable power since anyone opposing them risked being considered opposed to the Columbia integration ideology.

Burkhart also emphasized that the existence of both low-income residents and blacks had mutual benefits for each. The low-income black was assured of being treated with respect during ordinary daily interactions, such as shopping, since the store clerk never knew whether he was serving the janitor or a famous Washington lawyer. Since one aspect of being black in our society has been the need to adopt white middle class

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values and styles in order to gain acceptance, the middle class black also gained freedom by having a community ideology where lower income blacks were to be accepted. The point is that in Columbia the power to decide what is proper behavior does not automatically belong to the whites.

> For the lawyer the standards for proper behavior must no longer be based on the unspoken model of white middle-class values, such as conservative dress, careful diction, and reserved behavior.

One black woman related an incident where a white man at a meeting involving discussions of youth related a conversation involving certain vulgar expressions, frequently used by black youth. He immediately apologized to her. She pointed out that she had been equally offended by swear words used commonly by whites at the meeting which countered her strict religious upbringing. She was asserting that the appropriateness of swear words needed to be determined by their offensiveness to either culture, not just that of the white.

In the type of subtle negotiations for good relations, status and power which are occuring continually in Columbia, Burkhart emphasized that "increased conflict and hostility must not be viewed solely as indicative of negative and disruptive forces, nor as a replay of former patterns of prejudice and segregation." (Burkhart, 1975:10).

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She claims that instead such separatism and hostility "represent power negotiations of an entirely different sort in the guise of former patterns of racism and classism." (Burkhart, 1975:10).

It is our impression that over the past several years in Columbia blacks have increasingly been willing both to openly socialize separately, and to make demands regarding racial matters more forcefully and explicitly. A number of the black clubs and organizations we mentioned earlier have been started during the past several years. One man commented that six or seven years ago he socialized in interracial groups whereas now he is more likely to be at a gathering which is all black. The Family Life Center recently sponsored a study on the special needs of black families, an indication of a willingness to address the fact that black families have some different problems than white families. Blacks have started applying to serve on County appointed advisory committees. Although the Teen Center was closed a year after the budget process we observed, some blacks felt that the 1975 effort to save it had a positive effect on later attitudes of both the CA and County agencies.

It would be possible to conclude from the above that integration has failed. We believe we have demonstrated that the reality is more complex. We think that

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Columbian blacks' increased willingness to address the fact of their blackness, with all of its cultural amplifications, indicates action taken from a position of security within the community and indicates strength rather than weakness. One sensitive white respondent commented that "the melting pot didn't melt, rather it's a slow mixing process."

In this section we have determined that Columbians' definition of community does not emphasize the homogeneity that frequently is expected. The next section will consider whether Columbians consciously utilize their community resources to support the institution of the family, usually strongly emphasized in definitions of community.

Community Support For Primary Group Relations: The Family

As discussed earlier, one of the key aspects of the change from Gemeinschaft, or "community," to Gesellschaft, or "society," is the shift from primary to secondary relations. Charles Cooley defined primary groups as those characterized by "we," that is by a sufficiently intimate psychological association; there is "a certain fusion of individuals in a common whole,

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so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group." (Cooley, 1962, p. 23). Primary groups, which are not always characterized by harmony, include the family, children's play groups, and the neighborhood. There people are valued not for the benefits which they provide but intrinsically as persons. (Coser, 1971, 308). The exact size, definition and variations among primary groups is complex. The concern with such groups here is to consider to what extent they are valued by or supported in a new community setting. In this section we shall discuss to what extent Columbians consciously used the resources of the CA to support the family unit. In the next section, we shall consider the question of support for neighborhood and villages.

The chief setting for primary group relations is the family. All definitions of community include the presence of the family. Indeed, the Hillary study of 94 definitions found that there were only three common elements in the definitions: the family, shared territory, and some cooperative activities. (Hillary, 1955). In his own analysis, Hillary specifically excluded groups such as prisons from classification as communities, due to the absence of family life. (Hillary, 1968). As institutions, both the family and the community have

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been considered to be rapidly changing and perhaps even dying. Much of the rhetoric about new communities concerns their ability to provide an attractive setting for family life. In addition, the ability to attract young, upwardly mobile families is crucial to market success. In terms of this research, the question becomes to what extent residents utilize the CA and its resources to strengthen family life. Support for family life in Columbia has been expressed in three ways: (1) support for child care, (2) support for groups or facilities specifically addressed to problems of family life or women, and (3) general consideration of family needs in the overall planning.

Child care has been supported strongly and consistently by both the developer and the CA until quite recently. Space for child care was included in the initial neighborhood and village plans. The developer also discovered that availability of child care was desirable from a marketing as well as philosophical viewpoint. (Wastie, 1973). The CA supported child care through several means. A Director of Early Childhood Education assisted private sponsors in locating in the community, helped organize cooperative nurseries and arranged for them to utilize space in CA facilities, and supervised the operation of a number of child care facilities sponsored directly by the CA. The CA role,

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therefore, was both direct program operation and facilitator. A 1971 study of child care in Columbia described an annual week-long training session arranged by the Early Childhood Director but attended by staff of both CA-sponsored and independent programs. (Childhood, 1971:29). Over the years, the CA financial support for child care has been considerable. The 1971 study indicated that for the full day care program the parents were only paying 59 per cent of the actual cost, with the CA subsidizing 41 per cent. The parent share of nursery school expenses was between 53 per cent and 60 per cent, depending upon the number of days of enrollment. (Childhood, 1971:37). According to the study, the total CA support for child care at that time, however, represented only approximately five per cent of its operating budget as opposed to 36 per cent for recreational services and nine per cent for maintenance. (Childhood, 1971:57). Computation of exact expenses for child care has been difficult, since, until 1975, the bookkeeping procedures did not clearly indicate the indirect subsidies for space and utilities. The Director of Early Childhood Education said the total subsidies for child care in FY 1975 were $119,400. (Dewey, 1976).

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Columbia residents have consistently indicated high support for child care. A volunteer Early Childhood Board has served as an advisory group and a strong advocate for child care. The 1971 study indicated that residents, including those who did not have children, strongly supported provision of child care and CA expenditures for it. Sixty-nine per cent of the respondents said that CA support of early childhood programs was either about right or too low. Of the residents with no children, 31 per cent throught that expenditures were too low. (Childhood, 1971:57). Residents also indicated strong support for the principle of a sliding scale with 70 per cent indicating approval. (Childhood, 1971: 60). The CA later advocated such a scale. The strong support for a child care by residents, including those who would not personally benefit, was also evidenced by a CA study of women's needs conducted in 1973. Eighty-two per cent of the women indicated that the CA should be involved in preschool programs and 87 per cent indicated that the CA should be involved in day care programs. Only four per cent did not want the CA involved in either program. Furthermore, 77 per cent of the women indicated that CA should be involved in group day care, meaning full-time care for preschool children, yet only 26 per cent of the women interviewed had children between the ages of two and five who would be eligible to use the

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facility and only 10 per cent of those women worked full time. Thus, although only 7.7 per cent of the women were full-time workers with preschool children between two and five, 77 per cent of the women supported services for that group. (CA, 1974f). In terms of the 1975 budget controversy, issues over support for child care revolved around three issues, none of which was addressed by the Oakland Mills Village Board. The issues were CA administrative staff in the Early Childhood program, rentals to be charged to cooperative nursery schools, and the amount of subsidy to the Thunderhill day care program. That program was widely considered to be outstanding, but expensive because of high staff-child ratio. The previous year subsidies had been available to parents with incomes of up to $17,000. A number of persons spoke in favor of maximum subsidies for child care at the hearings and no one spoke against them. The arguments presented in favor of support of child care were not so much in terms of support of the family as an institution or even the advantages for the child; rather they amounted to support for the low- and moderate-income families who needed child care so that spouses or single parents would work and obtain the income necessary to continue living in Columbia.

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There were also antagonisms about the Executive Committee's methods of making the cut-backs. The final results were restoration of some funds to permit lower rental charges for the nursery schools, some cuts in the subsidies for the sliding scale at the Thunderhill day care program, and some consolidation of staff.

The second area of support for family life would be through support for institutions specially addressed to family problems or those addressed to women's needs. It is, of course, possible that the latter could aid a movement towards women's independence from their spouses and families instead of the development of better relations with them. The main institution supportive of family life is the private nonprofit Family Life Center. This was not started by the CA but by a group of individuals. The idea was to utilize the numerous people in Columbia with professional expertise to provide counseling to other residents. The professionals, many of whom are government administrators, would have an opportunity to utilize their counseling skills and to further professional growth through interaction with other professionals and through special training sessions. In addition, the Center offers a variety of educational programs on family relations and personal growth and operates an information and referral service. The 1976 winter program, for example, included courses

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on enhancing marital communications, a parent education group, a course on "helping your child through separation or divorce" and weight control through behavior modification.

There have been several other groups concerned with provision of services for women. The Women's Center, which has existed for approximately six years, offers direct services including social gatherings and personal growth courses. The Women's Resource Center was established in 1973 by a volunteer who had conducted a survey of women's needs as part of a larger CA study. The latter established an information and referral system and a program called Womanscope which provides career counseling and limited job referrals. The Women's Resource Center is housed partly in a community center and partly in the Family Life Center.

CA support for programs for family life for women's programs has been extremely limited. In 1973 CA did include a special study of women's needs in its larger study of needs in Columbia. (CA, 1974f). In 1974 the budget adopted in April included $17,500 for a new program for human development to be directed at serving the needs of those not previously well served by CA: the handicapped, women and low-income residents. In addition, $7,500 was budgeted for the Family Life Center to organize a counseling program for teenagers,

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aimed mostly at the black teenagers who were creating difficulties in the Wilde Lake Village Center. During the mini-budget crisis of the summer all of the funding was dropped except for $5,000. Of this, $2,500 was given to the Women's Resource Center for provision of career counseling for women and $2,000 was allocated to the Women's Center for additional evening and weekend programs.

In addition to not receiving direct support from CA, the program of the Family Life Center has been harmed by the austerity program which forces the community centers to obtain substantial fees for renting space for classes and other activities. At present there is no space in Columbia which the Family Life Center can use for holding programs without paying a rental fee, except for programs offered in schools as part of a community college program. When asked why the CA had not become more involved in human services and family life activities, a member of the Family Life Center staff indicated that the CA position was that these were services which should be provided by the County and that the first priority for Columbia was attracting residents. The developer has, however, provided some support for the Family Life Center through provision of office space at less than commercial rents in the village center. CA

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also provided programs for teens including initiating a youth employment service now operated by the County.

The third way in which support for the family has been demonstrated in Columbia is through consideration of family needs during the planning both in the overall design and in providing specific facilities and amenities. The overall design included an emphasis on the neighborhood as a unit which would have community interactions and be a focus for family life, with an elementary school, recreational areas, and a friendly "Mom and Pop" store run by a special kind of storekeeper who would be an active participant in the community's daily life. (Burby, 1976). The villages would contain less frequently needed services and high schools, but would still be readily available to children through provision of pathways separated from traffic and a community-wide bus system. The internal transportation system would also link all neighborhoods to the Town Center with regional shopping and other major institutional facilities.

In fact, the idea of a "Mom and Pop" store did not work. Residents preferred shopping in supermarkets and the local convenience grocery stores were not economically viable. The transportation system also has proven to be basically uneconomical. Cut-backs in hours and services mean that it is not possible to utilize it for commuting to work or as a viable substitute for car

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ownership, since it does not run seven days a week or in the evenings or early morning.

In terms of a place to raise children, Columbia parents with children under 12 years old were quite satisfied, according to the findings of the Burby study. Ninety per cent of the respondents with young children rated Columbia excellent or good as a place to raise children. This was not significantly higher than the rankings of residents of other communities in the study; however Columbia residents did give a statistically significant higher rating to their community than residents of their paired community when asked whether Columbia was a better place to raise children than their previous community. (Burby, 1976:351).

Despite Columbians' regard for their community as a place for raising children, Columbians were slightly less satisfied with their family life than residents of their paired community, 44 per cent compared to 47 per cent. More significant is the finding that the Columbia residents ranked 25th in satisfaction with family life, compared to residents of the other communities studied and that it was only two per cent points higher than the lowest ranked community. (Burby, 1976:351) Whereas it is beyond the scope of this study to examine the causes of this seeming anomaly, two possible explanations can be offered. First, there are a variety of

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demographic and community factors. For the Burby study as a whole, there was a negative correlation between satisfaction with family life and education, satisfaction with the community as a place to raise children, awareness of and high rating for nearby child play areas, awareness of a nearby bus stop, availability of recreational opportunities especially swimming and tennis, and employment of both spouses. (Burby, 1976:349-352). Thus, many of the factors which Columbians liked about their community were negatively correlated with family satisfaction. It is possible that recreational facilities readily available to Columbians of all ages have encouraged family members to each select their favorite activity and participate separately rather than being forced to make decisions as a family about joint activities. In fact, most of the activities are segregated by age. The existence of child care facilities may support family life by providing needed assistance to working or harassed mothers or may further separate mothers from participation in rearing their children. A former director of human services for the developer has suggested that at least in the early days of Columbia some mothers felt the community's emphasis on the value of day care for the child's development as a pressure to send their children to nursery school even though they could not afford it. This resulted in

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increasing rather than reducing family strain. (Wright, 1974). A representative of the Family Life Center interviewed in 1976 indicated that although mothers did not feel pressured to utilize the child care facilities, they did feel pressured to be active in something outside of the home.

The second possible explanation for Columbian's dissatisfaction with their family life may be a result of what a representative of the Family Life Center called "the new city syndrome." She suggested that Columbia was pictured as an almost ideal place and people may have had unrealistic expectations that they would no longer have those family and personal difficulties which plagued them in their previous community. When these difficulties do not disappear, they are highly disappointed. In addition, the uprooting from family and friends which occurs in a move can be disruptive. It is also possible that dissatisfaction with family life increases as other needs, such as finding an attractive place for the children to play, are satisfied and energies are released and expectations for a better life are raised. (Wright, 1976). The Family Life Center representative also suggested that the activities available in Columbia can create problems. One respondent also noted that in Columbia no social pressures exist for unhappy couples to remain married.

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Finally, the expense of living in the community with fees for all the numerous activities can create financial pressures. This latter suggestion is supported by the findings of the CA study of women's needs, which indicated that 40 per cent of those who expressed interest in furthering their education said it would be very important to get money to cover school expenses and that 23 per cent said it would be very important to obtain money for family expenses while they attended school. Financial limitations were frequently given as a reason for not being able to spend time in the manner preferred, "more money" was the most frequently reply of divorcees asked "what would make your life more satisfying," and 13 per cent of the women interviewed indicated that cost had prevented them from taking a noncredit course they had wanted even though the cost in some cases was less than $15. (CA, 1974f:271). To the extent that CA prices exclude residents from participation they prevent families from obtaining services needed for support of family life, such as personal or family counseling or child care. This may create frustration, through the availability of a variety of recreational facilities which cannot be used.

In conclusion, although the new community ideal provides a supportive environment for happy families, Columbians in comparison to residents in the other 25

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communities studied are not particularly happy with their family life. Moreover, the resources of the CA have not been utilized to address this problem in any concentrated or systematic manner beyond supporting child care. Thus, despite the existence of a community organization supported by resident assessments and fees with a multi-million dollar budget, programs addressing problems of family crisis or adjustment were dependent upon finding private support or foundation grants just as in other communities.

Psychological Identification With Villages

Columbia was planned as a series of villages, each containing several neighborhoods. This was deliberately done to promote feelings of belonging and to foster community interaction. Except for the decision that the neighborhoods would not be racially and economically homogeneous, the plan is not unlike the original neighborhood unit plan originated by Perry, with houses clustered around a neighborhood school and amenities such as recreational facilities. (Perry, 1929).

The focus on neighborhood is reflected in the location of facilities but not in their restricted use by residents of that neighborhood or in the governance structure. Representatives to the village boards are elected at large from the entire village, as is the

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village's representative to the CA. There has been considerable discussion among planners about the relevance of neighborhoods or villages and whether people identify with them. This research did not gather data on the neighborhood level. It focused instead at the village level, and there was considerable general evidence of strong support for the Oakland Mills Village as a separate and unique entity within Columbia. This was evidenced by psychological identification with the village by members of the Board and others and by support for village institutions. In discussing community in modern America, it is important to be clear about what specific geographic area is being considered. As mentioned earlier, Wirth and others considered one of the key differences in society and community to be that of size per se, the number of different persons with which any individual related. (Wirth, 1938). This affects the amount of role segmentation and the intensiveness of each relationship. In the case of Columbia, none of the geographic units corresponds completely to what might have existed in a rural community or to an urban neighborhood during the period when workers clustered around the factory which employed them. Columbia itself was planned for a population of 110,000 inhabitants. The projected populations of the villages range from 10,000 to 12,000. Neighborhood populations are

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approximately 3,000 to 4,000. The dwelling units themselves are usually arranged in clusters, a series of houses on a dead-end street.

None of these geographic units really reproduces Gemeinschaft because of the general nature of the society in which the residents live, including specific differences related to organization of work and other institutions. (Warren, 1963). Although one of the reasons for the creation of new communities was to obtain a better correspondence between place of work and residence and Columbia has succeeded in attracting an employment base, the correspondence is far from perfect.

Since most of the new employment is located in the Town Center or concentrated in special industrial areas, the number of persons who could both live and work in their village -- which in size corresponds to a town of 10,000 -- is small, and the number employed in neighborhoods is even less. Furthermore, the correspondence between residences and other facilities and services, although greater, is not complete.

Another, and perhaps the most significant factor preventing any geographic unit within Columbia from clearly showing Gemeinschaft, is the overall nature of modern society and particularly the mobility experienced by and expected by Columbia residents. Of the respondents in the Burby study, only 45 per cent definitely

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planned to remain in Columbia beyond several years. Almost 28 per cent said they had definite plans to move within the next two or three years and almost an additional 28 per cent said that either they probably would move or they did not know. (Center, 1974:11)

Given these factors preventing a replication of Gemeinschaft, is a discussion of "community" anything more than a nostalgic yearning on the part of some authors? Is there any evidence that the residents themselves care about this psychological "sense of community?" If so, is there any evidence that they will invest any effort or money in furthering it?

The evidence gathered during budget hearings indicated that, at least for some Columbians, a sense of community was important. This sense expressed itself in terms of psychological identification and in support for specific expenditures to further village activities. It must be remembered that the administrative geographic unit within Columbia is the village and that the present research was focused at that level. Some data on different geographic areas are available from the Burby study and also will be considered.

Psychological identification refers to a sense of belonging. It is an attribute of community for both Tönnies and Warren. (Tönnies, 1957; Warren, 1963) One of the things that people value about their community

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is that it is a place where they feel as if they belong. This value was expressed by several of the Oakland Mills residents after one of the meetings. They said that although they had only lived in Columbia a short time it felt as if they had been there for much longer. Such expressions of psychological identification, in view of the general purpose of the present study, are to be taken as a measure for the meaning of community.

Psychological identification has a number of possible manifestations. These include: display of affection towards community, display of involvement, display of commitment. The members of the Oakland Mills Village Board exhibited a high degree of psychological identification with their village. The properties which characterized this identification were commitment and involvement.

Members indicated commitment in several ways. First, there was consistent attendance at long meetings. The Board normally met weekly for several hours and attendance was regular. In addition to regular attendance at meetings, Board members worked in between meetings. The Board had subcommittees. During the period of observation, Board members spent considerable time writing statements and consulting with others regarding strategies. Board members' estimates of the amount of time spent on Board activities during normal periods

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ranged from six hours per week to between 20 and 25. There were two to three meetings a week, each lasting approximately four hours. During budget time, the pace increased, with the member reporting the least activity devoting 9 to 12 hours a week and other members reporting four to five nights of meetings plus activities on weekends. A fair estimate would be that most Board members were spending between 10 and 15 hours a week on Board activities normally and considerably more time, perhaps over 20 hours per week, during periods of several weeks while attempting to meet budget deadlines. This intense activity happened several times during the year. The amount of commitment becomes clearer when we consider that all but one of the members had full-time jobs, yet were devoting the equivalent of approximately 1.5 to 3 work days a week to Board activities. The commitment of the participants was also evidenced by the intensity of their feeling during meetings and continuation of discussion afterwards until one or two a.m., despite the fact that they had to go to work the next morning.

Commitment can have a number of underlying motivations including a business-like attitude toward work. Participants displayed this attitude toward their board Business. Meetings began and ended on schedule; items were handled in an orderly fashion, with decisions made and tasks assigned with an orderliness unusual for a

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citizens' group, or perhaps most work groups. Items were either acted upon, referred to an individual or committee, or rescheduled. They were not allowed to simply slip through the cracks. For example, the village had arranged for weekly bingo nights with the intention of both raising money and involving people who were not involved in other activities. The first evening's activities lost money. After some discussion, it was decided to reassess the situation after the next bingo night, but that the Board should soon set the amount that it was prepared to lose before terminating the project. During discussions, there were constant references to "pumpkin time" which was a reminder to focus on decisions since the meeting would end promptly at eleven. The analogy was to the transformation of Cinderella's coach to a pumpkin at the stroke of midnight. The researcher has attended numerous meetings during seven years' employment with a government agency, served on the faculty of a university, observed approximately 600 meetings as a community organizer in a middle-income university community, has chaired two voluntary organizations and has observed Congressional committees. The Oakland Mills Village Board meetings were consistently more efficiently conducted than most of the others mentioned.

The business atmosphere may merely have been a carry-over into community activities of habits displayed

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by participants on their professional jobs. Some of the intense participation by members may have partly been a professional commitment to seeing a job through. Indeed, one member admitted that towards the end of his term he had to get himself "psyched up to do it" but continued out of a sense of obligation to complete his term in office. Another member commented on a sense of public responsibility.

> . . . we were all very conscious of being public figures at that point . . . you have to remember that that was the year that Watergate was occurring . . . as we kept getting . . . revelations of the tapes, I used to think to myself, what would I sound like or what would I think of this conversation . . . if someone else who is not present were listening to it . . . and are we being responsible in what we are doing?

The same member later spoke disparagingly of groups who lobbied for an increase in funds for their activities without making recommendations about which other activities should be correspondingly cut. In contrast, the Board tended to have "a self-imposed sense of responsibility that we have to maintain our credibility, we have to be competent and /not take/ positions that aren't well thought out."

A second aspect of psychological identification is emotional involvement. The effectiveness of the Board meetings was furthered by the rapport and

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understanding expressed among participants. There was a sense of being caught up in an exciting issue with other people. Members expressed pride in Oakland Mills and their Board and displayed respect and affection for each other. These observations were substantiated by later interview data. Members believed that their Board had been one of the best both in comparison with other boards that year and in comparison with other Oakland Mills Village Boards. One member attributed their effectiveness to "the mutual respect and affection that all the Board members had for each other." Another commented that the Board "had relatively aggressive people, very assertive people; and we used to do an awful lot of shouting and very open disagreements . . . which, in most cases, were resolved through consensus . . . . We used to shout and scream and pound and eventually work out something because there was a basic level of respect that we could all live with . . . ." Another member commented that although there were times at which he would have liked not to see the others for weeks, at other times he became close to them and still feels friendly towards them all despite some "knock-down drag-outs." He attributed the good relations to a common interest in the job and a lack of "ego tripping."

A final aspect of commitment is the expression

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of in-group, out-group feelings. The Oakland Mills Village Board expressed "we"/"they" feelings towards a number of others, including other villages and their boards, the CA staff, the CA Executive Committee and the developer. For example, there was a complaint that the Executive Committee "refuses to acknowledge the depth of resident involvement or feeling." In considering who should speak on an issue, one member wanted to identify someone who could "politely tell them they don't know what they're talking about. . .not us professional agitators." He expressed a sense that the Executive Committee would not respond to the members of the Board and wanted to utilize "some obscure" person who had not previously been active. Another member commented that the Board would have to focus on how to cut the budget rather than assume that the Executive Committee would agree that Oakland Mills was entitled to more money because of its unique services to its village and its unique amount of involvement. "The people on the Executive Committee don't buy this theory that Oakland Mills is a people garden."

There were comments about other villages and their representatives, namely, that they lacked "guts" and were not as capable as Oakland Mills in running a village program with widespread involvement and meaning. There was a sensitivity to the feelings of the members of the other

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village boards and the competition between boards which indicated that there had been past friction. One member commented that "the other boards don't want any more advice from us. We get in enough trouble [without giving advice to the other boards.]"

Others interviewed, including CA staff, the developer and other villages' representatives to the Executive Committee, shared the view that the Oakland Mills Village Board was effective. One CA staff member attributed it not only to the quality of present leadership, but also to the continuity of leadership over several years. Many observers commented that it took at least one budget process before a newcomer could participate effectively. All the Oakland Mills Board members had been involved on committees or Board activities previously. In addition, the Board has a support system composed of committee members and ad hoc participants who had been on previous boards or very actively involved. In contrast, some of the other boards were torn with internal dissension. In one case, not one of the Board members ran for reelection the following year.

It is possible that the personal psychological identification of the Board members was merely identification with a small group, unrelated to identification with any broader sense of community. Four facts, however, counter this interpretation. First, although members

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were friendly, they were not necessarily close personal friends. One member comments that

> . . . there wasn't that kind of personal attraction that we got together for social activities . . . /there was/ very little socializing outside of Board activities except for this . . . norm that you didn't go right home after a meeting . . . there was usually an hour of decompression in which we mostly continued the same kind of discussion . . . except on a much more informal basis as we became more and more /relaxed/.

Another member interviewed over a year later said that his personal friendships with several of those Board members had flourished only after that year's activities. This response is not unusual for community groups, as will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on Intimate Secondary Relations.

Second, members continued to be involved in community activities during the following year, even though the Board membership changed. One of the five members continued on the new Board, another served as village representative on the CA Executive Committee. One, who did not run for election again because he "needed a rest," did serve on a screening committee to hire the new Village Manager. Another served on a village subcommittee for a period and then on a Howard County committee. The fifth became a member of an

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advisory committee of CA and assumed leadership positions in several County groups. Sixteen months after that Board's term ended, the researcher interviewed one of the members of the Center and, while in a restaurant afterwards, realized that three of the five members of the 1975 Board were present at 1 a.m. on a week night, relaxing after village business.

Third, members indicated that part of their satisfaction in participation, as well as the intensity of their feelings of frustration, was related to their feelings that they were building a community. "I had a great sense of satisfaction that I was participating in doing something for the community, that it was something that I was involved in . . . that community building process . . . a great deal of self-satisfaction. It doesn't take away from the fact that many times it was drudgery."

Fourth, the members' concern with community was expressed through their support for their community center and especially by their reasons for that support. The original concept of community centers in Columbia had been to provide a focus for village activities and a sense of community, and the members of the Oakland Mills Village Board continued to support this tradition.

The Board members consistently discussed the purposes of their community center in terms of providing

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space and staff to facilitate community-building processes. The clearest example of this was their concern with provision of staff and that the staff would have the time to work closely with community residents. The community center was rented for classes and private parties or organizational fund-raising activities. Board members argued that the amount which the CA expected them to raise from such rentals was unrealistic because of the staff time involved in arranging rentals. The Board wanted rentals not merely to raise money but also to encourage and facilitate activities which were needed or wanted by community residents. They mentioned the amount of organizational and emotional support necessary to help one housewife who had never taught a class, which was later very successful.

The community center contained a Xerox machine and housed a local branch of the post office. These were valued not only as providing a convenient service to community groups and individuals, but also for contributing to informal information exchange, since people coming into the center for Xeroxing or to use the post office would use the occasion to chat with staff and others.

While discussing strategies, the Board members complained that the Executive Committee did not understand the importance of the process aspects of the community center. The Board angrily stated that given a

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choice they would rather stop picking up the trash around the center and stop enforcing the covenants rather than cut staff. That is, they valued the community-building inputs of staff more than the physical appearance of their center. They did not, however, believe that CA would give them the choice of buying staff for programs instead of trash pick-up.

It is difficult to judge to what extent the strong commitment displayed by the Board to its village and its efforts to create community spirit were shared by other residents. The village representative pointed out that he had not received telephone calls protesting the proposed budget cuts. Someone asked "what kind of residents would come pounding on the door of CA if the village center closed down"? Certainly attendance at the regular Board meetings by non-Board members was minimal, less than five persons an evening during a period of intense activity by Board members. Many more, however, had been involved on committees and in village hearings on the budget earlier. The village manager estimated that over 70 people had actually done research on the village's budget that year. Commitment for an institution can also be measured in terms of its ability to sustain and replace leadership. There were 14 candidates for the five Board positions and five candidates for the position of representative to the Executive

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Committee in the elections of April 1975.

Respondents also indicated that over the years a number of individuals had been concerned with the question of how to focus CA efforts on facilitating community processes and enabling residents to define their own needs and develop programs to meet them. Such goals had been articulated on a number of occasions. The activities of the CA had expanded from its original focus on open space and recreation to include a human services division and a broader range of activities. Some residents and staff conceived of the CA role in terms of process and enabling rather than in operating programs directly. The volunteer services coordinator and the community center management contracts had been a part of that thrust as well as an Oakland Mills proposal to decentralize CA staff to the community centers. The supporters of this approach, however, emphasized that it required strong staff support to be effective. Part of the dissatisfaction of the Oakland Mills Board with the Executive Committee was their belief that the Executive Committee underestimated the amount of financial support such an approach required and its value in creating community identification.

Although the Burby study did not measure psychological identification with village or even neighborhood, it did collect some data which are relevant to the more general question of Columbia as a place for primary

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groups or identification with community. The Burby data indicated that Columbians were satisfied with their neighborhoods, found friends easily in Columbia, and generally thought well of their community. Seventy-five per cent of the respondents perceived of their neighbors as "friendly." Seventy-seven per cent said it was as easy to call on their neighbors in time of need as it had been in their previous community. Fifty-seven per cent either often visited or frequently chatted with their neighbors. (Burby, 1976:354) More Columbians said it was easy to make new friends in their community than did respondents of the paired community (82 per cent for Columbians, 66 per cent for the paired community). Only 23 per cent of the Columbians felt that it was harder to call on neighbors in Columbia than it had been in their previous community. (Center, 1974:11)

In terms of psychological identification, the Burby study indicates that Columbia residents had a higher sense of belonging than residents of a nearby non-planned community. Fifty-five per cent of the Columbia respondents, but only 41 per cent of the conventional community residents, said they disagreed with the statement "I don't feel much a part of what goes on in this town." (Burby, 1976:349)

Columbia and Reston were the only new communities in the Burby study where there was a statistically

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significant difference between their sense of belonging and that of residents in the conventional communities with which they were paired. The Burby study suggested that the presence of automatic cluster homes associations, a community association, community newspapers, transit systems, and conveniently located facilities and services should have contributed to the development of social networks which would make people feel a sense of belonging.

Additional evidence indicating Columbians' satisfaction with their community is the finding that almost 80 per cent of Columbians would advise others who might move there that it was a particularly good community. Ninety per cent rated it excellent or good as a place to raise children, 82 per cent gave it an overall rating of excellent or good and 67 per cent said that the effect of moving there had improved their quality of life. (Burby, 1975:365, 351, 388).

Thus, there is evidence from three sources: the participant observation, the interviews and the Burby material, that Columbians did exhibit psychological identification with their community and its sub-areas. Müller has discussed the importance in maintenance of a social structure of both integration and cohesion. Integration refers to the external framework of structure enforced, if necessary, by extrinsic sanctions. Cohesion depends "on intrinsic conviction and personal commitment."

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(Müller, 1970:16). Müller also has distinguished between three components of commitment: cathartic commitment to other people, ideological commitment to ideals, and ethical commitment to the decisions which have been made. (Müller, 1970). All three were displayed at the Board. Thus, in Columbia, the existence of the CA and the village boards have created a framework for community identification. The commitment to that framework was displayed both by the Board and others during the budget process indicating a strong psychological sense of community.

Given this strong identification with community, we would hypothesize that residents would be extremely frustrated if that identification could not be expressed through control of their community institutions. In the next section, we shall examine their efforts to control decisions about allocation of community resources through influencing the budget decisions.

The Community as a Setting for Community Control Institutions: Internal Democracy

Democracy Valued

The questions of democracy and community are related more to political and philosophical values in the larger society than to theoretical notions about community. Democracy is not a necessary part of any community, but new communities have been visualized as

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places where a purer version of democracy might exist and where residents might work to insure that democratic values are enhanced.

During the sixties there was a widespread thrust for greater participation by individual citizens at all levels of government and in many areas of life. It developed out of the civil rights movement and manifested itself in the Peace Corps, the Poverty Program, citizen participation in model cities, a variety of other programs, and later in the women's movement. (Wireman, 1977).

Desire for wider and more democratic participation can come from a number of different reasons. Eighteenth century political thinkers advocated democracy as an alternative to tyranny. Nineteenth century Jacksonian democracy stressed the inherent goodness and sound judgment of the common man, as well as an active distrust of experts. Not only did the common man have an inherent right to participate in decisions affecting his life, but he was more likely to make valid decisions than the expert. In the early twentieth century, Progressives adopted a number of measures to insure that the process of decision making dispersed power and avoided oligarchy. In addition to avoidance of tyranny and support of the ability and rights of every individual, democratic decision making has been urged in the context of production. Much management literature has stressed the need to involve everyone as a means of obtaining better decisions

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(and higher productivity). Techniques such as brainstorming have been developed to insure that individuals feel free to state even seemingly irrelevant ideas. The community development literature both here and abroad stresses the need to involve all groups and individuals in the process of generating ideas. This literature was used by the Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, the Poverty Program, and other citizen involvement efforts. Emphasis has been laid on obtaining all relevant information and on the value of processes of deliberation. Much of the social work and citizen participation literature of the sixties stressed the growth-producing effect on the individuals as well as the fact that involvement can be a method of furthering the likelihood of implementation. Management studies also have stressed the increased willingness of individuals to implement decisions in which they were involved. (Wireman, 1977; Spiegel, 1968).

The issue in Columbia is to what extent residents indicated a desire for democratic participation in their community life and to what extent the structures in the CA facilitated such participation. Here we shall consider this question mainly in relationship to the CA. In the next sections, we shall consider Columbians' relationships to external institutions affecting or operating programs with Columbia. The evidence during the budget process

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indicates that at least some residents indicated an intense desire to participate, that there was considerable conflict between residents and the CA about decisions on allocation of community resources, and that the structure of the CA provided this body with an advantage over residents in such disputes.

The Oakland Mills Village Board members indicated a respect for and placed a high value on an open process. This applied to village activities, to the activities of the CA and its Executive Committee, and to the community as a whole. It was displayed in both a positive and a negative fashion.

The value placed on process seemed to have a number of different aspects. One was the desire for open participation, to insure that everyone had a chance to participate. For example, when sending in recommendations for appointments to County offices, the Board was careful to request suggestions through the newsletter before finalizing the list. Some flavor of a Jacksonian-type belief that decision-making should occur in a participatory fashion, at the level closest to the people affected, was evidenced in the comments that the representatives of some other villages did not represent their Boards and did not keep them informed.

A second reason for valuing process is the belief that each individual has a right to be heard. Several

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Board members expressed frustration and boredom with long hearings in which people either repeated themselves or each other, but nevertheless felt obligated to encourage such participation. As noted earlier, in considering the budget the Board had an extensive process of committee meetings and Board hearings.

A third reason for emphasis on process can be the salutory effect on the individual involved. Support for staff to assist volunteers interested in conducting programs was based on the importance of providing a chance for the volunteers to exercise skills as much as on the effect of creating more programs for the community. The Board was willing and anxious to invest the necessary staff resources to assist the volunteers in their self-development. One of the Board's disputes with the Executive Committee was in calculating the amount of money which they could make for renting the community center for classes. The Board complained that the rental money was not pure profit since a true calculation would have to deduct the amount of staff time necessary to arrange for the classes. This included time to provide emotional support and encouragement to women who had a skill but had never taught before. The Board valued this service, was willing to pay for the staff time involved, and was angry that the Executive Committee did

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not understand what they considered to be the real value of the service.

A fourth reason for a desire for participation is the knowledge which it brings to the decision makers. The Board members and speakers at the hearings complained frequently that the Executive Committee had acted without consulting those most directly involved and therefore had acted without realizing the potential effects of their decisions. These complaints were mixed with resentment. The Executive Committee was seen to have acted arbitrarily, without knowledge, without consulting those most affected by the decisions, and without valuing the process of joint decision-making.

There was considerable feeling among the Board members that the Executive Committee did not really understand the implications of the budget cuts being proposed. One member suggested that they were acting "out of gross ignorance." Another suggested that "the Committee doesn't know what the [budget] numbers are or what they mean." Evidently someone had accused the Executive Committee members of not reading the lengthy budget document submitted by the Board because it was reported at one Board meeting that "Spear got very angry and said that he read every page." At another meeting, the members were discussing how to handle maintenance of the area around the

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community center with reduced funds for trash maintenance. When someone reported that Pat Kennedy, the CA President, claimed the job took 15 minutes, the retort was "Pat Kennedy never did it." When a question was raised about the probable response of the Executive Committee to a presentation at the hearings, someone else commented that "they're going to wear ear plugs."

Both the Board members and residents at the hearings suggested that Executive Committee had not respected the process of participation and had acted arbitrarily. One Board member suggested that the Board needed to analyze the new budget cuts to determine what the Executive Committee's philosophy was, "if they had a philosophy." Another member complained that to shift position from the previous year "without explanation is capricious." Another suggested that the Executive Committee might merely "just as cavalierly" accept the proposed budget. Other Columbia residents also complained that the Executive Committee had acted with inadequate contact with the people concerned. The spokesman for the Tennis Committee complained at the public hearing that "there has not been on formal request by the Executive Committee to meet with any of those most involved."

Part of the distrust stemmed from the fact that the Executive Committee had held a series of working

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sessions on the budget which had been closed to the public. One speaker complained that ". . .the fact is that at a crucial time decisions were made in secret." One of the Oakland Mills Village Board members circulated a petition which quoted the head of the CA as stating that the CA's prime purpose was ". . .assisting the new city's residents to define their own goals and programs. . . ." The petition then stated that the petitioners felt that the budget process had moved away from that concept by "making budget decisions in closed meetings, which hampered the community's understanding of the Executive Committee's rationale, and shut off broad-based dialogue on many meaningful and creative resident suggestions." Mike Spear, the chief spokesman for the developer on the Executive Committee, said publicly that holding the closed sessions had been a mistake.

Several of the village representatives later suggested that part of the frustration of the Board members may have been that they were not actually voting members of the Executive Committee. Representatives also felt that the process had been fair and that individual Board members sometimes did not see the total picture.

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Advantages of the Developer

When residents and the Executive Committee differed, the ultimate power rested with the Executive Committee and indirectly with the developer who controlled the majority of votes. The questions of power and decision-making in a situation where the decision makers are allocating residents' money is, however, complex and subtle. The developer had promoted the CA as an innovative method of involving residents in community life and making communities more democratic. Any evidence to the contrary would have hurt the image of the community which the developer was trying to market. Potential buyers could be adversely affected by talking to or reading about resident dissatisfaction. The developer talked to us about one instance in which residents had been dissatisfied with the workmanship on their homes and the builder's unwillingness to correct the deficiencies. Finally, they all put up for sale signs on their lawns at once. The builder immediately made the repairs. It was clear to the developer that ultimately he depended financially upon the existing residents' opinions that Columbia was a good place to live.

Burkhart pointed out the dependence of CA upon the village boards as a source of legitimacy because they are closest to the residents. (Burkhart). That is,

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although the developer ultimately has the power to control the CA contrary to expressed desires of residents, this would make explicit the function of the CA as a instrument of external material interests rather than an institution for expression of new community democracy.

Residents were aware of this situation. The Oakland Mills Village Board discussed the fact that they lacked power except the power to embarrass the developer through news presentations showing how unhappy they were with the budget process. A number of respondents talked about their belief that Spear would be careful to appear to support the community desires. That is, he would maneuver either community opinion or his own position to avoid a direct clear confrontation where the developer would be seen to be opposing a large majority of residents. Certainly both the developer and the CA staff emphasized the fact that there had never been an Executive Committee vote split on developer versus resident representative lines.

Residents were reluctant to utilize their power to embarrass, however, and showed ambivalence in their willingness to fight the Executive Committee openly and forcefully. Part of the ambivalence about utilizing their power to embarrass or even considering more militant tactics may have been the middle-class backgrounds of the participants. However, it also, reflects the

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underlying convergence of interest between the developer and residents in maintaining the physical attractiveness of the community, in promoting increases in property values, and in continuing to attract new residents to Columbia. The residents had a vested interest in the latter, since the CA's financial viability depended upon spreading the debt over a greater number of residents, because the popularity and success of Columbia affected their property values and perhaps their self-images, and because many of them wanted specific services or a city ambience which could only be provided with a larger population base.

Even given the general covergence of interests of the developer and the residents, the evidence presented above indicates that residents did differ with the Executive Committee strongly on a number of issues, spent considerable time and energy trying to influence the decision-making process, and felt extremely frustrated in that attempt. When conflicts arose, the Executive Committee appeared to have all the tactical advantages. The advantages were basically those any governmental bureaucracy enjoys in dealing with citizens. The Executive Committee set the timetable, controlled the flow of information, had access to staff, and set the agendas. Each of these powers placed the residents at

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a disadvantage in attempting to present their views forcefully and effectively and in mobilizing support from other residents.

The Executive Committee controlled the dates and formats of the public hearings and the Executive Committee meetings. When, for example, a revised budget was issued several days later than promised, there was no consideration given to postponing the hearings so as to give residents time to study the budget. The Board had planned a series of weekend strategy meetings to prepare reactions to the budget, but the budget did not arrive until late Tuesday afternoon. This was too late for the Board to consider the 137-page document and to submit statements to the weekly press before the actual hearings began.

As mentioned earlier, the hearings themselves were structured extremely formally. Each village board was permitted 15 minutes time, other organizations had five minutes, and individuals had three minutes. The format did not permit Executive Committee members to question the speakers, or the speakers to interact among themselves. More important, the audience did not participate in the Executive Committee deliberations a week later when they were actually making decisions.

The most important aspect of agenda control was the order in which the various sections of the budget were discussed during the final deliberations. Each

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section of the budget was discussed separately, item-by-item. Trade-offs, therefore, tended to be made within budget categories, such as administration, or human services. It was difficult, then, to consider the full range of alternative uses for money when considering any particular item. For example, during the hearings one speaker had suggested that the $35,000 for the Personnel Director could better be used for transportation. The format of the budget discussion seriously discouraged considering this type of change. The section of the budget dealing with human services was separated from that dealing with recreational facilities, which were treated under commercial activities, and both were separate from capital expenditures. This meant that it was impossible to consider substituting, for example, increased staff for the community centers for capital construction of a new playground. The tendency in a section-by-section analysis is to give most time and attention to those sections treated first and to attempt to give each item the funds it needs. Furthermore, the Chairman resisted any efforts to reconsider an item in a section which had been voted on. The result was that the human services sections, about which there was considerable controversy, were handled late in the process when participants were tired and when the Executive Committee had already

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allocated more money than would be available if the final budget was kept within the figure agreed to months earlier.

In terms of tactical advantages in conflict situations, the developer's representatives had the benefit of participating as part of their employment duties. This gave them three distinct types of advantages, not only over Board members but also over the village representative members of the Executive Committee. The first was time. The problem for the volunteers was not only sheer lack of time but, more particularly, lack of flexibility in allocating time. The Board members each spent over 40 hours a month on Board work, but were not free to take time from their jobs all in one week to meet the deadlines of the Executive Committee. The developer's staff were much freer to rearrange their work time to meet Executive Committee priorities. A Board attempt to hold a press conference, for example, was cancelled because no one was available on Monday afternoon. Getting a number of volunteers together for an extra meeting on short notice was hard. In September, for instance, the Board had complained of not receiving the background materials for a meeting 48 hours in advance as requested. Forty-eight hours gives the businessman two full working evenings in which to assemble, write statements, review them and obtain final typing. The sheer amount of work

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which needed to be accomplished in short periods created difficulties.

The second advantage of the developer's representatives was that they were businessmen familiar with dealing with budgets. The budgets involved were long. The staff-recommended budget issues in December was 91 pages. This was follwed by a staff options paper in January of 44 pages and the March Executive Committee version of the budget of 137 pages. In addition, it was not always clear under what category certain items were considered. In some cases, it was not clear what a certain budget item contained. Finally, the items were not always exactly comparable from one budget to the next. To thoroughly comprehend the budget and the changes being suggested was an immense job, even though the CA staff had provided some narrative and comparisons with prior years and the Executive Committee indicated changes between its version and that of December 5. The Oakland Mills Village Board members complained that the Executive Committee budget was unintelligible. One member said that, although he had experience dealing with budgets, he had spent four hours fruitlessly trying to decipher it. Members complained that after weeks of deliberation, there was no indication in the budget of the Executive Committee's rationale for their decisions, no clear narrative supporting the decisions.

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The problem of comprehending the budget should not be underestimated. The author attempted to utilize the budget documents as a means of comparing amounts of money expended for different purposes as a percentage of the total. The attempt was to show how the proportion of funds expended for different purposes had changed during the 1975 budget process and over a three-year period. After approximately a week's effort, the author consulted a member of the financial analysis staff of the New Communities Administration who said it would take him a week to comprehend that budget. Neither he, nor the chairman of the Oakland Mills Village Board, nor a doctoral candidate in public administration with a background in public finance who was analyzing the budget process the following year, could suggest a methodology for making such an allocation comparison.

Such complexity means that the average resident is severely handicapped in assessing trade-offs realistically. For example, we are convinced that the basic structuring of the budget and accounting procedures adopted obscures the true cost of different services. Capital intensive facilities appear as profit-makers if each year's user fees cover operating costs, even if the community simultaneously is paying off a huge debt for the construction of the facility since the later cost is lumped into an overall figure elsewhere in the budget.

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During the budget process, there was considerable discussion about certain facilities, such as tennis, subsidizing child care. In fact, none of the facilities were paying for themselves if repayment of their share of the debt was considered.

The third advantage of the developer's representatives was their access to the CA staff for additional data, more analyses, drafting of alternatives and other chores. By contrast, even the physical reproduction of statements and circulating them was sometimes difficult for the Board members and even for village representatives on the Executive Committee. One member of the Executive Committee later noted the importance of a professional position which provided access to tools: a Xerox machine, a dictaphone, and a secretary to type, cut stencils and reproduce materials. Another members of the Executive Committee commented that if Spear asked the staff to do something in 24 hours "they'd stay up all night to do it. If I asked, I'd get it in a week or two or maybe they'd forget it." Part of the difference in response was attributed to the member's own inexperience in acting as a director of a corporation who knew how to question staff and hold them accountable.

The potential advantages of the developer in each of these areas was increased by scheduling special Executive Committee meetings in the daytime, which

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effectively limited participation to individuals who did not work full time, likely to be women without substantial business experience or men is a very restricted range of job positions and types of responsibilities. As for the village representatives, the time demands were grueling. One representative commented that "even normally I would say that 20 hours a week was not unusual," and during the budget period it was longer. Another representative revealed that "one week we counted up that we spent something like 60 hours in budget sessions. . .one weekend we went all weekend." A third commented that he stole time from work. "If I had had to punch a time card, it would have been a disaster."

A fourth advantage of the developer was the personal competence of his representatives. When asked who was most influential in Executive Committee decisions, almost all those interviewed immediately reponded "Mike Spear." Respondents cited his personal qualities as well as his position as the developer's General Manager. "He's a highly intelligent, highly articulate man, very persuasive." Respondents praised his abilities and his willingness to do his homework. He would have been influential even if he had not been General Manager of Columbia. His position, however, gave him not only

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detailed knowledge of the entire Columbia operation, but also the most knowledge about the attitudes of the lenders, since it was his responsibility to negotiate with them. As we shall consider later, the vertical relationship between the CA and national lenders is extremely important. The other developer representative considered influential was the chairman, whose influence was due not only to his position but also to his sense of fairness and ability to summarize issues.

One respondent suggested that the developer's representatives had still another advantage, the prestige granted to them as businessmen and the village representatives' acceptance of the necessity of conducting meetings with an appropriate corporate business approach. One Board Member said that the village representatives respected the "supercompetence" of the developer's representatives. They also wanted to be on the winning side and experienced a kind of cooption; once on the Executive Committee they too wanted to avoid "washing dirty laundry in public."

Whatever the reasons of personal need or village interest, the village representatives did not in fact oppose the developer's representatives on any consistent basis. The CA Director of Planning and Evaluation reported that of the 54 votes not one was divided on a clear developer versus resident basis. In some cases,

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however, informants felt that the developer's representatives had been extremely careful to avoid such a split by subtle manipulation of the village representatives and playing off the interests of one village against those of another. In some cases the developer may have merely yielded, but a number of respondents and newspaper reports suspected that Spear at least had control of the situation. His maneuvers to find extra monies for the Teen Center appeared that way. As mentioned earlier, the decision-making process proceeded in a manner common to legislative bodies, taking each item in order on a line-by-line basis. This resulted in major issues being decided late in the process. By the time community centers and the Teen Center were addressed, it was late in the second evening and more funds had been allocated than was acceptable within the budget restrictions accepted by everyone months earlier. It should be remembered that community centers not only representated a large budget item but also were extremely controversial and were considered a major issue by the villages. After several attempts to transfer funds to Oakland Mills from categories of programs in other Villages were unsuccessful, Spear finally asked the Oakland Mills Village representative what was the minimum increase necessary to continue to maintain the Center's activities. The village representative was caught off guard, as were the Board members

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and villagers in the audience. After some whispered consultation, a number was passed to the village representative. At that point, Spear moved to take the additional funds needed from the contingency fund, a heretofore sacrosanct category.

From the Board's point of view, this did not represent a judicious compromise of a difficult issue. First, the number passed forth in haste was immediately questioned by other Board members who frantically tried to signal the village representative that the number was inadequate even for minimal operations since it did not include certain expenses. There seems little question that had the Board itself been permitted to speak, or even given five minutes to consider the matter, the number would have been higher. After the meeting, the Board members were extremely despondent, feeling that it was impossible to operate effectively with the funds allocated. Spear, however, seemed confident that the issue had been solved satisfactorily. Second, the researcher had the feeling, watching the events, that Spear would have accepted any figure offered at that point. The same impression was volunteered by one of the key village actors during a later interview.

Thus, after involving numerous people in research on the Board budget and months of calculating ways to cut costs, the Board's opportunity to obtain what it

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considered to be the absolute minimum to operate and to preserve the spirit of their Center was lost in five minutes of legislative maneuvering. The question arises as to whether or not Spear had intended to utilize the contingency fund for that purpose and for the Teen Center from the beginning. One of the elected representatives who was generally supportive of the developer commented that "the way that motion came about, it was almost as if it had been programmed to happen. I think that Spear had kind of orchestrated that to happen. . .that even though there were cutbacks, the teen money was going to be a compromise issue to the villagers." This lends us to the whole question of the effectiveness of the participation in the budget process.

The Effect of Democratic Participation

Measuring the effects of democratic participation is always difficult. Earlier we indicated that some changes had been made in the controversial areas of the budget. Here we consider the effectiveness of the effort of the Oakland Mills Village Board and examine the question of the basis for the Executive Committee's decisions.

Although during and immediately after the budget decisions the members of the Oakland Mills Village Board expressed discouragement if not disillusionment with the whole process, when interviewed later they seemed to feel

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that, given the constraints of the budget, they had made significant achievements. One of the more disillusioned members said that

> I think that we articulated a lot of things. . .we did generate the idea for open space. . . .we did lay the ground work for a real respect for decentralization. We did come up with ideas. . .to adapt the budget in a way that wasn't quite as drastic as it might have been, some very creative things. . . . I really believed at the end of the budget process that there was no way that the community structure could survive without the requisite staff and resources. . .that volunteer services cannot sustain . . .by themselves. . .I don't think it was quite as bad as I anticipated it, we have survived. . . because there are some extraordinary people in this community who are so creative, so adaptive that they have been able to generate things that continue to amaze me. . .I still think that the structural weakness is so serious that at any one point the whole thing could fall apart.

One member commented that the Center itself looked "shabby." Another noted that the Center no longer provided the type of services to the community which had been provided since it was spending its energies in mere survival. Although obtaining additional support for the Center was an achievement, the most startling success was the funds for the Teen Center which several members indicated that they had never expected to obtain. The decisions about the Teen Center, however, were more involved and illustrate other layers of concern in the decision-making process.

As we discussed earlier, there is a reluctance to confront racial issues directly in Columbia, and this

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reluctance was illustrated during the debates about the Teen Center. A number of observers commented that the chief person responsible for the final support given to the Center had been Spear who had changed his position during the final days and after discussing the matter with the Black Fathers who are rumored to have threatened to create unfavorable publicity. Certainly a negative vote could have been perceived as anti-black, which was not desirable for a developer which prided itself on its success in integration. Although Spear denies being influenced by the fear of adverse publicity, his own statements while interviewed indicated a general sensitivity to the problem of community relations and the fact that vocal unhappy residents could effectively stop future sales and destroy the project. Relatively speaking, the $40,000 finally allocated for the Teen Center was a significant amount of money. One of the village representatives later commented that he was "surprised that the people who own Columbia, in terms of Connecticut General, agreed to that."

The later comment raised an additional issue. Not only is Columbia's future governed by projecting an image which continues to attract inhabitants and commercial enterprise, it is also governed by the ability to successfully repay its outstanding loans and borrow additional

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monies as needed. This means that ultimately CA decisions are bounded not only by resident desires, but also by the judgments of the lenders.

Although it was not mentioned during the public hearings or discussions of the Board, residents were aware of the importance of the opinions of Connecticut General Life Insurance Company. In discussing the question of resident versus developer control of votes on the Executive Committee, one observer commented that the larger issue was the inability of the residents "to convince HRD [the developer] and the Connecticut General that [it was in their] interest to let residents participate in financial [decisions]." He later commented that Connecticut General, which is one of the major insurance companies, had 15 per cent of its total investments in Columbia and it simply was not going to trust residents to decide on matters affecting that investment. He suggested that Connecticut General had more to do with decision-making in Columbia than most people realized, pointing out that Spear was the intermediary between Connecticut General and HRD.

In a later interview, Spear spoke candidly about the necessity of keeping in contact with the lenders and not taking actions which they felt would jeopardize either the financial ability of the CA to repay its debt or the marketability of Columbia. There is an elaborate economic

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model for Columbia, indicating the construction of facilities and the sales pace for land. The developer's representatives on the CA would not, for example, vote to delay construction of a neighborhood pool without approval of the lenders, who might argue that such a delay would interfer with marketing and thus the CA's ability to meet its repayment schedules.

Thus, ultimately CA decisions were controlled by the developer, who in turn was controlled by the lenders who had the power to remove the HRD management. The fact that this control usually was dormant did not mean that it was irrelevant. In addition, its exercise has changed over a period of time. As long as CA was repaying its debts on schedule without difficulty, the lenders seem not to have concerned themselves directly with internal decisions of the CA. Because of the general economic recession of the mid-seventies and special problems of Columbia due to the change in the assessment rate, CA could not float additional bonds. Connecticut General also became concerned, limited the amount which they would loan to CA, and required that CA operating expenses be drastically restricted. At the point of the budget process which we observed, the influence of the lenders was evidenced through establishing general parameters and indirectly through the influence of Spear in convincing residents of desirable courses of action. During

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that year, for the first time, representatives of Connecticut General began appearing as observors at final budget meetings. The next year the budget was cut even more drastically. A Connecticut General representative had begun attending Executive Committee meetings on a regular basis and consulting with CA staff about details of the operations.

At the same time, residents have begun exercising their potential power more openly. They negotiated an agreement which gives village representatives control of the Executive Committee, although not of the Board of Directors which can override its decisions. The village representatives now caucus. There is a movement to elect a new chairman, not because of dissatisfaction with the current one but for symbolic reasons.

Nevertheless, as one observer commented, residents who have been influential have been those able to convince the developer and the lenders that what the residents want is in the developer's best economic interest. The CA as a basis for democratic control of community, therefore, suffers from its basic domination by external forces. As we shall see in the next section, this external domination also subtly influenced the approach of Columbians to another aspect of their external environment, specifically the County.

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The Community As A Setting For Community Control Of Institutions: External Relations

So far, we have considered residents' desire for democratic control of their community association and their frustrations in trying to obtain it. We shall now consider one other potential aspect of a desire for democratic control, that is, the desire to control the quality and quantity of facilities and services provided by institutions outside the community. This involves the concepts discussed by Warren in his consideration of the vertical relations of community institutions. (Warren, 1963)

In his analysis of the activities of the village boards in 1970-71, Brooks found that they devoted little time or concern to problems involving decision-makers outside of Columbia. In 1975, the situation was somewhat different. The Oakland Mills Village Board, at least, devoted considerable efforts towards influencing County institutions. The Board's Administrative Assistant prepared a 25-page analysis of activities from April 1, 1974, through March, 1975. The analysis included Board action on 46 separate items ranging from organizational maintenance activities, such as holding elections and a party, to testifying on zoning matters. Of the 46 items listed, 20 involved relationships with the County. Seven were zoning matters, five pertained to roads or traffic.

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Others included a request for a library, support for a consumer bill, membership in a County organization of social service organizations, recommending persons to serve on the County Commission on Aging, negotiating a contract with the Commission on Aging regarding the space utilized in the Center, general relations with the County, and discussions with the schools' regarding playground maintenance. (Carto, 1975).

The question of relationships with County institutions was raised during the budget controversy in two contexts. One was the need for the staff position of Director of Planning and Evaluation during a period of reduced construction. One of the major reasons why some residents urged retention of the position as a full-time job was the Director's previous success at convincing the County that it should fund recreational programs in Columbia, as was done for other areas of the County. Thus, the justification of retaining the position was the need to lobby the County for additional services which would reduce costs to the CA.

The second issue about relations with the County was that of transportation. One of the major rationales for continued assistance to transportation at current levels of service was the assumption that this indication of community support would be useful in negotiations

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with the County about the future of mass transit in the area.

Another aspect of community discussed in Chapter II on theoretical background is the concept of community as location of institutions. The question of community as a place where certain institutions are located did not arise during the budget hearings beyond the extent already discussed under desire for control over the quality and quantity of services obtained from County institutions. Probably one reason for this seeming lack of concern is that by now Columbians have considerable commercial, education, recreational and cultural facilities available. When respondents were asked what additional facilities or services they would like, they generally responded none, or mentioned facilities which they expected would be available when Columbia's population increased.

In addition to being largely satisfied with the institutions available to them, Columbians active in CA policies did not perceive the role of the CA as encompassing attention to the array of goods and services needed by a community. When asked about the role of CA in regard to safety, for example, most respondents indicated that they were not sure that CA had a role, that safety was the job of the County. Two members of the Oakland Mills Village Board who had been members of

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safety committees indicated a number of areas where they felt CA had abdicated responsibility, but their perception was not typical. Similarly, when asked about the CA's role in support of the family as a unit, one respondent suggested that in modern society the community should act as a support group providing the kinds of support formerly available through extended families. Most respondents, however, felt that while some of the facilities of CA, such as child care and the community centers, might be supportive to families in some vague manner, basically family matters were the job of the Family Life Center. This response of making support for family life the job of a private service agency, rather than a vital concern of all major community institutions, is typical of modern American communities. Columbians interviewed did not envision utilizing the resources of their CA for support of family life. The family as an institution is one of the major ingredients of community and the Columbians interviewed were all actively involved in attempting to shape the formation of their community life. Yet, they did not feel that the family was part of their concern with community. Although this response is probably not untypical for similar suburban communities, it contrasts markedly with the utopian new communities, which will be discussed later, which focused on the family as a major preoccupation.

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This same attitude was reflected in attitudes towards actively intervening in terms of promoting better racial relations, providing special services or support for the elderly and low- and moderate-income residents beyond a sliding fee scale, or providing housing for the elderly or low- and moderate-income persons. Nor was there discussion during the meetings of an active role for the CA in terms of affecting vital community institutions, such as the schools or the health system. Some individuals were active in school matters, but this was not seen as a role for the CA. The developer had played an active role in establishing a Health Maintenance Organization (HMO), a prepaid group medical plan with its own facilities and hospital. He had not, however, actively intervened in attempting to influence the area system of health delivery, which many residents continued to utilize due to the expense of the HMO. The CA as an institution had not been involved significantly in health matters. In the case of schools, the developer had played a role in transforming the school system from a low quality to a first-rate system. Again, the role of the CA was largely limited to concern with scheduling recreational events on the school grounds and minor maintenance problems. In most matters, the villages concerned with a County agency were expected to relate

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directly to the County or to work through a city-wide organization outside of the CA structure.

Thus, the CA was not envisioned as a means of either seriously modifying existing institutions affecting the lives of Columbians nor providing alternative services, except for recreation and community centers. This approach differs not only from that of the residents of utopian communities, but also from that of a model more typical of modern America, the various neighborhood community organizations which were especially prominent during the sixties, when the CA was formed. A typical model cities organization, for example, would have approached the concept of neighborhood improvement with a far broader vision than was taken by the CA. In addition to concern with community appearances and recreation, such organizations generally consider quality of services, such as schools, and evidence of individual or family disorders, such as drugs, part of their problem as a community organization. Indeed, one of the chief functions of such an organization was to mobilize the entire community to deal with the outside environment and institutions. One has to consider whether the differences in approach can be accounted for by the difference in socio-economic status of the residents of the area or the difference between a suburban and inner-city location. We think not, based

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on our previous experience as a community organizer in the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference in Chicago during the early sixties.

Although that neighborhood was larger than Columbia and somewhat more diverse in population, it also had a substantial black population and a substantial lower income population within a basically middle income white area. The Conference was extremely active in neighborhood improvement efforts. Unlike the CA, however, these efforts largely were devoted to obtaining better services from existing agencies, including schools and city departments. The Conference was also active in determining the policies and implementation procedures for the urban renewal program occurring in their area. The Conference was more involved in the range of institutions and variety of decision-makers which affected the residents' lives than is the CA. Yet the Conference was operating with a professional staff of approximately five and a budget of approximately $50,000. Even after the 1975 crisis, the CA budget adopted provided $462,800 for administrative staff alone. We suggest that the CA's more limited role probably was due to differences in organizational history, initial statements of purpose, and CA control by the developer. These will be examined in more detail in a later chapter.

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In addition to limited objectives, the CA's role in dealing with external institutions had also been undoubtedly limited by the general nature of Columbia-County relations. The creation of a Columbia in the County was not a result of an expressed desire for growth by County residents. Rouse had purchased the land secretly through a complicated procedure of front-men. Thus, the County officials were not presented with the option of growth or no growth, but of planned community versus unplanned sprawl possible under existing zoning. Respondents mentioned that many Howard County residents resented the changes which had resulted from Columbia. One respondent commented with frustration, "when they voted to permit a city of 100,000 people" they did not seem aware that this would result in changes. "Did they think we were going to be invisible?" In addition, County residents were perceived as blaming Columbia for general growth which would have occurred anyway.

Respondents mentioned prejudices on both sides, with some Columbians viewing Howard County residents as rural hicks and some Howard County residents viewing Columbians as unwanted intruders. Indeed, comments of respondents indicated that they viewed the question of relations between Columbia residents and other residents of Howard County as far more serious a human relations problem than that of race relations

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within Columbia. A number of the respondents personally were active in County affairs and many mentioned a need for greater involvement by Columbians with County matters. The amount of County activity by individual village boards evidently varied from year to year depending upon the inclinations of the individual Board members. One respondent regretted that the pattern seemed to be for a person to become active in village affairs, become a board member, gradually realize the importance of County activities and then become inactive at a village level leaving the entire cycle to repeat itself. Frequently village board members moved into positions of responsibility on city-wide groups dealing with the County or directly into County affairs. In fact, in 1975 one of the Oakland Mills Board members had resigned after winning election to the County Council.

One cause for the shift in attitudes towards the County and its potential resources, was the budget crisis itself and the attempt to find other sources of funding for services. Even during 1975, there was some emphasis on the need to obtain County support for transportation and other means of supporting child care. In 1976, the budget was reduced drastically again which further increased the need to search for alternative sources of funding.

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By 1976 when the interviews were actually conducted, respondents were quite aware that Columbia was not receiving its share of certain County services. Both the developer and CA staff commented upon the disproportionate amount of time Columbia residents spent on the CA budget in comparison with the County budget which controlled significantly greater funds. The sudden realization that many services, including certain recreational services, might normally be considered the job of local government, is related to certain structural and political realities about Columbia.

In 1975 for the first time Columbians represented sufficient voting strength to change the political situation. Columbians won three of the five County Council seats. Columbians were also assuming positions of responsibility on County boards and agencies. For example, the village manager of Oakland Mills left to assume a job as an assistant to the County Executive. Thus, for the first time, Columbians had the political power to obtain their goals and represented a sufficient proportion of County residents to influence the climate of opinion. One thoughtful observer commented that village boards had not expended great energies on attempting to influence the County previously because it would have been a waste of time in view of the political realities.

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It would be easy to conclude that since the CA was successful in obtaining greater County services in 1976 it never should have provided those services initially. Indeed, some observers are taking this attitude, especially towards services not strictly related to property maintenance. It should be remembered, however, that both the County receptivity and Columbia's political clout are considerably higher today than previously. Even in connection with non-County services, such as child care, it is easier to attract private entrepreneurs into a proven market than to have attracted them before Columbia had a track-record of support for child care. It must also be remembered that the original purpose of the CA was to provide facilities and services that could not be obtained from the normal governmental services. During the early days of Columbia, Howard County had neither the tax base nor inclination to provide first-rate services and facilities to the rapidly growing Columbia. The CA provided the developer with considerable cash flow which he could spend without having to go through the normal processes of governmental approvals. Also, since he also controlled the CA's governmental processes, he could effectively prevent it from lobbying against a developer position in County matters.

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Similarly, if, as several respondents indicated, it might be desirable for Columbians now to think of themselves as residents of Howard County, many moved to Columbia precisely because it was not marketed as part of a rural county but as the beginning of a new city with a chance to participate in a new kind of living. Kanter, in her discussion of utopias, considers the problem of boundaries and their role in creating identity for community inhabitants. She suggests that the isolation of many of the 19th century communities helped create a sense of identity. (Kanter, 1972). In one sense, the CA has provided a degree of institutional isolation for community residents. The CA could develop services different from those usually provided by a rural county until such time as Columbians achieved control, or at least strong influence, over the external enviroment.

In addition, the various internal process for creating those institutions, all of the village board meetings, budget hearings, newspaper debates, etc., gave at least some people an intense feeling of participation and a sense of uniqueness about their community. While from the viewpoint of controlling allocation of funds it was not functional for Columbians to spend their time on CA rather than the County budget, from the viewpoint of creating a sense of identity and community as Columbians it was quite functional.

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Thus, Columbians did not view their CA with its staff and financial resources as a mechanism for achieving significant change in the various institutions which affect their lives. Columbia was envisioned as separate from the larger political entity of which it was a part and residents did not use the CA to attempt to form stronger horizontal relations with the agencies located there. Nor did the CA attempt to influence the various vertical ties of those agencies. It was the Oakland Mills Village Board, not the CA, which worked with the County traffic personnel and then the necessary State officials to obtain needed traffic lights. Private individuals worked through their PTAs to influence the school system. Residents also did not envision the CA as a means of addressing societal problems which affected them, such as changing family relations and race relations. We believe that the somewhat limited role expectations for the CA were strongly influenced by its initial formation as a parks and recreation association, and by its structure, initial goals, and control by the developer. This leads us to further consideration of the role of the community association as an alternative institution, and the role of national institutions in the community-building process in Columbia. Before addressing those issues, however, we shall examine one of the major findings of the research, the identification of types of

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social relationships which we have chosen to call intimate secondary relationships.

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CHAPTER V

INTIMATE SECONDARY RELATIONSHIPS

As we have noted earlier, a number of Columbians displayed intense concern about their community centers and considered them to be central to the spirit of community in Columbia even though only a minority of residents used them. We have observed that interactions among Board members were full of the warmth, rapport, satisfaction and sense of belonging which one sometimes associates with primary groups. We would speculate, however, that this also was true for the core group of workers on the soccer or any other committee. The intensity of the concern about the centers and the actual substantial financial support which they obtained from CA seems perhaps disproportionate if we remember that many Columbians never used the centers and that many of the activities, such as dance classes, while providing opportunities for socializing, exercise and artistic expression, hardly seem to be vital to the essence of any community. We concluded that the community centers were important not only as a base for a variety of activities, but also as a setting for the development

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of what we shall call intimate secondary relationships and for a community network of such relationships.

During the discussion about interactions among Board members, we began to develop a concept which we have called intimate secondary relationships. As we have defined it, an intimate secondary relationship has some of the characteristics of a primary relationship, and some of those of a secondary relationship. Its dimensions are: 1) warmth, intimacy, sense of belonging, rapport and knowledge of each others' characters; 2) minimal sharing of personal information or socializing; 3) involvement of the individual rather than the family; 4) a commitment which is limited in time and scope to a term of office or membership on a committee or task group; and 5) consideration of public rather than private matters; and 6) a preference for public meeting places.[1]

As the participants in an intimate secondary relationship work together around a joint enterprise, in this case village board business, they experience the

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[1] While elaborating the dimensions of the concept and assuring ourselves of its heuristic value, we discussed it with a number of individuals from different places with experience with community centers or activities. See Chapter X on Methodology.

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warmth, intimacy, sense of belonging and rapport (or intense arguments and hostility) often associated with primary groups. Unlike primary groups, however, the relationships among members of an intimate secondary group do not concern the personal backgrounds, family relationships or even necessarily the tastes of the individuals. One respondent commented that as a member of various Howard County groups he was immediately asked where he came from and about previous activities and jobs, whereas these matters would not have come up in Columbia. Columbia residents, however, did know his character and how he would act under circumstances which concerned all of them. He and his fellow workers liked and trusted each other, but did not necessarily socialize or know anything about each others' personal lives. In checking this characteristic with a variety of respondents in Columbia and elsewhere, we determined that while the personal information that might be shared varied from individual to individual and among groups, it was generally limited and in no case considered central to the relationship.

Thus, one characteristic of an intimate secondary relationship is that it has an intensity of involvement normally associated with primary groups, but without the sharing of personal information or socializing normally associated with primary groups. It differs

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from many secondary relations, such as an exchange with a store keeper, because of the opportunity to know each others' characters in some depth, at least in sufficient depth to be able to develop trust.

Along another dimension, intimate secondary relations have more in common with secondary relations. They tend to involve the individual rather than the family group. Respondents in Columbia noted the opportunity that participation in village boards and committees gave to non-working women in developing skills and confidence in their abilities to function as individuals, separate from their roles as wives and mothers. Indeed, when queried about perceptions of a high divorce rate in Columbia, several respondents suggested that Columbia provides a chance for individuals to grow and that frequently they grew in separate directions, or that many husbands could not cope with their wives' growth. This emphasis on the individual differs from many primary situations, where either the family participates as a group, as in churches, or where individuals participate separately from their families, as men in an ethnic neighborhood bar or women in a small town church sewing circle, but where personal family data would probably be

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shared and where the entire family would be known to the participants.[2]

An intimate secondary relationship differs from many primary and secondary relationships along another dimension, that of commitment. A work group would often seem to involve the same characteristics described above, in the sense of involving intense interaction of sufficient length to develop mutual knowledge of character yet not necessarily involving personal information or socializing outside the immediate work environment. The village board relations differed, however, in the limited and voluntary nature of the commitment as well as the time expectation. In most primary group settings the activities and time commitment tend to be open ended and diffuse. Attempts to establish stricter limits or withdrawal involves considerable cost and frequently personal hostility. The latter would be true in terms of friendships or family relations. Leaving a primary work group can be accomplished without personal hostility by

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[2] A Dutch respondent noted an interesting variation of this characteristic in Holland. Dutch women are much less emancipated than in the United States. Frequently, joining a voluntary group, and forming intimate secondary relationships there, is a preliminary step followed by obtaining a job, with its secondary relationships. Thus, in Holland, one of the functions of intimate secondary relationships is to facilitate the emancipation of women.

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changing jobs, but this is not always possible without substantial other costs. Even withdrawing one's children from a neighborhood play group, or oneself from a "coffee klatch," may not be easy without moving to another home. One informant in Columbia commented that he was very careful in terms of socializing with people he met through village activities, or families in his cul-de-sac, because "once you let someone into your personal life it is difficult to get them out if you turn out to have different tastes or values." In contrast, if a person got tired of fellow board members he simply resigned or didn't run for a second term.

While many people in Columbia remain active on the same board or with the same organization for years, another common and accepted pattern is intense involvement for several years followed by a period of withdrawal into personal and family affairs, or joining another organization, frequently one with a larger geographic setting. In Oakland Mills, for example, one of the Board members elected in 1975 resigned in mid-term, but only to become active at another geographic level by running for County Council. At any rate, withdrawal from intimate secondary groups, because of family, work obligations or other personal reasons, is an accepted part of the commitment pattern. Frequently former members will be asked to perform ad hoc tasks and also will demonstrate continued

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loyalty through participation in fund raising events or annual meetings. Thus, intimate secondary relationships reflect their secondary character in terms of limited duration of commitment, but are primary in terms of the intensity of commitment during the period of involvement.

Another dimension of intimate secondary relationships is their basically public nature. That is, the reason for the interaction is public business rather than private friendship. The distinction can be made between good neighbors and good friends. One active Columbia respondent indicated that he liked his cul-de-sac because it contained 17 families who respected his privacy.

Intimate secondary relationships not only form around public business, but also generally develop in public places. When asked whether the community centers themselves were necessary, one informant explained that although many of the meetings were small enough to be held in peoples' homes, holding them in the community center made it clear that everyone had a right to attend. One informant suggested that a person might think "I might like to drop in on that meeting but I don't feel free to drop in at somebody's house." If the meeting were in the village center, they could just wander in and sit down. But if it were in a home, they would

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"have to go up and knock on the door and say, 'may I come in to your meeting'?" When meetings are at the center, "you don't have to ask someone's permission." People are also freer to leave without an explanation or apology. A respondent from another village board said that "you could get up and walk out of boring meetings, but I would feel terribly rude walking out of a private home." Thus, the use of public space avoids establishment of a host-guest relationship. It also, therefore, avoids problems of any expectation of reciprocity. When meetings are in a public place, social distances can be overcome, so that people meet as equals in the sense of neighbors sharing a common location, temporarily setting aside the status differences, and perhaps differences in tastes, values or culture involved in their personal lives. The fifth and sixth characteristics of intimate secondary relations, therefore, are that the occasions for the relationship are to conduct public rather than private business and the meetings are likely to occur in a public place.

While discussing this concept with Columbia residents, we identified two groups where respondents said such relationships exist but the meetings occur in private homes. In both cases, however, the groups tended to be quite homogeneous in nature. One was Jack and Jill, an all-black middle-class organization which

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limits the number of members and invites families to join. Its activities are not public business. It provides recreational and other activities for member families, especially for the children. The second organization was the Howard County League of Women Voters, which does conduct business of a public nature but of a somewhat esoteric nature, not likely to attract participants walking in off the street. Individuals tend to join only when asked by a friend and are almost entirely white, middle-class, well educated women. These groups, as all groups, undoubtedly combine characteristics of both primary and secondary relationships. Whether a group is considered primary or secondary is dependent upon which characteristics are manifest or dominant and which are latent. (Müller, 1970). We suggest that an intimate secondary relationship is one in which a particular combination of characteristics is dominant, some of which are more often associated with an ideal type primary group and others which are more often dominant in secondary groups. Before we proceed to consider further what settings are most important for development of these relationships, the resulting networks created, and their relevance to community, let us consider an additional example of how this particular coalescing of characteristics differs from other types of group relationships in which a number of Columbians have

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participated, which might be considered similar at first glance: group therapy or encounter groups. These groups have some characteristics similar to those of an intimate secondary group. The commitment is voluntary and limited in time and scope. Participation generally is by individuals rather than family groups. Intense personal relationships are formed rapidly and in sufficient depth to reveal important aspects of each others' characters and develop mutual trust or distrust. There is an emphasis on equality within the group and de-emphasis of status based on outside job roles, personal wealth, or race, age or sex.

Therapy or encounter groups differ from intimate secondary groups, however, in the sharing of personal information, particularly about family matters, and in the focus on private rather than public matters. The latter involves more than just lack of public activities. There is a subtle difference that is crucial to understanding the essential public and community basis of neighborhood-based intimate secondary groups. In the case of elderly persons who attended an encounter group, the relevant data about their age probably would revolve around such matters as fear of dying, relationships with children, loss of status due to retirement. The focus would be on the individual's feelings and

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other's reaction to his problems and their own concern with the same matters. In the case of a neighborhood-based intimate secondary group, the emphasis probably would be on the public response necessary to accommodate the needs of that individual, perhaps including public discussions aimed at creating sensitivity to the individual's feelings. The focus is not so much how the individual's membership in a certain category, like elderly, affects his individual personality but what, as a member of that category, he can convey to others about his special needs which other individuals in that category share and which should be met by a public response--such as ramps to buildings. In the case of Columbia, the discussion about the needs of elderly which we observed was their testimony at the public hearings regarding their need for CA support for public transportation.

The distinction between the two types of group settings is subtle since there is a constant shifting between public and private multiple roles by any individual or group. It is, however, important in terms of two functions of the intimate secondary group: enabling persons of different groups to relate on any intimate basis around public matters and enabling the group to identify and thoroughly understand the needs of a particular group which should be addressed by public actions.

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This brings us to the question of functions of intimate secondary relations. As this is only an initial statement of the concept, we do not pretend that this list is exhaustive of potential functions. The functions which seem to have occurred in this study include: 1) supplementary relations which temper changing family patterns, 2) assisting personal and social geographic mobility, and 3) facilitating both primary and secondary relations in cases of population heterogeneity. In considering the latter case, we shall discuss facilitating social stratification within an equalitarian ideology, identification of public needs of different groups, and formation of networks creating community integration.

As mentioned earlier, one possible function of intimate secondary relationships is facilitating changing family patterns. After our study in Columbia, we explored this idea with a minister in Reston. He not only indicated that he had observed the same relationships in Reston, but also indicated that it had particular relevance for women in unhappy marriages. Frequently they entered into intimate secondary relationships to obtain the support they needed to face dissolving the marriage. In other instances, they utilized such relationships as a means of personal growth and having close relationships with men without having a sexual affair. In some cases, individuals

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utilized these relationships as a means of avoiding confronting serious family problems. While this may be true, an alternative thought is that such relationships may represent opportunities for as much intimacy as many people want or are able to participate in comfortably. In addition, such relationships may be supportive while people are undergoing marital stress. The support in this case, however, is a reflection of the secondary nature of these relationships more than the primary aspects. One Columbia resident explained that members of several different Boards had undergone marital conflict or separation during their term of office. The group was supportive in the sense of offering sympathy but, more important, through automatically continuing the existing warm relationship on its usual business-like but intimate basis. Information about the problem initially was conveyed not so much in terms of the trauma involved which might have been shared with a personal friend, but as a matter of status change which fellow Board members needed to know to avoid embarrassing comments or incidents. Board members might sympathetically make a general inquiry about "how's it going" leaving the individual free to accept the sympathy without discussing details. The importance of the continuation of an intimate relationship on a business-as-usual basis can better be understood if we recall

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that marital difficulties frequently cause severe strain on other primary relationships. Friends may ally with one partner or feel awkward about inviting a single person to a gathering of married friends. Relatives are concerned but may be angry or critical as well as sympathetic and their inquiries may infringe on private matters.

Even apart from situations of divorce, intimate secondary relationships may fulfill a function for modern families. The limited intimacy available may still be more than the participants experience in actual interactions within their family group. In addition, such relationships possibly may enable participants to have a greater total amount of intimacy than is likely to be possible within the nuclear family, given its small size. The combination of geographic mobility and small nuclear families creates a primary group generally between two and five, of whom only two are adults. This basically means that the family primary group from which individuals expect their main source of emotional interpersonal fulfillment is a dyad. We would hypothesize that this frequently is too small a group to perform that function totally. Litwak has discussed the changing nature of primary groups in modern society. He suggests that while the primary group structures of kin, neighbors and friends persist despite conditions of

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geographic and social mobility, their functions have changed somewhat and have become differentiated among the three structures. He suggests that the isolated nuclear family lacks sufficient resources to fulfill all of the functions of the traditional primary group.

> Thus they find it difficult to deal with tension management problems where the source of trouble is disputes between themselves -- husband and wife (e.g., neither adult is able to provide succor to the other). In addition, because of the intense affectivity, family members may not be able to diagnose objectively incipient states of mental illness. Finally, because of technological innovation, family members often cannot use their personal history as a base for handling all problems.... In a rapidly changing society, it is not enough for two adults to have only each other to draw upon. (Litwak, 1968, 469).

He suggests that kin, neighborhood and friendship primary groups supplement the isolated nuclear family. He discusses kin and neighborhood groups primarily in terms of mutual support during crisis. Since both kin and neighborhood groups are somewhat arbitrary and fixed, neither is equipped to provide communality of interests and experiences in a rapidly changing society. Rather, this function is fulfilled by friendships.

We would suggest that intimate secondary relationships offer a fourth alternative. They provide some degree of intimacy around areas of mutual interest without necessarily evolving into friendships. This provides spouses an opportunity to have meaningful

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relationships with others, including members of the opposite sex, which are not merely an extension of the dyad relationship. The importance of this opportunity is not just the difficulty of finding friends equally pleasing to both members of the dyad, but the fact that, given the rapid changes in our society, all interests, including intellectual, artistic and leisure time activities, are becoming increasingly specialized. Thus, it is extremely likely that adults will develop interests which they cannot share to a significant degree with their spouses. Having a variety of intimate secondary relationships increases the possibility that someone will share a particular interest. The public nature, presence of others, and structured purposes and activities of the intimate secondary relationships provide some protection against further undesired intimacy, although they do not, of course, prevent primary relationships from forming. We suggest, therefore, that intimate secondary relationships may fulfill several functions in a society with a changing family structure.

We further suggest that such relationships are important in Columbia, and other similarly mobile communities. They offer the newcomer a chance to rapidly experience a sense of belonging without the necessity of committing himself to friendship with

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someone whom he really doesn't know well. One of the Oakland Mills Village Board members commented after one of the meetings that they felt as if they had lived in Columbia a long time, although it had only been a year. We were struck by how many of those involved had become active within six months of arriving in Columbia.

The table below both summarizes the characteristics of intimate secondary relationships and compares them to secondary relationships and to primary ones.

TABLE 1

INTIMATE SECONDARY RELATIONSHIPS COMPARED WITH PRIMARY AND SECONDARY RELATIONSHIPS

CHARACTERISTIC	PRIMARY	INTIMATE SECONDARY	SECONDARY
Intense Personal involvement	yes	yes	no
Mutual-knowledge of character	yes	yes	no
Knowledge of personal life	yes	no	no
Socializing	yes	no	no
Diffuse commitment	yes	no	no
Involvement with family	yes	no	no
Public nature of business	no	yes	yes
Public place for interactions	no	yes	yes

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Another function of intimate secondary relationships which we shall consider concerns their importance in cases of population heterogeneity. We suggest that they perform several important functions. The first, and perhaps most vital, is to enable persons who might feel uncomfortable with each other to meet on a neutral, limited basis. This would be true not only for those with obvious racial differences, but also those with age, or income differences. Indeed, one possibility is that such meetings enable people to meet in a situation of status uncertainty, reserving more intimate overtures of friendship for those with whom they find status compatibility. Gans has suggested the incompatibility of classes is proved by the fact that in most communities residents quickly choose leisure activities which stratify them along class lines. (Perloff, 1976). We would suggest that intimate secondary groups may permit such sorting to occur without total geographic or social isolation of any group. It also permits a community to maintain the ideology of equality while practicing the usual societal stratifications.

We suggest, however, that even the limited contact in intimate secondary relationships often may be sufficient to enable increased understanding and empathy between different groups. We are not claiming that such contact always creates such results, only that the

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potential exists. As noted earlier, blacks in Columbia largely tended to socialize among themselves, and participate in CA activities only to a minimal amount. Their limited participation, nevertheless, caused some sensitivity to issues which might otherwise have been overlooked. In the case of the Columbia blacks, however, the increased awareness because of their presence may have been due to their potential utilization of their power to embarrass the community more than as a result of increased knowledge from this type of personal relationships.

The final aspect of our analysis of intimate secondary relationships in heterogeneous areas concerns the formation of a network of such relationships, which has implications both for the person and for power relations in a community. We mentioned earlier that participants in village board activities in Columbia frequently were involved only for several years. Then they either withdraw to individual and family activities or become active in citywide or County organizations. They carry with them, however, the trust and rapport created in the initial groups. This emerges when they meet each other at the store or at community meetings. More important, the knowledge and trust can be drawn upon if a problem arises in the new activity which affects that geographic area or religious or racial group. One respondent noted that someone continually

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asks her about the opinion of the Jewish Congregation on certain matters. She asked why he didn't call the Congregation leaders directly, he responded that he knew her. Another respondent who was black worked on a village matter with someone now active in County affairs. He finds that nonColumbians requesting information about racial matters in Columbia, frequently are referred to him. The utilization of the network is not merely a continuation of a friendly relationship, but a continuing communication for matters of public concern based on a knowledge of a person's judgement and areas of competence. The crucial quality is not personal likeability, but credibility based on a prior relationship.

We would hypothesize that this reservoir of trust and understanding is especially important if a person wants to sound out opinion on a sensitive issue, or test out a position on a potential controversial subject. Such relationships also, of course, overlap with the arena of political power. Burkhart noted how, gradually, the manager of the Interfaith Housing project became active in several community organizations, each of which gave him increased contacts and increased credibility as a spokesman for the low-income residents. (Burkhart, 1975). Later one of the women on one of the village boards actively urged him to run for the CA Executive

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Committee and supported his campaign. Several former village board members now work in County agencies or are members of the County Council. We suspect that they continue to maintain their networks of intimate secondary relationships as a means of staying in touch with community sentiments.

We believe that such networks are important in maintaining a spirit of community. We suggest that creation of the opportunities for the formation of intimate secondary relationships and the resulting networks may be one of the chief contributions of the CA. We now shall examine the CA's contributions and limitations at community-building in more detail.

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CHAPTER VI

THE COLUMBIA COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION AS A COMMUNITY BUILDING INSTRUMENT

We began this research with a series of general questions about the continued relevance of community in modern American life and a guiding hypothesis directing attention at what values about community were being expressed in the creation of a new community and what interests were ultimately being served. We decided to focus our study on a new town, since it would serve as a deviant case where the developer and the residents were making self-conscious efforts to maximize community values. Within that setting, we selected for research the residents in relationship to their community association, since it was the most likely instrument for residents to utilize in their attempts to implement their values about community.

Having presented the general theoretical background and the basic analysis of what happened during a major shift in expenditure patterns of the CA in Columbia, we shall here examine those happenings in terms of our original questions about community. Then,

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we briefly shall compare the processes in Columbia with our observations in another similar community, Reston, and with what researchers have found while studying residents in planned communities with more utopian goals. In our theoretical discussion, we have considered community as physical place, community as a setting for institutional location and activities, and the community as setting for interpersonal relations. We shall here consider the evidence from Columbia in relation to each of these aspects of community. We also shall examine the evidence from Columbia in terms of its effect on the societal trends away from Gemeinschaft which we considered in the theoretical section: urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucracy.

Generally, we concluded that the community association in Columbia has somewhat enhanced what might be considered community values, largely through promoting important, if somewhat limited, aspects of resident interaction and psychological identification with community. It has provided some institutionalized means for mobile residents to become involved quickly in community activities through a variety of programs and committees. This facilitates individual adjustment to a new location and formation of interpersonal relationships at the pace and to the extent desired by the individual. It also assists the formation of intimate secondary

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relationships, useful for rapid integration into a heterogeneous, rapidly changing, mobile society.

The overall activities of the CA, however, mostly have been confined to physical attributes and facilities. It largely has failed to impact, or even attempt to impact, the various institutional structures governing major aspects of residents' lives, or to address seriously any of the major societal questions which affect them. Although Columbia has had impact on national approaches to land development and has created changes in Howard County institutions, the CA has been relatively uninvolved in this. Nor, as we have seen, has the CA played a major role in facilitating racial and economic integration, which can be considered a serious attempt to address the societal problem of segregation and racial conflict.

The failure of CA to promote community values more actively can be attributed to its original conceptualization as a parks and recreation association, its continued domination by the developer and sensitivity to the concerns of external lenders, the convergence of interest in protecting values between residents and the developer, and the residents' own conceptualization of community. The final result is that while the CA has enhanced certain aspects of community values, its overriding emphasis has been to promote the material

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interest of the market value of the community. Although CA has involved residents in its internal decision-making process, the effect of any CA decisions is limited by the amount of money it controls, its somewhat narrow emphasis on certain types of facilities and services, its existing debt which predetermines the utilization of most of its resources, and by its ultimate control by external bankers. Rather than creating a new democratic institution, the developer may have siphoned resident energies from attempting to control their actual local government, Howard County, and has added community building to the list of American functions which have become part of a non-locally controlled bureaucratic process. These conclusions will become clearer in the following discussion.

Columbia as an Urbanized Community

In terms of size Columbia is, and was planned to be, reflective of Gesellschaft. The developer deliberately organized the projected 110,000 population around a series of small units, the neighborhood and the village. These villages are planned for 10,000 to 12,000 persons. From the evidence gained during this research, Columbia, as a whole, and the villages do serve as a focus for psychological identification with community.

In addition to having large numbers of persons for interaction purposes, Columbia was planned to reflect

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the heterogeneity of a city, both in population and facilities and in services. This research indicated that Columbia residents accept the racial, income, and family diversity of Columbia and utilize the CA to support it, at least to the extent of providing sliding scales for activities and supporting some programs identified as being of special benefit to blacks, low-income residents, the elderly and the handicapped. The CA has not, however, taken an active role in promoting or facilitating movement of such persons to Columbia. When asked during the interviews whether the CA had a role in providing housing for low- or moderate-income residents or the elderly, respondents unanimously indicated no and seemed surprised at the question. That role was envisioned as the job of the developer rather than of the community association.

Columbia is also reflective of an urban environment in its pattern of mobility. Not only are all Columbians migrants to Columbia, approximately half do not expect to remain there beyond several years. (Center, 1974, 11). In addition, there is some internal mobility within Columbia, as newcomers move from apartments to single-family dwellings.

In terms of urban variety, Columbians have supported the creation of a variety of clubs and institutions and have used the CA to create a diverse range of recreational facilities. During the discussion over

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budget cuts, it was pointed out that in some cases facilities had been planned which in size and quality anticipated the needs of the future rather than the present population base. The visual arts center, for example, was reputed to have equipment superior to that in the art school at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D. C. When respondents were asked whether there were facilities which Columbia lacked which they wanted, most said no, but some indicated that they were looking forward to the further diversity that could be supported by a larger population.

In terms of size, diversity and mobility, therefore, Columbia represents, was planned to represent, and is expected by its residents to represent the Gesellschaft rather than the Gemeinschaft. Columbia was also planned, however, to preserve or recreate some aspects of community in the more Gemeinschaft sense of the word. To some extent, the CA has been successful as an institution for enabling residents to cope with size, diversity and mobility in a manner which permits some sense of community.

First, the very existence of the CA has created a symbol of identity. That is, the CA is an institutional reality embodying the idea that there is a community of Columbia which exists apart from the local government of Howard County and apart from the developer.

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New residents are told that the CA is their association, a democratic mechanism for assisting them to build the type of community they want.

As we have noted earlier, a number of people did identify strongly with a sense of community which evolved from their village board activities. Although some of that sense of identify was formed in opposition to CA policies, we would speculate that the antagonism and sense of separateness probably were not as great between residents and developer-controlled CA as they would have been in a clear-cut resident-developer controversy. That is, the existence of the CA served to diffuse some of the awareness of differences. Whatever its faults, the CA was perceived by residents as being part of their community, belonging to them in the future if not present, and therefore more as an errant family member than outside intruder.

The existence of the CA and introduction of residents to it not only created a norm of participation but also provided a focus for it. This focus exists not only through the CA itself but also through the village boards and their committees and through the avenues for involvement made available through the CA structure. The CA structure created avenues for involvement in several ways. There was the existence of the CA activities and the various committees which helped them

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operate. Thus, involvement could come through meeting people while playing tennis, or through serving on the tennis committee. Then, the CA provided space and organizational support for residents to create their own activities. As we have discussed earlier, space is important not only because many activities are too large or noisy for peoples' homes but also because of the need to have activities in neutral, public places. In addition, CA staff at the central office and village levels provided emotional and organizational support for newcomers who wanted to start activities. Anyone who has ever attempted to start a volunteer organization knows that access to a Xerox or mimeograph machine, lists of other persons who might be interested or helpful, the names of someone who has conducted a similar activity, the ability to publish information in a community newsletter; and similar help are vital for success. As we noted earlier, the volunteer position of the board members handicapped them in dealing with the CA. But the existence of the village office, financed by CA, did give them a meeting place, an administrative assistant and village manager, a Xerox machine, a village newsletter, and a manned telephone. The existence of the CA provided an organizational structure for facilitating resident interaction not only through its own activities, but also through assisting residents in the development of other organizations or activities.

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In addition, the CA, until recently, and now indirectly through the village boards, had an extensive system for welcoming new residents. At first, a paid CA staff member working in the village community center would contact every new resident and invite them to a coffee at the community center. A representative of the CA, and initially of the developer, would talk about the CA and its various opportunities for recreation or other involvement. This welcoming service is no longer provided by CA directly, partly because of the budget cuts, although there is some continued village board welcoming activity. Also, it now is difficult to know who is moving in since much of the present moving is based on the resale of occupied houses. There is some feeling that since Columbia is now well established there is less need for this service. While this may be true from the developer's viewpoint, it is possible that the new residents may find it even more difficult to break into what appears to be well established activities and interrelations.

The varied activities of the CA also helped establish a communications network. Notices of various kinds are posted in the community centers. Most villages publish a newsletter. The names and telephone numbers of the CA, the village offices and the board members and

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representatives of each village are prominently listed in the private Columbia telephone book.

Finally, as we have noted earlier, the kinds of activities provided directly or indirectly through the CA enabled residents to move quickly into relationships while maintaining individual personal control over the amount of psychological distance.

The pools and activities at the community centers and recreation areas provide spaces for either casual recognition of neighbors or for formation of intimate personal friendships. The operating committees and board create numerous opportunities to create the intimate secondary relationships discussed earlier.

Thus, Columbia does not represent a withdrawal from urbanization and is somewhat more urban than the typical suburb. Within this Gesellschaft setting, the CA, nevertheless, does provide some mechanisms for enabling residents to form more Gemeinschaft-like relationships and some sense of identity. As we have seen, however, even the community building activities of the CA such as community centers and resident welcoming services, have been sharply curtailed by the overriding interests of repaying debt and providing sufficient return to investors. While all aspects of the CA operation were affected by the budget cuts of 1975, the women's program funds, the youth employment service and the

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volunteer services coordinator were eliminated. By the end of the following year, the entire staff for the division of human services and CA support for child care had been dropped. The fountains in Town Center are still flowing.

As part of what he calls the "great change" in modern society, Warren includes the "increasing systemic relationships (of local communities) to the larger society." (Warren: 1963, 54). As we have discussed, Columbia is not autonomous either from the county in which it is located, the school district or other governmental bodies, or planning bodies such as areawide health planning agencies. Columbia, like other new communities, must constantly negotiate with the school district regarding location and design of schools and provision for shared facilities. Although Columbia planners initially discussed the type of schools desirable for Columbia, probably the developer's most important contribution to the change process which did occur in the schools was helping the school district obtain a planning grant from the Ford Foundation. In addition, individual Columbia parents continually have voiced their desire for a superior school system through the normal school channels.

The CA has given Columbia autonomy from the County, within the normal restrictions of zoning, in creation of an independent recreation system. Unlike

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the independence achieved by utopian communities in creating entire new institutions designed solely to fulfill their own desires and conceptions about how institutions should function, the design of the CA recreational facilities inevitably is related to the interest of marketing the next section of land to be developed. In discussing the relationship between the developer and the lenders, the developer said that a decision about delaying the construction of a swimming pool in a new neighborhood would not be made without consulting the lenders since it would involve a change in the economic model which had been used to convince the lenders of the safeness of their investment. Thus, autonomy from the County has not resulted in control by residents of their recreational facilities, but increased the vertical ties to large national institutions whose only connection with the locality is economic. Unlike County officials, they are not even indirectly accountable to the residents of Columbia.

As we have discussed earlier, Columbia reflects national values and trends. First, Columbia must offer a competitive product to prospective buyers, including residential, industrial and commercial purchasers. For example, although Rouse utilized then unconventional siting of housing, placing units close together to permit more open space, he deliberately combined this with

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quite traditional architectural styles. The amenities selected are those popular with middle-income buyers throughout the nation tennis, swimming pools, golf.

As we have discussed, the programs and activities have not explored alternative approaches to societal values. Even the support of heterogeneity has been a minor aspect of CA attention. In fact, the idea that residents of subsidized housing should be able to purchase the package plan for facilities at half-price was sold to the Executive Committee on the basis that it would provide increased income for CA by increasing the number of package plans sold.

The CA, thus, thoroughly manifests the American belief in the value of private property. Its resources are considerable, compared to those of an average homeowners association or community association, and could presumably be utilized to meet a wide range of individual, family and community needs. Residents, however, have utilized it largely for fulfillment of leisure time activities. We have seen further that, even if they had wished to utilize it for other purposes, expenditures of large sums for projects which did not directly enhance the private property values in Columbia would have been prohibited by the developer. The developer's decisions were in turn constrained by the wishes of the lenders who ultimately controlled the CA. Thus, decisions about

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how to utilize community funds for community building were not only made on rationalistic bases regarding property values, but were also made by outsiders whose profession was to consider such decisions solely in terms of economic return for this expenditure compared to possible economic return from other uses. Ironically, the existence in Columbia of a vast amount of common property and provision of community facilities has strengthened the emphasis on private property values, since the overriding purpose of that common property is to enhance individual property values.

Columbia as a Reflection of Industrialization, "Post-Industrialization" and Bureaucracy

Now we shall consider how Columbia also reflects standard American values in its acceptance of societal trends and values regarding industrialism, "post-industrialism," and bureaucracy.

In terms of our earlier discussion of industrialization and "post-industrialization," Columbia has followed the societal trends and in some cases has made accommodations which would further that trend. This is true in relation to values and interests about work, family, and consumerism. Columbia is not concerned with the basic structure of work in our society. The management structure of the developer is typical of other development entities. The CA has a corporate structure.

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Respondents indicated that Executive Committee meetings were handled as corporate business meetings. One of the resident Executive Committee members discussed a change in her attitude as she began to act like a corporate board member demanding accountability from staff. CA was widely perceived by at least some active residents as a rather unresponsive bureaucracy, despite considerable personnel efforts by staff members to make themselves available to the community during evening and weekend hours.

Nor did Columbia address the larger issues of work in society. The developer did not, for example, deliberately attempt to market commercial or industrial land to employers who were model employers in terms of restructuring work for greater worker satisfaction, offering special opportunities for women or minorities, or any degree of community control. The developer's prime concern was to market the land on schedule at the best price. This concern was modified by his interest in assuring that the prospective client adhered to the covenants, including the requirement of paying the CA assessment and conforming to the architectural design review process. The developer refused to market land to MacDonald's because the company would not agree to forego its usual "Big M" building and sign. Thus, the developer did forego sales opportunity to enhance the

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value of community as attractive physical place, but would not necessarily consider foregoing it in terms of influencing the type of employer locating in the community.

In both these instances, the developer practiced standard real estate or business approaches. This contrasts, however, to the approach taken by developers of more utopian communities which considered confronting the problems and value system of industrialized work one of the major reasons for formation of a new community. It is also noteworthy that other communities in the late sixties and early seventies were exploring alternative models of community organization and relationships between work and community. This is not only true of the various small utopian communes, but also of some urban neighborhoods which provide a more relevant comparison. During this period, a number of communities were experimenting with community development corporations to provide both employment and community control. (Hallman, 1974).

Columbians are products not only of the industrial but also of the post-industrial society. They, like the other directed executives of Whyte's The Organization Man, expect constant mobility. (Whyte, 1957). The CA assists them, nevertheless, in forming some individual and community ties. One other aspect of other

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directiveness bears consideration. The architectural review process gives village residents a formal, legal control over their neighbors' ability to modify their property. You cannot put up a fence in Columbia without submitting the drawings to the architectural review board for approval. If property is not maintained, the architectural review board has the legal right to have the maintenance work performed and bill the owner. This bill is a legal claim against the property which must be paid before the property can be sold. On the one hand, this granting of the community a right to control the minutiae of maintenance and use of personal property could be seen as a revival of community values as opposed to individual ones. In terms of comparison with a more traditional Gemeinschaft, however, pressure for conformity, there are several interesting points. First, the authority is not traditional in the sense of conformance because of fear of displeasing neighbors or offending community values, but legal rationale with sanction ultimately involving the courts. Second, the means of enforcement is not informal gossip but a committee of residents approved by the village board and ultimately accountable to them and to higher CA authority. There are, therefore, both bureaucratic means of enforcement and a variety of written regulations and procedures. Most committees evidently do emphasize conciliation and

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persuasion, but the formal approach is available and has occasionally been used by committee members who actively searched for violations.

Third, the thrust of the covenants is utilization of private property in a manner which enhances community values, but the community values to be enhanced are appearance and individual property values. This thrust may be better understood if we consider the mobility expectations of the residents. In a less mobile community, an untidy yard or a venture playground consisting of scrap lumber and space for children to build, might offend the aesthetic sensibilities of a neighbor, but would probably not threaten his economic expectations. In fact, a friendly neighbor might well consider the unattractive home-built fort or scraggly vegetable garden a pleasant sign that his neighbor's children were growing in healthy ways. In a mobile community, however, a prime considerable is the potential effect of such sights on the resale value of property. Thus, the communal aspects of the convenants do not create communal property nor enable residents to better meet needs of their families but emphasize the market value of the home. The value of property becomes not property for use but property for resale value. This, of course, is similar to the basic trend of industrial capitalistic society.

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This leads us to consideration of the fact that Columbia also represents a reflection, in terms of community, of the privatization which Zaretsky discussed in terms of family life. Zaretsky said that with the definition of work as that which occurs outside the home, work which occurs inside the home is considered not an integral part of economic existence, but an area for personal satisfaction and expression. In a similar manner, the community at Columbia emphasizes private expression of individual use of leisure rather than a focus on basic economic and other needs of the community. We have seen earlier that the CA does not address major attention to controlling those institutions which affect the socialization of children, the schools, the provision of health or other vital services. Nor does the CA address itself to major societal questions such as changes in the family structure. Columbia residents believe that the community has a high divorce rate, but the CA is not perceived to be a mechanism for either developing programs which might address family problems or offering legal, financial or emotional support to families undergoing divorce. Nor does CA actively consider the needs of the extended family. We did not discover, for example, any discussion about providing nursing homes or small adjacent apartments for the elderly parents of Columbia residents.

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Columbia does make provision for single persons and they can participate in CA activities if they wish. A CA study, however, indicated that single persons generally did not participate. (CA, 1974, 6). As we have seen, CA does not basically concern itself with the question of family breakdown or alternative family patterns. This approach contrasts markedly with that taken by utopian communities, where restructing the family and control over socialization of children were major community concerns.

Thus, we see that while Columbia has concerned itself with creation of community more than have other real estate ventures, and that the CA has served as a mechanism for enhancing community spirit and participation, the community aspects have been limited to those which complement basic societal values of private property and capitalistic industrial production. Even when residents assume control of the CA, which now is not scheduled to occur until 1985, the basic direction of the CA has been established. The general societal values being implemented are those of consumerism, increased leisure, individualism even at the expense of family participation, mobility, private property, increased rationalized use of property, greater bureaucratization of all aspects of life, and increased control of community by external decision makers. Thus,

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the values being implemented, and the interests being served, in Columbia are those which reflect the material needs of our "post-industrial" society. However, given the increasing mobility and stress on the individual, as reflected in mental health and national divorce rates, Columbia does offer a means for individuals to relate quickly to a community and form rapid relationships with strangers which have a degree of intimacy.

Having considered how Columbia relates to questions about community, let us now compare our findings with observations made in a similar community, Reston, and with more utopian efforts at community building.

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CHAPTER VII

SOME COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Reston: A Comparative Case

An Overview of Reston

Having identified some concepts about community and explored them in Columbia, we wanted to compare our findings there with evidence from another community. We conducted a brief examination of Reston, Virginia, selected because it is similar to Columbia in many respects but exhibits some important differences which were useful for our purposes. We did not conduct an entire case study of Reston, but interviewed respondents likely to be knowledgeable about aspects of the community which concerned us, concentrating on individuals from key Reston organizations.

Reston is similar to Columbia in overall design, philosophy of its founder, location and demographic composition. Like Columbia, it is located approximately an hour from Washington, D. C., and houses many commuters. It is planned as a new town with a full range of housing types and services including shopping and an employment base.

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The philosphy of its founder, Robert Simon, was similar to that of Rouse in emphasizing preservation of the beauty of the natural environment, housing a heterogeneous population, and making a profit. Simon lost financial control of the property, primarily due to problems of undercapitalization and an initially slow development pace. The development was taken over by Gulf Oil Corporation which operates it through a subsidiary, Gulf Reston, Inc. Despite fears of residents, and perhaps partly because of resident pressure, development has proceeded largely in accordance with Simon's original plan.

By 1975, Reston had a population of 25,500 with 4,820 single-family units and 3,328 apartment units. Families composed 83 per cent of the population. The median family income was $22,900. Eleven per cent of the families had incomes below the poverty level. Eight per cent of the residents were over 65 years old. Eleven per cent of the population was black. (R.H.O.A., 1976)

Although in most respects Reston is similar to Columbia, there are some important differences. One, already mentioned, is that the original founder is no longer involved. A second is that whereas Columbia was developed in a largely rural area and would soon constitute a major part of the County's population, Fairfax was developed in an urban county. Fairfax County has more urbanized services than Howard County, but Reston will never be able to command the

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political influence which Columbia residents now enjoy. A third difference is the internal governance structure.

Simon originally planned for a homeowners association in each village and a nonprofit foundation which would provide for special types of social services. The foundation was not successful in attracting sufficient donations to have an assured income. In the late sixties a management consultant firm recommended that the village homeowners associations be merged to form an umbrella organization which then took over some of the programs of the foundation such as the nature center. Nevertheless, the Reston Home Owners'Association remains more explicitly a property owners' association than CA. It levies assessments against all residential property, but not on industrial or commercial land. Its actual and potential assets, therefore, are considerably less than those of CA. Renters can serve on committes, but cannot vote. Gulf Reston votes for its tenants. Since Gulf Reston owns considerable rental property in Reston, it effectively can control the organization indefinitely. At present, the Board of Directors is composed of six members appointed by Gulf Reston and three homeowners elected for three-year concurrent terms. Resident members often have resigned before the end of their three-year term and the developer has appointed a replacement. Recently, R.H.O.A. has amended its by-laws to provide for annual elections and staggered terms.

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There also are Village Councils elected by all village residents over 16 years of age, including renters. The Village Councils do make recommendations to the Board regarding the budget and other matters but have no real power. They also lack staff and regular funding, although they can request money from R.H.O.A. for special programs. R.H.O.A. owns community building space in each village, but the Village Councils do not control the programming, which is handled directly by R.H.O.A. staff.

At present, R.H.O.A. owns and maintains over 400 acres of common land, 25 miles of pathways, 11 swimming pools, 10 underpasses, two riding stables, 30 tennis courts, and four community buildings. It has assets worth over one million dollars, compared to the CA assets of over 15 million dollars. Its total expenditures for 1975 were $1.2 million, compared to CA's $7 million. R.H.O.A. owns and operates far fewer facilities than the CA and has a much smaller staff. Unlike the CA, however, it has no debt, partly due to lower operating expenditures and partly because the developer donated the facilities rather than expecting to be paid.

Like CA, R.H.O.A. has an extensive set of architectural regulations imposed by covenants which run with the land. The Design Book provided to residents discusses procedures for obtaining approval for changes in property and such items as fences, decks, landscaping and vegetable gardens,

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storm windows and doors. It includes information about how to design fences so that they do not obstruct the view or wind patterns of neighbors. It also includes such details as the fact that metal play equipment "should be painted Reston Brown (gray-brown) to blend with the natural surroundings." (R.H.O.A., 1975:17)

The Reston Architectural Review Board is ultimately controlled by the developer, but actually operates independently. Most of the work is done by a three-member subcommittee composed of one representative appointed by the developer and two residents who are selected by the community (all are formally appointed by R.H.O.A.). This panel meets weekly and handles approximately 150 applications a month. Two of its members are architects. Decisions can be appealed to the full committee which consists of eight architects and two lay members.

In addition to R.H.O.A., there is the Reston Community Association (RCA), which is a voluntary nonprofit organization open to all Reston residents who pay the annual three dollar membership fee. Like community organizations in many other cities, although RCA has only a small budget and no staff, it attempts to speak for the community when dealing with the County, the developer and R.H.O.A. Its activities have included testifying on zoning and planning matters, sponsoring an annual community festival, conducting a census of Reston residents which indicated that County figures

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underestimated Reston population, especially children, and lobbying for more schools and other County services. On occasion, RCA has fought with both R.O.H.A. and the developer and even has sued the developer. RCA has been a strong advocate for low- and moderate-income housing for Reston, although it opposed one project which it felt would cause an over-concentration of lower-income housing in an area.

There are other organizations which provide a variety of social services. Perhaps the most important in terms of innovation and serving as a catalyst for varied community projects has been the Common Ground Foundation. It evolved out of an Episcopal Church's recognition of the needs of the residents of an elderly housing project. Instead of constructing a church building, the congregation has supported its minister in providing organizational support for a variety of community services. He operates out of a coffee house operated by the Foundation with extensive use of volunteers. The coffee house serves as an informal gathering place for youth and other community activities. The Foundation also sponsors other projects, including the internal bus system which was originally manned by volunteers, an employment and babysitting service, and a child care center.

As mentioned earlier, the focus of this research was not on the total organizational pattern of a community,

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but rather on the community association and how its residents attempted to utilize it to implement values about community and what interests ultimately were served. The selection of the community association for study, rather than the entire pattern of organizational life, was because it theoretically represented the entire community, because it had a legal existence, and because of its potential for action based on considerable financial resources. Therefore, despite the differences between R.H.O.A. and CA and the existence in Reston of another community association and the Common Ground Foundation, it is instructive to consider how the activities of R.H.O.A. compare with those of CA. The Reston Community Association is not only wholly voluntary, but also extremely limited in financial resources. The Common Ground Foundation, while innovative in approach, is probably more comparable to Columbia's Family Life Center than to the CA.

Reston Support of Community Concepts, Values and Interests

In terms of the values about community manifest in Columbia, our investigation in Reston indicates a pattern similar to that of Columbia except that the role of R.H.O.A. is even more focused on maintenance of property interests and even less supportive of other community values. This seems to be partly because of orientation and partly due to

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limited resources. We suggest that several factors combine to limit R.H.O.A. in scope of activities partly through limiting community expectations of it. As mentioned earlier, the original conception was that R.H.O.A. would be strictly a homeowners association focused on property maintenance with broader community needs being met by the nonprofit foundation or the County. Although renters can be active in R.H.O.A. affairs and at one point a renter headed its planning and budget committee, renters cannot vote. We would suggest, however, that the crucial matter is not just who is active, but what is conceived to be the community which is to be served by the organization. Although few renters in Columbia are involved actively, the association is expected to serve their interests and the CA planning and evaluation staff occasionally has focused attention on how CA could meet their needs more effectively. The basic point is that the rhetoric of the CA is that it meets the needs of all Columbia residents, not just property owners. This probably makes it easier to support programs which do not directly support property values. If the purpose of the organization is primarily to serve the needs of property owners, any action enhancing property values is sure to benefit all organization members, while any other program will only benefit certain members who happen to be tennis players, or participants in whatever program is proposed. Indeed, in discussing the reasons R.H.O.A. has continued

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to support a nonprofitable riding stable for five years, R.H.O.A. staff indicated that a major rational had been that it enhanced the "overall value" of the property and thus indirectly benefited everyone.

Other factors which we believe have been influential in limiting the conception of the appropriate role of R.H.O.A. is its more limited financial operation. Many of the more innovative programs of CA were begun during a period of rapid financial expansion and were eliminated during the later retrenchment. The period of innovation, however, helped to stimulate the expectation that CA would address a variety of community problems. It also supported staff at both central office CA and village levels who were dedicated to the belief in widespread community involvement. Although these programs and that staff have been largely eliminated, the expectation that CA would support community process and innovation has not totally died.

In contrast, the R.H.O.A. approach has been to keep assessments low by restricting services. The Executive Director described his role not in terms of facilitating community processes but as a broker between Gulf Reston and the community. He perceives his job as reconciling the interests of the individual homeowner, the apartment owner, the tenant, and the builder who owns lots in the community. We are not certain from our research whether the approach of limited R.H.O.A. activities accurately

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reflects the desires of residents. At any rate, the developer who controls the association has a vested interest in maintaining low assessments since he pays approximately one-third of the total budget through assessments on his property. Since the Reston developer has a vested interest in keeping the assessments low, it would be difficult for resident pressure to be effective in making major changes in R.H.O.A.'s activities. Indeed, in 1972, the Town Council, representing all the Village Councils, proposed a new charter giving itself greater powers, including the power to hire and fire R.H.O.A.'s executive director. The developer simply disbanded the Town Council. Neither residents nor the present R.H.O.A. Executive Director are likely to forget this exercise of what they refer to as "the golden steam-roller."

R.H.O.A.'s support for heterogeneity within Reston has been limited. It has provided some assistance to the low- and moderate-income residents through enabling subsidized housing projects to purchase pool memberships for their tenants at two-thirds the normal rate, thus lowering the amount of cost which is passed on to the tenant in increased rent. In 1975, R.H.O.A. provided 125 partial scholarships and 75 full scholarships to two-week sessions

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of summer day camp and free swimming lessons for disadvantaged persons. R.H.O.A. has never taken an active role in supporting location of low- and moderate-income housing in Reston, nor has it opposed it. RCA has actively supported efforts to obtain low- and moderate-income housing.

The support for low- and moderate-income housing in Reston seems to have come from the impetus of Simon's original commitment which made acceptance of such housing part of the Reston ideology, pressure from some residents, and a suit by a Washington, D.C., organization which made construction of a number of units mandatory in connection with the relocation of the U. S. Geological Survey from Washington, D.C., to Reston. Because of that suit, Gulf Reston was required to build more such housing than planned at that time and to locate it close to the village center because of guidelines of the Department of Housing and Urban Development that required such housing to be within walking distance of shopping, places of government, and other facilities.

Recently, there have been nationally publicized problems with one of the projects in that area, which we shall call Green Lake. From the perspective of our research, the interesting points are not merely the history of the incidents, but the community reaction to them and, more important, the veiled manner in which the discussion about the problem is conducted.

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Briefly, the history of events is as follows. The 240-unit Green Lake project for moderate-income residents was completed in 1973. It is located adjacent to a 200-unit government-subsidized moderate-income project, sponsored by a church group. Not far away, is a 50-unit project of public housing. On the other side are 350 townhouses which sell for $38,000 to $48,000, the lowest priced townhouses in Reston, and a condominium project with the lowest down-payments required in Reston. Thus, the area contains a high concentration of units, a large number of subsidized units, and a large number of units occupied by persons who have lower incomes than other Reston residents. The area residents who are not in subsidized housing and who own their own home or apartment unit are undoubtedly fearful about the value of their investment and the atmosphere in their neighborhood. They also may be concerned with the loss of status through being connected with low- and moderate-income housing, which is not high status in our society. There seems to be unanimous agreement that the area has an overcentration of low- and moderate-income housing. In addition, Reston respondents unanimously stated that the management of the Green Lake project had been very bad. The project is located across from a swimming pool but, unlike every other apartment complex in Reston, the management did not

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purchase pool privileges for its residents. After considerable community pressure, the privileges were purchased, but by then, the residents had been publicly stigmatized as being different from other residents using the same pool. This may have accounted for subsequent vandalism at the pool, although some vandalism occurs at all of the pools in Reston.

Initial residents of the complex attempted to form a tenants' organization and to organize recreational activities for their children. This effort was not supported by management. There was a series of incidents involving exchange of racial insults among teenagers and persons using the nearby shopping center. Elementary school children were shaken down for lunch money by other elementary school children. This stopped, however, when women of both races started jointly patroling the pathways to the school. One observer suggested that the school teachers had not expected students who had not enjoyed the advantages of the average Reston child entering elementary school, which includes several years of preschool education. Minor instances occurred. Teenagers from the project playing basketball at the nearest court were perceived as a threat by the surrounding townhouse cluster, which issued buttons to all its members to insure that only those entitled would use the court.

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Many of the original residents of the Green Lake project disliked the management and the general atmosphere. They left, creating a situation of high vacancies. The management responded by filling the units without properly screening the tenants. Evidently a number of the new tenants were families with long histories of difficulties, including eviction from other subsidized housing projects in the County. Several of the families reportedly had been feuding for a number of years. Tensions increased, culminating during the summer of 1976 with teenagers shooting at a patroling police car.

Shortly before the shooting incident, the developer and R.H.O.A. jointly contracted with the Fairfax Community Action Agency to place a community worker in the project. Soon afterwards, the management replaced the manager. Assistance of different types is now coming from various groups, including the County, R.H.O.A., the developer, and RCA.

We believe that the dynamics of the situation reflect some of the same complexities and reluctance to deal with questions of race and class that were observed in Columbia. First, as indicated above, the problem had been developing over several years with little serious attempt by any community group to address it. A representative of the Common Ground Foundation indicated that he had realized there were deficiencies in the initial planning

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for the project but had not taken the effort to mobilize community concern. Nor did he believe that the community would have been willing to address any potential problems at that time. Although RCA had strongly objected to the project on the grounds that it created an overconcentration of low- and moderate-income housing in one area, R.H.O.A.'s Architectural Review Committee had reviewed the plans and found them architecturally acceptable, without raising any related questions about needed recreational or other facilities. A new elementary school was opened and although an attempt was made to recruit teachers with inner-city experience, some teachers evidently were not sufficiently prepared to handle children who did not have the same educational advantages usually enjoyed by other Reston children. An attempt to have meetings with area parents whose children would be attending the new elementary school met no response. R.H.O.A. provided only minimal special programming or other assistance.

The 1976 R.H.O.A. Program Budget indicates the extent of R.H.O.A.'s reluctance to address the issue openly. The funds for the Fairfax Community Action Agency staff are not mentioned. The reference to "a broader liaison and cooperation system both with agencies in and outside of Reston," quoted earlier, actually means efforts to obtain more County social services for residents of this project. Nowhere in the 92-page document are the words "race," "low income,"

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"middle income" or "subsidized housing" used. There is one reference about free swim lessons to "disadvantaged persons" and arranging the hours of the swimming pools in a manner which permits meeting "the time constraints of most residents and to provide a positive program to counteract the spillover of urban social problems into the R.H.O.A. community pools program area." (R.H.O.A., 1976:70) This "urban problem spillover redirection program" is actually aimed at youth, including white youth, who mostly moved to Reston from rural parts of the County.

Thus, we see some reluctance to address the issue clearly and openly. We believe that this both makes finding solutions more difficult and is indicative of the same community uncomfortableness about racial issues which we noticed in Columbia. For example, after the shooting Gulf Reston arranged for a meeting with the management firm, and asked what it intended to do. When the firm replied that it had replaced the former white female resident manager with a black man, the developer did not pursue the matter further to ask what specific actions would be taken to control the behavior of the several individuals and families who were actually causing the trouble. The implicit assumption was that the selection of a black manager would somehow eliminate the problem.

While respondents were concerned that Reston might have increased racial violence, they simultaneously assured

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the researcher that the problem was not racial, but class or economic. As we suggested in our discussion of Columbia, it is extraordinarily difficult to determine when an individual's reaction is based on attitudes towards class, towards race, or merely towards the specific event which occurred. We cannot attempt to do that for Reston from the information gathered in this research. We can, however, point out that the pattern of relationships between black and white middle-income residents in Reston seems to be similar to that identified in Columbia.

A black respondent said that not only was Reston successfully integrated in the sense of a lack of concentration of blacks (other than some in the subsidized projects), but also that he know of no instances of realtors steering blacks to locate in certain sections. The significance of this statement becomes clearer when compared to Simon's initial difficulties in marketing in Reston on an interracial basis. During the late sixties, Virginia still was practicing massive resistance to desegregation. Local realtors refused to market homes in Reston on an integrated basis. Simon was forced to obtain money from New York banks and market directly himself.

Reston, like Columbia, has a pattern of somewhat limited social interaction between races and an extensive system of all-black social organizations. There are alumni branches of fraternities and sororities and a number of all-black couples' clubs, women's clubs and men's

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clubs as well as a local Jack and Jill.

Shortly after Reston began, a number of blacks formed an organization called Black Focus which sponsors an annual Black Arts Festival and other events emphasizing the different aspects of black culture. The group also counters instances of subtle racism. For example, a local youth group had a fund raising event in which the youth were auctioned as slaves for the day to a householder. Members of the Black Focus talked to the leaders of the group, explaining that blacks found the event offensive since it treated an unhappy event in their history in a nonchalant manner. Black Focus was deliberately formed to give black families black support -- a kind of an extended family. Although the core group has consisted of 20 to 30 couples, the organization was loosely structured and supported any volunteer who wanted to run a project within the basic goals. A former leader estimates that probably 80 per cent of the black families in Reston have participated in some Black Focus activity.

Black Focus members deliberately addressed the issue of race, sponsoring a series of discussion groups and urging attention to black issues in the schools. Initially, the group faced the same resistance to addressing racial matters openly that we saw in Columbia.

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"Blacks who came to Reston were concerned that there was a black organization . . . wasn't that a racist thing to do"? Blacks were also afraid that the first Black Arts Festival might not succeed. The leaders felt it was important to establish that blacks, as well as whites, "had a right to make a mess." The Festival, however, has been quite successful both in its goal of attracting potential black residents to Reston and in reenforcing black people that "they could maintain their own life-style and still be part of an integrated community . . . that (they) did not have to act 'white.' (They) could contribute their special things and have them appreciated by the white community."

Black Focus has also consciously attempted to make sure that blacks are represented on city and County governmental bodies. We do not know what accounts for the different approaches of blacks in Columbia and Reston towards addressing racial matters actively, although there is evidence that since the 1975 budget controversy blacks in Columbia have become more vocal.

Despite the differences described, the overall pattern of integration in Reston seems to be similar to that of Columbia. Integration exists and that fact represents a significant achievement for the community and its residents. It provides blacks with access to a

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community in which they can move freely without fear of overt discrimination and with total access for themselves and their children to the cultural, educational, and other advantages of the community. Both blacks and whites have the opportunity to meet each other in a non-threatening environment in which mutual respect generally is the accepted norm. Social relations can be formed according to the personal inclination of each individual, but the lack of widespread, close interracial friendships does not exclude blacks from enjoying the other advantages of the community.

Subtle, and occasionally not so subtle, instances of racism occur, and are sometimes ignored because of the overall ideology and a concern that identifying issues as having racial overtones may be considered racist. Instances involving lower income black youth tend to be either ignored or magnified out of proportion to their numbers or seriousness. It is almost impossible to clearly determine when an instance actually stems from racial conflict and when racial insults are used as a means to express hostilities stemming from other conflicts, including economic and those between teenagers and adults.

Whereas we do not wish to underestimate the importance of any situation of actual or potential

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racial/class conflict, the national publicity about racial problems in Reston did not clearly state that the actual problems seemed to have been caused by fewer than 10 families out of more than 700 units of low- and moderate-income housing (not all occupied by blacks) and a total black population of approximately 3,000 persons in Reston. We suggest that the statements reflect more about national views of the desirability of homogeneity, as a means of insuring total Parsonian-like absence of conflict, than they do about the actual experience in Reston or the value choices of the residents who live there.

Having considered how Reston compares to Columbia in terms of support for the value of heterogeneous community and the complex realities that involves, let us return to a consideration of the support offered by R.H.O.A. for other values which we discussed earlier in connection with Columbia.

In terms of support of the family, R.H.O.A. activities have been quite limited. It operates pools, tennis courts, and community centers, maintains the open space, including playgrounds, tot lots and some multi-purpose courts. It operates a nature program and in the summer has a day camp, but it provides only minimal programming for the community centers during the winter. R.H.O.A. policy

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regarding fees for the pools encourages family use, since fees are reasonably low for home owners and apartment owners can purchase pool rights in bulk for all their tenants.

Finally, when a nursery school was raising money for a building, R.H.O.A. purchased a $10,000 bond (at nine per cent interest). It also leases community room space to cooperative nursery schools, using a formula which requires them to pay the operating expenses only for the exact hours they occupy the building rather than calculating the lease on a 24-hour a day basis.

Our investigation of Reston did not permit identification of psychological identification with community or the democratic processes through actual participant observation as in Columbia, so our information on this is limited. We did note, however, that the Village Councils are not nearly as active as the village boards in Columbia and do not themselves operate facilities. Nor does R.H.O.A. seem to have as widespread a system of committees. Further, R.H.O.A. does not seem to be as devoted to participation and to democratic processes as a goal as does CA. Participation in the budget process occurs, but one respondent indicated that turn-out for a budget meeting would be 25 to 100 persons.

Like CA, R.H.O.A.'s participation in County affairs

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has been somewhat limited. The 1976 budget document refers only to filling places on community/County task forces on local self-government and of the objective to create regular liaison "with the County of Fairfax and other agencies to solve common problems . . ." (R.H.O.A., 1976:24) As noted earlier, this actually is a euphemism for attempting to secure greater County involvement in providing social services to the low- and moderate-income residents of Reston.

Thus, we have considered briefly how Reston reflects the various values about community which we had explored in Columbia and the interests which appear to be served. Here too, there is an implementation of an urban, heterogeneous community which reflects rather than modifies the basic values of middle class America. Here too, there is an ambivalence about candor regarding integration, yet a justifiable pride in integration as a part of the ideology of what makes Reston a desirable community. Reston also reflects the influence of outside bureaucracies in defining the type of community and community values and/or interests which will be implemented. The general interests of the developer and the home owners' association are to increase property values. Let us now briefly contrast this approach to that of another attempt at creating new communities, the various utopian alternatives.

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The Utopian Alternative

We shall not attempt to deal with the entire subject of utopians, either in the United States or abroad, but merely briefly consider how some utopian communities have reacted to the pressures of a modern society in a manner which is markedly different from that of Columbia or Reston. (See Chart 3). We shall draw examples from American utopias of the middle to late 19th century, the 1960's and 1970's and the Israeli kibbutz. Although we here treat the utopian communities of these periods as three general types for purposes of gross analysis, we are aware that this ignores the variations among the numerous individual communities which existed during each period.

The alternative cases of utopias is instructive because they, like new communities, were formed in response to the historical changes of urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization. In Chapter II on theoretical analysis, we examined some of the traditional American beliefs in rationality, the perfectibility of man and the American mission underlying the philosophy of new communities' planners. Some of the main tenets of participants in American 19th century utopias were related to these same underlying traditions. The utopian tenets included: a belief in human

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CHART 3: COMPARISON OF RESPONSES TO HISTORICAL FORCES

	U.S. 19th	U.S. 20th	Israeli Kibbutz	U.S. New Community
Urbanization				
Size	200 individuals	30 individuals	less than 1,000	generally over 15,000
Dependency	complete self-sufficiency	complete self-sufficiency	complete self-sufficiency	some modified self-sufficiency for daily & common activities
Impact of societal values and institutions	withdrawal	withdrawal	attempt to serve as model for major changes	limited attempt to serve as model for minor changes primarily in physical design
Industrialization				
Alienation from work	attempts to withdraw from industrialization and/or reorganize work	attempts to withdraw from industrialization and/or reorganize work	attempts to reorganize industrial and agricultural production	does not address question of organization of work

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CHART 3: Continued

	U.S. 19th	U.S. 20th	Israeli Kibbutz	U.S. New Community
Industrialization				
Nuclear family	attempts to create new family structure	attempts to create new family structure	attempts to create new family structure	accepts nuclear family, very minor attempts to strengthen, some limited attempts to integrate single persons & elderly into community
Leisure & Consumerism	varies, generally work oriented, negative value on consumerism	varies, generally work oriented, negative value on consumerism	extremely work oriented extremely negative value on consumerism	high promotion of value of leisure and consumerism
Mobility: Geographical	some attempts to restrict geographic mobility of members or acceptance of new members, use geographic isolation as mechanism	fail to cope with problem of geographic mobility, problems of visitor and membership turnover	use geographic isolation, mechanisms for integration of temporary or permanent members	ignores problem of mobility and turnover in planning

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CHART 3: Continued

	U.S. 19th	U.S. 20th	Israeli Kibbutz	U.S. New Community
Industrialization				
Mobility: Social	stresses equality	stresses equality	stresses equality	reflects status and economic inequality of society, some attempt to include persons of different status in community
Bureaucracy				
Legal/rational basis of authority	charismatic basis of authority	charismatic basis of authority	legal/rational communal peer basis for authority	legal/rational basis for authority (including community association)
Hierarchical authority	varied, generally stressed some equalitarian features, often single strong leader	equalitarian	equalitarian	bureaucratic

perfectibility and the possibility of improving human life through establishing the right environmental conditions, a conscious planning of community life, an ideal of brotherhood, a respect for nature, a willingness to experiment and a stress on the value of group participation. (Kanter, 1972). The utopian and new communities approaches, however, differed in significant ways.

First, utopian communities have responded to urbanization by withdrawal from it. Not only have each of the three general types located outside of urban areas, they also generally have restricted their membership to avoid growth beyond a size in which close primary relationships could be maintained. American utopian communities of the 19th century had a modal size of approximately two hundred members. Present day American communes have approximately eight to 15 members, not more than 30. The Hutterites have over 10,000 members, but they are divided into villages of approximately one hundred. Kibbutz planners prefer a limit of 1,000 members for each settlement. (Kanter, 1972:227). Thus, these utopian communities have dealt with the problems caused by urbanization through recreating small, rural societies.

Utopian communities have attempted to recreate conditions of Gemeinschaft in other ways. First, unlike

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the new communities, they are largely self-sufficient in terms of most production and daily activities. They control their own institutions' and individuals' participation in those various institutions is overlapping and mutually reinforcing. The size of the communities also facilitates strong primary relationships. In addition, all utopian communities have devoted considerable attention to mechanisms for strengthening the primary group nature of their community. Kanter describes a series of mechanisms used to cause the individuals to withdraw loyalties from their families outside the utopian community and attach themselves totally to the new group. These mechanisms included sacrifice, investment including donation of property to the community, renunciation, mortification and various communal activities. In contrast, the member of the new community generally expects to move and considers buying a home partly in terms of its investment value.

Utopians also have protected themselves from the influence of urbanization and urban values by locating in isolated areas and maintaining strict boundaries. In Oneida, New York, for example, members who traveled outside underwent a mutual criticism by the entire community when they returned, to free them of outside contamination. Where communities could not maintain

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isolation, internal disruption resulted. This was true of the 19th century American communities and the present communes. In contrast, both Columbia and Reston are legally part of another governance body, the county. They depend upon it for crucial services and their members must pay taxes to it. In addition, residents commute outside frequently, if not daily, for jobs and other services. Finally, residents and the developer are integrated into a national culture.

Many of the utopian communities reacted against the values of industrialization and bureaucracy. While not all rejected the use of machines, most objected to the factory system. Work tended to be structured in a more equalitarian fashion, with dull jobs rotated and many jobs performed communally. Leadership tended to be shared or held by a few elders, or a charismatic leader, rather than vested in a bureaucrat.

The utopian communities generally rejected private property to varying degrees. In the case of Oneida and some initial kibbutzim this included individual ownership of clothes or any item which could confer special status on its owner. In contrast, we have seen how in Columbia and Reston even the communal ownership of property by the CA is utilized in such a manner that its main

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purpose is to increase the price of the individual property owners' land.

The equalitarian approach of the utopian communities towards property also is reflected in their attitudes toward the family. A number of the communities in each of the three categories rejected the nuclear family outright, at least during a part of their history. All but one of the successful 19th century groups at some time practiced either celibacy or free love. Initially free love was practiced in at least some kibbutzim as it is in many of the present day American communes. The object was not merely free sexual expression but related to questions of the equality of women and to the stress on communal rather than dyad relationships. At any rate, members of utopian societies gave conscious consideration to the type of family relationships which they desired and carefully structured their societies accordingly. They also deliberately controlled the socialization of children to insure that the values of the new society were reflected in their education. In some cases, like Oneida and the kibbutzim, children were raised collectively. In contrast, the schools in both Reston and Columbia are controlled by an outside bureaucracy governed by the county and responsive to a variety of national bureaucracies and controls.

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Thus, the response of the participants in utopias to the historical conditions, was much more radical than that of the residents of new communities. The new communities residents are not attempting to restructure the basic institutions of their society or create alternatives to them. Of the six concepts considered in relationship to Columbia, utopian communities differed radically in their approach towards them. Instead of valuing the attractiveness of their community as a means of increasing private property values, they held property in common and in many cases glorified an austere life style. Rather than approach equality through acceptance of the heterogeneity of different individuals and life styles, they stressed homogeneity and strict conformity to group beliefs, tastes and norms. While new communities accept both the nuclear family and its unstable present state, the utopian communities focused on the community even to the point of dissolving the nuclear family. Family relationships were subject to minute scrutiny by the entire community. Interestingly, some of the same mechanisms which were displayed by members of the Oakland Mills Village Board which we considered as measure of psychological identification with community, also were displayed by utopian participants. Both the Board and the utopian participants made conscious efforts to involve people and develop

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commitment. The utopian efforts, however, were much more extensive and directed at the entire life of every individual in the community. In terms of democracy, many utopian communities practiced a form of direct democracy. Even where bureaucracies were involved, they were small and ruled by a charismatic leader or group of elders as opposed to an external corporation. The relations between utopias and their external environments varied from complete withdrawal, to attempting to create a model, to political activity. Nevertheless, in their daily lives, residents were much less affected by external institutions which they did not control.

We believe that this brief comparison between the Reston and Columbia new communities and various utopian alternatives highlights the manner in which Reston and Columbia reflect rather than counter general national values and interests. Nevertheless, despite their limitations, both Reston and Columbia, and especially Columbia, do offer some moderately successful attempts at creating a sense of community within an extremely mobile rapidly changing society. They also provide a basically successful alternative to suburbs rigidly segregated by race, class, age and stage of family development.

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Changing Meanings of Community

We began this study raising questions about the meaning of community in modern America and addressed ourselves to a new community setting where both the developer and the residents were self-consciously attempting to create a new community. We hypothesized that there would be a discrepancy between the values about community which residents desired and the interests which ultimately were served. We suggest that, unlike the utopian communities just considered, both the values of residents and the interests which were served are affected more by national societal factors than factors in the new community itself. We also believe that whereas residents often disagree with the developer and are frustrated by their lack of complete control of the supposedly democratic community institutions, there is an overriding convergence of interest between residents and the developer since both are participants in the national economic and cultural system. We believe that not only are the values about community which are implemented those which serve the material interests of the overall society, but also that new meanings about community are emerging which reflect adaptation to the conditions of modern society. Specifically, we believe that Columbians' values about community reflect different

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meanings about property, about homogeneity and about relationships than would have existed in a more Gemeinschaft setting.

The meaning of property in Columbia is closely tied to its monetary exchange value. This is true even of property supposedly set aside for community use and to enable residents to better enjoy the natural environment and leisure. It is neither private in the sense that it is controlled by individual families, nor public in the sense that it is controlled by an elected democratic body. While it is regulated in the interests of community values, its use cannot be changed to reflect any changes in those values, because of the extreme difficulty in modifying the covenants. A similar pattern is shown by numerous homeowners associations and condominiums which have been increasing nationally.

The second area of changing meaning which we have explored is that of integration. The pattern of integration displayed in both Columbia and Reston seems to be something different from the melting pot yet clearly it is not segregation. Integration in Columbia and Reston turns out to be not a single phenomenon but access plus varying amounts of interpersonal relationships based on the inclination of the particular individuals involved. While some would consider this

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an indication of the failure of integration, we think that it represents success. We suggest that while all Columbians do not socialize completely freely and comfortably with persons of different races, many of them probably also have difficulty interacting comfortably with their own elderly parents or their own teenage children.

Finally, we have considered the existence in Columbia, as elsewhere, of what we have called intimate secondary relationships. We suggest that while these may not provide the warmth and continuity of primary relationships, they do provide some intimacy to individuals and are an important adaptation to a community life composed of mobile persons, of different races, and changing family situations.

Thus, what we have discovered is that community does have meanings for residents in a new community. They generally, however, are reflective of those found in our Gesellschaft nation. Moreover, where they differ, they do not reproduce the exact connotations of community found in Gemeinschaft but instead reflect new and evolving meanings of community.

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CHAPTER VIII

METHODOLOGY

The Columbia and Reston Cases

Although the nature of this research was exploratory, aimed at extending understanding about the nature of meaning of community in modern America, it was guided by the general hypothesis that community representatives make conscious efforts to maximize certain idealistic values held by residents, but that concrete economic and organizational constraints limit the realization of these values. The theoretical analysis has not been merely a preliminary step in formulating the research design, but constitutes a considerable part of the dissertation itself. In reviewing the methodological literature, the author was strongly influenced by Glaser and Strauss' The Discovery of Grounded Theory, (1967) which seemed to crystallize and clarify a method for maximizing the benefits of existing theoretical material and the author's previous experience and in approaching new empirical data. We determined, therefore, to utilize a multi-method approach and to employ theoretical sampling.

Earlier we discussed our rationale for selecting as case material a new community and specifically the

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new community of Columbia, Maryland. That is, we reasoned that values about community would be most easily identified in a setting in which a self-conscious effort had been made to build a community. Columbia is one of the first new communities and has been considered a model by later developers. It also had sufficient population by the time of this study to provide a population, institutions, and a history.

Within the major case, we decided to focus on the community association for reasons described in greater detail earlier. To recapitulate briefly, the CA was a quasi-government which could claim to represent the residents and which controlled considerable funds. We further determined to focus on budget allocations. Our assumption was two-fold. First, one measure of the effectiveness of values and material interests is the monetary support they command. Second, discussions about budget allocations frequently involve controversy which includes discussion about values and interests.

Through a serendipitous circumstance, we entered Columbia for a literature search on the day when one of the village boards reputed to be most active was meeting. We attended the meeting and discovered that it was devoted to what was obviously an extremely controversial budget process. We then followed the activities of that village

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board in relation to that budget process over an approximately six week period. This included attendance at regular and occasionally special meetings and discussions for several hours at a restaurant after meetings. We also observed two evenings of public hearings and three of Executive Committee meetings, each followed by lengthy informal discussions with Board members and other participants immediately afterwards. The 1975 budget process was especially good for our purposes since it dealt with a major reduction of funds and, therefore, caused major cut-backs and reorientation of programs.

Before entering Columbia, we had formulated from the literature and our previous experience a series of concepts about community which we expected to be valued by residents. These included: 1) Community valued for physical attributes, safety, accessibility to services, attractiveness and corresponding community association roles; 2) Community valued for protecting a monetary investment in a house or other asset and corresponding community association roles; 3) Community valued as place or support for primary groups and corresponding community association roles; 4) Community association role seen as solution of community conflicts or establishing patterns of conflict resolution; 5) Community association attempting to control local institutions; and 6) Community

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association attempting to promote integration among community systems and assuring that individuals can obtain corresponding services.

In analyzing our extensive notes from the participation observation experience, we identified twenty-one categories which residents displayed, (e.g., commitment to a democratic process), or for which they indicated support, (e.g., expenditures for the Teen Center). This initial list is included as Appendix One. As we further considered this list, the concepts about community for which residents had expressed support could be grouped into the following categories: psychological identification with community, desire for a heterogeneous community, desire for a democratic and open decision-making process with widespread community involvement, conflicts between residents and the authority structure of the community association, the tactical advantages of the authority structure in those conflicts and the relationship between Columbia and the external structure.

These concepts were different from those which we had formulated as the result of our theoretical analysis. The fact, however, that residents had not indicated any support for those concepts about community which we had originally formulated did not necessarily mean that they did not support them. It was possible that these

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were so valued by residents that they were totally accepted and therefore did not have to be questioned, debated or restated. Therefore, we decided to include some questions exploring our original concepts in our further research, as well as questions designed to explore further the concepts identified during the participant observation. The result is the interview schedule contained in Appendix Two.

The interview schedule was administered to all members of the Oakland Mills Village Board. It was slightly modified for use with the five village representatives on the 1975 Executive Committee; the Oakland Mills Administrative Assistant and the Oakland Mills Village Manager during that period; the president, vice president for finance, and vice president for planning and evaluation of the CA; and the General Manager of Columbia; the manager of one of the subsidized housing projects who was for several years a member of his village board and is now a member of the CA Executive Committee; and several blacks who were involved with the Teen Center. The interviews lasted from one hour to three hours. Two of the village representatives were interviewed over the telephone. Since we were interested in obtaining insight into events and elaboration of concepts rather than in making quantitative comparisons, we did not follow the interview schedule exactly. Although the schedule had been pretested on staff members of the New Communities

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Administration who lived in Columbia, some questions which proved unproductive or which needed rephrasing were modified as the interviews progressed. In addition, respondents frequently elaborated on facts or opinions about one area of our interest while responding to a question designed to elicit information about another area. We encouraged such elaboration through attentive listening and probing questions. When we reached the initial question for that area in the interview schedule, it was modified to ask if the respondent had additional comments. Finally, as the interviews progressed, it became clear that some of the categories had become saturated, to use the terminology of Glaser and Strauss. We, therefore, concentrated on resolving conflicts of data or opinions gathered from previous respondents. We also began to collect data about the concept of intimate secondary relations which had evolved during the course of the research after some of the interviews already had been completed.

The empirical data gathering in Columbia was limited by two factors. First, the time period and amount of participant observation was limited in terms of total amount of field time, although some additional observations were made while visiting the community to conduct the interviews. We also believe that our prior experience in community work enabled us to maximize our time in Columbia. Second, the interviews themselves were not

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administered immediately after the participant observation, as planned, but were postponed for a year due to other demands upon the researcher's time. The interviews primarily were conducted over a four-month period in the spring and summer of 1976 with some additional interviewing in the autumn. We feel that this unfortunate occurrence is not as serious as it might have been in evaluating the responses since we had discussed much of the information with participants or observed their reactions to events as they occurred. While we were aware that the later interviews tapped not immediate reactions but retrospective analyses, in some cases we were able to note and discuss the differences with the respondent. In addition, the respondents' own later insights about events were instructive.

While we had limited the actual focus of this research to the 1975 budget controversy, that controversy is best understood as part of a process which had a longer history. Respondents were able to furnish data about more recent events and to help place the 1975 events within a longer historical context. Finally we are reassured about the sufficiency of our saturation in data collection in Columbia by its general agreement with the findings of other data, including participant observation at slightly different periods by other

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researchers. We have discussed our findings with several of them.

The interview data were supplemented by newspaper accounts during the period; CA statements of purpose, articles of incorporation, by-laws, covenants and other materials, including several survey studies of residents; minutes of the Executive Committee meetings; minutes of the Oakland Mills Village Board; an analysis of the 1975 activities of the Board prepared by the Board's Administrative Assistant; the Board files; and secondary materials on Columbia, including four dissertations. In addition, material was checked for accuracy with present and former staff members of the CA and the developer with whom the author worked or had previous contacts. Finally, the draft material on Columbia was circulated to a number of the respondents and several additional interviews were conducted to clarify questions which they had raised.

After we had completed our study in Columbia, we wanted to determine whether our findings had any relevance in other, similar, communities. We explored our findings in Columbia briefly with respondents in Reston, Virginia. Reston, as noted earlier, is similar to Columbia in most respects but had a somewhat different governmental arrangement and, therefore, was

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particularly useful for our purposes. We interviewed representatives of the Reston Community Association, Reston Homeowners Association, Gulf Reston, the Common Ground Foundation, several management consultants located in Reston who worked with homeowners associations and cluster groups nationally, and several individual residents of Reston whom we knew from our work at the Department of Housing and Urban Development to be perspective and knowledgeable.

We also examined various publications about Reston, including the Burby material and newspaper accounts.

The Researcher's Professional Experience

In terms of our general understanding of Columbia, Reston, and new communities, the empirical data gathering was supplemented by our previous professional experience and continued professional work during the period of this research. From 1962-1965 we were a grass roots community organizer for the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, which is a nonprofit community organization focused on maintaining a physically attractive neighborhood and simultaneously achieving racial integration. The neighborhood population of approximately 60,000 was larger than Columbia's in 1975. Hyde Park-Kenwood was an inner-city area with a variety of building types and stages of deterioration and

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considerable more diversity of population mobility, racial turnover, clearance and urban renewal.

The Conference staff estimated that blacks constituted between 40 and 60 per cent of the population. Many residents were single. Many were elderly. Although the majority of the population was middle class, in 1965, there were 2,000 women on welfare. In addition, many of the elderly had low incomes, and many of the blacks lacked higher education. Finally, there was a substantial student population, since the neighborhood contains the University of Chicago. Thus, Hyde Park-Kenwood contained some elements of similarity to Columbia but also some significant differences.

The researcher's experience in Hyde Park-Kenwood was important to the present effort in several ways. First, because of our intimate knowledge of that community we were able to utilize it as additional material for comparison while researching Columbia. In addition to considerable observation of community dynamics during the period of work in Chicago, we had analyzed it from a theoretical viewpoint when using it for case material while teaching as an assistant professor at the University of Missouri's graduate school of community development. Second, the experience in observing the dynamics of meetings and community controversy gained from attendance at over 600 meetings in Hyde Park-Kenwood

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was invaluable in identifying nuances and enabling us to rapidly focus on critical matters in Columbia. Third, from our experience in Hyde Park-Kenwood we were sensitive to the lack of open discussion about racial matters, particularly during the public hearings. We realized that the basic public values of the two communities towards racial and class integration were similar, and therefore during the interviews probed to see if private expressions were also similar. Finally, although the occasion of the evolution of the concept of intimate secondary relationships grew out of a casual comment made by one of the Columbia respondents after an interview, we believe that it was only the similarity to behavior which we had earlier observed in Hyde Park-Kenwood that caused us to begin pondering the implications and ramifications of the observed data.

Additional professional experience which was useful to this research was working since November, 1972, on the staff of the New Communities Administration, NCA, at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, HUD. For several years, the author served as the social planner responsible for reviewing the detailed plans of applicants for Title VII guarantees to evaluate their community facilities and amenities and their plans for low-and moderate-income housing. This also involved review of proposed covenants and plans for the community

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associations. We also monitored a research project involving assistance to new community developers for establishing cooperative relations with school districts. This experience also gave us familiarity with both the overall governmental program and new communities movement.

Secondary Sources

In addition to our own experience in the new communities program, we utilized a variety of secondary materials. The most useful was a national study entitled New Communities, USA which was conducted by the Center for Urban and Regional Studies of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. (Burby, 1976). The study included 5,511 interviews in 36 sample communities including Columbia. Thirteen of these were new communities with populations over 5,000 which were eventually to have more than 20,000 residents. Each such community was matched with a less planned control community. In addition, two Title VII communities with matched non-planned communities, two retirement communities, two subsidized housing conventional communities and two black conventional communities were studied. Data were collected in 90-minute interviews with 3,245 new community residents and 1,522 control community residents during the Spring of 1973. The data for Columbia are

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based on a total of 274 interviews. Columbia was matched with a community in the Wheaton-Norbeck section of Montgomery County, Maryland, which is similar in terms of age, price range and type of housing available.

The data from the Burby study were useful for this research in several ways. First, they provide information on Columbia and Reston which complements that collected by other researchers using different methodology. Similar findings by this study lend more confidence in the results. Second, the survey methodology utilized by the larger study furnishes a basis for considering whether the findings based on the present researcher's more qualitative methodology and more limited sample may apply more generally. This applies both to Columbia and Reston and to the possibility that the attitudes of Columbia and Reston residents agree with those of other new communities or residents' attitudes in more conventionally constructed communities.

The overall findings of the Burby study were that new communities are superior to more conventional communities in terms of:

(1) better land use planning and access to community facilities;

(2) reduction in automobile travel;

(3) superior recreational facilities;

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(4) enhanced community livability; and

(5) improved living environments for low and moderate income households, blacks, and the elderly.

The study found that the performance of new communities was not greatly different from that of conventially-planned communities in terms of:

(1) satisfying the key goals which families had hoped to achieve in moving;

(2) housing and neighborhood livability;

(3) residents' social participation in community life and social perspectives;

(4) satisfaction with the quality of life;

(5) provision of some community services; and

(6) governance of the community.

These overall findings represent an averaging, and thus conceal differences between the 13 new communities regarding the extent to which their planning and implementation embodies various aspects of the new community concept and public purposes. For example, although the new communities had a higher proportion of black residents than the conventional communities, of the 13 new communities only Columbia and Reston had consciously sought racial balance.

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In terms of the concepts relevant for this research, the Burby material was useful both in substantiating some of the evidence supplied through participant observation and in providing information on certain areas for which there was limited evidence through this research.

In addition to the Burby material, several other researchers had utilized Columbia as case material for dissertations. This material was useful in supplementing certain aspects of our study. The first of these studies was published after we had formulated the initial conceptualization of our research but before data collection had actually begun. Others became available towards the end of our research and one researcher with whom we discussed our findings was still collecting data as we concluded our work. Thus, without intention on our part, our study became an example of a replication study, something much lauded in the sociological literature on methodology but seldom undertaken. In this case, our theoretical framework was similar to that of the first researcher, Brooks, probably because we had been influenced strongly by the writings of Roland Warren, who was also a member of Brook's dissertation committee. Our study focused on a different period and somewhat different questions than those of the other researchers but the efforts have been complementary. The Burkhart and

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Smookler material on racial and integration was especially helpful. Roy Appletree generously shared insights on CA finances.

Developing the Concept of Intimate Secondary Relationships

The initial intent of our methodology was to identify concepts about community in Columbia and explore them, not only in Columbia but also through literature and empirical data gathered in other situations. We shall now discuss our methodological approach in terms of the concept of intimate secondary relationships which evolved during the course of the research. Actually, the author was casually discussing Columbia in a parking lot with a respondent after an interview when he volunteered some information about his relationships. We began comparing those statements with observations made years earlier about relationships in Hyde Park-Kenwood.

Following Glaser and Strauss' methodological approach of theoretical sampling, we developed an initial statement of the concept and then considered how to determine whether the concept had relevance for other communities or, if so, with what modifications. At this time we were fortunate enough to attend Habitat, the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, where we were able to contact attendees at an International Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers. Since these organizations are similar to the

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community center at Oakland Mills we arranged interviews where we shared the concept and discussed its relevance and ramification for each respondent's own community. These discussions varied from approximately 30 minutes to three hours. They were extremely valuable in helping to clarify and substantiate our initial conceptualization and in developing it further. The respondents were all experienced community workers and in several cases had academic training in sociology or related fields. The respondents included people from Indianapolis, Toronto and Montreal, India, England, Holland and Ghana. In addition, we discussed the concept informally over a period of time with friends and acquaintances, many of whom offered additional insights or examples. Our confidence in the validity of the concept stems partly from the readiness with which others have grasped it and the fact that it seems to have been useful to a variety of individuals in pondering their own community experiences.

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APPENDIX I

Concepts About Community Identified

During the 1975 Budget Controversy

CONCEPTS	INDICATORS
1. Community as location for primary group relations a. psychological identification	1. Commitment of Participants a. attendance at meetings b. work in between meetings c. intensity of feelings d. continuation of discussion afterwards
1. Community as location for primary group relations a. psychological identification	2. Involvement of Participants a. commitment (see 1) b. rapport among members c. in-group, out-group feelings toward other villages and with their boards d. in-group, out-group feelings toward Community Association staff e. in-group, out-group feelings towards Community Association Executive Committee f. in-group, out-group feeling towards developer g. pride in Oakland Mills and Oakland Mills Board
2. Community as control over territory a. desire to control quantity of facilities and services b. desire to control quality of facilities	3. Relations with Howard County a. desire for more b. causes of lack

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CONCEPTS	INDICATORS
1. Community as location for primary group a. homogeneity	d. teen center
3. Community as location of institutions a. presence of services and facilities b. quality	e. golf
1. Community as location for primary group a. family	f. child care
4. Community as place a. physical appearance	g. physical appearance
1. Community as location for primary group a. homogeneity	h. earn-a-membership
3. Community as location of institutions a. presence of services b. quality	i. arts center
1. Community as location for primary group relations	j. human services in general
1. Community as location for primary group a. family b. homogeneity	k. youth
3. Community as location of primary group relations d. homogeneity	17. Race

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CONCEPTS	INDICATORS
2. Community as control over territory a. desire for democratic and open decision making	4. Desire for Open Participation a. within village b. with Executive Committee
3. Community as control a. desire for democratic and open decision making	5. Relation between Executive Committee Representative and OMB
3. Community as control a. conflicts between residents and CA	6. Negative Feelings Towards Executive Committee a. acted without knowledge b. acted arbitrarily c. acted without valuing the democratic process d. acted with inadequate contact with the people concerned
3. Community as control a. desire for democratic and open decision making	7. Value of Process a. in village b. in review of budget
1. Community as location for primary group relations a. neighborhood	8. Value of Involvement a. support of staff to assist volunteers
2. Community as control a. conflicts between residents and CA	9. Ambiguities in willingness to fight a. Executive Committee b. developer
2. Community as control a. tactical advantages of CA	10. Affect of Structure on Process a. time limits as volunteers b. time framework of budget process c. format of budget

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CONCEPTS	INDICATORS
2. Community as control a. tactical advantages of CA	11. Level of Participation a. sophistication of analysis b. organizational tactics for politicing and lobbying c. presentations
1. Community as location for primary group relations a. homogeneity	12. Concerns with Teens a. transportation b. teen center
1. Community as location for primary group relations a. homogeneity	13. Concern with Elderly a. transportation
1. Community as location for primary group relations a. homogeneity	14. Columbia Concept a. open access
2. Community as control a. conflicts between residents and CA	15. Antagonism to Staff Expenditures
1. Community as location for primary group a. neighborhood	16. Program Area Support a. Oakland Mills Village Board
2. Community as control over territory a. desire control quantity of facilities b. desire control quality of facilities	
1. Community as location for primary group a. homogeneity	b. transportation
3. Community as location of institutions a. presence of services and facilities b. quality	c. tennis

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CONCEPTS	INDICATORS
2. Community control over territory a. tactical advantages of CA	18. CA Limited by Legal Concept of role of CA
2. Community control over territory c. tactical advantages of CA	19. Developer vs. Community, Bottom-line Analysis
1. Community as location for primary group a. homogeneity	20. Low- and Moderate-Income Housing or Problems
2. Community as control over territory	21. Desire for Greater Community Control

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APPENDIX II

Interview Schedule

1. How long were you involved or have you been involved in Oakland Mills Village Board activities? In other activities in the Village? What other activities?
2. On the average, how much time per week have you/did you spend on (each activity mentioned)?
3. Were there periods when you spent a lot more time? What were they? How much time did you spend? For how long a period? Why?
4. How much time did you spend during the 1975 budget process, that is, the FY 76 budget which was adopted in April of 1975? This year's budget process?
5. Has your activity in Oakland Mills Village activities interfered with other things you would like to spend more time on? What?
6. Are you involved in other organizations such as formal or informal clubs, church, or groups related to your job? What organizations? Would you please describe the nature of your involvement? The time you spend?
7. How long do you expect to be involved in Oakland Mills Board activities?

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8. If you are no longer involved in Oakland Mills Board activities, why did you stop?
9. What do you do with the extra time? Since you stopped being involved in Oakland Mills Board activities, have you become involved in other community activities? If so, what? How much time do you spend?
10. How does this activity compare in satisfaction or achievement to your Board activities?
11. In what ways has your involvement with Oakland Mills Board activities been satisfactory? In what ways has it been unsatisfactory?
12. How do you feel about your relations with the other Board members?
13. How do you feel about the Oakland Mills Village Center?
14. Sometimes people are active in community affairs because of what they want to accomplish and sometimes they are active mostly because they enjoy it or are learning something. Would you comment on what your activity has meant to you personally?
15. How do the activities of the Oakland Mills Village Board compare to those of other boards in terms of relations among members, extent of activity, what they try to do, and amount of success?

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16. Would you describe how decisions were made about the Columbia budget adopted last April? That is, the FY 76 budget adopted a year ago.
17. What did you like about the way decisions were made?
18. What didn't you like?
19. Who were the most influential persons in the decision-making process?
20. What are your reasons for thinking that they were influential?
21. Why do you think they were able to be influential?
22. What do you consider to have been the major issues? How were they resolved?
23. Would you describe the role of Oakland Mills Village Board in the budget decisions?
24. How successful do you think that role was?
25. How do you feel about that?
26. a. What do you think were the handicaps of the Village Board in trying to get its views accepted?

    b. What was the role of the CA staff in the budget process? Who was the most influential? Why?

27. What was the role of the developer? What individuals were most influential? Why?
28. What was the role of the CCB? Why was it not more influential?
29. What was the role of the other village boards?

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30. What was the role of the Oakland Mills village representative? In what ways were you satisfied with the way he played his role? In what ways were you dissatisfied? Why do you think he lost the next election for Village representative?
31. What was the role of the other village representatives? How influential were they? Why were they not more influential?
32. Did the budget process this year differ from last year? How? Why? Who was most influential this year? Why? What was the role of the Oakland Mills Village Board this year? How successful was it?
33. The concept "community" can mean different things to different people. Would you please describe what the concept means to you?
34. Would you please describe what, in your opinion, an ideal community would be like?
35. In what ways does Columbia meet this ideal? In what ways does it not?
36. In general, what is the role of the Columbia Association in Columbia?
37. What should be its role?
38. In your opinion, what have been the CA's major achievements?
39. What have been its major failures?

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40. Now I'd like to know what CA has done about a number of different things, what you think they should have done, and what you would like to see them do in the future.

a. What has CA done to:
b. What do you think CA should have done to:
c. Why do you think they didn't do it?
d. What would you like to see CA do in the future to:
e. Do you think they will?
f. Why? Why not?

(1) Promote safety for community residents (probe for traffic, crime),
(2) Create an attractive environment?
(3) Assure that services are accessible (probe for physically, monetarily)?
(4) Protect property values?
(5) Resolve community conflicts?
(6) Support the family?
(7) Make it easy to form friendships?
(8) Make it easy to get to know your neighbors?

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g. What has the developer's role been regarding this issue?

h. Why do you think the developer played the role that he did?

i. What do you think his role should have been?

(9) Help people in the neighborhood get along well together?

(10) Help provide housing so that the elderly can live in Columbia?

(11) Provide special services for the elderly?

(12) Help provide housing for moderate-income families (those making between $5,000 to $10,000 a year)?

(13) Provide special services for such families?

(14) Help provide low-income housing (for families making under $5,000 a year)?

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(15) Provide special services for such families?

(16) Provide a sliding scale for facilities or services for the elderly? Which facilities or services?

(17) Provide a sliding scale for facilities or services for moderate-income families? Which facilities or services?

(18) Provide a sliding scale for facilities or services for low-income families? Which facilities or services?

(19) Promote racial integration?

42. What do you think the ideal racial mix would be in Columbia?

43. In your neighborhood, say within one-half mile of your home?

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44. Would you comment on race relations in Columbia? In what ways are they satisfactory? In what ways not satisfactory? Have there been any open conflicts between the races? Please describe? What was the role of the CA in those conflicts?
Have there been splits over CA policy on racial issues? Please describe? Have there been cases in which an overwhelming majority of the blacks were on one side on a disputed issue not necessarily dealing with race? Please elaborate. Have there been conflicts with the developer on racial issues? With other institutions in the community or the County? Please elaborate. Have there been cases where an overwhelming majority of the blacks were on one side of a disputed issue not necessarily dealing with race with the developer or County? Please elaborate.

45. I have been told that the Teen Center is mainly used by blacks. Can you tell me a little more about the Center? Who uses it? How does it function? Friction around it? How much does the CA support it? Do you consider this appropriate? Why? Why not? What would you consider appropriate?

46. The typical American family is often portrayed as a husband, wife and children. What other combinations of ages or living patterns would you like to see present in Columbia?

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47. Ideally, what percentage of residents of Columbia would be over 60? Of your neighborhood?

48. What steps have been taken by whom to encourage the elderly to locate in Columbia?

49. Are there additional steps which you believe should have been taken? Why do you think they were not taken?

    a. Last year there was an attempt to establish a group home for the handicapped in Oakland Mills which created some controversy. Can you please tell me what happened? How do you account for the amount of opposition what this issue raised?

50. What do you think would be the ideal relationship between Columbia and the rest of Howard County?

51. Has anyone taken any steps to achieve (whatever the respondent thought was desirable)?

    a. Who?

    b. What steps?

    c. How successful were the efforts?

    d. Why were they successful or not successful?

52. Have there been steps which were considered but not taken?

    a. What were they?

    b. Who recommended them?

    c. Who would have had to implement them?

    d. Why weren't they taken?

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53. People sometimes like to think of Columbia as a community that has everything. Are there things that aren't here that you would like to see here? What?
54. Have efforts been made to obtain. . . . By whom? Why do you think they have not been successful?
55. Are there efforts which you think should have been made? By whom? Why have they not been made?
56. Does the amount, type or quality of services offered by the County or other agencies, such as the school system, or volunteer agencies, differ in Columbia from those in the rest of the county? What services? How do they differ? Who achieved this and how?
57. In your opinion, should services differ for Columbia? Why?
58. Has the existence of Columbia influenced the amount or type of services being offered in the rest of the County? What services? How? How did this happen?
59. Some people have said that Columbia is important as a model for the rest of the nation? Would you comment?
60. Some people have said that community is not very important in terms of the things that really matter to people, that what happens in their jobs, or the County as a whole, or their families is what really matters. Would you comment? How do you personally feel about this?

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61. Are you active in organizations or activities in the County? What organizations? Describe your activity.
62. A lot of different groups and organizations provide services in Columbia such as schools, health care, County recreation, CA. Do you see a need for better coordination? Has CA taken any steps to provide better coordination? Please elaborate. If not, why not? Do you think they should? Has the developer taken such steps? If not, why not? Do you think he should have?
63. In what ways do you consider Columbia to be supportive of family life?
64. In what ways do you consider it to be harmful for family life?
65. Do you have any first-hand knowledge of the Family Life Center? Yes. No.
66. How would you evaluate its efforts?
67. Would you please comment on the activities of the Early Childhood Education Board. Do you support their efforts? How effective are they and why?
68. I need a little information about you. Can you tell me how long you have lived in Columbia?
69. Why did you move here?

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70. Do you own or rent? Would you please indicate the number on the card which corresponds most closely to the value of your home when you bought it? Would you please indicate the number on the card which corresponds most closely to the present value of your home? That is, what would it bring if you sold it today? When did you buy it?
71. What is your occupation?
72. Would you please indicate the number from the card which most closely corresponds to your total family income last year -- 1975 -- before taxes, that is?
73. Would you please indicate what number on the card corresponds to the highest level of education which you obtained?

Thank you for your time and sharing your knowledge with me. If it is all right, I may want to call you later to clarify certain points when I begin analyzing all the material. May I have your office telephone number if it is convenient for you to receive calls there. _____
Also, who else in the community do you think would be particularly knowledgeable about the areas we have been discussing?

Date of interview _____ Length of interview _____

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Interviews

In addition to the formal interviews discussed in Chapter VIII, the author consulted with a number of individuals on specific items as mentioned in the text. These included:

Baker, Edwin W.
1976 Formerly Director of Columbia Planning and Design, 1967-1970 and Director of Planning and Design, The Rouse Company, 1970-1974.

Dewey, Jackie
1976 Then Director, Early Childhood Education, CA.

Odum, Linda
1975 Then Director, Human Services Division, CA.
1976

Wastie, Peter
1973 Staff, HRD responsible for institutional planning.

Wright, Doris E.
1974 Formerly responsible for human service planning,
1976 HRD.

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