

Halifax Community Life Study

Involvement And Alienation

In Small Communities

**Institute of Public Affairs**

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This report will deal only with a portion of the project data. As in most surveys a great deal of data were collected. Here we provide a basic overview of the study, focusing on major variables of community involvement and alienation. Following a review of the literature in the area of community studies, we shall discuss the research design and methodology of this project. Then we shall provide an analysis of the variables associated with community involvement and alienation. The analysis will consider both individual and community data. This strategy we hope will shed some light on the contribution of both individual and structural variables in producing variation in involvement and in alienation.

## Theoretical Background

In their analysis of utopian thought, Negley and Patrick, report that a comparison of utopian thinking in different eras reveals that in the last 100 years utopists have recognized the inadequacy of the communitarian ideal as the principle of future social organization and were beginning to see that modern utopia must be the world. Their analysis predated the rise of the counter-culture movement in the 1960's, a movement which ideologically reaffirmed the communitarian ideal and, behaviourally, resulted in the emergence of many communes wherein members strove for relative self-sufficiency. Such communes typically were short-lived and perhaps more parasitical than independent.<sup>2</sup> The evidence appears to be that the counter-culture movement is dead<sup>3</sup> and that it represented a respite rather than an enduring diversion with reference to the long-term trend found by Negley and Patrick. While it is difficult to assess the long-run effects of the counter-culture movement it has contributed

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<sup>1</sup>Negley G. & Patrick, J. Max, ed., Quest for Utopia, Doubleday, 1963.

<sup>2</sup>See Robbins T. & Anthony D., "Getting Straight With Meher Baba," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 1972

<sup>3</sup>Westhues, K., Society's Shadows, Prentice-Hall, 1972.

to the public discussion concerning decentralization and the role/function of the local community in the context of a "shrinking" world.

This re-evaluation of the role/function of the local community has also been carried on, with particular intensity in recent time, by sociologists and others. The main areas of study have been the relation of the community to the society as a whole and the relation of community to alienation on a personality level.

On the one hand, many studies have attempted to analyze the supposed "building-block" function of community for the broader society. Such studies as Coleman's<sup>4</sup>, Martindale's<sup>5</sup>, Vidich and Bensman's<sup>6</sup> and Morgan's<sup>7</sup> are of particular relevance in this regard. Coleman, for example, has argued that the community is becoming less and less the "building-block" of which society is composed; rather, local

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<sup>4</sup>Coleman, J., "Community Disorganization" in Merton R.K. & Nisbet, R.A., Contemporary Social Problems, Harcourt & Brace 1961

<sup>5</sup>Martindale, D., American Society, Von Nostrand, 1962.

<sup>6</sup>Vidich, A.J., & Bensman J., Small Town In a Mass Society, Doubleday, 1960.

<sup>7</sup>Morgan, A.E., The Small Community, Harper, 1942.

communities are integrated in mass society via a kind of functional specialization (i.e., the community that exports workers, the community that provides recreational services for the broader society and so forth ). Martindale has concurred with this view and talks about the "nation as the distinctive community of modern man". Morgan perceives the same trend and projects an alarm not evident in the writings of Coleman and Martindale. These observations rest on the supposed fragmentation resulting from affiliation with multiple groups transcending locality; the argument in general is that the processes which tend to make a community out of a geographic locality are interrupted and diverted.<sup>8</sup>

This supposed change or loss of function by the community has been, in the literature, most closely associated with the development of the mass society and the consequent pervasiveness of urbanization. Vidich and Bensman offer an especially perceptive analysis of this development in their study of a small New York town; they point out that rather than there being horizontal linkages integrating diverse groups and interests at the local level, the significant linkages were vertical ones whereby local groups and interests were linked in a metropolitan/satellite fashion to "elites" at

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<sup>8</sup>Homans, G.C., The Human Group, Harcourt Brace, 1950

the national level. Coleman's analysis closely harmonizes with Vidich and Bensman's in pointing out the extensive and intensive invasion of the small community through the mass media, leisure, religious, and especially, political and economic institutions. According to these analysis the small community itself tends towards the mass society characteristic of the modern large urban centre with its small-organized elite and its large unorganized and undifferentiated mass. A most striking example of this change in community is that reported by Homans<sup>9</sup> in his longitudinal brief on Hilltown - a New England community, characterized in the first years of this century by a high degree of interaction, mutual assistance, political activity and local consciousness, which with the establishment of industrial centres nearby, the luring of the young to these and other urban centres and the invasion of urbanization, has now become a classic example of the so-called impoverished dormitory community.

However, while most observers perceive this decline in community, they differ in their evaluation of this change or loss of function. Morgan, for instance, views this trend with alarm and devotes his book to practical considerations which might effect a stronger "small community". Nisbet<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Homans, G.C., The Human Group, Harcourt Brace, 1950

<sup>10</sup>Nisbet, R.A., Community and Power, Oxford Press, 1963

concurr with Morgan and places the blame for many current social ills on the decline of community. Most recently Vance Packard in his book, A Nation of Strangers, argued that "whatever the individual reactions, we are rapidly losing several critical ingredients of a civilized, salutary society. We are seeing a sharp increase in people suffering alienation or feeling adrift, which is having an impact on emotional and even physical health. We know there is a substantial increase of inhabitants suffering a loss of sense of community, identity and continuity."<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, Martindale and Coleman point out that loss of consensus within the community is not synonymous with loss of consensus in the broader society and also, community disorganization is not equivalent to societal disorganization. Rather they appear to perceive mere shifts (albeit important shifts) in the character of affiliation such that occupational groupings<sup>12</sup> and more broadly based clubs and interests have replaced the

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<sup>11</sup>Packard V., A Nation of Strangers, McKay, 1972, p.5.

<sup>12</sup>The fundamental insight here is attributable to Durkheim E., The Division of Labour in Society, Free Press, 1960. Durkheim emphasized occupational guilds as assuming in modern society many of the former gemeinschaft functions.



kind of integration formerly operating on the community level.

In general those observers expressing concern adopt the vantage point that in a mass (organic) type of society, individual involvement and meaningfulness necessitates a "sense of roots".<sup>13</sup> Moreover they assume that this "sense of roots" can only or best be achieved through a mechanical or a gemeinschaft-life community and, further, that this "sense of roots" necessitates more than the relatively uninvolved household. As Huxley says "if you wish to avoid the spiritual impoverishment of individuals and whole societies, leave the metropolis and revive the small country community or, alternatively, humanize the metropolis by creating within its network of . . . organization, the urban equivalents of small country communities in which individuals can meet and cooperate as complete persons, not as mere embodiments of specialized functions."<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the issue is more succinctly put by Nisbet, "alienation from place and property turns out to be at bottom estrangement of close personal ties which give lasting identity to each".<sup>15</sup> Thus Nisbet like Huxley and others, thinks that community is the essential context within which modern

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<sup>13</sup>Nisbet, R.A. op. cit.

<sup>14</sup>Huxley, A. Brave New World Revisited, Harper & Bros., 1958

<sup>15</sup>Nisbet, R.A. op. cit.

alienation has to be considered.

Just as some argue that community disorganization is not synonymous with societal disorganization so too they contend that community disorganization is not equivalent to individual alienation or meaningfulness. Vidich and Bensman note that the individual and the community spheres should not be considered as one. Their point is that while integration may exist in the community (largely through the operations of an organized elite) personal disorganization may be quite prevalent. Other researchers have pointed to this pattern, namely that in highly integrated and inflexible communities suicide rates and other indices of personal alienation may also be high.<sup>16</sup> Coleman contends that the obverse of this pattern may also be common in the sense that the individual is freer now from the constraints of community bonds, and possibly able to establish more meaningful bonds on a non-territorial basis. The Coleman contention is quite popular among social scientists. They are quick to observe that "a careful reading of the materials on social history suggests

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<sup>16</sup>Durkheim, E. *Suicide*, Free Press 1960; Firth, R., *Elements of Social Disorganization*, Beacon Press, 1961 and Nadel, S.F., in Firth, p.75.

that the emotional security and mutual aid afforded in the unchanging community entailed a fairly substantial cost. The price of insularity appears to have been an amalgam of excessive parochialism and bigotry, a limitation of opportunity and choice of associates, a close surveillance of one's behaviour by neighbours, a short life expectancy and a low level of living."<sup>17</sup> Fischer also minimizes the significance for the individual of community disorganization, observing that "studies of social networks indicate that people draw important others from outside the neighbourhood, town or even region - with little discernible ill-effect. People can build their identities on bases other than places on a map."<sup>18</sup> The suggestion is that the true or authentic "community" is not an association founded on physical proximity but one of interest, of affection, free from the constraints of distance.

From this brief analysis of modern thought pertaining to community, it is apparent that all agree on the change in the role/function of the local community. An indication of this development is the obvious inadequacy of traditional definitions of community. In modern urban society how many

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<sup>17</sup>Hawley, A., "Review Symposium On "A Nation of Strangers" American Journal of Sociology July 1973 p. 165

<sup>18</sup>Fischer, C.S., "Review Symposium . . ." *ibid*, p.168

local communities can be defined as "total ways of life, complexes of behaviour composed of all the institutions necessary to carry on a complete life, formed into a working whole"?<sup>19</sup> Probably few communities ever existed in the sense implied by the definition but the prevalence of approximations in the past made the definition a useful ideal-type. In modern society the small relatively independent and self-contained community is an anomaly. The complexities of modern society are such that specialization and functional interdependence characterize all aspects of life. To the extent that small communities provide "a locally based sense of security and stability"<sup>20</sup> they are either found deep in the hinterland or are specialized loci catering to specific status and age groups.

The more debatable point concerns then the consequences of this change in role/function for society as a whole and for personal alienation. Virtually all social scientists assume that for societal maintenance and for personal meaningfulness, social ties are vital. But those persons contending that decline in community is not particularly disruptive for society emphasize that patterns of affiliation have merely changed - the referents are different.

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<sup>19</sup>Martindale, D., op. cit and Frith, R., op. cit.

<sup>20</sup>Berry, B., "Review Symposium . . ." op. cit.

Similarly, they argue, community decline is not equivalent to personal alienation, since involvement can and does operate on a different basis. We have envisaged our work as an effort to discuss these questions. Concerned with actual behaviour, we have examined the nature of involvement in different types of small communities, the extent of security, identity and stability from the individual resident's point-of-view, the relation between social linkages in the community and linkages outside the community and the variables, community and affiliational, which predict alienation.

Alienation has long been a concept of intense study and inquiry. Indeed as one author has "written the history of man could very well be written as a history of the alienation of man."<sup>21</sup> Insightful writers long ago predicted the rise of a pervasive alienation. The characteristics of western capitalistic society have usually been held accountable for alienation in its varied manifestations: The large population in the cities, the gap between the rich and poor in a context of universalistic achievement norms, the struggle for monetary gains and the material goods that it buys, the revolution in expectations related to industrial affluence, the pervasive

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<sup>21</sup>Coser, L., & Rosenberg, A., Sociological Theory, 1957, p.526

geographic mobility of people and the consequent temporary character of friends and confidants, the increasing value attached to science accompanied by a systematic rejection of religious beliefs and security.

The increment in the direct observability of alienation phenomena in recent years and the seriousness of its symptoms - the increase of drug use, the development of strange and mystic religious cults, communication clashes between and within groups, the emergence of violence - oriented ideological groups and so forth - have led some thinkers to posit that the very basis of social order and the fundamental structures and values of society are threatened. Consequently, there has been a renewed concern about the small community, an idealization of it, since it is associated with previous life styles and patterns of association. There has also been a multitude of attempts to study the multi-dimensional aspects of alienation. Utopians concentrate on planning societies, modifying or eliminating those factors thought to cause alienation. Others seek to explore the realm of alienation to reveal important causes of it, with the final intent of understanding the dynamics of such an influential phenomenon. In this study we have attempted to measure and differentiate between alienation from people and alienation from the values and directions of modern society.

The Locus of Study: Halifax County, Nova Scotia

In examining the role/function of the contemporary, small community in the light of our theoretical background, we recognize the necessity of considering it in relation to the metropolitan centre - the chief source of the penetrating rays of modern mass society. From a research design point of view one can perhaps best get at the new processes of integration and specialization and thereby understand the changing role/function of the small community when one can study a host of small communities which are satellites in various ways and to various degrees of the same large, developing metropolitan centre. It is equally clear that in examining the small community one has to be cognizant of the great variety of small communities. Duncan and Reiss have fruitfully distinguished suburbs from more distant and rural-like communities in their analysis of the social characteristics of communities.<sup>22</sup> Coleman discusses briefly several different types of communities noting especially the behavioral differences between communities which are new urban extensions and those which began as independent towns and have only recently become suburbs.<sup>23</sup> One might well expect that

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<sup>22</sup>Duncan, D.D., & Reiss, A., Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, Wiley, 1950.

<sup>23</sup>Coleman, J., op. cit.

affiliation patterns, alienation and so forth would differ in small satellite communities with different historical economies (i.e., fishing, mining, lumbering), different size populations and different distances from the metropolitan centre. Consequently, again from a research design point of view it would be desirable to examine small communities which differ along these lines yet relate to the same single metropolitan centre.

Halifax County, Nova Scotia, seems ideally suited to the kind of study we conducted. The county lies on the Atlantic coast between Guysborough and Lunenburg counties. It is the largest and richest county in Nova Scotia<sup>24</sup> and it continues to grow, population-wise relative to other sections of the province.<sup>25</sup> The county extends more than 90 miles parallel to the coast and stretches more than 25 miles inland. The core of the county and its fastest growing sector is metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth which had a population of roughly 185,000 in 1961, and approximately 225,000 in 1972. It is the

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<sup>24</sup>Halifax County has the lowest incidence of low-income families among the 18 counties of Nova Scotia. See K. Scott, Wood, "A Profile of Poverty in Nova Scotia", Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1967.

<sup>25</sup>As a province Nova Scotia has had two basic centres of industry and commerce - Metropolitan Halifax and the coal-steel complex centered around Sidney. The latter appears to be in a state of stagnation and over the past two decades its population has been declining. Industrial developments in the Bridgewater area and along the Strait of Canso threaten still further the significance of the Sydney centre in Nova Scotia.



largest metropolitan area east of Montreal, the commercial and administrative centre of Nova Scotia and to a large extent of the entire Atlantic region of Canada. Metropolitan Halifax is not within the County municipal jurisdiction.\* Non-metropolitan Halifax County is largely rural, composed of some 207 recognized small communities of various sizes, different occupational and economic foci and varying degrees on the traditional/modern continuum. These communities are oriented to the Halifax-Dartmouth metropole, the largest centre within 1,000 miles; indeed the largest alternative centre within 100 miles of any of the small communities is Truro which had a population of about 12,000 in the early 1960's. Outside the metropolitan centre the largest town in the county in the early 1960's was Sheet Harbour (population of 1300) which, being located in the sparsely populated eastern corner of the county, has been something of a regional centre for smaller scattered communities in the area.

Halifax County has been changing rapidly since the second world war largely as a consequent of the development of the Halifax-Dartmouth metropolitan centre. The metro area has almost doubled between 1941 and 1961 and it is expected to be around 300,000 in the early 1980's.<sup>26</sup> Both Halifax and

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<sup>26</sup>See Report # I, Population, Development Office, City of Halifax, 1967. Recent analysis suggest that the rate of growth has fallen off and that a projection of 265,000 would be more accurate.

Dartmouth as well as the metropolitan area have increased in geographic size as a result of annexations and redefinitions in the 1960's. Consequently, in terms of both population and geographical size the metropolitan area has become proportionately larger relative to the rest of Halifax County and Nova Scotia. Considerable highway construction has "collected together" the small scattered communities outside the metro area and oriented them towards the latter. The Halifax area increasingly provides for the county residents employment opportunities, commercial and social facilities and expectations for services and life style. The part of Halifax County immediately surrounding the metropolitan area especially has been influenced by the growth of Halifax-Dartmouth; fishing communities have become residential communities, summer cottages have been converted to year-round residences and the frontiers of the metropolitan area (and consequently relatively cheap land and homes) continues to stretch out farther and farther into the countryside.<sup>27</sup>

The rural area surrounding metropolitan Halifax developed initially through the establishment of many small fishing villages along the coast. Farming has always been a secondary activity - the county, except for a small area inland

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<sup>27</sup> By 1961 most available land in the city of Halifax had been filled so that population growth in the city ceased and the 1961 census recorded a small decline in population from the 1951 figures.

in its mid-section, is quite rocky and not suitable for cultivation. Mining has been of some significance in the County's economy. A minor gold rush was set off in the last half of the nineteenth century when gold was discovered in several small communities;<sup>28</sup> limestone and gypsum has also been discovered and worked. Lumbering has also been of significance particularly in the eastern half of the county. The consequence of these types and scale of economic activities was the establishment of many small, scattered communities centred about specific natural resource exploitation. Saw mills, fishing plants and mines, along with churches and schools, dotted the county's landscape. In 1971 some 40,000 people were distributed over the 200 small communities in non-metropolitan Halifax County.

*Focus on development in these areas only, where train and or roads*

Most of the 200-odd small communities in Halifax County have had a long history of settlement; most were established by the first quarter of the nineteenth century. All the communities selected in our study have been recognized communities for at least one hundred years. Along with longevity has developed a strong sense of identity rooted in pervasive kinship ties. Locally-compiled histories

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<sup>28</sup>The gold mines have been dormant for some time but with the recent sharp increases in the market value of gold there has been considerable "stirring" in the communities.

## Study Design

are available for many communities. In the past decade in many of these communities the social structure and population homogeneity have been changing dramatically. Generally there has been a significant decline of economic base outside the metropolitan area. Fishing, lumbering, mining and farming have fallen off sharply. Most significant here has been the closing of the mill at Sheet Harbour - this mill, employing over 100 workers, had been the only "large" economic activity along the eastern shore of the county. Governmental efforts to attract industry outside the metropolitan area has not been effective in altering the economic marginality of the area. Nevertheless, an international airport has been built in the county, a few small-scale industries have been attracted and/or sustained by government support, population has spilled over from the metro area and mobile home parks have become common in the county.

## Study Design

In this report we will be concerned with accounting for variations in the levels of community involvement and the relationship between affiliational patterns and types of alienation. The term, community, refers to any geographical clustering of households having recognized boundaries and a long-standing name of designation and being recognized as such by residents and public authorities. Usually when we think of community we think of some sort of "commonness" or "involvement" existing among persons in the constituent households. However, since it is our purpose here to examine "involvement", it seemed imperative to use the common sense definition adopted above. Our working definition is similar to Parsons' conception of community as "a collectivity, the members of which share a common territorial area as their base of operations for daily activity".<sup>29</sup>

Within each community we were interested in examining "those natural processes which develop a sense of community and provide norms and informal structures for collective actions".<sup>30</sup> In the smaller community (population of roughly one thousand and under) which is the focus of our study, there is an absence of extensive formal governmental machinery and a dependence on these "natural processes". Outside Halifax and Dartmouth, communities

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29. Parsons, T., The Social System, 1951, p.91

30. Coleman, J., op. cit.

are grouped into regions, each region electing a representative to the County Council. Formal governmental machinery is thus quite limited though larger communities may have ratepayers' associations.

Before we discuss the variables and indices we used, it is perhaps useful to mention briefly what others have referred to when discussing the "natural processes" marking cohesion or involvement among the households constituting the community. Tonnies, whose gemeinschaft-gesellschaft distinction has been very popular, discussed community or gemeinschaft as involving a high degree of face-to-face interaction, cooperation in labour and intimate knowledge and identification of one another on the part of the members of the community.<sup>31</sup> While stressing interactional qualities, Tonnies talked about three kinds of communities: blood, neighbourhood and mind. Locality as a factor in itself helps to give rise to community, especially of course in the case of the neighbourhood type. But community of any type seeks to reinforce and fulfil itself

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31. Tonnies, F., Gemeinschaft and Gessellschaft, English translation by C.P. Loomis, 1940.

by means of common residence; this process is referred to by Tonnies as the third law of gemeinschaft: "that those who love and understand one another remain and dwell together and organize their common life."<sup>32</sup>

Tonnies appears to have emphasized interaction, knowledge, identification, common labour (mutual assistance) and, by implication, kinship and locality. Most sociologists have followed Tonnies' lead in specifying the key components of community but of course each sociologist singles out some components as especially salient. Hillery, in a major work collating all significant definitions of community,<sup>33</sup> examined a total of ninety-four definitions, showing that the majority share three common elements: a territory of area, common ties and social interaction. Coleman placed emphasis on the identification of self with others and upon cooperation in the face

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32. Ibid, p.55. Meaningful personal relations without locality demand energy, risking face and so on. Locality lends itself readily to the development of meaningful personal relations even if the "social system" attributes of community are gone.

33. Hillery, F. "Definitions of Community", Rural Sociology Vol. 20, 1955, pp. 111-123.

of common problems.<sup>34</sup> Angell, following Durkheim,<sup>35</sup> emphasized agreement on fundamental moral issues, using as his components of moral integration the degree of identification of self with others as well as common action and value consenses.<sup>36</sup> Leighton et al in their study of community<sup>37</sup> distinguished integrated from disintegrated communities according to the degree of common value consensus, cooperation and density of interaction; kinship relations were also emphasized.

Homans' longitudinal study of Hilltown shed important light on the key components of community. He contended that the crucial variables of the high community spirit in Hilltown at the turn of the century were kinship ties, mutual assistance, interest in each other and a high rate of social interaction. At the time of community impoverishment, there was little interaction among the community households, little interest in one another or local affairs and few shared activities. Homans,

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34. Coleman, J., op. cit.

35. Durkheim discussed social cohesion in terms of the degree of morally effective relations among members of the unit.

36. Angell's specific indicators of these components were crime rates and contributions to the community chests. See his "The Social Integration of Selected American Cities", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 47, 1942, pp. 575-592.

37. Leighton, A., The Stirling County Study, Vol. I, 1959 Basic Books.



also pointed out the subsequent decline of shared sentiments and norms.<sup>38</sup> Homans' analysis further points to the relationship between local community identification and voluntary affiliation. Other studies have supported this latter observation, one sociologist observing that "involvement in local self-government and voluntary associations is a condition for the stability of the community."<sup>39</sup>

38. Homans, G., op. cit.

39 Bernard, F., American Community Behaviour, New York, 1962, p. 339. See also Litwak, E., "Voluntary Associations and Neighbourhood Cohesion", American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, 1961, p. 260.

It is apparent that the key components of community involvement as far as the literature is concerned, include a large number of variables, among them cooperation in the face of problems, intimate knowledge of one another, frequency of interaction, common value consensus, shared sentiments, identification of self with others and kinship relationships. The indices used in this study to assess community involvement were knowledge of people in the community, frequency of assistance with friends and relatives in the community, frequency of interaction and assistance with households generally and participation in voluntary associations in the community. We emphasized the variable of cooperation and mutual assistance in our index of community involvement. The variables of common value consensus and shared sentiments were not directly incorporated into our index. Such variables are presumed to correlate highly with the interaction and mutual assistance measures. As Homans contends "the more frequently persons interact with one another the stronger in general are their favourable sentiments towards one another,"<sup>40</sup> further, he notes from his Helltown study, "a decrease in the frequency of interaction among the members of a group and in the number of activities they participate in together entails a decline in the extent to which norms are clear and common."<sup>41</sup>

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40. Homans, G.C., op. cit.

41. Ibid.

In this study we developed a separate index, the Community-Self Perception Scale, in order to examine more precisely the relationship between community involvement and the perceived congruence between self and others in the community as regards values and sentiments.

A critical consideration raised earlier concerns the relationship between variations in community involvement and patterns of affiliation outside the community. As the role/function of the small community changes do people without strong ties in the community link themselves with clubs and friends outside the community? Are involvement patterns inside and outside the community mutually reinforcing or compensatory? In our index of out-of-community involvement the key variables were frequency of assistance with friends outside the community, participation in non-local voluntary associations and number of outside relatives and friends with whom respondent visits as well as the frequency of that interaction. In this index the emphasis is placed on the interactional variable, a "weaker tie" than mutual assistance which we emphasized in the community involvement index. Weak ties in general are of critical importance in understanding cohesion beyond the local community.<sup>42</sup>

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42. See the article by M. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 78, No. 6, 1973. Granovetter noted that "strong ties breeding local cohesion, lead to overall fragmentation" whereas "weak ties are indispensable to individuals' opportunities".

It has been observed that we developed a separate index, community self-perception which we anticipated would be closely related to community involvement. Separate indexes were also developed to determine the modernity of outlook of residents and their perception of success in life. The former index, the modern versus traditional orientation, was based on an operationalization of Parsons' pattern variables and it was anticipated that it would relate closely to affiliational patterns beyond the community. The index, perceived success in life, was assumed to be an important bridge between patterns of affiliation and patterns of alienation.

In the initiation of the study we were concerned with the need to develop a typology of communities within which to examine the variables noted above. The assumption was that different types of communities provide different contexts for affiliation and alienation. The community characteristics initially selected were population size, distance from the metropolitan centre and socio-economic homogeneity; later a fourth characteristic, the "social systemness" of the community was added.

The population size of the community has been mentioned very frequently as critical in determining the behaviour of community members.<sup>43</sup> The chief problem with this variable of

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43. See for example Goodman, P and Goodman, P, Communitas Vintage, 1960.

size is, at what points does it affect behavioural and attitudinal differences? Does a population of seven hundred, everything else being equal, provide a significantly different context than a population of four hundred? In this study the range of size is only from one hundred to circa one thousand population. Nevertheless, we believed that size could be an important variable even within this small range;<sup>44</sup> initially, then, we considered population as a dimension of a typology of communities.

Distance from the metropolitan centre has often been cited as an important community characteristic affecting community behaviour. Duncan and Reiss, among others, stressed this variable in their analysis of social characteristics of urban and rural communities.<sup>45</sup> The problem with this variable is the implication of the term "farther away" or "distant". In this study we referred simply to mileage. Davis<sup>46</sup> and Zipf<sup>47</sup> have shown that simple distance is of importance in distinguishing

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44. Eric Fromm in his Sane Society suggested that a remedy for the ills of modern social organization would be the establishment of communitarian socialistic societies composed of small groups with no more than 400-500 members in each.

45. Duncan, O.D., and Reiss, A., Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, Wiley, 1950

Davis, K. Human Society, Macmillan, 1948 and

46. Lipset, S.H., Agrarian Socialism, University of California Press, 1950.

47. Zipf, G.K., Human Behaviour and The Principle of Least Effort, Addison-Wisley, 1949.

the effects of urbanization on small communities. Mileage appears to exhaust the notion of distance in the Halifax County situation. Apart from mileage, the small communities are equitably connected to the metropolitan area by roads, television, radio and magazines/newspaper; furthermore, there appears to be few significant differences in the quality of roads and of course there is no alternative metropolitan centre. While mileage is a continuous variable, there is some basis for anticipating important cut-off points in our study. Form and Miller<sup>48</sup> contend that the most important linkage to the city is that of residence with work. Duncan has suggested that the maximum distance travelled from residence to work is from twenty to forty miles.<sup>49</sup> Finally, studies carried out in Halifax County suggest an urbanized region with a radius of thirty miles extending from the Halifax-Dartmouth centre.<sup>50</sup>

The third variable making up our typology of community was occupational composition. This variable has been strongly emphasized in the literature. Perhaps Coleman has articulated most succinctly the views of all these scholars, "similarity of activities leading people to be subject to the same events and enjoy one another's company ... makes for mutual identifi-

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48. Form, W., and Miller, D., Industry, Labour & Community Harper, 1960

49. Duncan, B., "Intra-Urban Population Movement" in Hatt, P., and Reiss, A., Cities and Society, Free Press, 1957.

50. Halifax-Dartmouth Regional Study, February, 1960

cation which pulls people together".<sup>51</sup> The powerful influence of occupation in modern day society, accurately perceived by Dunkheim, is reflected in the voluminous literature on social class. No doubt different occupations have somewhat different behavioural implications.<sup>52</sup> Yet a community characterized by occupational homogeneity of whatever kind may be expected to differ considerably from a community characterized by occupational heterogeneity. As one scholar has noted perhaps extremely, "fundamentally however, the nature of a community does not depend on the calling of its members. A fishing, mining or college town will be found to have the same fundamental traits as a community."<sup>53</sup>

In this study we considered initially concrete occupational homogeneity and occupational heterogeneity. Homogeneity was defined as communities where over two-thirds of the main bread-winners of the constituent household are of the same occupation. However, it was not possible to select an adequate diversity of communities in this fashion. Accordingly, homo-

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51. Coleman, J. op. cit.

52. Different types of fishing in the community may even mean different patterns of household involvement. Thus some differences might be expected depending on weir fishing or lobster fishing; see 1963 Annual Report, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University.

53. Morgan, A.E., op. cit.

geneity and heterogeneity ultimately was operationalized on the basis of the socio-economic status of the occupational distribution in each community. This substitution was considered justified since "one of the necessary conditions of a 'social interaction' community is the absence of strong status feelings with its corollary, the presence of feelings of being roughly on par with one's fellows".

An important community characteristic which was added subsequent to the original research was the social systemness of the community; that is, the extent to which the community provides within its boundaries the possibilities for a complete way of life to its members. We believed that the crucial indicator of social systemness would be the percentage of the labour force employed within the community.

Religion and ethnicity were not considered critical as dimensions of a typology of communities because they appear to be of lesser import both in modern society and in Halifax County. While there are some exceptions to this trend, the discriminating importance of ethnicity as measured by intermarriage rates appears to be declining in North America.<sup>54</sup> More problematic but on the whole revealing the same trend, have been the recent analyses of

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54. Hollinghead, A.B., Courtship and Mate Selection: A Study of New Haven, and Clairmont, D.H., Deviance Among Indians and Eskimos in Aplavik, Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, 1962.



religious differences.<sup>55</sup> Our preliminary information on Halifax County indicated that while ethnicity and religion were important, they were less important as contexts for behaviour and attitudes than the variables selected for the typology. In this sense we anticipated a finding similar to that found by Homans in Hilltown - that community in the early years of the century had religious and ethnic mixture yet the small, distant and occupational homogenous community had a high level of activity, spirit and identity; it appears that occupational heterogeneity and the presence of new nearby industrial centres were crucial community characteristics affecting changes in behaviour and attitudes.

Generally we anticipated that population size, distance from metro and homogeneity would effect different patterns of affiliation and alienation. Distance and homogeneity of occupational distribution were expected to produce more favourable contexts for community involvement as they grew in magnitude; the contrary relationship was expected to hold in the case of population size. The relationship of these variables to affiliational patterns outside the community, except in the case of distance (where a strong negative relationship was expected), was considered problematic. The desire to develop a typology was based on the idea that there may be important cutoffs in each

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55. See Herberg, W., *Protestant, Catholic and Jew*, Doubleday, 1955 and Nottingham, E., *Religion and Society*, Random House, 1958.

of these community characteristics and that the combined contextual affects of the variables, bifurcated at certain points (i.e. size at 400, distance at 30 miles, homogeneity at 60 per cent), would be important.

It was noted above that the community is generally considered an appropriate context to study alienation. Frequency of interaction patterns, group associations, cooperativeness, close personal ties and common value consensus, factors, often synonymous with community, are usually considered to provide low levels of alienation. We also noted above that many scholars differentiate and do not accept such an easy translation from community disorganization or involvement to personal alienation or lack of it. Indeed given the view presented earlier of the integrity and unity of modern society it could very well be that those individuals who are highly involved in the local communities would be most likely to be alienated.

Obviously the concept alienation covers a wide range of considerations. In this study we followed Parsons' conception of basically two types of alienation: person-alienation and value-alienation.<sup>56</sup> It seems reasonable to postulate

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56. Parsons, T., The Social System, Chapter 7, Free Press, 1951.

that under modern societal conditions there may be strong negative relationships between local community cohesion and personal alienation and an inverse relationship between extra-community affiliation and value-alienation. In other words, the two types of alienation while closely related, may control and be controlled by different factors. We anticipated that our indexes of modern versus traditional orientation, perceived success in life and outside community involvement would relate to value-alienation while community involvement and community self perception would be related to person-alienation.

#### Data Collection

The original plan for data collection called for the selection of twenty-four communities outside metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth. Given our initial three variable typology, where each variable was bifurcated, there were eight cells and it was hoped that we could select three communities for each cell.<sup>57</sup> Due to unforeseen and tragic circumstances, that goal was not attained and in the end the survey was carried out in twenty-one different communities, eighteen of which were in Halifax County and three in contiguous Guysborough County. In selecting the Halifax County communities we first constructed a list of recognized communities;<sup>58</sup> subsequently, we deleted all those communities

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57. The project administrator, Professor W. Benallick was killed in an automobile accident.

58. The list of recognized communities was constructed from three sources, the 1956 Census, the Halifax County Assessors' office and the Halifax County engineering department. Additionally, officials were questioned on whether the communities were "really communities."

considered part of the Halifax-Dartmouth area and those under 100 or substantially larger than 1300 in population. The remaining 65 communities were sorted in terms of the original eight cell typology and the eighteen "best fits" were selected for study.

Perhaps we should elaborate on the allocation of communities to cell category. Once the (65) community listing was obtained we readily determined precise population and mileage distance from the metropolitan centre. From electoral lists and post office data we obtained occupational distributions for each community. The problem of classifying communities in terms of homogeneity was resolved by using the Blishen scale<sup>59</sup> to classify occupations; the seven-level Blishen scale was collapsed into three classes and the proportion of occupations in each of the three classes was computed for each community. To be considered homogeneous, 60 per cent of the occupations in the community would have to fall in one of the three classes. Having operationalized the dimensions of the typology we selected from the shortened list of communities those communities best exemplifying the specific cells. For example one cell represented communities with very small populations (i.e., under 400 persons), distant from the metropolitan centre (i.e. more than 30 miles) and occupationally homo-

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59. Blishen, B., "An Occupational Scale" in Blishen, B., et al, Canadian Society, Macmillan 1961.

genous (i.e., more than 60 per cent in the same "class"); from the list of 65 communities we selected three communities best fitting these criteria.

Within each community a random sample of the households was surveyed. Analytic sampling, calling for the selection of equal sample sizes from each community, was followed.<sup>60</sup> For each community a locational map of households was developed and the surveyed households were drawn randomly on the basis of this mapping. In each community 20 households were surveyed. Consequently, we have two kinds of data: individual data (21 times 20 for an N of 420) and community data (the means of communities' households for an N of 21).

Before the actual survey was carried out a pilot study was undertaken in two communities. This enabled us to delete questions which appeared to be inappropriate or unreliable. Additional questions were added. This pre-test proved especially valuable in our consideration of the alienation measures.

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60. Eysenck, H., "Social Attitudes and Social Class", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. I, pp. 56-66.

## Description of Questionnaire

The questionnaire contained ninety-two questions and the average interview time was one and one-half hours. The areas covered included basic household data (i.e. age, sex, education, marital status and occupation of all household members), organizational affiliation and activities, including politics and religion, in and beyond the community, and patterns of visiting and mutual assistance with friends and relatives in and beyond the community. A large number of questions probed the respondents' perception of the community and the attitudes of other residents as compared with their own. Data were obtained on working, shopping and use of services. Additional data dealing with attitudes and behaviour will be discussed below as we discuss the construction of scales. Finally, there was a series of twelve questions, (plus room for further comment) to be filled out by the interviewers. These were concerned with the general atmosphere and environment of the interview plus comments on the sensitiveness of the questions. Although the length of the questionnaire was formidable, the interviewers found almost unanimous cooperation.

Subsequent to the completion of the survey in the twenty-one communities, a 5 per cent random sample was drawn of the respondents and for the second time these respondents were interviewed. Different interviewers were used. This "reliability test"

was used to give us an idea of which questions and issues led to the most unreliable responses. After presenting overall results we shall discuss the question of reliability.

### Construction of Scales and Indexes

As noted earlier, nine scales were developed to tap dimensions thought important in this study. O.C.I.I. - the out of community involvement index - was based on responses to eleven questions. Essentially, emphasis was placed on the frequency of interaction with friends and relatives outside the local community and the number of outside contacts. Additional considerations were assistance patterns and participation in voluntary associations but these factors were not given significant weight. The O.C.I.I., like the other eight "scales", was an addition index. I.C.I.I. - the community involvement index - was based on responses to nine questions. In this index greater attention was paid to reciprocal assistance within the community. Visiting patterns and participation in voluntary associations were also considered but not given significant weight. As measures of involvement, both O.C.I.I. and I.C.I.I. in retrospect leave something to be desired as place of work and participation in religious services were not incorporated. T.C.I.I. - total community involvement index - was merely the addition of the previous two indexes.

M.V.T.O. - the modern vs traditional orientation was based on responses to five multi-part questions. Each question was meant to reflect a "pattern variable" (see above). One

question dealt with felt obligation towards friends and relatives in a variety of situations, the assumption being that the more one is oriented to friends the greater the modern orientation. A second question dealt with the respondents' perception of the amount of education needed for success, the assumption being the more education thought to be required, the more modern the orientation. A third question dealt with the respondents' attitude towards a friend who left one's church, the assumption being the more one's considering it none of one's business, the more modern the orientation. The fourth and fifth questions dealt with the respondent's newspaper and magazine reading and his awareness of and interest in topical social issues (i.e., bilingualism), the assumption being that the more widely read and interested in topical social issues, the more modern the orientation. The questions, respectively, were meant to reflect the pattern variables of self/collectivity, achievement/ascription, universalism/particularism, and performance/quality (active mastery orientation). In retrospect, the M.V.T.O. index has some weaknesses; nevertheless, as will be seen below it proved useful in this study.

C.S.P. - the community-self perception index - was based on responses to six questions, several of which were multi-part questions. The index was designed to get at shared values and sentiments by determining the congruity between the individual and his perception of the other members of the community over several areas including socio-economic status, political beliefs and activities, conception of life values and religious beliefs and



practices. These dimensions were approximately equally weighted. This index was quite useful in the study.

P.S.I.L. - the perceived success in life index -

was based on five questions, one of which was multi-part.

The index ranged over considerations such as satisfaction with residence, attitude of household head towards his job or retirement, respondent's perception of whether his or her standard of living is getting higher or lower, perception of adequacy of provision for children's education and the amount of congruence between respondent's expectation concerning his children leaving the community and his preference for the children. It can readily be seen that the index measures perceived success in terms of specific content. Conceptually P.S.I.L. measures the respondent's perception of whether he is making out satisfactorily, whether things are happening as he desires. The P.S.I.L., index was found to have several flaws especially in the interpretation of responses for widows and respondents without children. Non-applicable type responses to two questions were given a less than average score and consequently reduced the possible P.S.I.L. scores for a group of respondents.

As mentioned above the conception of alienation used in this study involved two distinct indexes, A.P. (person-alienation) and A.V. (value-alienation). Another index, T.A. (total alienation) was formed by the addition of these two indexes. Items were chosen from the most appropriate questions used by a variety of alienation

researchers. Reliability checks were made on these items and several of them were modified to form the twelve item index used in this study. A five point scoring system was made on each item, coded such that the higher the score, the less the alienation. Four items made up the Likert-type scale for A.P. and eight items for A.V. An example of the items used in A.P. is "a person is better off if he doesn't put too much trust in anyone"; an example of the A.V. items is "nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself."

## Results-Overview

### Community and Extra-Community Involvement

In data processing, two scores dealing with community involvement were derived: these included (a) within community involvement (CII) and (b) out-of-community involvement (OCII). Each type will be treated in turn. As indicated above, both community means data as well as individual data will be utilized in the analysis.

### Within Community Involvement

To refresh the reader's memory C.I.I. scores operationally were based on the breadth and intensity of respondents' knowledge, mutual assistance and interaction vis-a-vis relatives and households in the community. Tables I and 2 provide us with the first clue as to the correlates of community involvement. Table I presents C.I.I. scores (grouped data)<sup>1</sup> in terms of the eight-cell community typology which initially guided the research. As noted earlier we had believed that population size, distance from the metropolitan centre and homogeneity of socio-economic status were community characteristics which, in their variation, provided differential contexts for individual involvement and

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1. By grouped data we mean that individuals in community sorted into the eight-cell had their C.I.I. scores grouped and averaged. The number of individuals so represented by C.I.I. scores in each cell of tables 1 and 2 varies from forty to eighty.

alienation. It had been hypothesized that C.I.I. scores on the average would be higher in smaller communities, in more homogenous communities and in communities more distant from the metropolitan centre. It was hypothesized further that variates in community characteristics combine additively in producing variation in the dependent variables and that the single most important of the community variates would be homogeneity of socio-economic status.

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Tables I and 2  
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Generally there was not a great degree of variation in the means of the grouped data. The mean C.I.I. score in the smaller communities was higher than that in larger communities and, similarly as predicted, the mean score in more homogenized communities was greater than in the less homogenized communities. However, contrary to our expectations, C.I.I. scores tended to be greater in communities within rather than outside the thirty mile boundary line used to dichotomize communities on the "distance from metro" variable. In terms of additive effects, our prediction was that C.I.I. scores should on the average be the highest in communities that simultaneously are homogenous, small and distant from metropolitan Halifax; this prediction was borne out-cell (b) in table 1 it records the highest mean C.I.I. score. Given that distance /

Table 1. Means of Community Involvement by  
Population, Distance from Urban Center, and degree of Occupational  
Homogeneity

	Under 399 Population		Over 400 Population	
	Within 30 Miles	Beyond 30 Miles	Within 30	Beyond 30
More Homogeneity (Cell #)	15.55 (a)	17.33 (b)	16.08 (c)	15.78 (d)
Less Homogeneity (Cell #)	15.62 (e)	14.96 (f)	15.65 (g)	14.30 (h)

Mean scores:

Grand Mean:	15.66
Mean: Under 399 in Population	15.87
Mean: Over 400 in Population	15.45
Mean: Within 30 miles of Halifax	15.72
Mean: Over 30 miles from Halifax	15.59
Mean: More Homogeneity Category	16.18
Mean: Less Homogeneity Category	15.13

Table 2. Means of Out of Community Involvement by Population, Distance from Urban Center, and Degree of Occupational Homogeneity

	Under 399 Population		Over 400 Population	
	-30 Miles	+30 Miles	-30 Miles	+30 Miles
More Homogeneity (Cell #)	11.17 (a)	12.48 (b)	11.25 (c)	10.58 (d)
Less Homogeneity (Cell #)	13.00 (e)	11.58 (f)	10.85 (g)	10.20 (h)

Mean Scores:

Grand Mean:	11.39
Mean: Under 399 in Population:	12.06
Mean: Over 400 in Population:	10.72
Mean: Within 30 Miles of Halifax:	11.57
Mean: Over 30 Miles from Halifax:	11.21
Mean: More Homogeneity Category:	11.37
Mean: Less Homogeneity Category:	11.41

as defined in this study, did not work out as expected, additive effects involving this variable also were contrary to our initial hypotheses. Additive effects based on the variates of population size and homogeneity were as predicted. Recalling that in addition to additive effects we postulated that community homogeneity would be especially important in producing variation in within-community involvement, it would be expected the rank order of average C.I.I. scores (from high to low) in terms of the dichotomized variables of population and homogeneity would be (1) small homogenous communities, (2) larger homogenous communities, (3) small, heterogenous communities and, finally (4) larger, heterogenous communities. This rank order was indeed reproduced in our data; means for grouped C.I.I. scores respectively were 16.45, 15.95, 15.30 and 14.97.

In sum, it appears that the degree of homogeneity and the population size of community both provide structural conditions which foster greater community involvement while distance from the metropolitan centre (measured in mileage) does not appear to provide a strain in the same direction. The two former variables also appear to combine additively in producing this specific effect. Finally, homogeneity of socio-economic status is clearly more important than population size and distance from metro (as measured in this sociological analysis) in effecting variation in community involvement.

The simple typology of communities in terms of three dichotomous variables can only be regarded as a preliminary research effort to search for discontinuous effects. The community characteristics used are variates and correlation-regression analysis is probably more valuable. Zero-order correlation analysis of community means (N=21) reinforce the findings reported above. Table 3 shows that community homogeneity is positively (and modestly) related to average

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Table 3 circa here

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community involvement while population size correlates negatively (and, also, modestly) with average C.I.I. scores. The correlation between distance (miles) and average C.I.I. is slight and negative. Table 3 indicates that the strongest correlation is between average C.I.I. and O.C.I.I. (0.65), a not unexpected finding since it points to the pattern whereby people who are "involved" in one setting tend to be "involved" in other settings. Person-alienation also tends to be rather strongly associated with community involvement - the more community involvement the less personal alienation.<sup>2</sup> Value alienation in these data is less significantly related to community involvement. Regarding other indexes

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2. When dealing with the alienation scores, one has to reverse the sign of the relation since the scoring procedure involved giving low scores to those with low non-alienation.



Table 3. Correlation Matrix of Community Means of  
Indexes and Characteristics\*

	Pop	Mile	Homo	OCII	CII	TCII	MVTO	PSIL	AP	AV	TA	CSP
Pop	1.00											
Mile	-0.44	1.00										
Homo	-0.14	0.23	1.00									
OCII	-0.44	-0.08	-0.09	1.00								
CII	-0.21	-0.11	0.30	0.65	1.00							
TCII	-0.38	-0.11	0.06	0.95	0.86	1.00						
MVTO	0.20	-0.46	-0.59	0.54	0.34	0.51	1.00					
PSIL	0.30	-0.74	-0.45	0.20	0.05	0.16	0.69	1.00				
AP	-0.24	-0.05	-0.39	0.58	0.49	0.59	0.65	0.14	1.00			
AV	-0.04	-0.24	-0.54	0.38	0.26	0.36	0.75	0.40	0.82	1.00		
TA	-0.11	-0.19	-0.51	0.46	0.34	0.45	0.74	0.34	0.91	0.98	1.00	
CSP	-0.40	0.41	0.64	-0.02	0.29	0.11	-0.60	-0.66	-0.09	-0.32	-0.26	1.00

\*These are the correlations of the logs of the actual values.

	OCJ	CH	TCJ	MTO	PSH	AP	AV	TA	CSP
OCJ	1.00								
CH	0.55	1.00							
TCJ	.86	.78	1.00						
MTO	0.25	0.12	.22	1.00					
PSH	0.15	0.15	.16	0.26	1.00				
AP	0.21	0.25	.27	0.27	0.12	1.00			
AV	0.19	0.14	.21	0.39	0.20	0.58	1.00		
TA	0.22	0.19	.25	0.39	0.19	.79	.96	1.00	
CSP	-0.01	0.15	.08	-0.17	-0.09	-0.01	-0.17	-.15	1.00

Pol. Satisfac.      Age Educ Reli      1      2      3      Occu Clms\_Inco      OCII      CII      MVTC      PSIL      AP      AV      CSP

Age	1.000																	
Education	-.398	1.000																
Religiosity	-.052	.120	1.000															
Political	.099	.070	.059	1.000														
Satisfaction	-.014	.058	-.030	.117	1.000													
	-.142	-.060	.027	.705	.069	1.000												
Occupation	.384	-.423	.088	.007	.047	.026	1.000											
Class	.015	-.138	.042	.118	.040	.094	.063	1.000										
Income	-.204	.325	.117	.092	.199	.031	.378	.092	1.000									
OCII	-.061	.161	.120	.017	.025	.015	.126	.131	.144	1.000								
CII	-.069	.049	.075	.035	.070	.006	.043	.098	.030	.352	1.000							
MVTC	-.109	.515	.133	.005	.013	.046	.299	.113	.280	.227	.124	1.000						
PSIL	-.305	.324	.099	.153	.038	.094	.349	.148	.269	.129	.126	.256	1.000					
AP	-.022	.236	.163	.099	.047	.024	.102	.007	.079	.207	.234	.272	.118	1.000				
AV	-.102	.438	.133	.150	.054	.102	.244	.009	.157	.194	.144	.389	.199	.583	1.000			
CSP	-.076	.122	.087	.117	.061	.094	.129	.020	.139	.007	.154	.168	.092	.014	.171	1.000		

sed in this study, table 3 reveals that high "modern vs traditional" (MVTO) scores and high "community-self perception" (CSP) scores are modestly and positively linked with C.I.I. scores; perceived success in life (PSIL) does not correlate with C.I.I.

Correlational data rather strongly reinforces the typological results and, in general, the theory behind the survey. High C.I.I. tends to be related to homogeneity of community, low person-alienation and O.C.I.I. Somewhat surprisingly, value-alienation also tends to be important and C.S.P. scores, while positively related to C.I.I. scores, are correlated with the latter less than M.V.T.O. scores. The correlational analysis thus far presented referred to zero-order correlations using grouped data. Correlational analysis based on individual data is in line with the above findings; the highest correlations were with outside-community involvement (0.35) and person-alienation (-0.23).

Relative significance of variables using group data is better assessed through regression analysis. A regression analysis was made with 10 independent variables run against the community involvement index (C.I.I.) for grouped data. Here it was found (see table 4) that some 78% of the variance in community involvement was accounted for - this is with an N of 21; an  $R^2$  of .31 is required for significance at the .01 level. Examining the various b coefficients listed in table 4, it is to be noted that the heaviest weighting (.82) is for the C.S.P. variable. Thus

table 4 circa here

Table 4

The Prediction of Community Involvement: Weightings of Variables, Community and Individual Data for O.C.I.I., C.I.I. and T.C.I.I. data.

Variables	Community Data			Individual Data		
	<u>OCII</u>	<u>CII</u>	<u>TCII</u>	<u>OCII</u>	<u>CII</u>	<u>TCII</u>
	b	b	b	b	b	b
Population	-.003	.00	.00			
Distance		.009				
Heterogeneity		.05	.08			
Social System	-0.015		-.02			
OCII		.21			.26	
CII	.55			.38		
TCII						
M10	1.46	.52	2.32	.31		.44
B10	-.70	.54			.13	.29
A <sup>2</sup>		.53	1.45	.17	.26	.63
A <sup>1</sup>	-.28	-.07	-.65			
IA						
CSE		.82	1.15		.26	.35
Regression Constant	4.54	-18.27	-20.52	-.14	4.21	6.10
R	.852	.885	.875	.407	.428	.343
R <sup>2</sup>	73%	78%	77%	17%	18%	12%

regression analysis more clearly reaffirms our theoretical thinking that a major contributing factor to high rates of community involvement is the congruence between one's perception of self and how one views others in the community.<sup>3</sup> The regression analysis also reveals that person-alienation is an important contributory factor to C.I.I. while value alienation is much less important and has opposite effects - that is, the pattern appears to be that low person alienation contributes to community involvement whereas low value-alienation to the extent that value alienation is relevant at all, reduces community involvement. Table 4 also indicates perception of success in life (P.S.I.L) and modern versus traditional orientation (M.V.T.O) make substantial positive contributions to C.I.I. scores (each has a b weighting of more than .50). Surprisingly O.C.I.I. makes a relatively weak contribution (b of .21) to C.I.I. variation.\*

The regression findings appear to indicate that community characteristics (structural variables) such as population size, distance from the metropolitan centre, status homogeneity and the extent to which the community is a total social system (i.e. measured in terms of the number

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3. As in the case of all the variables treated in the regression analysis, one could, with considerable support, argue for the reverse of the causal chain proposed.

\*Actually the beta weight of O.C.I.I. is very substantial.

employed within the community) do not make large contributions towards involvement within the community. Still it is clear that homogeneity with a weighting of .05 makes the greatest contribution of all these variables.

Regression analysis using individual data rather than grouped data has two definitional implications. First, we cannot include structural level variables since variance on these variables would be limited because of the fact that there would only be 21 different observations for 420 individuals. Secondly, given the relationship between N and the number of variables used, the explained variance attained using individual data would undoubtedly be less than that reached with the grouped data. Table 4 (right hand side) shows that we get 18 per cent of the variance explained using four variables. Three variables, O.C.I.I. person alienation and community-self perception have the same weighting (.26). \* Thus out-of-community involvement, a lack of person-alienation and a congruent perception of self and community all go along with higher rates of community participation. Perceived success in life (P.S.I.L) also contributes, but has a lower weighting (0.13) than the other variables.

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\*In terms of beta value (the change in the dependent variable produced by a standardized change in an independent variable when others have been controlled), O.C.I.I. is the most important variable affecting C.I.I. scores.

## Out of Community Involvement

Table 2 presents the O.C.I.I. scores (grouped data) in terms of the eight-cell typology which guided the research. As noted above, it was considered problematic exactly how the structural variables of homogeneity and population size would affect out of community involvement. Distance from the metropolitan area was assumed on a common sense basis to have a negative relationship with O.C.I.I.; it was believed that closeness to the pervasive influences of the metropolitan area would be more powerful than indirect effects producing out-of-community involvement associated with higher within-community involvement of more distant communities. On the other hand the consideration of the other two variables was more unclear. Given the tendency of involvement to generalize across social settings and given that O.C.I.I. and I.C.I.I. were independently scored indexes, factors, such as smaller population size and greater homogeneity, producing high within community would indirectly also produce high out of community involvement; however, if the two kinds of involvement were considered compensatory rather than mutually reinforcing then we would expect higher average O.C.I.I. in more heterogenous and larger communities.

Perhaps the most important finding in table 2, is that while the various means for grouped data are different, they



are not much off the grand mean for all the communities. The slight variation is approximately the same as was found for grouped data with regards to within community involvement. In line with our conceptualization, higher average O.C.I.I. scores are found in communities closer to the metropolitan centre. Most significantly, O.C.I.I. scores were highest in the smaller communities and population size discriminated best of the three structural variables. It may be noted here that both O.C.I.I. and I.C.I.I. scores tended to be higher in the smaller communities within thirty miles of the metropolitan centre. This suggests that the two kinds of involvement are mutually reinforcing. On the other hand table 2 reveals that O.C.I.I. scores on the average tended to be higher in the relatively less homogenous communities. It may be recalled that degree of homogeneity had the opposite effect in regards to within community involvement; there, individuals in the more homogenous communities tended to have higher I.C.I.I. scores. This contrasting pattern suggests a compensatory mechanism whereby people seek out others who are socially similar to themselves. It appears that the degree of community homogeneity may discriminate between types of involvement whereas size and distance affect quantity of involvement. However, it should be added here that the difference between more and less homogeneity of community as regards O.C.I.I. was minimal. Moreover, in interaction with the variables of size and distance (see below)

homogeneity has ambiguous effects on involvement.

Given the above patterns concerning O.C.I.I. scores and given our hypothesis that effects are additive, it would be expected that the highest grouped mean O.C.I.I. would be in cell e (table 2) which refers to smaller, less homegenous communities close to the metropolitan area. This expectation is borne out. By the same reasoning cell (d) in table 2 should record the lowest mean O.C.I.I.; unfortunately it does not, although it does have the second lowest mean score. Cell h in table 2 has the lowest O.C.I.I. average just as, in table I, it had the lowest I.C.I.I. mean score. It appears that, whether we are referring to the community or to the region beyond it, communities that are distant from the metropolitan area, are relatively less homegenous and have a population size between 400 and 1,300 record individuals with the least involvement. This, again, suggests a mutually reinforcing rather than a compensatory mechanism regarding involvement patterns.

Other interaction effects based on the simple typological analysis seem to be in line with the findings on I.C.I.I. scores. For example, controlling for size and distance as measured and dichotomized, table 2 reveals that homogeneity in three out of four cases positively relates to O.C.I.I. Similarly, controlling for homogeneity and size, closeness to metro in three of four instances positively relates to O.C.I.I. mean scores. The same finding applies in the case of the

comparatively small communities. It may also be noted that in each of the three controls the one "deviant" case results from the fact that individuals in cell a, that is in communities that are relatively smaller, more homogenous and closer to Halifax/Dartmouth, have less out-of-community involvement than expected. Cell a in table F also records less within community involvement than would be expected, resulting in some "deviance" in assessing interaction effects on community involvement.

In general, the typological analysis suggests that the same structural factors that are conducive to involvement within the community are also conducive to involvement outside the community. The type of community wherein individuals have relatively low O.C.I.I. and I.C.I.I. scores is the same in both instances. There is a strong suggestion that involvement patterns are mutually reinforcing not compensatory, and generally high in smaller, more homogenous communities closer to the metropolitan area. However, there is some sign that heterogenous communities may be more conducive to out-of-community involvement while homogenous communities are more conducive to within-community involvement. In terms of our typological analysis, the type of community most facilitative of higher internal cohesion is the homogenous, smaller community distant from the metropolitan centre; on the other hand, the type of community

most conducive to out-of-community involvement is the smaller, less homogenous community close to the metropolitan centre.

Examining the correlation matrix of community means (table 3), it is found that the highest correlation was between O.C.I.I. and I.C.I.I. (0.65) as was noted previously. There was also a strong correlation between O.C.I.I. and person-alienation (the lower the person-alienation, the higher the O.C.I.I. scores); again, this finding is similar to that found in the case of within community involvement. The third strongest correlation was between O.C.I.I. and M.V.T.O. - the higher average modern orientation scores, the higher the average O.C.I.I. scores. There was also a relatively strong, negative correlation (-0.44) between population size and O.C.I.I. average scores. O.C.I.I. scores correlated only weakly with average community-self perceptions (C.S.P.) scores, average perceived - success-in-life (P.S.I.L.) scores, distance from the metropolitan centre, homogeneity of the community and the degree to which the community constitutes a "social system". Using individual data, correlational analysis reveals that, as above, O.C.I.I. is most highly correlated with within-community involvement (0.35), modern orientation (0.23) and person-alienation (-0.21).

Regression analysis (table 4) provides a more

exacting test of the significance of variables affecting out-of-community involvement. Referring to grouped data, as with within community involvement, the structural variables had little impact and invariably had low and insignificant (b) coefficients. (Size of community:- .003; Distance from metro: N.S.; Homogeneity: N.S.; Degree of social systemness:- .015). The variables making the largest impact were individual characteristics; the heaviest weighting was clearly the modern versus traditional orientation variable where the (b) was 1.46. It appears that interacting outside the community is strongly connected to having highly modern orientations.

In general the regression analysis sharply differentiates the variables having an impact on O.C.I.I. scores from the variables having an impact on I.C.I.I. scores. Community-self perception (C.S.P.), the variable with the largest weighting in the I.C.I.I. analysis, apparently has no effect on involvement outside the community. Similarly person-alienation, a strong factor in I.C.I.I. scores, has no significance whatever regarding involvement outside the community, whereas value -alienation is an important factor in the latter regression. Perceived-success-in-life, with a (b) of - .70, affects outside-community involvement differently than it affects in-community involvement;\* it could be

\* In the regression on group data the small N and number of variables suggest a de-emphasis of coefficients' signs. Interpretation of relationships has to be more contextual. This led us to reject the following "findings" about P.S.I.L. and A.V. on O.C.I.I.

that where people on the average perceive themselves as unsuccessful, one finds higher average O.C.I.I. scores. (This finding must be treated with caution since the P.S.I.L. index includes a bias favoring one's present community). This finding, plus the indication that high value-alienation contributes to high O.C.I.I., could suggest that involvement outside the community may be a compensatory mechanism for those dissatisfied with their present lifestyle.

With the grouped data some 73 per cent of the variance in O.C.I.I. scores was accounted for. Turning to the more rigorous test of individual level data, about 17 per cent of the variance is accounted for by three variables - C.I.I. scores (b of .38), M.V.T.O. (b of .31) and person - alienation (b of .17). One difficulty with the analysis of the individual data is that one cannot easily account for the loading on person-alienation when it did not load significantly on the community data. However, since in the case of the community data we have but 21 cases (community means) while at the individual level the N is 420, we would be tempted to take more seriously the individual level findings.

### Conclusion

The preliminary analysis of the typology of structural variables revealed little variation in grouped means for involvement inside or outside the community. Considering

also that distance from the metropolitan centre was measured simply in terms of miles and that the index for within-community involvement was somewhat biased against the larger communities, the proverbial "grain of salt" must apply to any interpretation. Nevertheless, there was systematic variation in the grouped means which did follow the hypotheses guiding the research. Homogeneity was the most important structural variable affecting within - community involvement whereas population size had the greatest affect on involvement outside the community. The structural variables appeared to combine additively in affecting involvement and here too the results were in line with the hypotheses. Within-community involvement was greatest in the smaller communities, homogeneous and distant from the metropolitan centre. Involvement outside the community was greatest in small, heterogeneous communities close to the metropolitan centre. The type of community having the lowest involvement, either internal or external, was the comparatively large, heterogeneous community distant from the metropolitan area.

Most generally, data from the typological analysis give little support to a "compensation interpretation" of involvement patterns. Size, distance and, to a lesser extent, homogeneity were similarly related to both within - and outside - community involvement. The homogeneity - heterogeneity bifurcation did differentiate somewhat between types of involvement.

The correlation/regression analysis of involvement patterns was somewhat ambiguous. Correlation data based on means supported the typological interpretations as to the importance of homogeneity in community involvement and of population size in outside-community involvement; however, non-structural variables correlated more highly with the involvement variables. A "reinforcement interpretation" of different involvement loci seems supported by the fact that the strongest correlation was between O.C.I.I. and I.C.I.I. scores; additionally, person-alienation and modern orientation correlate strongly and similarly with both types of involvement scores. The pattern clearly seemed to be that in communities where individuals on the average are low on person-alienation and high on modern orientation there is a greater amount of both kinds of involvement. Regression analysis based on grouped data resulted in a different picture. Although approximately seventy-five per cent of the variance in both types of involvement was accounted for, different variables controlled the variance in each instance. The variables with the largest weighting in the case of within-community involvement were community self-perception and person-alienation whereas for outside-community involvement they were modern orientation and perceived-success-in-life. The regression analysis suggests then that while there may be factors common to both kinds of involvement there are also factors specially salient for the different styles.



As the analysis moved from group to individual data there was a sharp decline in the extent to which the variables used in this study helped us to understand involvement styles. Less than twenty per cent of the variance was accounted for in regression analysis based on individual data. In these data person-alienation and other involvement were key factors controlling variance; however, as in the regression analysis based on group data, each type of involvement also loaded on a special factor - C.S.P. in the case of within-community involvement and M.V.T.O. in the case of outside-community involvement. Clearly the different involvement styles entail both common and unique factors.

### Alienation

A chief concern of our study was to document any systematic variation in alienation among the individuals and communities outside the metropolitan area. Two types of alienation were differentiated: person-alienation-focusing on the feeling of being left out, of being alone and of not trusting others - and value-orientation-focusing on estrangement from the nature and direction of the larger society. Both individual and community data were used in the examination of alienation.

### Person Alienation

Looking first at the data on community means, the variables most highly correlated with person-alienation were value-alien-

ation (0.82), modern orientation (-0.65), outside-community involvement (-0.58) and within-community involvement (-0.49). The pattern here appears straight-forward and predictable - in communities where there is a high level of internal and external interaction and where people's expectations of one another are conventionally modern, there is a relatively low level of person-alienation. The structural variables of homogeneity and population size were also modestly correlated with person -alienation but distance from the metropolitan centre was not correlated. Individual data analysis was fully in line with the above findings; person-alienation correlated most with value-alienation (0.58), modern orientation (-0.27), level of education (-0.24), community involvement (-0.23) and outside-community involvement (-0.21).

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Table 5 circa here

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Regression analysis (see table 5) on grouped data indicated that the only structural variable significantly influencing the degree of person-alienation was homogeneity; yet, even here, the (b) coefficient was the lowest of all those utilized in accounting for person-alienation. Three variables made the largest contribution to our accounting for 83% of the variance; they were perceived-success-in-life (P.S.I.L.),

Table 5 - The Prediction of Alienation: Weightings of Variables, Community and Individual Data for A.P., A.V., and T.A.

Variables	Community Data			Individual Data		
	AP	AV	TA	AP	AV	TA
	b	b	b	b	b	b
Population		-.00	-.00			
Distance		-.01	-.04			
Sparsity	-.02		-.07			
Social System						
POP	.08	-.39	-.52			.14
CHI	.24		.57	.09		.22
POH						
IND		.83	2.38		.43	.87
INDL	-.31		-2.28		.16	.21
AP		1.52			1.10	
AV	.23			.26		
TA						
CSP			.23		.26	-.26
Aggression Contact	6.89	.41	41.32	6.19	6.82	26.95
R	.909	.900	.865	.602	.646	.440
R <sup>2</sup>	83%	81%	75%	36%	42%	20%

community involvement (C.I.I.) and value-alienation. Outside-community involvement (O.C.I.I.) also made a contribution. It is difficult to interpret the P.S.I.L. factor since, given that we have to reverse the sign, the pattern seems to be the more the perceived success in life, the more the person-alienation. One can only speculate as to why P.S.I.L. came through in the regression analysis and modern orientation (which had a much higher zero-order correlation with person-alienation) did not. Clearly though, involvement especially inside the community but also outside of it, controls much person-alienation. It may be noted that, in the regression analysis on individual data, only two variables proved to be significant: value-alienation and community involvement. We also used multiplicative analysis (log transformation of data) but no significant differences either in  $R^2$  or in the (b) weightings were indicated. That was the typical result whenever multiplicative analysis were drawn in the study. Other variables which could affect the individual regression analysis, such as education, were not included in this preliminary overview.

#### Value-Alienation

Correlational analysis based on grouped data revealed that the variables most highly related to value-alienation were person-alienation (0.82), modern orientation (-0.75), community homogeneity (0.54), perceived-success-in-life (-0.40) and outside-community involvement (-0.38). Value-alienation then is at high levels in relatively homogenous communities (0.54) which are distant from the metropolitan centre (0.24), where residents

on the average are not highly involved either inside (-0.26) or outside (-0.38) and where they feel themselves unsuccessful in life. With individual data the variables most highly related to value-alienation were education (-0.44), person-alienation (0.58), modern orientation (-0.39) and perceived-success-in-life (-0.20). The individual "pattern" clearly supplements the group data picture drawn above; "successful" individuals with high levels of education and modern orientations are the least likely to be alienated from the nature and drift of the society.

Regression analysis with the group data revealed that only three variables basically account for 81% of the variance: person-alienation (b of the 1.52), modern orientation (b of .83) and outside-community involvement (b of .39). Both modern orientation and person-alienation (with b's of .43 and 1.10 respectively) also had significant weightings in the individual regression analysis where 42% of the variance was accounted for. Other variables important in the individual analysis were community-self-perception and perceived-success-in-life. It is difficult to summarize in simple terms the regression analysis since several important variables were not included in the individual regression analysis and since the sign for the O.C.I.I. variable is difficult to interpret. Clearly though modern orientation, perceived-success-in-life and outside-community involvement effect value-alienation.

Table 6. Hypotheses, Correlations,  
and Level of Significance  
Alienation Indexes  
Community & Individual Data

HYPOTHESES		CORRELATION		SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL
1.	The greater the community involvement, the less the alienation (total). Or,  +CII -TA	Individual Community .19	+0.34	n.s. (right direct)
2.	The greater the out-of-community involve- ment, the less the alienation (total). Or,  +OCII -TA	.22	+0.46	5% (supported)
3.	The greater the total community involve- ment, the less the alienation (total). Or,  +TCII -TA	.25	+0.45	5% (supported)
4.	The greater the community involvement, the less personal alienation as compared to value alienation. Or,  $r_{CII} \quad r_{AP} \quad r_{CII} \quad r_{AV}$	.23	.14	+0.49 +0.26 (supported)
5.	The greater the out-of-community involve- ment, the less personal alienation as compared to value alienation. Or,  $r_{OCII \& AP} \quad r_{OCII \& AV}$	.21	.19	+0.58 +0.38 (supported)
6.	The greater the total community involve- ment, the less personal alienation as compared to value alienation. Or,  $r_{TCII \& AP} \quad r_{TCII \& AV}$	.27	.21	+0.59 +0.36 (supported)
7.	The more modern the orientation, the less the alienation (total). Or,  +MVTO -TA	.39	+0.74	1% (supported)

Table 6. (Continued)

8.	The more modern the orientation, the less the value alienation as compared to person alienation. Or,							
	$r_{MVTO \& AV}$	$r_{MVTO \& AP}$	.39	.27	+0.75	+0.65	(supported)	
9.	The greater the congruence between self and community, the less the alienation. Or,							
	+CSP	-TA		-.13	-0.26	n.s.	(wrong direction)	
10.	The greater the congruence between self and community, the less personal alienation, as compared to value alienation. Or,							
	$r_{CSP \ AP}$	$r_{CSP \ AV}$	-.01	-.17	-0.09	-0.32	(Not supported)	
11.	The greater the perceived success in life, the less the alienation (total). Or,							
	+PSIL	-TA		.19	+0.34	n.s.	(right direction)	
12.	The greater the perceived success in life, the less value alienation as compared to person alienation. Or,							
	$r_{PSIL \& AV}$	$r_{PSIL \& AP}$	.20	.12	+0.40	+0.14	(supported)	

It is surprising however that, at the individual level, no form of involvement appears to improve significantly on our ability to account for variation in value-alienation.

In table 6 a number of hypotheses concerning the types of alienation are listed and the evidence for and against presented. Most hypotheses were supported. Community involvement appears to be associated with low levels of person-alienation but influences value-alienation to a lesser degree. As expected, modern orientations were more associated with a lack of value-alienation than with person-alienation.

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Table 6 circa here

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### Conclusion

The analysis of alienation did indicate systematic variation which could in large measure be accounted for in terms of the other primary variables used in this study. Explained variance for both group and individual data was fairly high and especially in the case of individual data one can expect even better results when known predictors are included in later analysis. The structural variables of size, distance and homogeneity - especially the latter - appear to provide a context wherein one can expect alienation levels to be high. In larger, more homogenous communities outside metro there is a favourable context for high person-alienation and in more distant, homogenous communities there is a favourable context for high value-alienation. (The extent to



which a community can be characterized as a total or complete social system was irrelevant as far as alienation is concerned.) Yet the structural variables' impact was clearly much less significant than the individual characteristics.

Value-alienation and person-alienation clearly are quite closely related as was evidenced in both the individual and group data for correlational and regression analysis. Some factors such as modern orientations contribute to both low person alienation and low value-alienation. Yet it is also clear that involvement patterns are especially critical in the case of person-alienation whereas modern orientations and perceived success in life are especially critical in understanding low value-alienation.

## Total Involvement and Total Alienation

As noted above within and outside community involvement scores were added together to yield total involvement scores (T.C.I.I.). O.C.I.I. and C.I.I. were roughly equally weighted in T.C.I.I. Correlational analysis on grouped data (table 3) indicated that the structural variable most strongly correlated with T.C.I.I. was population size (-0.38); generally the smaller the population, the greater the average total involvement. Homogeneity and distance produced comparatively insignificant correlations. Among the non-structural variables, M.V.T.O., P.S.I.L., and C.S.P., were all correlated directly with T.C.I.I., while A.P. and A.V. were inversely related. The key variables were modern orientation (.51) and person-alienation (-0.59). Using individual data the correlation analysis yields similar results: M.V.T.O. (.22) and A.P. (-0.27) were the variables most significantly correlated with T.C.I.I. Regression analysis on T.C.I.I. was consistent with the correlational analysis; both with grouped and individual data, person-alienation and modern orientation had the largest weightings (table 4). In addition, C.S.P. contributed significantly in the regression analyses. In sum, total involvement is greater in the smaller communities with a low average level of person-alienation and a high average modern orientation.

Total alienation (T.A.) represents the combination of person-alienation and value-alienation scores. Value-alienation has approximately double the weight of person-alienation in the T.A. index.

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Table 7 circa here

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In table 7, which refers to our initial typological classification of the Halifax County communities, there are systematic differences in T.A. by degree of homogeneity, distance from metro and population size. Taking into account the categorization of the other structural variables (i.e. controlling for) we find, in turn, that in all comparisons larger population, more homogeneity and closeness to metro were associated with higher levels of alienation. It may be noted that the same patterns hold also for both person-alienation and value-alienation. In Table 7, as expected, cell (c) records the highest level of alienation and cell (f) the lowest level. Cell (c) also records the highest levels of both person-alienation and value-alienation while cell (f) records the lowest of both kinds of alienation. It appears then that for all measures of alienation the most favourable community context for high alienation is the larger, more homogenous community within thirty miles of the metropolitan centre; the most favourable community context for low alienation is the smaller, less homogenous community beyond thirty miles from metro.

Correlational analysis with T.A. reveals that degree of homogeneity (.51) is the most important structural variable. With the grouped data, the most important non-structural variables in

Table 7. Means of Community Alienation  
 By Population, Distance from Urban Centre and  
 Degree of Occupational Homogeneity.\*

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	Under 400 Population		Over 400 Population	
	Within 30 Miles	Beyond 30 Miles	Within 30 Miles	Beyond 30 Miles
More Homogeneity	39.61 (a)	42.17 (b)	36.17 (c)	41.01 (d)
Less Homogeneity	41.57 (e)	43.49 (f)	40.29 (g)	41.65 (h)

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\* Given the way alienation responses were coded,  
 the higher the score the lower the alienation.

the correlational analysis were modern orientation (-0.74) and out-of-community involvement (-0.46). Individual level correlational analysis (table 3) produced similar results. Such findings reflect partly the fact that A.V. was weighted so heavily in T.A. Regression analysis at both the grouped and individual level affirms the importance of modern orientation (see table 5) as the key variable controlling variance in total alienation. Perceived success in life also came through as important in the regression with grouped data.

#### Overall Summary

Here we have been interested in the small community in mass society. Researchers have contended that vertical rather than horizontal linkages integrate the diverse activities of community life, reproducing at the local level the elite/masses model characteristic of the larger society and creating a sense of futility concerning locally based efforts to ameliorate perceived social problems. We have been exploring in the smaller communities the "natural processes which develop a sense of community and provide norms and informal structures for collective actions." We have also been concerned with whether the "natural processes" have merely been diverted or reproduced on a different basis - in our terms whether community involvement and extra-community involvement are mutually reinforcing or compensatory.

Generally it has been found that the two types of involvement (both representing more elementary social behaviour) tend to be more mutually reinforcing than compensatory. Those communities

ranked the top five in terms of average community involvement are also ranked in the top eight in terms of average involvement outside the community. Size, distance from metro and degree of homogeneity, each produce, when the other bifurcated variables are "controlled for", a roughly similar context for both kinds of involvement. Correlation/regression analysis on grouped data reveals also the positive relationship between the kinds of involvement; additionally person-alienation and modern orientation emerge as important variables (though not without some ambiguity) whether we are examining total involvement or any of its subtypes. Individual level correlation/regression analysis affirm the group level findings.

Despite the overall trend for congruence among types of involvement, there are some important differences with significance for the larger question of the small community in mass society. Occupational homogeneity is a community contextual factor unambiguously important in facilitating within-community involvement. Correlation/regression analysis at both the group and the individual level also points to the perceived similarity between self and others in the community in terms of values and sentiments as very important in effecting high levels of community involvement. Accordingly, one might well expect that the natural processes generating a sense of community remain operative in traditional, small communities. On the other hand in the larger small communities, heterogenous and distant from the metro area one would not expect the "natural processes" to be as strong, nor

deflected in terms of outside involvement in this age of growth centres and metropolitan growth. It is known from our research that high levels of social systemness of community (i.e., % working in the community) are associated with high levels of both community and outside-community involvement. The larger small community in the hinterland no longer offers special advantages in this regard over its smaller "neighbours", as work-place and community become increasingly separate.

Just as there are special variables influencing community involvement so, too, unique constellations affect involvement outside the community such that the smaller, less homogenous community close to metro provides the most favourable context. Perhaps the life style entailed represents the compensatory involvement alternative to the "community identity" generated most in the traditional, small hinterland communities. Correlational/regression analysis of outside community involvement suggest however that the variable, perceived success in life, mediates outside community affiliation and participation. It was more ambiguously related as regards to involvement within the community. This is an important point, suggesting that a "satisfactory" level of involvement, given the shift from traditional to modern life-style entailing affiliation beyond locality, depends more now on "status considerations" than it did formerly. It may also be noted that the larger small community, homogenous and distant from the metropolitan area provides the least favourable context for involvement outside the community.

We have observed that the most favourable community

context for high alienation is the larger small community, homogenous and close to metro, and the most favourable context for low alienation is the smaller, less homogenous community distant from the metro. It may be noted that the community contexts favourable for either inside or outside involvement were different. The data referred to above suggest that within community involvement is more importantly related to person-alienation than is outside community affiliation. On the other hand, outside involvement is much more importantly related to value-alienation. It seems clear that those who are not estranged from the nature and direction of modern society are those who have developed affiliational and participatory relationships beyond locality.

The fact that person-alienation has little relationship with distance from metro while value-alienation is modestly correlated reaffirms the point that extra-community ties, inversely related to distance, are critical in preventing extrangement from modern society. It is important too that modern orientation, critical variable in reducing alienation (and especially value-alienation), moderately and negatively correlates with distance from metro and degree of homogeneity.

Beyond involvement and alienation the most important of the variables discussed in this report has been modern orientation (which is based on an operationalization of the pattern variable schema of Parsons). Modern orientation is related to all types of involvement and alienation; it tends to increase involvement and to reduce alienation. Examining the modern orientation variable



we find it is not correlated as much with size of population as it is (negatively) with distance and homogeneity; it is also more related to outside involvement and value-alienation than it is to inside community involvement and person-alienation; also it tends to be highly correlated with perceived success in life. Under these circumstances we are not surprised that M.V.T.O., with individual data, correlates strongly with education (.52) and moderately with income (.28). Modern orientation may, as some theorists have suggested, provide a basis for an adequate level of involvement and a low level of alienation in modern society but among the uneducated, the poor and the resident of the hinterland, it is comparatively (and probably becoming more so) less likely that it constitutes a useful antidote to community breakdown and estrangement.

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