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BOOMTOWN RESIDENTS; INTEGRATION, BOUNDARIES AND THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERMANENT AND TRANSIENT MEMBERS

By

Polly (Zimmerman) Anderson

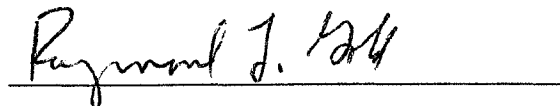
B.A., Fort Lewis College, 1981

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

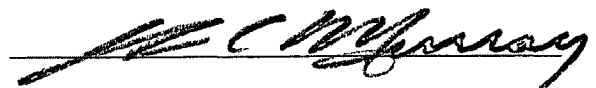
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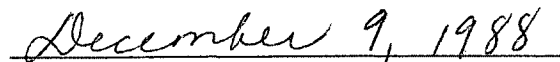
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ABSTRACT

Anderson, Polly., M.A., December 1988

Sociology

The Boomtown; Integration, Boundaries and the Relationship Between the Permanent and Transient Members. (117pp.) Master of Arts Thesis, University of Montana, 1988.

Director: Raymond Gold *RG*

There are two central themes of this thesis. One is to compare the lifestyles of more permanent and more transient members living in Colstrip and Forsyth, Montana. This comparison was done by focusing on the boundaries drawn between these categories. The assumption was that such a focus would discover overlaps between the categories that would contain new information. The other central theme of this thesis is to make inquiry into the nature of integration among groups and individual members in these communities.

This study utilized the conceptual framework of grounded theory advocated by Glaser and Strauss. The ethnographic approach was based upon the methodological technique of in-depth as well as various other forms of interviewing and participant observation.

Out of the study came a list of the positive and negative characteristics of the permanent and transient lifestyles. Several emergent categories related to integration were generated in the study: 1) class and craft membership conflicts; 2) length of time in the community; 3) housing; 4) absorption and concentration of categories; 5) the vantage point of the observer; and 6) becoming acquainted or "meeting." A list of applicable protocols for integrating members in communities developed from this study. An overlap was found between the permanent and transient categories within the "Bechtel Management" category. The conclusion is that new discoveries can be made with a conceptual framework that focuses on boundaries between diverse or seemingly opposing categories.

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Finally, this work is dedicated to my parents, who convinced me that I was capable of doing anything., and to my husband for his unending emotional support and for his faith in me.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

One of the most salient features of contemporary American society is the high degree of geographic mobility of its numerous and diverse members.¹ This mobility impacts the society as a whole as well as its individual members. As people move from one community to another the physical makeup of the social world is altered, the nature of the communities is changed and the individuals and/or families are forced to grow in some way.

In this study an effort was made to discover the different issues associated with lifestyles of people with various degrees of geographic mobility. Inquiry focused primarily on the more permanent members of a community and those who are called "transients," because they move so often from one community to another. In order to gather information on these lifestyles, a field study was conducted in two natural resource development communities in eastern Montana: Colstrip and Forsyth. This type of community was chosen due to the fact that large numbers of people located in them were living various degrees of mobile lifestyles.

1

Lee (1966:54) found that "one in five persons changes his residence each year."

A boomtown of the sort studied is created when an energy or other industrial development project opens in or near a small, rural, western community. These towns often grow by thousands within a few short years. Before the boom, these communities are typically traditional, homogeneous and resistant to change due to social values members place on continuity and stability.²

When energy development occurs, the town is bombarded with an enormous influx of new residents, many of whom live highly transient lifestyles. The result, a boomtown, has been understood by many within "modernization" and "urbanization" theory.³ One main difference is that boom communities go through these changes more quickly than other towns do when being urbanized. The majority of community-change researchers argue that during the boom, the town becomes heterogeneous, specialized and bureaucratized (Cortese and Jones, 1977). Gold, however, maintains that a takeover of *gemeinschaft* by the focus of *gesellschaft* is more apparent than actual (Gold: 1980).

2

Gold (1985:21) found that: "They liked being able to recognize practically anybody in the region, living in a stable and familiar environment, and being part of informal life-support systems that really worked..."

3

For further reference to this argument refer to Cortese and Jones, 1977.

Along with the rapid growth and change experienced in a boomtown come conflicts among the people in the community. Many of the conflicts, described by the people in the communities, seem to represent conflicts that exist between people adhering basically to either a *gesellschaft* or a *gemeinschaft* orientation.⁴ Many researchers have focused their work on the issues linked to this conflict between philosophies of life. It has been called a problem between "newcomers" and "oldtimers" or "longtime residents." Gold suggests that the conflict is evidenced in the value differences and associated "social distance" between the groups (Gold, 1974). Massey sees the conflict as a result of lack of association between the groups (Massey, 1977). Moen argue that the tension between the two groups is a "class issue" resulting from the fact that those in conflict are from different socio-economic statuses rather than just because one group is "old" and the other "new" (Moen, 1979).

4

Gold (1985:2) states: "*gemeinschaft*, a form of social organization, historically typified by informal lifestyles, is characterized by strong interpersonal bonds based on shared values, traditions and activities. *Gesellschaft*, on the other hand, is historically typified by the relative formality of urban lifestyles. These lifestyles are enmeshed in the multifarious complex organizations and are marked by rationalistic and calculating (non-sentimental) behavior... bureaucratic ties and relationships based on organizational rules and other formalized norms of social interaction.

The gemeinschaft/gesellschaft analysis includes issues of change and continuity or stability. Traditional values are geared toward the latter. Modernization/urbanization is geared toward the former. The boomtown was chosen for this study because the range of lifestyle orientations of its members span the continuum that exists between stability and change. As noted, the boomtown typically occurs in what was a very stable, rural population. It can be argue, rather convincingly, that the drawing of a boundary between a stability-oriented (stationary) lifestyle and a change-oriented transient lifestyle is just another way to divide what other researchers of boomtown have already divided. Whether this dichotomy is called permanent and transient, new and old, rural and urban, traditional and modern, individual and collective or gemeinschaft and gesellschaft is of no significance to this study. Previous research has established the fact that a split exists between these dichotomized groups or orientations. The current research was developed with a different goal in mind.

INTENT OF THE STUDY

After a review of the literature on "natural resource development communities" and on migration was completed, and a pilot study conducted, it was clear that a major problem, (according to research and testimony of the people living in the communities), was the lack of integration among the

different groups of people. This discovery led me to develop four major objectives in the research.

OBJECTIVES:

The first objective was to discover the nature of integration among groups in Colstrip and Forsyth. This line of inquiry would lend itself to information about the ways the people studied divide themselves into different groups.

The second objective developed out of the first. It was to develop a list of applicable protocols for integrating people in the communities studied and in society in general.

The third objective developed during the pilot study. As questions, were asked which were designed to see if people would mention any lack of integration they perceive in the community, it was discovered that the term "transient" came up again and again as a major problem in the community. A decision was made to compare groups of people who live varying degrees of geographically mobile lifestyles. The moves people made between towns or cities were the only moves considered in this study. Inquiry focused on the more permanent and more transient lifestyles so that a comparison could be drawn between the more stable and the more change-oriented lifestyles.

The fourth objective was a theoretical underpinning that ran throughout the research. It was the effort made always to focus on the boundary between social phenomena studied rather than on the phenomena themselves. The

assumption was that, with a focus on boundaries or connections between these phenomena, one may discover new and unique information that may have been missed by focusing on the categories themselves.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter number two describes the research design. This chapter includes: 1) the research rationale; 2) the pilot study; 3) entering the field; 4) a description of the roles played in the field; 5) interview types used; 6) the sampling technique; 7) other strategies important in the research; 8) description of the sample; and 9) comparison of Colstrip and Forsyth.

Chapter number three presents the description of some of the findings of the research. This chapter includes: 1) an overview; 2) a description of Colstrip and Forsyth; and 3) a detailed description of permanent and transient lifestyles.

Chapter number four contains more results of the research. In it is: 1) an analysis of the nature of integration, or the lack thereof, in Colstrip; 2) a look at the present ways people divide themselves into different groups in Colstrip, as well as in Forsyth; and 3) a description of other integration issues discovered in the inquiry.

Chapter number five contains a list of protocols and ideas for integrating people into the towns such as the ones studied. This list can also be used when considering integration in society in general.

Chapter number six discusses boundaries and their overlaps. It presents the key overlap found in this research.

Chapter number seven presents the conclusion of the study, as well as the implications for further research.

SUMMARY

This chapter explained what the study hoped to accomplish, outlined the content of the different chapters, presented the four major objectives, and provided a background description of natural resource development communities to aid the reader in understanding the material which follows. The next chapter describes the way the research was designed and conducted.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN

OVERVIEW

First, this chapter describes the design rationale. This description is followed by an analysis of the "grounded theory," which is the methodology used in this research. Next is a detailed description of the methodological techniques used in the research. There is a discussion of the pilot study, entering the field, roles played in the community, interview types used, sampling technique, various strategies important for the research, and the sample, there is an introduction to Colstrip and Forsyth, and there is a summary of the chapter.

DESIGN RATIONALE

This method reflects the strategy used by comparative analyses which look at similarities and differences between phenomena studied. The approach used here is called "grounded theory" and is described in The Discovery of Grounded Theory by Glaser and Strauss (1967).⁵

5

For additional reference on the constant comparative method, refer to Glaser and Strauss (1967:114). They state: "This method (the constant comparative method)...tends to result in the creation of a 'developmental' theory...It especially facilitates the generation of theories of process, sequence, and change pertaining to organizations, positions, and social interaction... The analyst learns to see his categories in terms of both their internal development and their changing relations to other categories." They go on to say: "...when a comparative analysis is done, different slices of data are seen as tests of each other, not as different modes of knowing that must be explained and integrated theoretically (1967:68-69).

"Theory" in this study is a process which is always shifting and changing.⁶ The methodological underpinning of this research lay in the "Verstehende" sociological approach. This method recognized that people are able to conceive of and describe their own world.⁷

This study is an ethnography. According to Glaser and Strauss, the ethnographic approach is one in which the field worker develops a personal relationship with the people he chooses to represent the community or the categories studied. It is the relationship with these informants that allows the researcher to come to know the lifestyles of the community members (1967).

The dynamic role of the ethnographer is explained by Everett Hughes, in the introduction to Bufford Junker's book, when he describes the dialectic between being part of that which we study and remaining distanced in order to report our findings in an objective way. Of this dialectic he stated that the dialectic "...is never fully resolved,

6

For further reference to theory as it is used in this study, refer to: Glaser and Strauss (1967:32). They state that: "...theory (is)...an ever developing entity, not...a perfected product."

7

Gold (1982:3), described this methodology well: "A verstehende sociological approach requires the investigator to develop and maintain a close relationship with representatives of the empirical world in question and to rely heavily on them for information regarding what is going on there and what it all means to them."

for to do good social observation one has to be close to the people living their lives and must be himself living his life and must also report his findings. The problem of maintaining good balance between these roles is at the very heart of sociology, and indeed of all social science" (1960:36).

In regard to the field observer, Hughes goes on to say: "If sociology is conceived as the science of social interaction and of the cultural and institutional results of interaction, then field observation is applied sociology. In so far as the field observer becomes a conscious observer and analyst of himself in the role of observer, he becomes also a pure sociologist..." (1960:37).

STRATEGIES FOR ENTERING THE SCENE

One important part of the research design lies in the approach used in entering the scene. Before entering the field, a decision was made to be open and upfront about "what I was up to." I openly admitted I was there to do research and what the nature of the research was about. In this role, I became the "observer as participant."⁸

8

Observer-as-participant, according to Junker (1960:37) "is the role in which the observer activities, as such, are made publicly known at the outset, are more or less publicly sponsored by people in the situation studied, and are intentionally not 'kept under wraps'".

Due to the specific and vast information that can be easily obtained in using this method of approach, it is crucial that special care be taken in reporting the data not to cause any informant's identity to be revealed in the data.⁹ The nature of the inquiry was such that it was important to emphasize the fact that the informant's identity would remain anonymous. People otherwise may have been very reluctant to openly discuss their views on the "conflicts" and "integration problems" among groups of people in a small community where they must live and get along.

9

Junker (1960:37), explains further stating: "...In this role the social scientist might conceivably achieve maximum freedom to gather information but only at the price of accepting maximum constraints upon his reporting."

PILOT STUDY

During the Summer of 1982 before entering the field, a pilot study was conducted to assess appropriate lines of inquiry and develop the appropriate research design in which to carry out the study. The pilot study was conducted in two parts.

First, as an apprentice, I accompanied the "Health Development Associates" who were hired by the Montana Coal Board to assess the health and social impacts of coal development in eastern Montana counties. Eight of us spent two weeks in the field doing in-depth interviews of individuals and small groups. All types and groups of residents were interviewed: health providers such as doctors, hospital administrators, nurses, public health nurses, school personnel, mental health practitioners, social service personnel, and alcohol treatment people, and government officials, longtime residents who were business and ranch owners and the like, newcomers to the area and company management personnel. I was allowed to ask any additional questions that were not being asked for the study at hand. I was able to establish contacts that were later utilized when re-entering the scene to conduct further research for this thesis.

Next, I conducted a pilot study in Parachute, Rifle and Grand Junction, Colorado. At the time of the pilot study, these communities had experienced a rapid and tremendous

boom due to the oil shale development near by. Then, just as suddenly, the community experiences a "bust" when enormous numbers of people moved out due to Exxon's decision to cancel the project they had agreed to develop there. I made contact with the local social worker before entering the field and interviewed her in depth. She referred me to construction workers and their wives in the area. I interviewed five people in the area in-depth. I spent two days in the area.

In both pilot studies, I found that "lack of integration" and "transient" were major topics of conversation among various categories of residents. Since these two topics were important enough for the residents to discuss repeatedly, I chose them as the two central themes of the research.

ENTERING THE FIELD

After the pilot study was conducted and the research objective developed, I next entered the field. Part of the research design was to gain as full an understanding as I could of the people's lives I wished to study. One of the methods used in this study was that of participant-observation. In order to gain data using this method, I decided to move to and live in Colstrip, Montana, the community where the majority of the research would be conducted. I had contacts with people working on a project in that community which was developed to mitigate the

problems of domestic violence. The project established what was referred to as a "Battered Women's Task Force." I was offered the opportunity to volunteer for this group while in the field. First, I had to find a place to live. This was no easy task as housing was hard to come by in Colstrip. Colstrip was a natural resource development community, owned by the Montana Power Company (M.P.C.), a company which was building power plants at Colstrip. One almost had to be employed by the M.P.C. to obtain even a trailer to live in. I put an ad in the paper and soon had a room, in one of the trailers owned by the M.P.C., with a single woman who was a secretary at the power plant. Entry was gained.

ROLES PLAYED IN COLSTRIP

1) I tried to become involved in a variety of activities Colstrip had to offer, hoping to obtain as accurate a picture as possible of the community from different perspectives. In doing so, I volunteered to become part of the Battered Women's Task Force. Its activities consisted of weekly meetings with lectures by other professionals in the community such as law enforcement, treatment facilities, local government officials and others. I was able to make appointments and conduct interviews with these people at a later time. The Battered Women's Task Force had approximately ten members. During the time I was in the field, this group had a dinner for the task force and

their husbands and/or friends. I was able to make further contacts for interviews at this time.

Some of the members' husbands were higher-level management personnel in the M.P.C. and the Bechtel Construction Company. Bechtel was hired by the M.P.C. to do the construction of Colstrip power plants Three and Four. The leader of the Battered Women's Task Force became a valuable informant. She worked in a local public service office and was well acquainted with the other professionals in the community. She was married to a man in higher-level management in Colstrip, so she was able to put me in contact with other members of these groups and with their wives.

2) I came in contact with an organization for the Bechtel Construction workers' wives. The leader of this organization also became another important informant. She had a list of all the wives of construction workers in Colstrip. She had organized the group and knew a lot about the individual women, so was able to refer me to diverse types within the "Bechtel"-wives category. I interviewed about twenty of these women, both those who were actively involved in the organization and those who were listed, but uninterested in being involved. This list made it possible for me to contact and interview women who were "reaching out" for support in Colstrip, as well as those who were more isolated members of the community.

3) I became a member of the Community Recreation Center of Colstrip. Participation in the center was a major way in which the new, more transient members, especially women, got together for social contact in Colstrip. I attended exercise class, three days a week, for two hours a day. This role offered me a chance to get in on updated information and discussions about "who had been here, how long, and who was leaving when." I was able to meet new, more temporary members of the community. I was able to "eavesdrop" and conduct spontaneous situational interviews with people as we participated in the exercise program. I also was able to arrange appointments to conduct in-depth interviews with women and their husbands at a later time.

4) I worked one to two days a week as a waitress in a cafe located in a small trailer across the street from the power plant. Construction workers, manual laborers and some managers frequented the cafe for lunches. The couple who ran the restaurant turned out to possess a wealth of information. They were very friendly and acquainted with their patrons. They were very knowledgeable about the lifestyles of the transient construction worker population. I did a lot of eavesdropping and spontaneous situational interviewing in this context, chatting with people as I waited on their tables, making notes later.

5) I joined the singles group in Colstrip. The group was very diverse, consisting of men and women of varying

ages, backgrounds, and length of residency in the town. The group met once a week. It put on dinners and organized activities for its members. I was able to meet people and arrange interviews with them at a later time. I also did a lot of spontaneous situational interviewing and some casual small-group interviews at these gatherings. I also did a lot of "eavesdropping" on these occasions.

INTERVIEW TYPES

A major portion of the data was collected with use of the interview method. Two main types were utilized. The in-depth interview was used wherever possible, for with it, it is possible to obtain a large amount of data. Conducting such an interview was not always appropriate. Many times I seized a passing opportunity to informally interview someone by engaging in a "situational conversation." Often I would also gather data through "eavesdropping" on life as it went on around me and making notes as appropriate. This is the role of complete observer.

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

The kind of interview schedule employed was an important part of the research design. For the in-depth interviews, a non-standardized flexibly structured interview procedure was utilized. It consisted of topics and questions, many of which were open-ended.¹⁰

The structure and content of the interview schedule was allowed to change while in the field. As new questions came up, they were added. The initial questions were often changed to better get the desired information. As these changes were made, my understanding of reality was improved by the information received from informants. Notes on these changes were hand written during the interviews. They were rewritten as soon as possible, after the interview while the information was fresh in mind. This method allowed the data to be gathered with as little obtrusiveness as possible, while still maintaining desired accuracy. Several of the longer interviews were taped. Later the pertinent information from these tapes was typed up.

The "situational conversation" interview procedure was used as I played the role of the participant-observer. Casual questions were asked that would lead people to discuss information needed for the study. A stranger would

10

Refer to Appendix A for the interview schedule used in the field.

be asked: "How long have you lived here?" This turned out to be an excellent ice breaker and often led into conversations about permanent and transient status in the community. While using this interview approach, I disclosed what I was up to if it seemed appropriate to do so.

At times I did not make my purpose known, depending on the nature and the depth of the conversation. Afterwards, I would make notes on these interviews.

Eavesdropping was another method used. I played many roles in the community in addition to "researcher." These roles allowed me to do significant research from a participatory perspective. While participating, I was always listening to the conversations people had with each other. This method proved to be fruitful in the process of saturating the categories that emerged from the data. While eavesdropping, like when doing situational conversation interviews, I would jot down notes, if feasible, or write up the information as soon as possible after it was obtained.

SMALL GROUP INTERVIEWING

Though I was unable to fully utilize this method, I was able to do some small group interviewing. I interviewed couples, families and friends. Several times I was able to conduct "situational conversation" interviews with small groups of people.

This form of interviewing is an ideal way to obtain accurate and detailed information from different groups of

people or points of view, in a shorter period of time than it takes to interview people individually. The group process that occurs with this interview strategy often means that some of the researcher's work is done for him. People compare their answers to others' interpretations or experiences and in so doing break down some of the information which the researcher does more painstakingly as a result of formal interviews with individual informants.

INTERVIEW STRATEGIES

The strategies used while interviewing were an important part of the research design. To obtain an in-depth interview, contact was made either over the phone or in person. Interviews were arranged at the informants' convenience. They were set up and conducted for one hour. However, there were exceptions. Sometimes the interview was shorter because the person said it needed to be so. Several interviews went for as much as two hours because the informants indicated that they would like to continue.

In picking the questions for the interviews in this study, the desire was to determine how people relate to moving from place to place. How does geographic mobility affect people's lives? How are transience and permanence seen by those living both lifestyles? Information was taken from people living lifestyles of all different degrees of mobility. Questions were asked about how long people lived in one place, how many times they had moved, and from what

kind of community and situation they had moved from to what other kind of community or situation they had moved to. People were asked to explain their reasons for moving.

A sample of different ages was taken. Different occupations and groups of people were interviewed. Different types of people considered permanent and transient were asked to discuss their lifestyle. Then transient people were asked to discuss their views of the permanents' lifestyle and the permanents were asked to do the same in reference to the transients' lifestyle.

Another important strategy was to present myself as having much in common with the informants. Being accepted into the "transient" population was easy. They saw me as "one of them" in many ways. I was a "trailerite" (lived in a trailer). I was a newcomer who came intending to leave again in several months. I was living a highly transient lifestyle in general. Though these facts might have estranged me from permanent people in the community, my personal background seemed to overcome any potential problem. I was raised in a small, stable, rural agricultural community. This gave us a common language that overcame any barriers which might have kept people from trusting me.

SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

Part of the research design was the sampling technique used. The sampling was done based on the belief that people know their world well enough that they can tell the

researcher what he or she needs to know. Initial informants are those who know the community well enough that they can refer the researcher to other informants and so on. This approach is called "Sociological Sampling."¹¹

The research made use of a theoretical sample.¹² Theoretical saturation occurs when information becomes more repetitive. This occurs when the categories generated from the data are approaching saturation.¹³

OTHER STRATEGIES IMPORTANT FOR THIS RESEARCH

With a research design such as was utilized in this study, the ability of the researcher to "be a good listener" is essential to the gathering of accurate data. The one conducting the study must also be sincerely interested

11

This study used the concept of "Sociological Sampling" the way it is used by Gold (1984:6). He states that it "...enlists the help of informants in identifying and locating persons locally thought to be good representatives of various groups and points of view of interest to the researchers."

12

Gold (1974:45), citing Glaser and Strauss says "...Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generalizing theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyzes his data, and decides what data to collect next and where to find them...in order to develop his theory as it emerges.

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Gold (1974:61), again citing Glaser and Strauss states that: "Saturation means that no additional data is being found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the categories. As he sees similar instances over and over again, the research becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated."

in and desire the information that is being asked for (Junker, 1960). It is important as well that the researcher be willing to and attempt to prove herself wrong. (Junker, 1960 and Glaser and Strauss, 1960). In the research, I trust that the data was accurate to the degree that accuracy was dependent on these factor.

In order to do good ethnography, in order to accurately reflect in his research that which he studies, the observer must be able to take on the role of those that he studies. He must be able to "stand" in their shoes and see the world from their eyes.

In this research, an attempt was made to observe without "applying one's own analytic categories."¹⁴ Then a comparative analysis was done. Finally, I applied my own developing framework. Viewing data from the other's perspective is crucial for obtaining accurate information. If careful attention is not paid to keeping the researcher's own interpretations out, it is very possible that what he

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For further explanation of the researcher attempting to see from the view of the informant refer to: Schatzman and Strauss, (1976:69) who state that: "to grasp the shared and variable properties of this symbolic universe, the researcher must be a good role-taker: that is, he must 'stand' with other respondents in the latter's relationship to the universe, and view it and its associated vocabulary from that perspective."

wishes to objectively portray will be altered by his view.¹⁵ The researcher must, as Schatzman and Strauss suggest: "(correlate) what he himself sees with what he hears from these persons who stand in different relationships to each other and to the whole situation" (1976:13).

THE SAMPLE

The sample for this research was drawn from as large and as diverse a population as possible. Special care was taken in trying to interview many different types of people, in many variations of a more or less transient (or permanent) lifestyle. Following is a list and description of these different people what were sampled.

Within each category, many different types were sampled in terms of age, class, sex and marital status. Permanent and transients were widely sampled. Informants were chosen based on their view of themselves as either permanent or transient, and/or others' view of them as either transient or permanent. People with lifestyles of a varying degree of permanence or transience were interviewed. Many of those sampled considered themselves both permanent and transient at different times in their lives.

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In Whole Child/Whole Parent (1983:39), Berends states that: "...the greatest variable in scientific observation is the scientist's own preconceptions, and...These preconceptions are actually reflected in the phenomena being observed. ...The external phenomena themselves are influenced by the viewpoint of the beholder..."

Ethnographic, qualitative research such as this often does not concern itself with exact numbers of certain responses. Approximately seventy-five in-depth interviews were conducted. Of these, ten were with more than one person present in the interview. Of these ten, seven were married couples. One was a married couple plus one of their friends. One was two women, over 65, who had a close and long-term friendship.

I talked to a number of different types of construction workers (manual laborers). Again, I talked with men, women, single, divorced, married, transient, permanent and in between, all ages within different crafts and in different companies. I spoke with many different wives of construction workers: 1) old, 2) young, 3) those living highly mobile lifestyles, 4) those who were more permanent, 5) those who were joiners, 6) those who were isolates, 7) those who loved their lifestyle, and 8) those who disliked their lifestyle. I spoke with construction managers and their wives. The different categories were sampled as were individuals sampled within the manual workers. Different teachers were interviewed who had been in the community for varying lengths of time and who considered themselves more or less permanent or transient. Other professions in the community were sampled: business owners, human service people, health professionals, law enforcement and government officials, In

Forsyth, fewer numbers were sampled. But all categories above were included in the sample. Also sampled were employees of all categories within the M.P.C., Western Energy Company, Long Construction Company, railroad employees and miners. Accordingly, men and women in a broad range of age and job categories were interviewed.

COMPARISON BETWEEN COLSTRIP AND FORSYTH

Being different from typical rural, natural resource development communities in these respects, Colstrip was an ideal community in which to obtain a view of the transient population in a small, western boomtown. A sample of the Forsyth population was added to the research. This added a comparative perspective to this research about the relationship between permanent and transient members.

Forsyth was used as a comparison community. Colstrip's sample of "old timers" was small. Colstrip was a newly established and largely transient community. Forsyth was chosen since it was a shopping and service center for the area, the county seat and was only thirty-six miles from Colstrip. In its large, established and rooted core population, a larger sample of more typical permanent residents could be obtained.¹⁶

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A more detailed description of the comparison between the two communities follows in Chapter 3, beginning on page 3.

Important to the overall research design and findings was the determination of whether Colstrip was a typical community in general and a typical "natural resource development community" in particular. The answer to both questions in many ways was "no". It is not typical in its internal variation. That is, the differences within the community often parallel the differences within other rural western communities, (or natural resource development communities).¹⁷ Most boomtown situations, such as at Forsyth, occur in what were previously old, stable, established communities. Typically, large numbers of their residents are longtimers with deep roots. The typical rural community and natural resource community is diverse in terms of age and occupation. A high proportion of the residents are elderly. A typical rural community contains relatively few newcomers or transients.

Colstrip is different than the above description on all accounts. It is a relatively new town for the most part. Outside of a few people who had lived in the town a long time, and outside of the surrounding ranchers, Colstrip came back into existence as a town in a substantial way when Colstrip Power Plants, One and Two were built (twelve to fourteen years ago). A large majority of its numbers are ten

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For further discussion of "internal variation," refer to Fischer (1982:269).

to twelve year residents. Very few people have deep roots in the community. The average family is young, with one or two children, with temporary jobs. Most people work in "connected occupations," which means they work in energy development related jobs. The majority are blue collar workers. There are very few elderly residents.

SUMMARY

By using participant-observation, as well as in-depth and other forms of interviewing, I was able to get the detailed information offered by the interviews, yet access was made into a broader range of groups than would be achieved if one relied only on individual informant's ability to refer to other informants, and so on.

It would have been ideal to have compared transients and permanents in different settings and areas. The depth of this research did not allow such an undertaking. This kind of comparison can be done by future researchers interested in these matters. The findings from this study can reasonably be generalized to similar settings and areas.

CHAPTER III.

RESULTS

OVERVIEW

Many of the research findings are presented in the present chapter. First, there is a description of the major community studied: Colstrip, Montana. Included is a brief historical description of Colstrip and its development as a community, as well as a list of groups present in the community. Following is a detailed description of Colstrip.

Second is a discussion of the issues regarding transience and permanence as they relate to this research. This section includes a detailed definition of the "transient" and "permanent", defined as these terms are used by the residents interviewed and in the literature. A list of the positive and negative characteristics of both a "transient" and "permanent" lifestyle was compiled from the information gained in the interviews. Finally, in this chapter, is people's description of reality "in between" communities as they move from one to another is described.

COLSTRIP

I begin with a description of Colstrip. The interviews and field work were conducted largely in Colstrip, and to a lesser degree, also in Forsyth, Montana. Before presenting the results obtained in the field, the major community studied will be described.

But first, what is meant by community? Webber, in his

work on personal networks in town and city, states that "It is clearly no linguistic accident that "community" and "communication" share the Latin root communis, "common". Communities comprise people with common interests who communicate with each other." He goes on to say that (1964:110): "A 'true' community is usually seen as a multi-interest group, somewhat heterogeneous, whose unity comes from interdependency that arises among groups when they pursue their various special group interests at a common place." In short, communities, exist among common interest groups and among common place groups.

Webber points out that "The idea of community has been similarly tied to the idea of place. Although other conditions are associated with the community including 'sense of belonging', a body of shared values, a system of social organization and interdependency--spatial proximity continues to be considered a necessary condition" (Webber, 1964:108-109). He goes on to describe what he terms the "non-place urban realm."¹⁸ Basically, his notion is that we

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Webber (1964:116-117) uses the term "Urban Realm" to describe a: "...heterogeneous group of people in communication with each other through space. At any of the lower levels in the hierarchical continuum of specialization, the spatial distances over which the people interact are relatively short; but the spatial extent of each realm is ambiguous, shifting instantaneously as participants in the realm's many interest-communities make new contacts, trade with different customers, socialize with different friends, or read different publications."

form communities over distances (not in one place) based on communality. In this context, then, no urban settlement is a unitary place. Rather, it is a part of a whole array of shifting, interpenetrating realm spaces.

In this research, we are interested in communities that are in a place, have residents or members with common interests (over varying distances) and are in what Webber has described as the "ambiguous" and "shifting" nature of the different "realms" as expressed by people's descriptions of their lives. The relevance of Webber's analysis will become clear as the analysis proceeds. But first, a history of the conflicts between groups in Colstrip, as seen by the informants, follows.

In 1923, the North Pacific Railroad opened strip mines at Colstrip. Foley Brothers operated the mines at this time. If you did not fit into the society and culture, you were let go. Colstrip consisted of the surrounding area ranchers and homesteaders, as well as those living in town. The mines closed in 1959. The town died. M.P.C. bought Colstrip in 1968 and opened the mines to serve the power plant in Billings, Montana. North Pacific Railroad's diselization of trains stopped the mine's operation. Five to ten families were hired by the Foley Brothers to care for the town. A few surrounding ranchers moved to town, which helped to fill the houses. By everyone's standards, Colstrip was a very small, settled, rural community with a stable population. It was

considered a town, none the less.

Early in the seventies, M.P.C began construction on "Colstrip Number One and Number Two", which are electricity generating power plants. "Bechtel Construction Company" was hired to build the plants. "Long Construction" operated the coal mines. This is the point at which Colstrip began to grow rapidly. Forsyth, a small, old, settled, established town larger and thirty-six miles from Colstrip, grew as well. Forsyth is the county seat and shopping area for Colstrip. Some consider Colstrip a satellite of Forsyth. Since the boom began, there has been another major boom when construction began on "Colstrip Power plants Number Three and Number Four" in the late seventies. This brought another large and rapid influx of people to both Colstrip and Forsyth.

At the present time, the following categories of people are present in the community and the surrounding area:

- 1) Ranchers
- 2) Miners
- 3) Farmers
- 4) Montana Power Company Employees (M.P.C.)
- 5) Western Energy (owned by M.P.C.)
- 6) Long Construction
- 7) Sunlight Development (owned by M.P.C.)
- 8) Bechtel Construction Company Management
- 9) Bechtel Construction Company Manual Laborers

10) Business Owners

11) Professionals, such as doctors and teachers

People also categorized themselves in the following ways:

12) Transients (including boomers, travelers, unemployed looking for work, construction workers (manual laborers), construction worker wives, seismographers, crazy people who wandered through town.

13) Permanent members of the community, also referred to as "townspeople" or "the community."

14) Old timers or long time residents

15) Old people

16) Young people

17) Newcomers

18) Old-newcomers (a category referred to, but often not labeled).

It should be noted that many of these latter categories overlap to a large degree. For example, oldtimers are often permanent residents and the young are often also transients or newcomers.

Colstrip is described as a "friendly" town. "Everyone is in the same boat" because almost everyone is "new." This was often the argument given as the reason for the "friendliness." Colstrip had people from very diverse geographical backgrounds. It had people from the east, west, north and southern sections of the United States. It had

people from both small towns and from large cities. A large majority of residents were young, married couples of blue collar status. Many of these families had one or two young children. There were very few elderly people. Most people in Colstrip had employment that was connected to the energy development. Few women worked outside the home. Colstrip was often described as an "in between spot" or as a "home away from home" or as a "transient community."

One woman said, "Colstrip will never be a real town. It isn't a permanent town." Few people, when asked, considered Colstrip their home. Most said they plan to "leave." At the time the research was done, there was no graveyard in Colstrip. The town's people did not have long, established or deep roots for the most part. Most people intended to "move on" when the work was done. Colstrip was a "company" town owned by M.P.C., which controlled and made all decisions about what would happen there. The desire to "move on" may have been due to poor living conditions. Those who "stay" may have done so because they had few or no choices. (cr, Loo and Mar, 1982; Speare et. al. 1975)¹⁹

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Schumaker and Stokols, (1928:14) state that: "...the core 'stayers' will be those individuals who are forced to remain in an undesirable environment.

Colstrip was a newly established, transient community. Interviews were conducted in Forsyth to get a more representative picture of the permanent, established old timer's point of view.²⁰ Forsyth, a community with a population of 2,550 had a peripheral population of 450, making a total of 3,050, according to a Forsyth longtime resident who was interviewed. Forsyth had basically 2,550 who were considered permanent, many of whom were old timers as well. This community had more core residents and so more old timers to draw information from about the representative views of this population. Relations between permanent and transient members in a community were possibly more typified by the reality in Forsyth than in Colstrip. Forsyth provided this research with a control community to be compared with findings in Colstrip. With this approach, it was possible to determine whether relationships between permanent and transient members in Colstrip were representative of those in other booming energy development communities.

Permanent and Transient

An underlying assumption of the research was that, if we scrutinize the boundaries that people draw between themselves and others, we would find answers to questions that we might otherwise have missed. A description of themselves as either "permanent members" of the community or as "transients" was certainly a major way people in Colstrip and other boom towns drew boundaries between themselves and

others. All residents, in both communities, placed everyone in either the permanent or the 'transient category.' Ranchers, farmers, miners, Montana Power Company employees, old-timers, business owners and professionals, such as doctors and teachers, were all placed in the former category. Construction manual laborers were placed in the former category.

Bechtel Construction Company management were put into the permanent category by most of the people interviewed. Sometimes the manuals within the company would point out that though managers are considered permanent, they should be considered transients because they move on too." They fell into both categories for different reasons.

Included in the transient category were construction workers, their wives and families, the unemployed looking for work, seismographers and "crazy" people who wandered into Colstrip. Construction workers, employed in crafts (or as manual laborers), were the major category of transient. This category included "carnival kids," "bikers," and "boomers," or "travelers." Most newcomers were considered transients.

Transients were often blamed for many of the problems occurring in Colstrip, Forsyth and other natural resource development communities. A Colstrip local official said that "most of the people who get involved in these things (domestic violence and other legal problems) were the ones

who moved around a lot, the transients if you want to use the term." "They move around, don't put down roots." Transients have been called "the worst impact of energy development at Colstrip and Forsyth." They have been called "almost animalistic." The statement was made that "transients plague the community. We should be compensated for their impact." It was argued that due to transients: "Your life is in danger every day." This type of statement was made by the more permanent members in the communities studied.

Transience was considered a very socially unacceptable way of life, according to all the categories of residents studied. The unacceptable nature of a transient lifestyle was reflected in the literature on migration.²¹

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Shumaker and Stokols, (1928:3) state that in the early twentieth century the: "ambivalent attitude toward mobility had shifted to a predominately negative one."

Rossi (1982:22) argues that: "...the initial impetus for research on residential mobility was largely the conviction that transiency depressed the quality of urban life and elevated the prevalence of all sorts of social disorders." He went on to find that "...early studies comparing mobile and stable neighborhoods conducted by the Chicago school confirmed these beliefs (that the 'breakdown of community ties' and 'anomic' behavior) were causally linked to migration and transiency...the significantly greater amounts of deviance and disorder within transient areas suggested that mobility was itself a source of pathology." (1982:23)

Schumaker and Stokols (1982:14) also found that: "...mobility has been associated with two interrelated negative features...the social pathology that presumably occurs within highly transient neighborhoods...(and) the lack of investment in local areas." The authors of this mobility study are intuitively compelling; empirical support for them is, at best, tenuous.

What was meant by transient? It was important to be clear about what was meant by transient in this study. What do researchers mean by the term "transient" in the literature on migration? What does "transient" mean to the people interviewed?²²

Transient and Permanent

Next I discuss the findings in regard to the "transients" and "permanents." Here lie answers to the questions: "What is transient to the people interviewed?"

It became clear early on in the study that, when discussing "transients", to the people interviewed were referring, for the most part, to "construction workers" and the "people who lived in the trailers." The word transient was used by residents interchangeably with the term "construction workers." This was so, even though not all construction workers move from place to place. The term "construction workers" and "trailer people" referred to the "crafts" or "manual laborers" in the construction company. It did not include management personnel. Transients often included the "young," and the "newcomers." Transients were

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The term transience is found under time in the abstract relation section in the Roget's International Thesaurus: "(noun): time: duration, space, span. (verb) continue: last, endure, stay, go on, remain, persist. (adjective) permanent, curable. (adverb) from day to day, for a time, while, during. Long duration. Durability, durableness, permanence: continued, persistence, lastingness, standing, immutability, stability, survival, longevity. Last, endure, stand, remain, abide, continue."

called "invaders," "intruders," "outsiders," "boomers" and "travelers." Occasionally, a person interviewed would include teachers in the transient category as they would "come" and "go" quite frequently. For the most part, though, teachers were considered permanent.

The term "permanent" was used interchangeably with the term "townspeople" and "the community." The transients and the permanents were seen as polar opposites and as mutually exclusive groups by the people interviewed. They were usually discussed as if there were no overlap between the two categories. Townspeople would say: "We think of the trailers as another world"; "We are different breeds"; "We live in two different worlds." One person said: "There is the community and then there are the transients." If one owned a house in Colstrip, he or she was considered a "townsperson" or a "permanent member of the community."²³

Collette described different lifestyle modes. He noted that: "residency, or a lifestyle centered on a home base, can be defined as the maintenance of a center of gravity for a field of activity which is fairly stable through time. By the same line of reasoning, two possible modes of a

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Rossi (1982:30) noted that "owning one's home is viewed widely as a measure of achievement, as part of the American dream. The spatial segregation of land users by tenure status is one physical expression of social rules governing the separation of those who have 'made it' from those who 'have not.' Housing stock reflects American norms but also conditions them."

lifestyle geared to mobility can be distinguished: transience, defined as life within a field of activity without a center of gravity; and itineracy, defined as maintaining a mobile center of gravity within an extended field of activity" (1973:24). He argues further that: The transient would be a person "relatively cut loose from socioeconomic and cultural bonds, that is, those contacts which he has with the world system outside himself are transient" (1973:24).

It is important to note that the term transient is used very loosely in this research. When mobility, or moving, or transience is discussed, it can be assumed that reference is being made to people who move from one town to another town. Moves which are made between neighborhoods or within communities are not taken into account.²⁴

In this study, those referred to as travelers or boomers and those who fit into Collette's definition of transient given above, are called "true transients." Transient is used to refer to people who move often. It is used for people who move less often than the "boomers" who move approximately every six months or so. The term "temporary" and "transient" are used interchangeably in this

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In the definition of migration, Lee (1966:49) points out that "...No distinction is made between external and internal migration." It is important to distinguish between whether one is taking into account one or the other or both. This research is interested in external migration, external being outside the community place.

study. Often the term "transient" is used when a more accurate reference would be to a particular point on the "permanent/transient continuum." I used the terms transient and permanent in this way because it was the way they were used by different residents interviewed in the study. Transient and permanent are used, according to the people interviewed, to describe the whole variation between those who never move in their life to those who move, say every six months of their lives, as well as every variation in between.

Transients are described as "outgoing," "aggressive" people who "take over." A permanent resident said, "They (transients) take over things they have no knowledge of or rights to;" "they expect privileges, to be allowed to take over too fast." They are described as "...generation not wanting to make commitments;" "they don't get involved in the community." "They don't care what the townspeople think." Their lifestyle is described as "exciting," "adventurous," "fun," "always new" and "different experiences."²⁵ One seismographer, who was male, young and single, put it this way: "I've been there when it happened. I've seen it happen. I've been in so many situations.

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Gold, (1985:84) found that some newcomers tried to fit in and others didn't: "These newcomers established some relationships and even some social circles with each other and tended to let other participation in the social life in town go at that, as they regarded themselves as temporary, or otherwise just passing through."

Anybody can say anything and I'll have a story about it; I'll have done it."

Transience is also seen as a "risk taking" and as "challenging" life. A longtime, male resident of Kalispell, Montana, who had recently moved to Colstrip, when asked why he moved, replied: "...I needed to have a challenge in my life..." This man didn't have a permanent job in Colstrip. In talking with another family which moved from place to place, they described their lifestyle as follows: ".....we just make it (moving) into a vacation." A transient lifestyle means "constant change." It is seen as "unstable," "lacking permanence, security, stability" and often lacking also the "choice to move on or settle." Finally, it is seen as "lacking a home life." Several people called it "running away" from the past or from commitments.²⁶

People were asked to describe what it is like in between places. These are some of the responses people gave:

- 1) "In between places you feel like you have lost every friend you had. You are glad when you see one person you know."
- 2) "We have to keep starting over in relationships."
- 3) "Relationships are 'there,' but hanging."
- 4) "I always get a sort of rush when I'm leaving some

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Collette, (1973:40) quotes: Charlie Chaplin is quoted to say in his film Modern Times, that "Mobility is the resolution to their (transients) problem of not being able to conform or integrate."

place, some life, going to another. Moving is much easier when you know you are going to a situation at least eventually, that is secure in terms of people you can talk to, who are about you. Or, when you are leaving a situation of people who care about you, and your relationships with them are not ending with your leaving."

The Positive and the Negative

People, whether living permanent or transient lifestyles had both positive and negative feelings and views about each lifestyle. In general, people from all categories of both the permanent and transient lifestyles described the most pleasing and ideal lifestyle as that which consisted of a combination of the two. Both groups felt that the single most important factor was that they have a choice of which lifestyle they would live. People want to choose whether they "stay" or "move on."

A young, single, permanent woman said: "I feel tied down. It would be nice to be able to just pick up and go." Many transients made comments like, "I don't know if I'll be here tomorrow. That is a hard way to live. It's hard to plan."

A traveler said it this way: "I see it (power) as the ability or choice to move on to another job if I need or want to."

Below is a list of the positive and negative things said about the transient and permanent way of life compiled

from information in all the interviews.

Transience

Positive characteristics:

- 1) Richness or broadness of experience
- 2) Excitement
- 3) Adventure
- 4) Get to know many places
- 5) Individual/personal growth
- 6) Get to know many people
- 7) Have lots of friends, in many places
- 8) Freedom
- 9) Diversity
- 10) Change in one's life
- 11) The money is good

Negative characteristics:

- 1) Can't plan lives
- 2) You are running away
- 3) No stability
- 4) No choice of whether to stay or go
- 5) Not able to make long-term commitments to community and friends.
- 6) Too much change
- 7) Hard to maintain friendships
- 8) Uprooted, no roots
- 9) No guarantees
- 10) Insecure

- 11) Lonely
- 12) No permanent job
- 13) No home life
- 14) Are considered a low class of people, "construction trash,"
- 15) Get homesick
- 16) No permanence
- 17) Unemployed ²⁷

Permanent

Positive characteristic:

- 1) Stability
- 2) Can stay in one place
- 3) Can make long-term commitment to community
- 4) Have a history, roots
- 5) Less stressful change
- 6) Longtime friendships more easily maintained
- 7) Sense of home
- 8) Comfortable
- 9) Like not moving in and out of space

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In Collette's (1973:17) historical review of mobility research, Toffler postulates that "the pervading transience of modern mans relationships to people, places, things, organizations and ideas projects him within a new world view and challenges to the point of strain, his capacity to adapt. Also in Collette, (1973:40) Thomas argues "...that next to economic motives (hoping to better one's condition), hedonistic motives were most frequent." Included under "hedonistic", is "the drive to escape monotony, exercise will and attain a richer life."

- 10) Have continuity in relationships
- 11) Continuity in many aspects of life ²⁸

Negative characteristics:

- 1) No diversity of experience
- 2) No choice to go
- 3) Stagnation
- 4) Boredom
- 5) No change
- 6) No excitement
- 7) Feel trapped
- 8) Don't meet new people (same old)
- 9) Don't experience new places
- 10) No new experiences
- 11) No challenge ²⁹

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Milner (M.A. Thesis:47) states in reference to the stay at home housewife that: "'to stay' is from the Greek word Stasis. It means to stop, to halt, to remain without change. To stay implies a negative condition, a condition of stagnation, undesirable in this society which emphasizes personal growth and change. In a Society in which people are on the move, from town to town."

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Lee, (1966:54) quotes Ravenstein who makes the remark that "Migration means life and progress. A sedentary population stagnation."

From these lists it is clear that there is a mixture of positive and negative aspects in both a transient and permanent lifestyle. Transience is a socially unacceptable way of life as noted above. "Staying" or being considered "permanent" can also be seen by society as a negative reality. Some combination of both is what is typically desired, enjoyed.

CHAPTER IV

INTEGRATION

The following chapter contains more of the results of the research. Various topics emerging from the research will be discussed. These topics all emerged from a focus on inquiry into the integration issues in Colstrip. I looked at whether Colstrip was seen by the people to have a community identity. The historical conflicts among Colstrip groups are discussed. The changing status of new or old membership in the community is explained. Housing was a key factor in integration issues in Colstrip and is discussed at length. Next is a note on diversity, absorption and concentration as they relate to integration. The vantage point of the observer is an important consideration when looking at integration in the community. Finally, meeting and becoming acquainted are discussed.

Although a major focus of this study was on the lack of integration associated with the drawing of boundaries between transient and permanent members of the communities, questions leading to the discovery of other issues pertaining to the integration problem in the communities were included in the interviews and are presented here as part of the findings.

COLSTRIP AND A COMMUNITY IDENTITY

In order to begin looking at the degree of integration in Colstrip, I began asking questions about whether Colstrip

had a community identity. The assumption was that the more integrated a community was, the more likely residents were to see the town as having a community identity. Only two people out of all those interviewed in Colstrip and Forsyth believed the former had a community identity. Many people said Colstrip did not have a community identity because "Everyone in Colstrip is always coming and going." Others said it did not have one because people did not know each other. Similarly, others said it was because it was "hard to get acquainted when there were so many new people."

This line of questioning usually led people right into a discussion of the "lack of integration" among Colstrip residents. Many began talking about the "transients" or the "factions" in the community. If not, questions like "Are people of Colstrip integrated?" or "Is there a lack of integration among people in Colstrip?" were asked, which brought out similar responses. Other issues were brought up in regard to integration. Though these issues around integration were often closely related to issues of transience and permanence in the community, their significance calls for a separate discussion of each which follows.

HISTORICAL CONFLICTS AMONG COLSTRIP GROUPS

ROSEBUD CREEK AND THE TOWNSPEOPLE

The main division between people was described by those present before the mines opened up for production for use in

trains. The main division described between people was the one between the Rosebud Creek area people and the actual town of Colstrip which consisted of a bar, a restaurant and some railroad employees. The people who lived on the Rosebud had been in the area the longest. Their families homesteaded in the area. Some of the people living in the community had been there as long as anybody, but they were not considered good enough to associate with the Rosebud Creek people, according to the townspeople. Much of the Rosebud Creeks people's discrimination against the townspeople was due to the fact the former had the status offered those who owned land as well as those whose "roots go down deep." The Rosebud Creek people were the "most established in the area." Furthermore, they were big landowners, which many of the longtimer townspeople did not like. Besides conflicts between Rosebud Creek people and the town of Colstrip, there were a lot of bad feelings between the two towns, Colstrip and Forsyth. They had been rivals in school sports for a long time. In many ways, the conflict looked a lot like any other typical conflict between geographically close, rival, small towns. But a closer look revealed other issues as well.

FORSYTH AND COLSTRIP

Again, Forsyth is an old, established, rural community. Many of its residents saw Colstrip as a "newcomer" and "transient" community. Forsyth criticized Colstrip for its

transient nature. Colstrip was seen as accepting diversity among its people. People of both communities said there is a "freedom" in Colstrip "... to do what you want, and be who you are." That freedom was not present in Forsyth. Forsyth saw Colstrip as a modernized town. Forsyth said Colstrip's members "don't care what people think." Young, more transient members living in Forsyth envied Colstrip's openness and felt stifled by the "traditional" atmosphere at Forsyth. As the analysis proceeds, it will become clear that many of these conflicts between Colstrip and Forsyth, between a new, transient community and an old, established community, were much like the conflicts described between individual, permanent and transient members of the community.

RANCHERS AND MINERS OR INTRUDERS

Another conflict which existed between groups at Colstrip and Forsyth, was the one between the ranchers and the miners. As the M.P.C. people came to the area, conflicts developed between them and the ranchers. This division was partly due to the fact the ranchers were there first and did not like new people coming in. "Outsiders", "intruders", or "invaders" as the ranchers called them, were not welcome. As one Colstrip rancher put it: "Don't want them passing through, showing their faces or leaving their mark."

There were other problems between the groups as well. Some social researchers in this area think the conflict is

based on value differences (Gold, 1980). For example, ranchers resented the miners and the M.P.C. people because they were changing and destroying the land. Ranchers believed the land should be left as it is found. Ranchers butted heads with farmers in early days over this same issue. To ranchers, the outsiders were destroying land for the "almighty dollar." The ranchers also valued their independence and individuality, and did not, as a group, want to see change. The people who moved into Colstrip to develop coal and build power plants, by their very presence, created change. As one rancher put it: "I don't want them here. Just the fact I can see the lights of a lone trailer in the distance when I look out my window makes me unhappy and annoyed. They are intruders." This conflict between ranchers and miners or intruders started long ago. Yet it still exists today in Forsyth and Colstrip.

COLSTRIP AND FORSYTH GROUPS

Management and Labor

A major conflict existed between management and labor within Colstrip (i.e., Bechtel Construction and the M.P.C.). One woman said, "My husband won't drink with the higher-ups; it's brown-nosing." "We didn't join the Moose Club because M.P.C. higher-ups are members", said another. "It's the white hats versus the blue hats," another person said.

Crafts Within Labor

There was also a conflict between the different crafts within the Bechtel Construction Company. The iron workers and the pipefitters were said to be bitter enemies. "Each craft hangs together. They don't mix with other crafts."

New and Old Members

As was suggested in the existing literature on boomtowns, new and old members tended not to be integrated. This was very pronounced in Colstrip, possibly due to the exceptionally small number of old and the large number of new, even for a boomtown. The perception of the oldtimers in Colstrip was that "...there are too many young to integrate." They said, "We don't know them," in reference to the masses of people who moved into their town twelve years ago and continually moved in up to the time this study was conducted. The oldtimers saw the newcomers as the "young." Many times, the old were referring to the "youth" when they said "new." This was true in Colstrip because the vast majority of the "new" was also "young." When oldtimers were asked about whether their town is integrated, their response was usually mixed. Many said "yes." Then, when probed, it became clear they were referring to the small group of people, old-oldtimers whom they considered to be their community (i.e., people who lived in the town before Colstrip Number One and Two were built). They were referring to the people they had always known, those who lived in the

houses in the heart of town. Other old-oldtimers would say: "No, the community is not integrated." Then, when probed, they went on to say they did not know the new people who moved in.

In Forsyth, which was characterized by the same rapid growth and large influx of people created by the construction of Colstrip Number One and Two, there was a much larger number of old-oldtimers in comparison with the newcomers than was true in Colstrip. Still, the old said they didn't know the "new." Partly, the issue seemed to be social and value distance between the young and older people. The two issues that caused conflict between these two groups seemed to be the excessively large number of new to be absorbed into the community, and the value and lifestyle differences between old and young people. In general, the issue between the two groups was one of "not meeting" or "not knowing" each other more than it had anything to do with any resentment or hostility. This was expressed by all types of oldtimers. Even the ranchers, so fond of referring to the "intruders", admitted: "We are alienated from each other, we won't be buddies unless we happen to meet."

The Old, Old-New and the New

Above, the analysis has been within the perspective of the "oldtimers" to a large degree. This is the way they saw the lack of integration problem. The "old-new" told a

different story. The old-new were those who had been around on an average of ten to twelve years. Many of them came for the beginning of Colstrip Number One and Two's construction and stayed. They were from several groups: Teachers, M.P.C. employees, professionals, some construction workers, and a few Bechtel managers that are higher up in the company.

This group, the old-new, saw the segregation in the community and lack of integration of the members as connected to "who you work for and in what position." They saw one of the main causes of lack of integration as the way housing is divided up. The old-new were the ones who commonly mentioned the fact "it's getting a lot better", in reference to the lack of integration. They observed an obvious lessening of the boundaries and hostility between the different groups within the companies. When asked, none of the old-new interviewed knew any oldtimers of Colstrip. This may not have been surprising since there were very few of the oldtimers. Yet, in another way, it seemed strange that the old-new did not meet the few oldtimers in Colstrip. But, regardless, these old-newcomers considered themselves the oldtimers of the community. They have been around the longest as far as they are concerned. One man who had lived in Colstrip two years considered himself an oldtimer.

The "new" members of Colstrip were those that missed the boom that came with Colstrip Numbers One and Two. They came for the later aspects of construction of Numbers Three

and Four, which began several years ago. They observed the same divisions between Colstrip people as did the old-new. The difference between the new's and the old-new's perceptions was that the new saw the divisions as much more pronounced and very hostile. They were unable to perceive the improvements that the old-new saw over the years.

The different view of the different groups of people above show how different reality looks, how differently boundaries are perceived, depending on what position one is in, or depending on what context one is viewing reality from. This illustrates nicely the assumption underlying this research which holds that information will be found through focusing on boundaries, information that is new and different and is, in fact, unobtainable without focusing on the boundaries between things by asking how are they similar and how are they different. This focusing on the boundary is necessary whether one is referring to boundaries between groups of people who see themselves as different or whether one is looking at boundaries drawn between concepts that are more abstract constructions of social reality.

OTHER INTEGRATION ISSUES

Housing

All the groups and types of people in Colstrip saw the housing in Colstrip as very significantly related to the problem of lack of integration among the people. When the masses of people began to move in since the beginning of

Colstrip Numbers One and Two, decisions were made about who was to live where and in what. These decisions reinforced the divisions and conflicts between Colstrip's people. The story was that the M.P.C. employees had, and continue to have, first choice of the relatively few new houses in Colstrip. Bechtel management got second choice. Supposedly, Bechtel management asked that their non-manuals be separated from their manuals at the beginning of the development. The M.P.C. housing, which consisted of the houses and some company trailers, was offered to the M.P.C. employees. Bechtel management personnel were offered any remaining houses. The Bechtel crafts people, for the most part, lived in their own trailers. The decision about who got to park their trailer where was based on the length of the trailer. The smaller the trailer, the farther away it was parked from the main part of town, where the houses were. The farther away from the housing section of town, the worse the living conditions. People in the places farthest from the houses were without pavement or adequate roads, mailboxes, addresses, and access to telephones. There were R.V. courts for the smallest travel trailers. Also, the farther away one went from the housing section of town, the closer together the trailers were forced to park. This segregation process reinforced the existing feelings of resentment and hostility

among the different groups of people in Colstrip.³⁰

As mentioned above, the old-new members of Colstrip perceived a lessening in the divisions between people in different occupational statuses. The sharp divisions and hostility between groups of people caused by this systematic segregation of people according to their occupational position lessened during the time they had been in the community. They argued that the change came about because the housing was opened up for sale by M.P.C. M.P.C. still got first choice and Bechtel Management got second choice among the available houses. Supposedly, Bechtel people were forced to pay higher prices than the M.P.C. employees for the same houses.

Many who were interviewed felt that M.P.C. recognized the mistake it had made by placing manuals and non-manuals in Bechtel construction in different locations in the community. They have begun to correct for the problem by integrating the people. They now put people of M.P.C. and Bechtel management and teachers, for example, in the same block. This has become visible to the residents. When they saw this in their neighborhoods, they began to feel less categorized according to the status of their occupation.

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Rossi (1982:28) argues that "zoning methods created increasingly segregated neighborhoods; suburban zoning tended to increase neighborhood income homogeneity."

Though there is obviously ground being gained in some areas in correcting problems created by issues around housing, the reality of the situation is still painfully evident. M.P.C. still gets first choice, Bechtel managers second, down the line until the bottom of the ladder is reached -- the crafts people, particularly the mobile people with smaller trailers. The construction workers were considered transient and were seldom included in this desegregation process.

It is not entirely clear that the optimal situation would be to integrate the neighborhoods completely into a mixture of all different people in terms of their occupations, nor that this is even possible. A woman in Parachute, Colorado, who lived in a "Brown and Root" Construction Company trailer court said that, since this was her and her husband's first job with the company, she was glad to have been allowed to live in a trailer court with all the employees. If they stay with the company, these people will be traveling around with them. Living among them, she said, makes it easier for her to get to know them. However, she added, she would prefer to live among the longtime, established residents of Parachute, which would have allowed her to more easily become acquainted with the other people in town.

It seems that integrated housing would affect special groups in negative ways. At least a portion of the

construction worker wives would be affected negatively by segregation. The wives do not enjoy access to the job site that allows their husbands to make contact with other people that will

be moving on to the new location with them. For these women, living in a trailer park with only other people who work for the same construction company could be advantageous. Similarly, the longtime residents might argue that integrating the housing would force them to live by people who they feel will not be around.

It could be argued that integration is often impractical or impossible. For example, it may not make sense or be feasible to integrate transient construction workers and their families who own and live in their own trailers among the houses in town. There simply would not be room.

Any city planning effort in energy development communities could strive to integrate groups, in such a way that advantages would be realized, while assuring that the special groups' needs are protected. Projects could be developed to overcome the negative impacts of residential integration on special groups. The construction workers' wives are a good example of how this is being done. Groups are being organized that are structured toward bringing these women together to become acquainted and to offer each other support. An example is the organization for

construction worker wives who work for Bechtel Company in Colstrip.

DIVERSITY, ABSORPTION AND CONCENTRATION

An important concept to consider when looking at integration is the concentration and diversity of occupational types in the community. This will affect how much the groups and their natures will be absorbed or integrated into the community. A woman interviewed in Colstrip, who was the wife of a man in Bechtel Construction Company in a higher level management position, said that the "high concentration of construction worker manual laborers throws the balance of the community off." She said that, "If you put the same number of construction workers in a large city as are in Colstrip, you wouldn't notice them. They would be absorbed by other types." In Colstrip they are the majority, so their values get emphasized. This respondent articulated something that was going on in Colstrip very well. It is a community where you find a high concentration of young families with one or two children. These families are very "macho" and male oriented. They are blue collar families with connected employment (all work in energy development jobs). These realities seem to be emphasized in Colstrip.

Many people interviewed referred to the diversity of people in Colstrip. They were referring to the fact that people came from different parts of the country and had

different experiences and backgrounds in many ways. One person put it like this: "There are all kinds, types, walks of life and backgrounds here in Colstrip." But a large majority of the people in Colstrip were quite similar in the ways described above.

The similarities among people with connected employment was seen by the residents as a negative trait of Colstrip. The diversity, on the other hand, was always spoken of as a positive reality of the community. Often this diversity was contrasted to the stagnation of the old, established and rooted small town. One woman who spoke of the positiveness of the diversity of people in Colstrip came from a typical small, established town where she had deep roots. In regard to those still living in that town, she said, "I feel sorry for them in that rut town, with the same old people in the same old town."

Vantage Point: The Outside Versus the Inside

It was briefly referred to above that reality looks different depending on where you are situated. One's view of reality is dependent on whether it is analyzed from a position inside or outside that which is analyzed. It is possible to get an accurate perception from both the inside and the outside; it is only that it will often be different. This is essentially what is being assumed in this research: that a focus on the boundary and/or connection between two groups/concepts will elicit different information than if we

groups/concepts will elicit different information than if we focus on the group or concept. One's vantage point is important in determining how something will be interpreted. The following should make this argument clear.

The Coal and Cattle Company Players is an acting group in Colstrip. It is not uncommon for people to point to this group as proof that Colstrip is integrating, because it has ranchers and M.P.C. employees and manual construction workers, both men and women, in its membership. An insider or member of the organization maintained that there are "three definite segregated groups within the group as a whole." Neither perception is incorrect. It is just that the former sees that different groups are integrating because some of all three groups belong to this acting group. For them, membership in the acting group represents integration. Insiders, people who are members of the acting group, observe that within this organization the different group members continue to maintain the boundaries between themselves and the members of other groups.

Another example of the different information gained from different perspectives is people's impression of whether Colstrip has a community identity or not. Colstrip people felt Colstrip had no community identity. Several residents of Forsyth, looked at Colstrip and saw a different picture. One said, "It is a successful integration of geographically diverse people." Another said, "All are part

geographically diverse people." Another said, "All are part of the community, even the very new."

The insiders, people who live in Colstrip, see segregated housing and general hostility between the groups. Many feel left out and rejected by the rest of the "community." They see that many in Colstrip don't even know the others in the community. The outsiders, or residents of Forsyth, see "successful integration." Again, we find that reality looks different depending on whether you are inside or outside what is being viewed or analyzed.

The above analysis is important to keep in mind when looking at the boundaries that people draw between themselves and others. It is important to consider the ways those boundaries look from within one category and then from within the other category. Then we need to get a view from outside both categories. In other words, the way reality looks from both categories' points of view, as well as from the researcher's point of view which is situated outside both the categories.³¹

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This is similar to what Frank, in Helle and Eisenstadt's Micro Sociological Theory (1985:110) calls decentering: "To place oneself within such an opposition, rather than taking a stance at one or the other of its poles, is to perform an act of decentering." What such an act tries to accomplish is an escape from a traditional logic of place, by which something is somewhere and therefore not elsewhere. Within this logic (of place) I am either an ethnomethodologist or not, and the ethnomethodologist must act as either a member of society or an analyst of society.

BECOMING ACQUAINTED/MEETING

Another issue, in regard to the integration problem, is that of people becoming acquainted with the others in the community. All categories of residents, both permanent and transient, made references to "meeting" each other as a way to solve the lack-of-integration problem and decrease conflicts among the groups. As referred to above, a rancher said: "We (ranchers and newcomers) are alienated from each other. We won't be buddies unless we happen to meet." This was one of the same ranchers who were fond of calling these transient newcomers "invaders" and who were annoyed at even the sight of one of their trailer lights in his view. Somehow meeting or becoming acquainted with those "transients" would overshadow all the conflicts between them that the permanent resident had just described. Others, both permanent and transient, said: "If you could get the people to meet each other, you wouldn't have the split." Still others made comments like "We don't know them", when asked about the reasons for the "lack of integration" and "conflict." The implication is that it is not "knowing" each other that makes people divide and separate themselves from others. In light of these various issues contributing to the lack of integration in Colstrip and Forsyth, what are some possibilities for facilitating increased integration in communities? Chapter V addresses this question.

CHAPTER V

APPLICABLE PROTOCOLS FOR INTEGRATING RESIDENTS

Included in the interviews inquiring into the issues of lack of integration among the people and groups in Colstrip and Forsyth, Montana were questions about what could be done to alleviate this problem. From the information received in interviews and through participant-observation in the field, a list of ideas for integrating individuals, groups and societies was compiled. The list includes possible ways to lessen the conflicts associated within a community that is not integrating well. While the universe studied was a unique situation, characterized by rapid increases in new residents, many of whom were living highly transient lifestyles, it is possible to generalize from this universe to other types of communities and to other groups of people. The list includes ideas for integration in Colstrip and communities like Colstrip. It also includes issues regarding the integration of communities of any type as well as possibilities for better integration of society in general. The following is the list that emerged from the data.

1. EDUCATE AND INCREASE AWARENESS

A. Help people realize that the moving people (transients and others) could tie us together as a world community if organized appropriately. They could break up smaller communities of people in some ways. But, as indicated above, they could bring experiences and knowledge

of other places and other people to our doorstep. This kind of mobility could be organized in such a way so as to add to our overall community cohesiveness.³²

B. Increase awareness among people that the idea of permanence is, in part, a myth. One man described Colstrip in this way:

Colstrip is a growing or expanding place with a stable core or nucleus with a fringe of transients. In the end, it will be a stable core.

His statement is essentially true. His description represents the view of many interviewed. This description gives one the sense that transience, even mobility in general, will someday cease. In this view, mobility will be over in the community, and the community will be completely stable and permanent.

In general, this view is correct. Many transients will move on. The majority remaining may become more stable and permanent members of the community. But some people who are considered transient may decide to stay a long while in communities where they live. Some people with deep roots in the community, may decide to move on to different communities. Overall, mobility rates will most likely remain

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This is supported by Fischer (1982:264) who stated that: "Gross national personal support would probably be maximized by having increased mobility among a range of places."

constant.³³

Awareness among people, that mobility in their community will continue, would help decrease some of the bias against transients and temporary members that is so widespread in our society. A young, permanent, male, construction worker in Forsyth, put it this way:

"Once every five years the average family moves. We are becoming a nation of movers You see U-Hauls everywhere. The U.S. is a mobile society as a whole...The only thing that moves in Montana is the rivers and the sand, when the wind blows, that's Montana. People just get labeled transient by people in small towns in states like Montana... Montana people's children move to cities to find jobs, but they don't consider that bad, ... as they do when construction workers move to or from their community for jobs."³⁴

We must realize there is no guarantee of permanence. The changing circumstances, desires and needs of people, and places will mean that people's status as permanent or temporary will change.

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Schumaker and Stokols: (1982:4) support this argument when they stated that: "Although migratory patterns may have changed over the decades (since 1800's), a constant rate of around twenty percent per year has been maintained."

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Lee (1966:54) found that: "In the United States, economically the most advanced of nations, rates of migration are unbelievably high, one in five persons is changing his residence each year."

2. CHANGE ATTITUDES

A Lifestyles

People could be encouraged to realize that all transients do not fit into the negative image that some transients have created. As one resident put it, "The barroom brawler paints the picture of the transient for us all."³⁵

B Organize Groups and Write Newsletters

These groups and newsletters could be focused on integration issues in communities. In Reach Out, a group in Parachute, Colorado, members tried to integrate the new and transient with the older, longtime members. They used "... any connection to get people together." They wrote articles in a newsletter:... explaining one group of people to another...." They explained the danger of the iron workers' jobs, which helped to change the townspeople's negative attitude about these transients coming in to "take jobs from local people." Realizing the danger of the iron workers' jobs helped the community see that perhaps they didn't want their jobs after all. This group wrote articles on different new and transient families showing that they were a diverse

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As Cowgill (1941:86) points out: "It would appear from this cursory survey of the trailer as related to social problems, that the trailer is not such a liability to the nation as one might expect from the high mobility of the group, and that the fears and beliefs of the general public regarding the dire results of the trailer development have little foundation in facts.

and often interesting group of people with much to offer their community. One article in Reachout portrayed a family that had lived in thirty different countries. The wife was an accomplished artist. This helped to eliminate the belief that all transients were irresponsible, wife-beating, bar-brawling drunks.

C Accept Diversity Among People

It would be helpful to create an attitude in which we accept the diversity among people. This must be done without denying real and important differences. It must be done without closing our eyes to conflicts that exist within our differences that need to be resolved. Where possible, we could foster an attitude in society in which people focused on the similarities they have with other groups of people, rather than focusing on the differences and emphasizing the conflicts between groups.

D All Are Parts of the Whole

It would be important to encourage a change in attitudes in which we begin to see all people as part of the group or community whether they are (or seem to be) permanent members or they plan to leave the group or the community in the near future.

3. ENCOURAGE DIVERSIFIED AND MULTIPLE RELATIONSHIPS

A. We could facilitate an understanding and attitude in society that with diversity of kinds of relationships we are going to add richness and quality to our own personal

relationship networks as well as the overall networks of relationships in society. Making contact with people moving around geographically in society is one way to diversify our network of relationships. Our ideas will expand as we connect with people locally or in other situations. Maintaining relationships in past places where we lived, enriches our lives as well.³⁶

For example, by maintaining a relationship with a person for a period of one month, we may grow emotionally and intellectually. We may or may not remain in contact with that person after they (or we) move on. We may have friends that also live in the same community for long periods of time. These relationships have the capacity to become very deep, intimate and rewarding. Or, they too may end, even if we do not move away. Friends and other significant others may change over time. Just because we live in a community for an extended period of time does not mean that our relationships with the people there will not change in their degree of importance to us. Also, people we had lived close to for years and had not been in relationships with, may suddenly develop relationships with us. Relationships with people that are special and significant and with those whom we gain much from in our lives may be taken with us as we

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Fischer (1982:265) pointed this out saying that (helpful policies) "...would improve people's access to their relatives and past friends."

move. The nature of the relationships changes in some ways. Now we may write and call and visit these people, rather than see them on a daily basis, as before. The important point being made here is that the variance and diversity of these and many other possibilities in relationships locally and across the miles, now and over time to come, amount to ways in which people enrich their networks of social relationships.

4. MEETING/BECOMING ACQUAINTED WITH OTHERS

"If you could get people to meet, you wouldn't have the split." This was a theme throughout the interviews. It is very possible that having people in different groups meet on an individual (or group) basis could lessen conflicts and lack of integration among them. It makes sense to develop and encourage changes in communities and society that will facilitate people and groups becoming acquainted. Here are some ideas:

- 1) Integrated housing where feasible.

- 2) Community organizations used to get people together such as the "Reachout" program in Parachute, Colorado, and the construction worker wives organization at Colstrip, Montana.

- 3) Twelve-step meetings like Alcoholics Anonymous and

other support groups.³⁷

4) Community activities: potlucks, clubs, (choosing the time and place these will be held so as not to exclude certain groups of people.)

5) Structured changes that would facilitate the interaction among people with common interests.

6) Education and increased awareness among professionals which aim to decrease the chance of unconsciously encouraging social distance and conflicts between themselves and the new and transient population. There was a concern among certain professionals in the communities studied among certain professionals, that this may have been part of the lack-of-integration problem

7) Schools could do follow-ups after the initial interview with the new children to see how they are functioning academically, emotionally and socially, to assure that they are integrating into a major part of their community.

8) People may need to be emotionally prepared for the time when the more transient people they have integrated with are ready to move on. Transients that have integrated into the community may likewise need to be prepared

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This supports Fischer's (1982:265) argument that "helpful policies would attempt to expand opportunities for and reduce constraints on people meeting people of like interests." For further discussion on the twelve-step groups refer to Appendix B.

after you having been integrated, and the pain of losing someone you cared about because of moving away, was referred to in several of the interviews conducted, even though this question was not on the interview specifically. One informant said: "I just got to know her, and she left. It hurt me. It makes me wonder, why bother." One said: "After awhile you build a wall around yourself, to keep from getting too close, because you know you'll hurt when you have to leave." This is an important negative effect of mobile lifestyles that needs further inquiry. This inquiry could be conducted to ascertain what kinds of people react this way and in what circumstances. Also, one could look at what could be done to mitigate the negative emotional effects of the loss of those you are attached to. Losses like this in one's life are often unavoidable. The importance lies in one's dealing with the emotions created by such losses.

5. IMPROVE COMMUNICATION SKILLS

Improve communication skills on an individual, group and societal level.

- 1) It must be remembered that time alone will solve

some of the problems of lack of integration.³⁸

2) TRUST is often built over time. This helps people to communicate and solve differences that will allow them to become integrated.

3) LISTENING and trying to understand the other's point of view are crucial in resolving any problem between different groups. An effort could be made to empathize with the other's views and beliefs. Instead of only criticizing the "other" from one's own perspective, an effort could be made to actually see reality from the other's eyes, as they see things, from their particular point of view.

4) Attention must be paid to misunderstanding, miscommunication, or lack of communication and the role this plays in "lack-of-integration" problems. The permanent felt hurt and appalled at the mover's lack of interest in and commitment to the community. The permanent saw the movers as too "independent" and "individualistic." Movers saw the permanent community as "tight" and "closed socially", which left them out.³⁹

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Gold (1985:9) stated that: "It ordinarily takes two to three years for newcomers who genuinely want to make a place for themselves in the community be become accepted as residents in the process of fitting into the community and becoming members."

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Gold (1985:66-67) further points out that: "The highly itinerant workers on short assignments there frequently remained morally unaware of how they and their work impacted permanent residents of the area."

5) Also it must be remembered that the chance for miscommunication increased with additional numbers. When two people are talking, it is often hard enough to be sure what has actually been communicated and what they may have meant to communicate to each other. If the communication is passed on to a third person later, by one of the two people, there is added chance for misunderstanding to be created in the interpretation of what was said. With larger numbers and groups and societies being added, the chance for miscommunication or misunderstanding increases.

6. INTEGRATE HOUSING WHERE APPROPRIATE

This would allow more people of different groups and types to be physically close enough to meet. In cases like Colstrip, where people feel consigned to factions by the status and position of their jobs anyway, housing which is situated so that different occupations status live side by side might reduce the emphasis on their divisions. Of course, some people live in trailers, and there is no room for the trailers among the houses, so their integration is probably not possible.

7. INCREASE EVERYBODY'S ACCESS TO MOBILITY

Fischer found that "...proximity is important to the extent that distance is an insupportable cost, which it tends to be for the poor, the elderly, burdened mother and

the like (1982:75).⁴⁰

DEVELOP POLICIES ON TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS
THAT ARE SENSITIVE TO MOBILITY ISSUES

Transportation systems are a crucial part of issues regarding integration of society. Policy decisions will be very important in regard to the effect different systems of transportation and communication will have on our society. Do we want systems that facilitate the interaction between certain groups in society in preference to others? Or do we want all groups to have equal access to interaction? (Fischer, 1982:265-266) She says that "...Concretely such policies (helping ones) might, for example, ...guarantee all people some minimal 'lifeline' access to inexpensive, flexible and efficient transportation and communication (1982:265-266) for "Not all Americans have yet entered the placeless realm" (1982:65).

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Webber argues "...it is now becoming apparent that it is the accessibility rather than the propinquity aspect of 'place' that is the necessary condition as accessibility becomes further freed from propinquity, cohabitation of a territorial place--whether it be a neighborhood, a suburb, a metropolis, a region, or a nation--is becoming less important to the maintenance of social communities (1964:109).

Fischer (1982:77) also said that: "...local ties are special only in their 'cheapness'. When alternative ties become competitively cheap through rapid transportation or through agglomeration people will form relationships over greater distances for the appropriate purposes."

Unless we want our society to approach a "true transient" state where everyone is largely, if not totally, disconnected from community (of any type), policies need to be developed that make decisions about what kinds of moves and how much movement are positive for society. To the degree mobility has a positive effect on society, it should be facilitated.

With any idea or policy regarding lack of integration, the possible negative consequences resulting from the implementation of them should be well thought out. Any stipulations for controlling the negative effects should be added to the policy. Increasing people's access to mobility is beneficial in certain ways. In other ways it may have a negative impact.⁴¹ It would be necessary to develop new forms of government that would be appropriate for implementing policies regarding these integration issues.

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Lee (1966:57) gives us an example of possible negative effects of facilitating mobility might incur.. He states: "...Thus, we have one of the paradoxes of migration in that the movement of people may tend to lower the quality of population, as expressed in terms of some particular characteristic, at both origin and destination." He found that: "...Education of migrants from rural areas, while greater than that of non-migrants at origin, is less than that of the population at destination."

In summary, these are but brief descriptions of ideas for integrating people, groups and societies. They must be analyzed and researched in depth to look at their possible "unanticipated consequences" before any moves toward their implementation would be appropriate.

CHAPTER VI

BOUNDARIES AND THEIR OVERLAPS

One objective of this research was to focus on the boundaries between categories. The assumption was that new and unique information could be discovered by looking at the boundaries between "things" that could not have been obtained in looking only at individual categories in isolation from other categories of "things."

The way this new information showed itself was in the ways the boundaries of one "thing" overlapped with the boundaries of other "things." New information was discovered by scrutinizing this overlap between categories.⁴² The following example discovered in the research makes this argument clear.

BECHTEL MANAGEMENT OVERLAPPED TRANSIENTS AND PERMANENT RESIDENTS

The major boundary focused on in this research was that between permanent and transient members of Colstrip and Forsyth, Montana. Informants placed all manner of people in either the transient or

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Webber (1964:64) Naturalists used to believe that mammals were rigidly distinguished from birds because, amongst other things, mammals do not lay eggs. But this formula was completely upset when an animal called the platypus was discovered. For while the platypus is undoubtedly a mammal, it is a mammal which lays eggs. If we think of animals in their evolution, their development, this appears very natural. But if we try, as the older naturalists tried to make them fit into some rigid, fixed scheme of classification, then the products of evolution upset that classification.

the permanent category.

Bechtel was the main construction company in Colstrip. The majority of its employees were in town to build the Colstrip Power Plant. When it was completed, their company was to move on to a new place and a new job. The company was made up of management and laborers (crafts or manuals). The workers lived almost exclusively in the trailers. Many of the management personnel owned houses in Colstrip.

Bechtel management employees fell into the permanent category because they "owned" and "lived in" houses in Colstrip. All the different categories of residents in Colstrip and Forsyth, when asked, put "Bechtel Management people" in the permanent resident category. Several residents, usually Bechtel company manual laborers, pointed out that the Bechtel managers should be considered transient because they do not have permanent jobs in Colstrip. Most did not point this out until probing questions were asked. For instance, I might have said: "can they be permanent if they move on so soon?" Management personnel are transient in the sense that they do not have permanent jobs in Colstrip. They are transient in that most intend to "move on" to a new location when the job in Colstrip is done. On an average, Bechtel managers move on to new communities every three years.

What was found with the Bechtel managers was a category which fit, in some ways, into the permanent and the

transient categories. The management category created a boundary overlap between permanent and transient. With this overlap, I found that the permanent and transient categories were not in reality, mutually exclusive, as described by the informants. In this case, "owning" a house in Colstrip (and probably socioeconomic status in general), became a more important determinant in the decision about who was considered permanent, and therefore a part of the community, than whether one actually did, or intended to, stay in the community.

When probed, people who put Bechtel managers into the permanent status, tried to explain why this was the case. One wife of a Bechtel manager stated that: "The family image is promoted by the company (Bechtel)." She saw this as a reason for putting Bechtel management in the permanent category. Another manager in the company said the manuals, but not the management, were considered transients because the manuals: "...are a lower caliber of people", and because, "...they (manuals) have no family and will move on when the job is done." The higher education of the management personnel and their wives was given as still another justification for their status as permanent residents. Here the argument became: "We are permanent because we are educated and better." "One manager's wife when asked why she considered herself part of the community rather than a transient, even though she plans to move on

said: "We think we are better (than manuals), because we are highly educated. We come in and change what we do not like, then we leave." All in one sentence, she argues for why they are considered permanent, while at the same time, refers to the fact that they will move on.

One of the major boundaries drawn between transient and permanents is that the latter "own their own home" (in Colstrip). The transients, on the other hand, are not seen as "home owners." It is ironic that lack of ownership of houses is the way transient people living in Colstrip are defined by those outside the transient group. Let us look at what Cowgill found in his study of trailer life: "The ownership of property, it will be conceded gives a man a very vital connection with a community and nation and the affairs thereof. The error of the above... is in assuming that the trailerite does not own property. It is the present writer's observation and that of others, that this is an erroneous assumption. In exactly five-eighths of the cases, interrogated in the question, a specific type of property ownership was recorded." Houses, he found, were owned by thirty-two percent of those interviewed (1941:57). Also some people who own homes sold them and left. It could easily be argued that this information could be used to further break down the boundary between transients and permanents.

Further support still of the breakdown between these boundaries is evidenced with the longitudinal study done by

Sell and DeJong. They identified five categories of movers: 1) Consistent decision makers (thirteen percent), 2) undesired mobility (seven percent), 3) non-mover wishful thinkers (nine percent), 4) non-mover adjusters (ten percent), and 5) entrenched non-movers (forty-one percent). The first wanted to move and did, second did not desire to but did move, third wanted to but did not, fourth wanted to then did not, and fifth did not want to and did not. In reference to these categories, they discovered that, "Although process dimension do not vary by distance moved, attitudinal and characteristic differences among the process types indicate that certain mover and non-mover types are more similar to each other than they are to either all movers or all non-movers" (1982/83:146).

It can be seen that with a focus on the connection between permanent and transient an overlap between the boundaries of both was discovered. The overlap helped to show that, though each category saw itself and was seen as exclusive and well defined, this was not the case.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

In this, the final chapter, is a summary of the research, a section on theoretical and practical implications, and suggestions for further research.

First, this research presented some background on natural resource development communities like the one studied. The different theories, in regard to the effects of the rapid influx of new residents during development, was summarized. This review of the literature showed that many researchers had divided the population of these communities into two separate camps, using different terms to identify them, such as: 1) new and old; 2) rural and urban; 3) traditional and modern; 4) gemeinschaft and gesellschaft. It was explained that this research, while dividing and labeling this same population, was going to shift the focus from the two different groups to the boundaries between them. This, and the three other major objectives of the research were laid out.

Next, considerable attention was paid to describing the research design including: 1) design rationale; 2) the description of the pilot study and its findings; 3) how entry was gained; 4) roles played in the field; 5) interview types used; 6) the sample; 7) sampling technique; 8) other strategies important for this research; 9) comparison of Colstrip with Forsyth.

A general description of the findings was presented. The ways people divided themselves into different groups was presented. This was followed by a description of communities of Colstrip and Forsyth. Next was a detailed description of the permanent and the transient, as described by the people themselves.

I found that all categories of residents were seen as either "transient" or "permanent", as if the two groups were mutually exclusive. Transients, in general, were blamed for the communities' problems. Most informants used the term transient and "construction worker" (which meant manual laborer) interchangeably. The term, permanent, was used interchangeably with the term "townspeople" and "the community."

I found transients were seen as people who were 1) outgoing, 2) aggressive, 3) independent, 4) lacking a willingness to make commitments, 5) lacking interest in getting involved in the community, 6) adventurous, 7) fun, 8) always experiencing new and exciting challenges, 9) individualistic. The transient lifestyle in general is full of certain kinds of freedom, diversity, and constant change, according to the informants.

Permanents were seen as 1) stable people, 2) people with a willingness to commit to people in a community, 3) having a sense of home, 4) having a sense of history, 5) having better access to long-term friendships and other

types of relationship, 6) experiencing little stress, 7) boring, 8) stagnant, 9) entrapped in a tight little socio-cultural island.

Overall, I discovered a list of positive and negative characteristics of both lifestyles. This list represents the view of the people themselves. It represents transients' and permanents' views of both these lifestyles. It seemed that many people saw a combination of qualities from both lifestyles as the optimal lifestyle.

Another major objective of the research was to inquire about the integration in Colstrip. I found many issues regarding integration in Colstrip. I looked briefly at conflicts in Colstrip back to its origin as a community. At the time the research was conducted, Colstrip was not seen by many to possess a community identity. There were many factors influencing the relative integration in Colstrip, particularly: 1) conflicts between groups; 2) housing distribution and regulations; 3) diversity and concentration of groups; 4) whether one was situated inside or outside of a group; 5) whether one became acquainted with or "met" another person or group of people.

Another research objective was to develop a list of applicable protocols for facilitating integration in communities like Colstrip. This list developed naturally out of the inquiry into integration, including: 1) educate and

increase awareness; 2) change attitudes; 3) encourage diversified and multiple relationships; 4) meet/become acquainted with others; 5) improve communication skills; 6) integrate housing where appropriate; 7) increase everybody's access to mobility; 8) develop policies on transportation and communication systems that are sensitive to mobility issues.

The final objective of the research was to focus on the boundary between categories. I found that in focusing on the boundary between the permanent and transient categories, an overlap was discovered. This overlap was the "Bechtel Management" category. I discovered the ways people define their seemingly mutually exclusive groups broke down with the Bechtel management group. Bechtel managers fit into both the transient and permanent categories in important ways, according to the people interviewed. Bechtel managers were movers, or transients. Yet they were given permanent status which they attributed to their local property ownership, education and affluence. As was proposed, new information was obtained from a focus on the boundary overlap between categories.

IMPLICATIONS

MOBILITY

I sought to compare the peoples perceptions of more permanent and more transient lifestyles. The findings did not dispute the fact that boundaries drawn between the

permanent and transient are very real. Owning property and having deep roots in the community tend to make a person "stay" in a community. In the same way, living in a travel trailer with a temporary job tends to make a person "move on." Some people chose to "go", some to "stay."⁴³ Some were forced to go, some to stay. Many people felt trapped, unable to leave. Others felt unable to stay, though that was their desire. There were many reasons behind why people move or stay. One of the most important aspects of "staying" or "going", according to the people themselves, was whether the person had a "choice."⁴⁴

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Gold (1985:9) stated that: "Until they have put down roots and adopted the local values and lifestyle, their (newcomers') ability to remain in the community is almost exclusively dependent on the particular job they have and is otherwise related to outer structure. In contrast, long-timers are likely to find a way to stay whether or not they are able to continue in their present line of work: they have a place within the community's inner structure no matter what happens to their jobs or other outer-structural positions." Also, Schumaker and Stokols (1982:4) have noted Hughes' argument that: "...people who own their homes and/or have lived in an area for a long period of time are less likely to relocate than renters or newcomers to a community."

Schumaker and Stokols (1982:) also noted that: "...There is a group of individuals within the nation who are more likely to move, and there is a complimentary group of 'stayers' or people who remain in the same location for long periods of time."

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In Schumaker and Stokols (1982:3) it is noted that "We know from previous research that relocation choice is critical to the health and well-being of the individual."

It would be interesting for future research to look more closely at the issue of choice in mobility studies.⁴⁵ The seismographer's boss walks in and says: "We are leaving for 'this' or 'that' town in several hours." The construction worker says to his wife: "We are moving out in one month." This can leave a person feeling that they have little control over their lives. It makes a big difference whether you have someone in power over you who made the decision for you to move or you choose the move yourself. Or you move because a job ends, making it impossible for you to stay where you are. These forced moves will affect you differently than if you decide yourself you want to relocate. If a person has no ties to, or knowledge of, other communities and has lived in this present community for many years and owns a home in this community, it may be very hard for him or her to choose to move. If he is forced to move for some reason, this may be very difficult for him.⁴⁶

There are both internal and external influences that play a part in determining the choices a person makes in regard to moving. Collette (1973:8), in his study of

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Lee (1966:49) found that in the definition of migration "...no restriction is placed upon...the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act (move)..."

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Uhlenberg (1973:304): "The extent of integration into and dependence upon the local community is one social constraint on migration; the potential for assimilation into a new community is another."

accumulated needs, drives and abilities, or what Yinger calls the "tendencies to behave" and (2) that set of influences of the world system exterior to the individual, or the physical and social-cultural environment." He come up with a "behavioral theory of mobility, in which there is... the social-economic system on the one side and the motivation--personal to the individual--on the other hand" (1973:4).

Sociologists could learn a great deal with further inquiry into what goes on internal and external to a person when he makes decisions about moving. Consider the following example: A person has been presented with options. He can move to a very small community in a very remote and desolate part of the country where he has been offered a great sum of money and ownership of a productive business. Also, he has been offered a position with a company where he would neither own nor manage the business. He would be paid considerably less money. This community has much more to offer - organizations, clubs, a university, larger population, etc. It is in a beautiful area with trees, water and mountains nearby. The choice this person makes tells a lot about the person and what he values. Does he value wealth and power and authority and ownership? Does he value education--and more--from a community experience? Does he value beauty in his environment?

An important discovery could be made by looking at the point at which people decide to "stay" in one place or community or go on to another. Here again would be a focus on the boundary between the two concepts "staying or going." Important decisions are made at this point. The people's reasons to move are important because they affect the relationships among people in, and thus the structure of, our communities.⁴⁷ Decisions made at the individual level regarding mobility affect the overall world community. Is the person moving happy about the move or doing it only for the job and the money? Is the family moving because they all want to go? Or, is the wife moving out of economic and emotional dependence on a man, her husband? Are the people moving to gain fame and fortune? Or, are they moving to find peace and serenity in a community of people who share their values, such as equalitarianism and environmentalism? These and countless other questions help determine whether people choose to move or stay. Further inquiry needs to be made into these broad and complex questions about mobility.

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Fischer (1982:172) found that: "...in modern societies and cities, according to both decline theory and subculture theory, personal networks are less likely to be concentrated locally, to be communities of place; what this means for 'true community' is a matter of debate...". She argues further that: "... in urban places, according to subculture theory, it is easier to form relations on the basis of communality. The resultant networks are likely to be homogeneous in various ways, which, in turn, promotes involvement in subcultures."

HOOKING UP

The findings of this research suggest that further inquiry into the ways people "hook up" after moves would prove fruitful. Inquiry of this sort could make discoveries that could lead to policies that would facilitate healthy ways of integrating (i.e., "hooking" our society together).⁴⁸

The way people connect back up to society after a move is a crucial point to consider in regard to the way "moving" affects society. Do we meet only construction worker wives because we live in a trailer court with them at the edge of town and have no transportation? Do we meet only the people in our neighborhoods? Do we meet only the people who work at the same job site? Only the people who hang out at the same Bars? Do we meet people in varied situations and contexts so that we have a diversified support system? How, and in what ways, we connect with other people in society is going to influence what kind of a society we have.

TRANSIENCE AND URBANISM

Based on the present research, there is some indication that there exists a connection between transience and urbanism (represented by the city). Both promote subcultures

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Twelve-Step programs would be one such health way to hook back up to societies after a move.

and networks that are based on community of place. Both promote change and diversity. Both have been said in the past to cause "disintegration" and "disruption" in society.

Research could be done to find connections between the transients and the city. Transience represents the movement portion of the analysis. The city (or urbanism) represents the more static, structural portion of the analysis. This research could look closely at the ways the boundaries between them overlapped, in terms of their similarities and differences. By scrutinizing the boundary between the Urban/Rural continuum and the Permanent/Transient continuum, researchers could discover new information that might help us integrate the issues of "communities of place" and "communities of space."⁴⁹

Our knowledge and understanding of the social world is achieved more readily by the collaboration of the work of many over time. Different fields and branches within fields must collaborate to gain a more complete picture of knowledge about our world. As Collette puts this in reference to mobility, in his study of transience/itinerant

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Webber (1964:32) stated that: "...The most generally accepted conceptions of the urban phenomenon are closely tied to the more fundamental ideas of land and territory of unitarily discrete and nodally concentrated place; and of a Euclidean-Newtonian system of order that relies upon bounded categories and whose dimensions remain stable." He goes on to say "...We thus find no Euclidean territorial divisions--only continuous variation, spatial discontinuity, persisting disparity, complex pluralisms and dynamic ambiguity." (1964:26)

youth (1973:20): "Unfortunately, however, there has been little effort to bring these pieces (planning, geography, sociology, demography and psychology) together in order to more fully understand mobility, as with many complex social issues, empirical and theoretical pieces often 'slip between the cracks' among disciplines."

It would be interesting to look at the boundaries and their overlaps between different social constructions of reality. For instance one could look at the boundary, between the individual and the collective, through a focus on the more geographically mobile. This study found that there seemed to be a relationship between a mobile lifestyle and ideas of individualism.

In between communities, people are very much separated from a communal or social life (or place). They may continue to maintain social ties and relationships in places where they have "moved from" and "know" people. But, in terms of place or location, they are separated physically from community.⁵⁰

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Collette (1973:76) argues that: "...input during mobility is more of a personal nature; again and again, in interviews, the personal growth experience of the mobile lifestyle was stressed and valued by respondents."

Schumaker and Stokols (1982:3) offer another view of this reality: "...Mobility also symbolized the inability of Americans to establish ties and a commitment to their community. Individual needs surpassed social needs in the typical American's hierarchy of priorities."

When people who moved regularly are asked about this process of separating from a town, moving to another, and then re-establishing themselves within another community or place, they describe a very individualistic reality. They say things like: "it makes me get more from 'self', from 'inside', as an 'individual'; or they say: "I adjusted to the feeling of loneliness." One traveling man, who was a construction worker and moved often enough to be considered a "boomer", said he loved his transient lifestyle. He said: "Transience is an independent lifestyle, so transients have to work hard at connecting with people, so they become very outgoing... You can't be totally independent." One woman said: "It's a lonely life; you have to be outgoing or hope your neighbor is." A young, single, male transient who was a seismographer said: "We (movers) have to keep starting over in relationships." He was referring to how moving affects his relationships. This statement indicated that our relationships with people stop, at least in some respects and in some cases, when we move away from those relationships.

Transients, or movers, are often seen as people who do not have to go along with what is accepted in the community. They are not bound by pressures to adhere to local norms. This offers them "freedom" in a sense, to think independently, alone, outside society. They are able to

transcend what is locally accepted and known.⁵¹ This description paints a picture of transients as free-acting individuals rather than as individuals being influenced to go along with the locals' version of society. Many people interviewed in reference to the "transients" said: "... They don't care about the community." Others said: "... They don't care what people (or "the community") think."

It is important to point out that within this set of transients or mobile people (mostly blue collar, construction workers) studied in this research, the women who moved did not fit into this image of moving as an individualistic act. There were exceptions such as several single construction worker women in Colstrip who were iron workers who said they do it (move) because they love the traveling life. But, for the most part, moving women were described by other residents, and presented themselves, as very dependent women who moved because their husbands chose the traveling lifestyle. Many of these women were unhappy but felt they could not survive without the security of having their husband and his economic support. One permanent woman said, "A lot of women here are very dependent -- on security, on the pay check; they are far away from family

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Nels Anderson points out in "Men on the Move" (1974:32), "Transience is the result of a deeper inner need to escape from a known condition into an unknown condition. To break bonds and find freedom..."

and friends." Women in this universe of transients were, for the most part, moving because of dependencies rather than acting as individuals.

The analysis in the research at hand, is one in which the conceptual and empirical worlds are seen as divided into a number of different "pieces" or "parts." This approach makes it easier to see reality, not as solid and unchanging, but in flux or in a fluid state, changing, shifting and moving, with a number of facts about any particular thing not yet determined. If we think of conceptualizations of social reality as divided in this way (into pieces, some always missing), we can easily connect or fit them together with other pieces and other conceptualizations of social reality. This process begins to give us a picture of how both conceptual and empirical realities overlap, or don't overlap with others. Eventually, using this approach, we will begin to see a picture of the overall social world and how it fits together conceptually and empirically.

The use of typologies in sociology is important and necessary. If we do not classify and categorize the social world, we have difficulty defining and making sense out of it. However, if we want to understand the overall picture of social reality, if we want to have integrated social knowledge, it is crucial that we look at the connections or relationships between things. Traditional sociology has looked at two variables and then quantified the relationship

between them. Take, for example, the case of parental education and teenage crime. Traditional sociology discovered that as the former increases, the latter decreases. Accordingly, it discovered numerical relationships between the two variables. To use an example from the present work, we look at transient and permanent. We get a clear description of each. A transient is only in the community temporarily, with a temporary job. He lives in temporary housing (a trailer). Permanent residents live in permanent housing and have relatively permanent jobs. We can randomly sample and ask questions of these two groups. We can count and compare the two groups by focusing on the overlaps there may be between the boundaries. With use of the latter approach, we found that: "Bechtel management personnel fall into both the permanent and transient categories." This discovery has nothing to do with numbers.

One sociologist does work that describes typologies, often polar opposites in their nature. He likely intends that they be seen as interdependent and on a continuum. (i.e., rural/urban, permanent/transient or *gemeinschaft/-schaft*). Subsequent work then picks up on these concepts and reifies them. Researchers often argue for one and against the other. Something that was intended to be seen as fluid and changing gets treated as structured (solid and unchanging or non-varying). As a result of this, a process may be going on in which what is written as only ideal types on a

continuum may become seen as mutually exclusive and as the only two alternatives for organizing social life in the world.⁵² This process, between the way something is written and talked about and then the way it is interpreted by others down the line, creates a situation where we may fail to see other alternatives.⁵³

One could argue that Tonnies' description of the typologies (Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft) and the reifying and "either/or" interpretations of his work by subsequent work, reflects as well as reinforces their two choices in the world. If this is the case, then what we see is a

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Note Gold's analysis of the interdependencies and interrelationships between gemeinschaft and gesellschaft. (1985:103) "What happened at Sagebrush was that construction impacts led to rearranging the elements of gemeinschaft and to changing the balance between gemeinschaft and gesellschaft." He argues that "In short, no community is totally gemeinschaft or gesellschaft; all are interacting combinations of the two." (159)

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Gold (1985:2-3) describes this line of thinking with respect to gemeinschaft and gesellschaft. "The standard sociological expectation fostered by some of the discipline's most respected theorists for the past century has been that, whenever or wherever the light of gesellschaft is turned on a gemeinschaft community, the latter's traditional way of life is quickly superseded by the culturally more brilliant lifestyle of the former. According to this viewpoint, the two forms of community organization do not coexist: a community has one way of life or the other, not both. Its attitudes, values, relationships and modes of interaction are, at most, only a temporary mixture of the two as the unilinear forces of evolution increasingly energize the process of changing gemeinschaften into gesellschaften. When the evolutionary forces have done their work and this transition is completed, naught but gesellschaft will remain."

systematic and unnecessary narrowing of our options and choices.⁵⁴ We see rural or urban where there are many other choices. We argue that permanence or transience is superior when there are all combinations of both working in the world. We see either "this" or "that" when really both are always going on at different levels simultaneously and at the same levels at different times.

By focusing on typologies that reflect polar opposites and get used as if they are the only two choices, we have taken the movement or transition or change or inter-connection or relationship out of our analysis. We have forgotten that these typologies are really on a continuum and connected to other continuums. Sociologists and others are beginning to see this and create change in their fields.

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In macro sociological theory, Helle, H.J. and S.N. Eisenstadt (1985:viii) I made this same argument in talking about the History of social theory "... Here we can but sketch how a one-sided selection from the pioneering work of Comte, Spencer, Marx, Durkheim, Simmel and Weber caused unnecessary narrowness in the continuity of sociological theory and how partisanship resulted in separating the fields into camps whose members looked at each other with, at least, suspicion.

Gold's work on the gemeinschaft and gesellschaft is a good example of researchers beginning to see interrelationships rather than either/or realities.⁵⁵

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As Helle and Eisenstadt point out (1985:ix) in regard to Durkheim wanting to draw a sharp line between sociology and psychology. "Fortunately, the field of sociological theory has moved beyond these misrepresentations, and as partisan, selective and one-sided readings of the classics become obsolete, many of the history of the discipline. The cleavage between different methodological schools, and certainly the confrontation between micro and macro theory belong in the past."

APPENDIX AInterview Schedule

Name:
Address:
Phone #:

LONGTIME RESIDENTS

Are you married, have children, how many?

How long have you lived here in town? _____. Do you plan to stay?

Do you consider yourself a longtime member of the community?

What is the life like here, the people, before and after the boom? How have things changed? The people? The community?

What things could be done in the community to make yours and other people's lives better?

Has the group of people you associate with, your friends, etc. changed over the last 10 years? or do you still interact with the same people? i.e., clubs, social organizations, bridge, people you have coffee and visits with? Are there fewer people, added members, new people to the community or old timers? Has amount of ways you all "get together" increased or decreased, or stayed the same?

In what ways do you interact with newcomers? In stores, on streets, church, school, school functions, clubs, coffee, etc.

What do you think about the more transient type newcomers? Their lifestyles? Characterize them as a group, i.e., what are they like?

Do the transient newcomers get involved in the community? Its activities, etc., clubs, make friends, etc., (both young and adults).

Some people say, "Why gear services in a community towards newcomers' desires and needs, who will move on?" What do you think about this?

Does Colstrip have a community identity? Tell me about Colstrip, what is it like? Are the people here integrated into the community? Do the people interact with one another?

TRANSIENT NEWCOMERS

Name:
Address:
Phone #:

Are you married?____ Is your partner here with you?____. Do you have children>____. How many?____. Are they here with you?_____.

How long have you lived here?
Do you consider, or does the community consider you an "old timer," or member of the community? Or are you a "newcomer?"

How long do you plan to live here?
How long do you generally live in a town before moving on?
How often do you or have you moved?
How many years have you been moving from place to place with job, husband, etc.?

Do you always move with jobs in either energy company or construction for energy development?

Do you like this transient lifestyle? Why or why not? What is the life like? Characterize or describe it.

Do you have friends in other places you've lived that you keep in contact with____ how many____? How well do you keep in touch____, is the relationship a satisfying one?_____

Are there other individuals/friends/groups of people that move around also that often move to the same places as you do?____. How many?____. How often do you end up in the same places?_____.

Do you have a central place or "home base" a state, town you consider home____, where you always return to eventually____, do you have friends/family there____, do you own a home there____?

Do you repeat towns in your moving around, in other words, do you move to the same town more than once____, if so how many and how often____?

Do you feel disconnected or as if you don't belong to a community or group of people, a support system____, is this a positive or negative experience for you _____?

Does Colstrip have a community identity?
Are the people of Colstrip integrated?____. For example, have the new people been integrated into the community?____. Do

the people interact with one another?_____. Tell me about Colstrip, what is it like?

What things would you like to see done in boomtowns that would make things, your life better?

Could you characterize the boomtowns in general, or this one in particular, that you have lived in? What are the old time residents/newcomers like? Could you compare Colstrip to other boomtowns you have lived in?

Have you made friends here____, who_____, new or old residents_____, how many_____, what things do you do with your friends?

How did you come to get involved with the people/organizations that you are involved with?

APPENDIX BTwelve-Step Groups

In this work, it is suggested that the ways people "hook-up" into groups or communities is crucial for the healthy integration of people. I indicated that possibly we should facilitate diverse and "healthy" ways to "hook-up" or connect in society that would help us avoid the connecting with others in narrow ways, for instance on the basis of our similarities or communolities, such as occupation or philosophical ideals.

It would be interesting for further research to make inquiry into the twelve-step programs and how they are connecting society together. I would predict that they have the potential of connecting people in quite healthy ways. The twelve-step programs are sweeping the globe. They are one way for people to connect in healthy ways to another. The twelve-step groups are organized around a particular problem such as: 1) overeaters anonymous, 2) emotions anonymous, 3) gamblers' anonymous, 4) alanon (for family and friends of alcoholics), 5) parents anonymous (for parents who are abusing their children), 6) fundamentalists anonymous (for people who have been damaged by an involvement in an unhealthy religious fellowship). Twelve-step groups are geared toward healing and growth for the individual, whatever his or her particular problems. Unity of the whole is seen as more important than individual differences. The

groups are based on the honest sharing of feelings. The goal is to get off of a focus on the specific problem and take an honest look at oneself. The groups are based on the philosophy that we must place "principles above personalities." People are encouraged to share with each other the growth they are experiencing. Leaders "are but trusted servants" and change meeting to meeting. People who belong to the group often comment on how fortunate it is that they can go anywhere in the world and make close friends with a common bond through these meetings. These groups are one of the healthiest ways I've seen people coming together. This healthy fellowship is equally available for a person who has lived in the community on a long-term basis or for a person who has just entered residence in the community. No one cares who you are, what you look like, what color your skin is, how much money you make, what you have done in the past, what your job is, or how intelligent you are. There are no barriers to outsiders or newcomers. The group as a whole is more concerned that you know you "are not alone", and that you have the support of the group. It is customary to give newcomers a list of phone numbers so that they can gain support from members between meetings. Members are much more concerned that everyone has a chance to share than with what a person shares. The backbone of the organization is "honesty." It seems to me that there could be no better basis for

"hooking" society together than on the basis of rigid honesty coupled with loving acceptance among its members. I believe society in general could benefit from modeling itself after the principles of the twelve-step programs that were started by two alcoholics, Bill W. and Dr. Bob. These were two men with a common problem who got together and came up with a solution to stay sober that they argue was inspired by God. The success of their divinely inspired philosophy is indisputable. Few, if any, other solutions to social problems have so naturally spread to the successful treatment of such a wide spread number of diverse social problems. Few others have worked with such seeming success in such a wide population.

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