

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND PARTICIPATION IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The present study attempts to relate a family's expectations of residential mobility to its level of participation in instrumental and expressive voluntary associations. Hypotheses are derived from a modified version of Homans' (1961) exchange theory. Since instrumental associations are defined by Gordon and Babchuk (1959) as being externally oriented with long term rewards and short term costs, it was hypothesized that those expecting to leave the community would not join these types of associations. For membership in expressive associations, on the other hand, with both short term costs and rewards, it was hypothesized that these would not be affected by ERM. Control variables of Socio-Economic Status, ethnicity, length of time in the community and life-cycle were used.

The data tended to support the hypotheses concerning instrumental associations, but not those concerning expressive associations. Possible reasons are given for these findings and alternative models are suggested.

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INTRODUCTION

Few social phenomena have been as widely researched as that of participation in voluntary organizations. Much of this interest is related to two factors: first, the crucial treatment given to participation as an aspect of integration by such theorists as Durkheim (1946), Thomas (1931), MacIver (1937), and Parsons (1949); and second, sociology's focus, since the early works of Thomas and Znaniecki (1919), on the problems of immigration adjustment, of which social participation is an important variable. Referring to this latter point, Shils (1948:25) states:

...the study of the life of immigrants was indeed one of the original justifications for the existence of American sociology, it was in part because no other social scientist dealt with the problem created by immigration the sociologists were able to legitimate their emergence as a separate academic department.

By and large, community research has concentrated on the effects of migration for the individual and the host community. Examples of these types of studies would include Park and Burgess (1928), studies of the effects of immigration on communities, studies of the effect on husbands and wives of migration by Blizzard and Macklin (1952), and Robert C. Windham (1963). Research into the effects of mass migration by Uanni (1953), and Hammond (1960), studies of the adjustment process of migrants by Eisenstadt (1954), Rose and Warshay (1955), and Omari (1954), are additional studies done in this area. While studies such as these indicate a real concern over the effects of moving, there has been little interest in the decision to move and changes in the patterns

of interaction after this decision has been made on either the individual or the community.

The basic problem in this study is one of discovering the relationship between a family's expectations of residential mobility (ERM), and its level of participation in certain types of "community" organizations and associations. This problem is related to a more general one within sociology: i.e. what factors influence a group member's level of interaction in a group? In this study we are interested in isolating one factor, expectations of residential mobility, and learning the relation of this factor to the level of participation in the group. This community relevant participation will be further dichotomized into Gordon and Babchuk's (1959) typology of instrumental and expressive associations. While this distinction will be clarified in our theoretical framework, for our present context, instrumental association may be said to act as a means toward certain ends while expressive associations are ends in themselves.

By studying the relationship between expectations of residential mobility in "community" organizations and associations we must come to terms with certain possible intervening variables which, on the basis of past research, have been shown to influence levels of participation. The variables of age, socio-economic status, ethnicity, length of time in the community, and life-cycle must be considered in order to increase our understanding of the relationship between expectations of residential mobility and participation in voluntary organizations and associations.

CHAPTER ONE

Review of the Literature

Interest in participation in associations has generally taken three perspectives: first, the role of the association in the larger society; second, the individual determinants of participation in these associations, and third, the nature of the specific association or organization from the standpoint of organizational theory.

The first perspective is centered on the curcial treatment given to participation in voluntary organizations and associations by such theorists as Tocqueville (1880) and Parsons (1949). Research stemming from these theoretical orientations has concentrated on participation as it explains and influences the nature and structure of society. As Babchuk and Warriner (1965:135) point out:

This was the focus of Tocqueville's classic view of America, in which he emphasized the role, function, and pervasiveness of voluntary groups. For those who start with this interest, voluntary associations are a variety of societal building blocks; and the more important questions asked address themselves to the contribution of voluntary groups to the total society (wheter directly or through their members), and the role they play in various societal processes such as decision making, opinion making and socialization.

While this first approach concentrates mainly on the structural effects of participation in voluntary associations, the second focuses on the individual determinants of this participation. In relating this perspective to the first approach, Hausknecht(1962:11) points out:

...before one can discuss the theoretical issues involved or accept the implicit picture of the functioning of the democratic processes resulting from the acceptance of the theory, it is necessary to have valid and reliable data about the extent of membership in voluntary associations, data about the characteristics of those who join and who do not join.

In the third and final perspective the organization or association itself is the unit of analysis. This viewpoint, while related to organizational theory is also closely connected to the two earlier perspectives as Warriner and Prather (1965:139) note:

...if we could understand participation from an intra-organizational point of view we would then have a better basis for interpreting the differential rates of participation by several segments of the community.

While these three areas of interest in voluntary associations are all logically interconnected, it is possible for research purposes to focus on only one or two of them. This study is primarily concerned with the latter two, determinants of individual participation and the role of different types of associations in this relationship. We will only attempt in our conclusion to make some general inferences about the societal effects of this participation, leaving a more detailed analysis of this aspect to future research.

Most past sociological research on social participation has confined itself to the second approach by using social background characteristics in trying to predict individual participation. Thus, there are many studies which show a relationship between participation in voluntary associations and environmental, physical and social

characteristics of individuals, such as age, income, place of residence, and so forth. The following is a brief review of some of these studies. It is presented for two reasons, (1) to give the reader a taste of some of the past research on social participation and (2) since these variables may intervene in the relationship between expectations of residential mobility and social participation to indicate the direction of this intervention.

The Lynds (1929), in their study of Middletown, found among other things that working class men participate in formal voluntary organizations to a greater extent than working class women, and even more than middle class women. Similar results were obtained in a more recent study by Palisi (1965). Brown, in two studies (1954;55), found that those with higher socio-economic status tend to participate more in both formal and informal associations. Hodge and Treiman (1968) report similar results from their study of participation in an eastern suburban county. They also found a strong relationship between the respondent's parents' level of participation and that of the respondent's. Joan Moore (1961) in an earlier study of participation on local hospital boards found a positive relationship between occupational prestige and income and the extent of active participation.

Foskett (1955) using a social participation scale which included: voting behaviour, frequency of educational and political discussions by family members, formal organization membership, participation in local issues, and informal contacts with community leaders and officials, reported that education and participation were highly correlated, and

that if education was at a certain minimum level, income was also positively correlated. Reporting the results of two national surveys, Hansknecht (1962) and Wright and Hyman (1958) point out that those with higher education and income are more likely to participate.

Hansknecht, Wright and Hyman also report that occupational levels are strongly related to participation in associations in that professionals and business managers are more likely to hold membership than are semi-skilled and unskilled labour. Warren (1955) in a study of Stuttgart, Germany discovered that occupational differences were the most powerful single determinant of social participation. Willie and Nicholas (1964) in a study of a north-eastern community report that businessmen are more likely to participate in formal associations than those who are not businessmen. W.K. Warner (1964) in a study of 191 voluntary associations found that the percentage of members who attended meetings was related to occupational differences.

Two studies, one by Wilensky (1959) and the other by Pope (1964) indicate that participation in voluntary associations is a function of an individual's experience in the economic system. Both found that those who had experienced deprivation in the economic system were less likely to participate in voluntary associations than those who had not.

Regarding age, Hansknecht points out that a larger number of participants are in the over 40 age bracket than in the under 40 bracket. When controlling for age, participation is about 10% higher for those over 30 compared with those under 30. Controlling for income, Hansknecht reports the low level of non-participation is by those earning over

\$5,000 and over 40 years of age with the highest level (55%) by those earning under \$3,000 per annum and under 40 years of age. Education seems to influence the relationship between age and participation to an even greater extent with 64% of those under 40 years of age and with elementary school education not participating compared to only 20% of those with college and over 40 years of age. Foskett (1955) reports similar results stating that education and income are far more crucial determinants of participation than age. Goldhammer (1964) in a study of 5,500 Chicago residents reports that while males in the 20-25 age bracket and females in the 20-31 bracket are least likely to participate that the most significant correlation was between education and participation with those of low education even less likely to participate.

In a study by Babchuk and Booth (1965) the results indicate while age itself is not strongly related to participation, that when marital status and number of children were considered there was a strong relationship at a number of points along the life-cycle continuum, especially when the children are of school age.

Relating community of origin and the host community, studies by Zimmer (1959), Warner (1941), Eisenstadt (1954), and Windham (1963) all indicate that the more the host community is like the community of origin, the higher will be the level of participation in the host community.

Four other studies by Blizzard (1952), Beers (1945), Uanni (1955) and Omari (1954) indicate that the length of time that a family has lived in a community is directly related to the level of participation

of that family.

These past studies of social participation, while interesting and informative, do little to answer the 'why' of social participation, or, as Smith (1966:25) points out, the "why not":

Why are there so many potentially eligible and potentially active members who do not in fact join or participate actively in formal voluntary organizations even though their social background characteristics suggest they should?

In this study we hope to propose answers to this question. By deducting certain hypothesis from this past research and from theoretical propositions we can hopefully explain much of the variation in levels of participation.

Since the literature on the social participation - expectations of residential mobility relationship is virtually non-existent, we cannot approach the construction of hypotheses directly, but must do so circuitously, by examining other studies which have related expectations to behaviour and social participation to concepts paralled to expectations. While much community research has failed to take account of social-psychological phenomena such as expectations in studying community related behaviour, small group research, especially in the area of industrial sociology, has not.

Kipnis (1964), for instance, studied the relationship between occupational mobility expectations and behaviour in and attitudes toward certain work situations. He found, like Sells (1963) and Bebbard (1949), that expectations of mobility were inversely related to worker performance

and attitudes toward management. A study by E.K. Wilson (1954) comes closer perhaps than any other in assigning the relationship between expectation and participation. Wilson studied college participation and one of his least mentioned findings was that college seniors participate less than juniors. Since Wilson does not interpret this finding, we will never know for sure what the reason for this lower level of participation is. We can only infer that it might have something to do with the seniors' perception of the fact that he will soon leave the college (i.e. in that he will soon leave and get a job or go on to graduate school and therefore does not have time to participate or that he will soon leave and therefore does not have time to participate because he will not be there to receive any of the long term rewards for his participation in terms of goal attainment or status).

Zurcher and Meadow (1965), in a cross cultural study of work organizations found the plans to continue working in a particular work organization (expectations of mobility) affected work patterns and were negatively related to his alienation measure. Similar results are reported in an earlier study by Neal and Seeman (1964) who point out that the clearest association between non-membership in a voluntary work organization and powerlessness is found among mobility-minded workers. Data in a study by Wilensky (1964) also supports Seeman's findings.

While the above studies do not directly relate to expectations of mobility and social participation, they do, however, lend weight to an underlying principle in this study-- expectations tend to affect behaviour. In our study the expected event is movement from the

community and the related behaviour is participation in the community. In a more applicable study in the field of educational sociology, Rehberg and Schafer (1968) point to a positive relationship between college expectation levels and participation in inter-scholastic athletics. Their data tends to support their hypothesis that college expectation levels arise from the socialization process in high-school athletics and that these expectations tend to be translated into higher grades in school.

The one study which seems to come to grips with our problem is found in an unpublished paper by Edward Lehman (1966). The study, conducted in a city with a population of less than 25,000 inhabitants (Sampleville, as it is called), entailed interviewing a probability sample of 167 adult white males.

Lehman's major independent variable was identification with the community. He correlated this with participation in instrumental and expressive associations. His findings indicate that identification with community is related to participation in instrumental associations but not related to participation in expressive type associations. A similar pattern emerged when participation in each type of association was correlated with length of residence. The data indicated that participation in instrumental associations increased as the time spent in the community increased. However, for expressive type associations there is no relationship. In the case of socio-economic status (SES) Lehman found that SES operated independently of both identification and length of time in the community. Lehman (1966:14) concludes by stating:

We would hypothesize, therefore, that one factor which will explain the varying relationship of these different types of social participation to identification with community is the extent to which the interaction in question is instrumental for attaining locality-relevant goals. It is the person who identifies with the community who would be concerned about attaining locality-relevant goals and would tend to be motivated toward involvement in social action to realize them. And this is less likely to be the case regarding individuals who do not identify locally. Consequently, the more instrumental the social participation is for locality-relevant goals, the more community identification will be associated with the amount of overt involvement in it, regardless of how formally structured it is. Accordingly, degree of identification with community should be largely irrelevant for forms of social participation which are not in some way important for meeting community needs.

Lehman's study points to (by inference) a positive relationship between the amount of time a family expects to remain in a community and its level of participation in instrumental community associations; the assumption being that those with expectations of transience would identify less than those with expectations of permanence.

While our review of past research in the area of expectations and participation has not strongly indicated any possible hypotheses it has however, confirmed a number of points:

- (1) Past research has done little to explain why members participate or do not participate, even though they may or may not have the background characteristics of joiners.
- (2) Expectations of future events do affect present behaviour.
- (3) Based on some initial findings by Lehman, expectations of residential mobility are related to participation in the voluntary organizations of a community.

Theoretical Perspective

Perhaps one of the greatest failings of past research on social participation is that it has lacked, for the most part, a theoretical base. In this study we will utilize a modified version of Homans' (1961) exchange theory. We will also draw on some elaborations by Blau (1964), Kuhn (1965), and Rotter (1956) and develop a number of propositions from which we can derive testable hypotheses.

The concept of exchange and the basic idea behind it is not new to sociology. Knox (1963) points out that the first use of the term "exchange" in sociological literature was in 1883. In that year, Albert Chavannes published a series of articles in the Sociologist, entitled "Studies in Sociology", which treated the "Law of Exchange" and three other social laws. Chavannes' "Law of Exchange", as Knox points out, is very similar to that of Homans. The basic propositions of exchange theory, as Homans (1961:13) himself says, draw heavily on behaviourism and economics:

Both behavioural psychology and elementary economics envisage human behaviour as a function of its pay-off; in amount and kind it depends on the amount and kind of reward it fetches. When what it fetches is the behaviour, similarly determined, of another man, the behaviour becomes social.

Homans, in his Social Behaviour: Its Elementary Forms, develops an exchange approach which views social interaction as an exchange between at least two persons involving reciprocal costs and rewards.

Homans refers to costs as rewards which are foregone by being involved in present exchange. This approach might be compared to Festinger's (1958) concept of post-decisional dissonance and Thibault and Kelly's (1959) comparison level for alternatives. Rewards are aspects of the exchange which bring pleasure or satisfaction to the individual actor.

Using the concepts of cost and reward, Homans (1961:23) suggests that exchanges, to be enduring, must be profitable for all the actors involved:

The open secret of human exchange is to give the other man behavior that is more valuable to him than it is costly to you and to get from him behavior that is more valuable to you than it is costly to him.

Homans indicates that when a man's exchange becomes unprofitable, he will alter his behavior to make it profitable.

While Homans' exchange theory is a potentially useful attempt to give sociological theory some explanatory power, it does have a number of drawbacks. Exchange theory attempts to explain what happens when two or more people interact and how the level of interaction increases or decreases depending on the perceived profitability of the situation. Unfortunately, it does not explain the process by which individuals come to interact in a given situation; it assumes interaction as a given. A further difficulty is found in Homans' definition of cost. While cost does entail a perception of other potentially rewarding situations, there are also a number of costs which may be incurred in the present situation. For example, the cost of going to a football

game with a friend is not just your perception of the other things you could be doing such as staying home to study, it also involves such things as the uncomfortable bench, the two dollar admission fee and the loudmouth sitting behind you.

Blau (1964) extends the concept of cost to include investment costs, direct cost, and opportunity cost. Investment costs are those which are entailed in order to acquire the skills required for furnishing instrumental services (such as the cost of going to university so that one can acquire skills which can be exchanged in the future for other rewards.) Direct costs would include such things as the \$2.00 fee and the uncomfortable bench in the earlier example. Opportunity costs fall closely in line with definition of costs -- the value of activities foregone. Kuhn (1965) makes a distinction between two types of cost, the opportunity costs and disutility cost; the former being the denial of positive goods and the latter being the receipt of negative goods. Opportunity costs are broken down into two sub-types, incompatibility and scarcity. Incompatibility costs are incurred because a person cannot engage in two or more activities at once, and scarcity costs because a person has limited resources and can only expend them on a limited number of goods. Disutility costs also involve two sub-types.

The first is direct and immediate unpleasantness. This might arise while some good is actually being received, as in the case of flies on the beach, bones in the fish or people climbing past us in the theatre. These are instances of unpleasantness in consumption. Perhaps more important are unpleasantness in production. Creating goods may entail sweat, tears, pain or embarrassment... displeasure incurred in producing a good is

part of the cost of that good. (Kuhn 1965:264)

The second form of disutility cost is destruction:

In winning an election, gaining a promotion, or managing a publicity campaign, one may lose friends, impair his health or have doubts cast on his integrity. In each instance, some valued thing has less utility after than before and this loss of utility is part of the cost of achieving a desired result. (Kuhn 1965:264)

Both types of disutility cost are much like Blau's investment costs. To recapitulate, costs are of two types; cost incurred in the present activity and rewards of other activities missed because of the present activity. This conception of cost becomes meaningful when viewed in relation to rewards or as a function of profit. Homans' equation: $\text{profit} = \text{reward} - \text{cost}$, acts to integrate the concepts of reward and cost. People come to realize a profit in their exchanges--if they do not, they adjust the situation in such a way that they decrease their costs or increase their rewards so that the situation becomes profitable.

With this in mind we can investigate the process whereby an individual decides to enter into one exchange and not another. Blau's term "comparative expectation" partly explains this process:

...while the term comparative expectation might be used for the profits individuals expect to realize in social associations, that is, their rewards minus their costs. The continuing attraction of individuals to social relations depends not simply on the rewards they derive but also on the costs

they incur and, specifically, on the ratio of the two, which determines how profitable the social relations are for them. (Blau 1964:146)

The more profit an expected activity will bring, the greater the chance that the activity will be chosen. In this case, not only the relative importance of the goal or reward is important, but also the individual subjective probability that the reward will occur, as Rotter's seventh general postulate states:

...the occurrence of a behavior of a person is determined not only by the nature or importance of goals or reinforcements, but also by the person's anticipation or expectancy that these goals will occur. (Rotter 1965:102)

From the above discussion of exchange theory, two propositions seem tenable:

(1) When an individual is faced with a number of activities (exchanges) that he can enter into, he will enter that one which, from his subjective viewpoint, will maximize his profit--i.e. rewards - cost.

(2) When an individual is involved in a given activity, he will act in such a way so as to maximize his profits.

In making these two propositions we have taken at one and the same time an exchange perspective as well as a symbolic-interactionist perspective. The exchange perspective gives us a necessary framework which specifies costs and rewards while the symbolic-interactionist perspective concentrates on the subjective nature of these costs and rewards. That situations are defined on the basis of meaning and value and that people act on the basis of this meaning and value is one of our central assumptions.

Working within this conceptual framework, what we intend to do is to

specify value in terms of costs and rewards. While the internalization of meaning and value depends to a great extent on broad cultural and situational variables this does not imply that no two people value a situational object similarly, on the contrary because standard socializing agents ensure that many people will define the same situation in an identical way. In a given cultural setting many objects and events are given similar value. In the example given earlier such situational objects as the cold bench and the loudmouth sitting behind our actor would probably be given similar negative values (costs) by most other individuals in that cultural setting. Any variance would probably be due to variables which would be relatively isolated (such as would be the case if our actor had just come from the Arctic and thus found the seat warm and pleasant or if the actor was deaf and thus did not hear the loudmouth behind him). Few individuals in our cultural setting enjoy sitting on cold seats (of those that perceive the seats as being cold). The point is that the way in which we define a particular object is largely determined by the society in which we live, the value of an object not always being specific and individual but more often general and societal.

The fact that individuals act to maximize their profit implies that they seek to maximize the total size of the reward/cost ratio. The important thing to remember is that cost and rewards are not only economic, but also social-psychological. (This point has been amply demonstrated by such classic researches as Mayo's in industrial sociology, the mulespinning study and the Hawthorn studies.) In the case of individual participation in voluntary associations, cost may include such things as: value commitment (Tsouderos:1954), time, payment of fees,

and initial tension because of differential role expectations. Rewards may include such things as: the achievement of a goal, having a good time, or status gain from fellow interactants. It is our contention, along with Gordon and Babchuk (1958) that the nature of the voluntary association has much to do with the nature of the cost and rewards involved in joining them.

The distinction between instrumental and expressive associations in terms of rewards and cost is pointed out by Jacoby as follows:

- (1) The member of the expressive association achieves immediate and continuing gratification from taking part in the organizational activities. The instrumental association member may even find the group's activities distasteful, but he will get satisfaction from the knowledge that they help to accomplish certain long-range goals. In other words, personal gratification from participation in the group's activities is more remote (in terms of time) for the member of the instrumental group than for members of the expressive group.
- (2) The activities of the instrumental association tend to be externally oriented, whereas those of the expressive association are focused inwardly. Expressive associations "perform a function primarily for the individual participants through activities which are confined and self-contained within the organization... In contrast, the major function and orientation of the instrumental organization are related to activities which take place outside the organization.
- (3) Activities by members of expressive associations, represent ends in themselves, while instrumental association members see participation in the group activities as a means of accomplishing external, long-range goals. (Jacoby 1965:104)

In terms of costs and rewards instrumental associations involve many investment costs and long term rewards. Expressive associations involve both short term cost and short term rewards. This brings us to

the heart of our problem, if a family expects to leave a community in a short time and if rewards are, as Jacoby states, long term, what type of association will the family participate in, or, if it is already participating in an instrumental type association, will it change its level of participation? Before presenting hypotheses we hope will answer these questions, a distinction must be made of two types of instrumental associations. As pointed out earlier, instrumental associations are externally oriented. We propose to investigate two types of instrumental associations: those which are oriented toward the immediate community and those which are non-community oriented or oriented toward the broader society. The reason for this distinction will be made clear in our basic hypotheses.

Hypothesis I

There is a negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in community instrumental voluntary associations.

In terms of exchange theory, an argument in favor of this hypothesis would proceed along these lines:

- (1) Instrumental associations imply some commitment to community goals.
- (2) Realization of these goals by the association members constitutes a greater part of the reward for this type of interaction.
- (3) Those who expect to leave the community will not realize these rewards to the same extent as will those who expect to stay.
- (4) Therefore, in the minds of those with expected residential mobility, interaction may be considered unprofitable and thus they will not become involved.

Hypothesis II

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in voluntary expressive associations.

In terms of our exchange perspective, this hypothesis is much more difficult to rationalize than the previous one. Expressive associations, since they have the appeal of immediate rewards, cannot be hypothesized to cater only to transients or permanent residents, but to both. Expressive activities, as Lehman points out, are based increasingly on sharing special interests other than the locality. These interests are often based on such things as similar socio-economic status, occupation, or age, and as such would not be significantly affected by the decision to move.

Hypothesis III:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental non-communitiy associations.

- (1) Non-communitiy instrumental associations imply some committment to non- communital goals.
- (2) Realization of these goals by the association members constitutes a greater part of the reward for this type of interaction.
- (3) Those who expect to leave the community will realize these rewards as much as those expecting to stay.
- (4) Therefore, in the minds of those with expectations of residential mobility, involvement may be considered as equally profitable as by those who expect to stay, thus they will continue to be involved.

To sharpen the effect of expectation of residential mobility on participation in our various types of associations, we will construct a number of sub-hypotheses around the variables of length of time in the community,

ethnicity, socio-economic status and family life-cycle.

Length of Time in the Community

The length of time that a family has lived in a community has been considered a significant indicator of voluntary association membership by a number of authors (Windham 1963, Omari 1959, Jitodai 1965, and Blizzard and Macklin 1952). These authors all report that length of time spent in a community is highly positively correlated with participation in voluntary associations. Lehman (1959) in his study found that length of time was strongly correlated with membership in instrumental associations but not related to membership in expressive associations. Lehman's findings can be substantiated from our theoretical point of view for it seems clear that increased length of time can significantly change the cost/reward ratio. In instrumental associations, those who have been in the community a long time will incur fewer costs in belonging. Tension resulting from differential role expectations will be lessened on the cost side and on the reward side the friendships gained through a period spent in the community will tend to encourage the member to work for instrumental goals which when realized will help his friends. Thus, with decreased costs and constant (if not increased) rewards, the following sub-hypotheses seem tenable:

Sub-Hypothesis I A₁:

There is a strong negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for those who have lived in the community for a short time.

Sub-Hypothesis I A₂:

There is a weak negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for those who have lived in the community for a long time.

Expressive association membership, as pointed out by Lehman, is often based on non-community factors such as socio-economic status, ethnicity or occupation, and thus is not affected by the length of time a family has lived in the community. Expressive associations, being immediately gratifying will not be differentiated in terms of the length of time a family has lived in the community.

Sub-Hypothesis II A₁:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for those who have lived in the community for a short time.

Sub-Hypothesis II A₂:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for those who have lived in the community for a long time.

For non-community instrumental voluntary associations, length of residence would do little to alter the cost/reward ratio since the basis for incurring costs and rewards lies outside the community.

Sub-Hypothesis III A₁:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and level of participation in instrumental non-community associations when controlling for those who have lived in the community for a short time.

Sub-Hypothesis III A2:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental non-community associations when controlling for those who have lived in the community for a long time.

Socio-Economic Status

Socio-economic status (SES), a composite of education, income, and occupational prestige, has been positively correlated with voluntary association membership (Goldhammer 1964, Brown 1953, Dotson 1953, Erbe 1964, and Wright and Hyman 1958). Lehman, in his study, found that SES operated independently of length of time in community and identification with the community. Lehman concluded that SES indicated basically non-local norms and that high SES accounts for a significant amount of the variance in both types of organizations.

From a theoretical point of view this finding seems to indicate a difference in the perception of cost and rewards for each level of SES. Because of increased education and the fact that their occupational positions demand more calculative kinds of decisions, high SES members probably calculate more in terms of their long term interests than low SES members. For this reason we would expect that ERM would have a greater impact on belonging to instrumental associations for those with high SES than for those with low SES.

Sub-Hypothesis I B₁:

There is a strong negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for those in high SES categories.

Sub-Hypothesis I B₂:

There is a weak negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for those in low SES categories.

Since expressive associations are not related to the community as much as they are to non-community factors such as education, occupational position, etc., we would expect no relationship between ERM and expressive association membership, controlling for either high SES or low SES. Similarly, we would expect no relationship for instrumental non-community associations.

Sub-Hypothesis II B₁:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for those in high SES categories.

Sub-Hypothesis II B₂:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for those in low SES categories.

Sub-Hypothesis III B₁:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental non-community associations when controlling for those in low SES categories.

Sub-Hypothesis III B₂:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental non-community associations when controlling for those in high SES categories.

Ethnicity

A number of studies (the most notable being Babchuk and Thompson 1962) have found ethnicity to be related to membership in voluntary associations. In this study ethnicity refers to non-whites, in our case notably Indians and Eskimos. Theoretically, the fact that ethnic groups tend to participate less than white groups could be explained in terms of the cultural transition necessary for many ethnic group members to enter into traditionally white voluntary associations. The cost incurred in this type of transition often outweighs the rewards for remaining in ethnic collectivities which often are un-organized or run along kinship lines.

Sub-Hypothesis I C₁:

There is a strong negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for whites.

Sub-Hypothesis I C₂:

There is a weak negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in voluntary instrumental community associations when controlling for non-whites.

For both expressive and instrumental non-community associations we would expect no relationship since both are related to non-community factors and would not as such be influenced by ERM.

Sub-Hypothesis II C₁:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for whites.

Sub-Hypothesis II C₂:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for non-whites.

Sub-Hypothesis III C₁:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and membership in instrumental non-community associations when controlling for whites.

Sub-Hypothesis III C₂:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental non-community associations controlling for non-whites.

Life-Cycle

Past studies of voluntary associations have often looked at a number of dimensions of family life-cycle such as age, marital status, and family size. Hansknecht (1956) and Komarousky (1948) are two authors who have dealt with this problem. In our typology we have centered on the factor of children at home versus no children at home. Life-cycle one included all families with children living at home. Life-cycle two included those without children living at home.

Sub-Hypothesis I D₁:

There is a strong negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for life-cycle two.

Sub-Hypothesis I D₂:

There is a weak negative relationship between a family's ERM and level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for life-cycle one.

Our rationale for this is that families in this stage will reap the greatest rewards for their activities. Much of the instrumental activity of these organizations is directed towards providing for children, either directly (collecting money for various playground facilities), or indirectly, (local clean-up drives to make the community a healthy place in which to raise children).

Sub-Hypothesis II D₁:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for life-cycle one.

Sub-Hypothesis II D₂:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for life-cycle two.

Expressive association membership is not related to leaving the community and thus we would expect no relationship under either life-cycle one or life-cycle two.

Sub-Hypothesis III D₁:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental non-community associations when controlling for life-cycle one.

Sub-Hypothesis III D₂:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental non-community associations when controlling for life-cycle two.

Belonging to an outside professional organization is not a function of marital status or number of children. From our theoretical point of view, membership in these outside organizations would not significantly affect the cost/reward ratio. There might be some small effect on the intensity of participation but our data does not reflect intensity.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology

The data necessary to test the hypotheses outlined in the preceding chapter could have been gathered in several ways: in an in-depth study of both transients and permanents being perhaps the most productive. However, due to limits on our time and money, as well as an opportunity to use survey data which had already been collected, we decided upon the use of secondary analysis techniques with some back-up field work to round out the measurement of our variables. While our research problem was not formulated until well after the data was collected, we were however, involved in the collection of the data through a grant from the center for settlement studies of the University of Manitoba and the Manitoba Government. The primary purpose of the survey was an analysis of health service utilization, but fortunately, it included a number of items which dealt with the variables outlined in the preceding chapter.

This chapter will be organized in the following manner: first, we will give a brief general description of the community that was studied, following which we will outline the sampling procedures and field techniques which were used in the survey. The third section will describe how we operationalized the variables which will be used in testing the hypothesis outlined earlier. This will be followed by a summary of the statistical techniques which we intend to use in the analysis of the data.

The Community

Churchill, Manitoba is a northern semi-isolated community situated about 800 air miles north of Winnipeg. The residents of Churchill live in six distinct communities that are separated by as much as six miles.

Fort Churchill, the largest of these six communities, has a residential population of two thousand. Originally built as an army camp during the second world war, it is a self-sufficient community providing its residents with most of the amenities of a southern city. In 1964, the operation of Fort Churchill was transferred from the Canadian Armed Forces to the Department of Public Works and it has since served primarily as a research and communication center for the north. In the fall of 1969 this research function came into question when the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) announced it was suspending most of its research activities. Thus, at the time the survey was carried out the future of the Fort was in doubt; it continues so today.

Approximately five miles from Fort Churchill lies the town of Churchill itself, the next largest community in the Churchill area. The major function of the town is as a sea port on Hudson Bay and as the northern terminus of the Canadian National Railway in Manitoba. The population of the town in 1968 was reported at twelve hundred people. Apart from the harbour concern, which operates all year round, there are a number of independent commercial enterprises including two hotels, two major food-department stores, and a number of smaller business concerns.

Most of the services in the town are duplicated in the Fort. Many of the residents of the town work at Fort Churchill in one of the many government agencies operated there.

Southeast of the town of Churchill on the banks of the Churchill River live about 32 squatter families in makeshift homes (Volkswagen crates in some cases). These people depend mainly on the town for services.

Jockville, another community of squatters, lies to the northwest of the town of Churchill, toward the harbour and Cape Merry. Jockville has had as many as 120 squatters but during the period in which the survey was carried out had only six families. Like the River Flats, Jockville consists primarily of Metis and Cree Indians with some whites. Some of the Indians were employed in the now defunct whaling factory, but now work in town or are on welfare.

Dene Village, located about five miles southeast of the town of Churchill consists of 35-40 Chipewyan Indian families. Due to lack of funds to employ translators and the need for in-depth case studies, Dene Village was not surveyed and no data for voluntary association membership exists. Thus no analysis of Dene Village will be included in this study.

About two miles to the north of Dene Village on the main highway is the community of Akudiluk in which about 40 families reside. Most of these are white families in the staff of the Federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. There are also six or seven Eskimo families. Akudiluk's main function is that of an administration center for the Keewatin District of the Northwest Territories and as a half-way

house for Indians coming from or returning to the north before or after receiving medical treatment in the south.

Of these six communities the health utilization study dealt with only five, Dene Village as mentioned before being the community not studied. Of these five remaining communities, the total population was interviewed in four: the town of Churchill, Akudiluk, the Flats, and Jockville. In the Fort, since its future was in doubt at the time the interviews were taken, a 50% quota sample of occupation positions was taken. These positions would definitely continue to exist even if the Fort closed down. In all, 316 interviews were completed. Table I shows a breakdown of how many interviews were completed in each area. Since Jockville only yielded six interviews, this number has been added to those of the town of Churchill.

TABLE I

Distribution of Interviews Collected In Churchill Survey

Location	Number Completed
Town	216
Fort	40
Akudaluk	34
Flats	26
Total	<u>316</u>

Field Procedures And Planning

The collection of data for the Health Services Utilization Study was carried out in Churchill over a ten day period from January 2'nd, 1970. Two preliminary trips were made to the community during December

in order to contact local officials in the community, both to inform them of the study and to seek their advice in certain logistical matters. One of the major logistical problems was being certain that a total population of each of the communities was gathered. Since housing units followed no continuous plan and since recent lists of the residents in each of the areas (except Akudiluk) were not available, it was decided to break the town down into a number of smaller units, each unit to be assigned to a team of interviewers.

Preliminary copies of the interview schedule were constructed after a number of meetings in early December and were pre-tested on a southern group. Further meetings and changes based on the pre-testing resulted in a final instrument's being prepared and printed by December 27'th, 1969. In its final form the entire interview could be administered in about 40-60 minutes, with some lasting slightly longer.

The interviews were conducted on a face to face basis. The respondent had to be an adult member of the family living at home. Most of the questions were structured and thus entailed the interviewer's asking a question and indicating the possible answers. Toward the end of the interview there were a number of open-ended, focused interview questions which required the interviewer to probe the respondent for answers. Due to a number of questions that dealt with housing (added by the Provincial Department of Municipal Affairs, Planning Branch), each respondent was asked to give his name and address, after being assured of confidentiality. A copy of the instrument is found in Appendix A. In a number of cases, both in the River Flats and Akudiluk, an interpreter was required.

In total, there were twelve interviewers involved in the collection

of data. The majority of these were graduate students in sociology, with two graduate students in anthropology and three undergraduate majors in sociology assisting. All of the interviewers had had previous experience in this type of research; in addition they attended two training periods of 3-4 hours each and gained experience with the instrument on the pre-test.

The communities were broken down into smaller areas, with each area being assigned to a group of interviewers. Lists were kept of refusals, call-backs and empty or vacant homes. The design called for two evening and one afternoon call-backs. Transportation was by automobile and in most cases the interviewers were treated in a most courteous and helpful manner. Advance publicity of the study was handled by the local television and radio stations and no doubt this aided immensely in our reception in Churchill. In total there were nine refusals, six in the town of Churchill and three in the Flats. Other than these refusals, 103 homes in the town of Churchill were not occupied when our interviewers called. Later checks with the Planning Branch of the Department of Municipal Affairs revealed that approximately two thirds of these premises were vacant homes, the rest being occupied. Of those occupied, we assumed that many of the residents had not yet returned from Christmas vacation in the south.

Measurement of Variables

Dependent Variable: The dependent variable in this research is membership in (A) instrumental community organizations, (B) instrumental non-community organizations, and (C) expressive voluntary organizations. Data for this variable was obtained in answer to the question, "Do any members of your family belong to any voluntary associations (clubs, organizations, leagues, cliques, political parties)? The answers were coded in terms of which family member(s) belonged to which organization.

In measuring our dependent variable we are involved in measuring two things: first, level of participation in voluntary associations, and second, scaling the various organizations in terms of being instrumental community, instrumental non-community, or expressive. With regard to the first problem, level of participation, our data yields information only about the extensity of participation and no information about the intensity. This restricts any generalizations which might be made on the basis of the data and will condition any conclusions reached. In terms of extensity, we intend to scale participation in each type of organization dependent on the number of those types of organizations which the respondent "actively" participates in. Our intent is to utilize a three-fold ordinal scale having 0 = no membership in that type of association, Low = two or less memberships, and High = three or more memberships in a particular type of association.

Our second problem, that of defining the various organizations in terms of the Gordon & Erikson typology, we approached in a different way. We would have liked to have had data giving us the respondents' perception

of the goals of each of his associations, and the reasons he belonged. This we could have scaled and come up with a truer picture of how many of each type of association the respondent belonged to.

Since we were unable to do this and since we had listings of the various voluntary associations in Churchill, we decided to travel to Churchill and gain as much detailed information as possible for each association and use this information in designating each association into one of the three types. There were two major problems in this method: first, we had to assume that our perception of the goals and the reasons for belonging to a specific organization were the same as the ones of those who actually belonged. This assumption must also weaken any generalizations which might be made on the basis of data analysis but is an assumption which had to be made from a pragmatic point of view since funds were not available to re-survey the community for the more pertinent information. The second problem involved deciding which associations fell into each of the three types. This problem existed because in some cases actual voluntary associations often met the criteria of the two other types. The criteria which were used consisted of both objective and subjective elements.

Objectively, we attempted to discern (1) the written goals of the association, using constitutions or other types of documents-- were the goals long range or short term? and (2) the past activities of the association--were the activities primarily intrinsic or extrinsic or both?

Subjectively, we probed some of the association members to learn (1) what they considered to be the most gratifying aspect of joining--

going to the meetings and activities, realization of goals, or both? and (2) what they personally considered to be goals of the organization (long or short term) and whether they considered them to be oriented internally or externally. These objective and subjective criterial follow closely Gordon and Babchuk's criteria. (See Page 16).

In some cases a number of these criteria contradicted each other for a specific organization (the Lion's Club's Charter saw its goal as instrumental while many of its members considered it to be expressive) or within one criteria both instrumental and expressive dimensions appeared, (some members viewed both the activities and the long range reward as equally gratifying.).

With this problem it became apparent that the Gordon and Babchuk typology was not uni-dimensional (as in the case of Weber's Bureaucratic Model), but consisted of two overlapping dimensions. All organizations had some instrumental and expressive elements; in most cases one element was significantly more important than the other to make classification relatively easy but in a number of cases there was a clear mixture of both elements, each with about the same magnitude. Since these borderline cases did not relate directly to the hypotheses outlined in the first chapter or to our theoretical framework it was decided not to include membership in borderline associations in our measurement of the dependent variable; instead we concentrated on those associations which came closer to the 'pure-type' of instrumental or expressive association.

Independent Variable: ERM was measured by asking the question, "How long do you expect to remain in Churchill?". Responses were coded: (1) temporarily (2) at least six months (3) six months to a year (4) one

to three years (5) over three years (6) permanently. Those responding with (1), (2) or (3) were coded as having high ERM; those responding with (4) were coded as having medium ERM, and those responding with (5) or (6) were coded as having high ERM. The rationale for these cut-off points was based on A. the theoretical notion that those who expected to stay less than a year had higher ERM than those expecting to stay over three years while the remainder had medium ERM, and B. the fact that the data on this item was trimodal, indicating sufficient frequencies in each group to facilitate analysis.

The variables, length of time in the community and life-cycle were established by direct inquiry. Length of time was dichotomized into two groups, those who had lived in the community a short time (under five years) and those who had lived in the community a long time (over five years). Forty-six percent of the respondents were considered short timers while the remaining 54% were long timers. Life-cycle consisted of two groups: those who had families in which the average age of the children was fifteen or less and those who did not. Seventy-four percent of the respondents were in life-cycle one while the remaining 26% were in life-cycle two.

Ethnicity is broken down into whites and non-whites (Indians and Eskimos), this being a natural division for the community. Seventy-five percent of the respondents were white, while 25% were non-white.

SES was measured by rating occupations according to the 1961 Blisshen scale (Blisshen 1961) which is a composite index of education

and income. Since this scale was developed in southern Canada, mainly in urban centers we also utilized income and education as separate indications.

Statistical Analysis: Tests of significance (inferential techniques) were not utilized in analyzing the data since: (1) it is generally not utilized on basic survey data (Selvin, 1957) and (2) a near population sample was attained. Therefore, a descriptive measure (measure of association) called Somner's $Dy.x$ was utilized. Its use resulted in the fact that it best fit the present data (Somner, 1962). Somner's $Dy.x$ is an asymmetrical measure; it requires both independent and dependent variables to be ordinal in nature, and it varies from -1.00 to +1.00. Thus one may describe exactly what is meant by the intermediate values of a coefficient. In general, it allows the researcher to ascertain the extent to which there is some form of monotonic correlation.

The general formula is:
$$Dy.x = \frac{P-Q}{P+Q+Y_0}$$

where P = number of concordant pairs
 Q = number of discordant pairs
 Y_0 = number tied on Y only

Somner's $Dy.x$ has an additional positive factor which lends itself to analysis of the present data. As Costner (1964) points out, $Dy.x$ has a P.R.E. interpretation (Proportional Reduction in Error). That is, the reduction of error (in predicting the order of the dependent variable) one gets with knowledge of an independent variable in comparison to prior knowledge--given that ties are not taken into account when the prediction is made, or more formally:

$Dy.x$ is the difference between conditional probabilities of like and unlike order, under the condition that we ignore times on the independent variable (although they will be present, in general, on the dependent variable). (Somner, 1962:804)

CHAPTER THREE

In this chapter we will present research findings to test the hypotheses outlined in the previous chapter. The chapter will be organized as follows: firstly, we will present data and discuss the relationship between expectations of residential mobility and membership in instrumental community associations. Secondly, this data will be presented in relation to the four control variables, and we will follow this strategy for both expressive associations and instrumental non-community associations.

Instrumental Associations

Hypothesis I stated that:

There is a negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in community instrumental voluntary associations.

The data presented in Table II shows that the relationship is in the direction predicted, although the relationship is a weak one. From this data it would seem that expectations of residential mobility seem to have little to do with membership in instrumental community voluntary associations. Knowledge of an individual's expectations of residential mobility only reduced errors in predicting by 5% (over the median prediction). Even by discounting errors and using Gamma, only 15% of the variance in the dependent variable can be accounted for by the independent variable.

TABLE II

MEMBERSHIP IN INSTRUMENTAL COMMUNITY ASSOCIATIONS BY EXPECTATIONS
OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

		EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY		
		<u>Low</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>High</u>
NUMBER OF INSTRUMENTAL COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS	<u>Many</u>	7 (5%)	4 (5%)	5 (6%)
	<u>Some</u>	29 (22%)	15 (21%)	12 (14%)
	<u>None</u>	96 (73%)	56 (74%)	71 (80%)

Somner's $Dy.x = -0.0497$

N = 295

One partial explanation for the weakness of this relationship might be the way in which the level of membership was measured. The measure which we used took into account only the number of voluntary association memberships and thus changes in the level of participation were not measured. Since instrumental associations have external, long term goals, they tend, as a result of this, to be relatively more structured than expressive associations. Thus, changes in a family's ERM may result in a less intense involvement in the instrumental association with membership still being retained. For example, a family which came to the community expecting to stay for five years might reach the peak of its participation in instrumental associations (holding offices, being on committees, going to meetings regularly, etc.) half-way through their stay. This peak could be followed by a slow decrease in this level of participation until the time to move came. Our point is that this

study would have indicated this decrease only if it consisted of dropping membership entirely. In most cases this is probably not what happens. Using Blau's concept of "investment cost", it seems reasonable to assume that the tendency would be to reduce the level of membership intensity while still remaining a nominal member of the association. Thus, while the strength of our relationship for instrumental associations seems (on the surface) quite weak, it may not represent the total impact of ERM on instrumental association membership.

Thus, in order to sharpen the effect of ERM on instrumental community association membership we have selected four control variables which past research has shown are related to voluntary association membership. The first of these variables was the length of residency in the community. Sub-hypothesis I A₁ stated that:

There is a strong negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for those who have lived in the community for a short time.

Sub-hypothesis I A₂ stated that:

There is a weak negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for those who have lived in the community for a long time.

The data presented in Table III tends to support sub-hypothesis I A₁, but it does not support hypothesis I A₂. The errors in predicting membership on the basis of ERM were decreased by 7% controlling for a short stay in the community with the direction being negative, while for those remaining a longer time errors were reduced by only 5% with

TABLE III

MEMBERSHIP IN INSTRUMENTAL COMMUNITY ASSOCIATIONS BY EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

CONTROLLING FOR LENGTH OF TIME A FAMILY HAS LIVED IN THE COMMUNITY

NUMBER OF ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS		Short Timers			Long Timers		
		ERM			ERM		
		Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
	Many	1(5%)	2(4%)	2(3%)	6(5%)	2(7%)	3(10%)
	Some	4(18%)	7(15%)	5(9%)	25(23%)	8(28%)	7(23%)
	None	17(77%)	37(81%)	51(88%)	79(72%)	19(65%)	20(67%)
		Somner's $Dy.x=-0.0726$			Somner's $Dy.x=+0.0551$		
		N=126			N=169		

the direction being positive.

For those who had lived in the community a long time, (hereafter referred to as 'long timers') and for those who had resided in the community for a short period of time (hereafter referred to as 'short timers') our independent variable seemed to operate differently. For short timers it operates in the direction of the original ERM-instrumental community association membership relationship, except being slightly stronger. This indicates that short timers with low ERM are more likely than those with high ERM to define instrumental associations as profitable, and therefore join.

For long timers the opposite seems to be the case. Long timers who expect to leave seem to view instrumental associations as more profitable than do those who expect to stay. One explanation for this finding could be that the friendship and psychological attachment of long timers to the community offsets the cost of membership in the instrumental community voluntary association, thus resulting in a higher proportion of membership amongst this group. The longer the individual remains in the community, the more likely he is to become a member of instrumental voluntary community associations through friendship and personal attachments. The long timer has incurred a greater number of investment costs than the short timer and thus is more reluctant to leave the association even though his ERM increases.

Another explanation of this finding might be that the relationship is due to the operation of another variable, namely socio-economic status (SES). When we cross tabulated ERM with SES controlling for length of time in the community we found that among the long timers, 52% of

those with high ERM are also in the high SES group, while only 18% of those with low ERM are in the high SES group. Since past studies have shown SES to be highly related to voluntary association membership this could explain our findings. Table IV shows that twice the percentage of the high SES group belong to instrumental associations in relation to the low SES group. Thus the relationship between ERM and membership controlling for length of time may be due to the operation of SES.

While analysing the data on socio-economic status (SES), we used three separate indicators: the 1961 Blishen Scale, education of family head and family income. While we had originally planned, for comparative purposes, to show all three indicators, the variance in Somner's Dy.x score was not more than .01 between the three, making this comparison unnecessary. As a result we present only the Blishen scale as a measure of SES. (Table IV lists the results when controlling for SES using this scale.)

Sub-hypothesis I B₁ stated that:

There is a strong negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for those in high SES categories.

Sub-hypothesis I B₂ stated that:

There is a weak negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for those in low SES categories.

The data presented in Table IV tends to support both of these hypotheses.

TABLE IV

MEMBERSHIP IN INSTRUMENTAL COMMUNITY VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS BY EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL
MOBILITY, CONTROLLING FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES)

		LOW SES ERM			HIGH SES ERM		
		Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
NUMBER OF ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS	Many	4(4%)	0(0%)	2(4%)	3(10%)	3(8%)	4(10%)
	Few	16(16%)	6(15%)	6(12%)	13(42%)	9(26%)	6(15%)
	None	81(80%)	33(85%)	41(84%)	15(48%)	23(66%)	30(75%)
		Somner's $D_y.x = -0.0307$			Somner's $D_y.x = -0.1715$		
		N=189			N=106		

Knowledge that a family is in the high SES group, along with knowledge of its ERM seems to be a more powerful predictor than ERM taken alone. Of families with low SES and low ERM only 20% belong to one or more voluntary instrumental associations, while of those with high SES and low ERM 51% belonged to one or more associations.

From our theoretical perspective it seems that high SES group members perceive instrumental community association membership as more profitable when they have low ERM than when they have high ERM. According to our theoretical perspective, this can be explained by the difference in the structure of rewards. High SES members apparently calculate more in terms of their own long term interests than do low SES members. This is probably due to the increased education of these members, and the fact that their occupational positions demand more calculative kinds of decisions than do low SES occupations. High SES members are expected to join instrumental community associations and this pressure to join eases as ERM rises because for high SES members the rewards for joining are often the meeting of business contacts, etc., and as ERM increases these contacts become less important.

When controlling for SES we found that ERM was negatively related to membership in instrumental community voluntary associations, for the high SES group, but not for the low SES group. This indicates a different calculus between the two groups in the way in which they define costs and rewards. In this next section we will investigate the relationship between ERM and membership in Instrumental Associations, using ethnicity as a control variable.

Sub-hypothesis I C₁ stated that:

There is a strong negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for whites.

Sub-hypothesis I C₂ stated that:

There is a weak negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in voluntary instrumental community associations when controlling for non-whites.

The research findings presented in Table V indicate that for the white group, knowledge of ERM reduces our error in predicting by 9%. For the white group, the direction of this relationship is positive, thus indicating that those who expect to stay are less involved in instrumental community organizations than those who expect to leave. Knowledge of ERM for the non-white group reduces our errors in predicting by only 5%. Among those with low ERM, 35% of the whites and 12% of the non-whites belong to one or more associations, but among those families with high ERM, 20% of the whites and 17% of the non-whites belong to one or more associations.

Thus the white - non-white distinction seems to affect membership only for those with low ERM, with the difference becoming negligible for those with high ERM. An explanation for this could be that non-whites who intend to leave have failed to internalize cultural norms of the non-white group. The non-white group has been a fairly stable element in Churchill, and thus leaving seems to go against the pre-established norm of staying. Thus, culturally, the non-white who expects to leave may be closer to the white culture than to his native culture; for this group we have increased membership, reflecting an increased internalization of white norms.

TABLE V

MEMBERSHIP IN INSTRUMENTAL COMMUNITY VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS BY EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

CONTROLLING FOR ETHNICITY

		WHITE			NON-WHITE		
		ERM			ERM		
NUMBER		Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
OF	Many	6(7%)	4(6%)	5(8%)	1(2%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
ASSOCIATION	Some	25(28%)	13(20%)	8(12%)	4(9%)	2(22%)	4(17%)
MEMBERSHIPS	None	58(65%)	49(74%)	52(80%)	38(89%)	7(78%)	19(83%)

Somner's $D_{y,x} = -0.0944$

Somner's $D_{y,x} = +0.0518$

N = 220

N = 75

In the next section we will examine the ERM - membership relationship for instrumental associations using life-cycle as a control variable. While this variable has been used only sparingly in the sociological literature we believe that it is an important variable especially from our theoretical perspective, since situations are defined in terms of profitability in different ways at different periods in a family's life.

For the control variable of life-cycle, sub-hypothesis I D₁ stated that:

There is a strong negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for life-cycle two.

Also, sub-hypothesis I D₂ stated that:

There is a weak negative relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental community associations when controlling for life-cycle one.

The findings presented in Table VI support these hypotheses but only weakly. Thirty percent (30%) of those in life-cycle one (these are usually people with younger families) with low ERM belong to one or more associations while 25% of those with high ERM belong to one or more associations. Among those in life-cycle two (as above), 19% with low ERM belong. By percentage, those in life-cycle one participated more than those in life-cycle two, while the relationship of ERM to membership was stronger in life-cycle two.

Generally, it seems that ERM is negatively related to membership in instrumental voluntary associations. This seems to support the notion that instrumental associations, because of their long term rewards, are more profitable for those who expect to stay than for those who expect

TABLE VI

MEMBERSHIP IN INSTRUMENTAL COMMUNITY VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS BY EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY
CONTROLLING FOR LIFE CYCLE

NUMBER OF ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS		LIFE CYCLE ONE ERM			LIFE CYCLE TWO ERM		
		<u>Low</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>High</u>
		<u>Many</u>	6(6%)	4(7%)	4(6%)	1(3%)	0(0%)
<u>Some</u>	24(24%)	10(19%)	11(18%)	5(16%)	5(24%)	1(4%)	
<u>None</u>	71(70%)	40(74%)	47(76%)	25(81%)	16(76%)	24(92%)	

Somner's $Dy.x = -0.036$
 N=217

Somner's $Dy.x = -0.0743$
 N=78

to leave. For expressive associations does the same pattern hold? The theoretical literature seems to indicate that it shouldn't: since expressive associations are immediately profitable, membership in them should not be related to ERM but rather membership is tied to non-community factors such as SES or ethnicity. To investigate this problem we have constructed hypotheses regarding membership in expressive associations. In the following pages we will present the data related to these hypotheses:

Hypothesis II stated that:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in voluntary expressive associations.

The data presented in Table VII indicates that a weak positive relationship exists between ERM and expressive association membership, which does not support our hypothesis. While 28% of those with low ERM belong to one or more voluntary associations, 42% of those with high ERM belong. Knowledge of a family's ERM reduces our errors in prediction for expressive associations by 13%.

TABLE VII

MEMBERSHIP IN EXPRESSIVE ASSOCIATIONS BY EXPECTATIONS
OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

		EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY		
		<u>Low</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>High</u>
NUMBER OF EXPRESSIVE ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS	Many	10(8%)	17(22%)	16(18%)
	Some	26(20%)	17(22%)	21(24%)
	None	96(72%)	41(56%)	51(58%)
		Somner's $D_y \cdot x = 0.1308$		N=295

The rationale for the original hypothesis was that those who expect to leave will view expressive associations as profitably as those who expect to stay. Underlying this rationale was an assumption that no 'zero-sum' relationship exists for voluntary association memberships. In other words, lack of memberships in one type of association will not make a family more inclined to join a different type of association. This does not seem to be the case. Those who expect to stay are less likely to join expressive associations than are those who expect to leave. The reason for this finding could be explained vis-a-vis the nature of the group with high ERM and the group with low ERM. The group with low ERM is faced with a number of possible associations to join, some instrumental, some expressive. They will be more likely to give their time(a relatively fixed commodity) to instrumental associations and thus have less time for expressive associations. Similarly, those with high ERM will be faced with both types of associations and because of the differences in reward structures will be more likely to join expressive associations and less likely to join instrumental associations. Many residents of Churchill may, because of the physical isolation of Churchill, feel a need to belong to an association. The question becomes which one to belong to. Those with low ERM seem to prefer instrumental community associations, thus giving them less time for membership in expressive associations. Those with high ERM see the expressive associations as more profitable, giving them less time for instrumental community association memberships. While this explanation is not grounded by empirical evidence, it does present an alternative mode to make sense out of our findings.

Another explanation might be that the relationship is due to the operation of some other variable, such as SES or ethnicity. To investigate this possibility we have controlled for each of four variables, with the results outlined below:

For the control variable of length of time in the community, sub-hypothesis II A₁ states:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for those who have lived in the community for a short time.

Also, sub-hypothesis II A₂ states:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for those who have lived in the community for a long time.

The data presented in Table VIII indicates that hypothesis II A₁ holds true while hypothesis II A₂ does not. When controlling for length of residence, knowledge that a family has lived in the community a short time along with knowledge of a family's ERM decreases our errors by 25%. The relationship for long timers is positive, indicating that those with high ERM belong more than those with low ERM.

One explanation for this finding could be that long timers with high ERM see the expressive association as a place to interact with friends at a minimum cost and a maximum reward. On the other hand, for short timers who expect to leave, friendships are fewer and thus the reward value of expressive associations is less. (Much of the reward value of expressive association consists of meeting friends, congenial situations, etc..) Fifty-six percent (56%) of long timers with high ERM belong to at least one expressive association, while only 25% of long timers

TABLE VIII

MEMBERSHIP IN EXPRESSIVE ASSOCIATIONS BY EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY CONTROLLING FOR LENGTH

OF TIME A FAMILY HAS LIVED IN THE COMMUNITY

NUMBER OF ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS		SHORT-TIMERS ERM			LONG-TIMERS ERM		
		Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
	<u>Many</u>	2(9%)	11(24%)	10(17%)	8(7%)	6(20%)	6(20%)
	<u>Some</u>	5(23%)	9(20%)	10(17%)	21(19%)	8(28%)	11(37%)
	<u>None</u>	15(68%)	26(56%)	38(66%)	81(74%)	15(52%)	13(43%)
		Somner's $Dy.x=0.0086$			Somner's $Dy.x=0.2519$		
		N=126			N=169		

with low ERM belong to one or more associations. Thirty to forty-seven percent (30-47%) of short timers in all three categories of ERM belong. Thus, the expressive association emerges as a meeting place for those who are leaving and those who have just arrived, and expectations of leaving seem to have a much more profound effect on belonging for long timers than for short timers.

While length of time as a control variable seems to affect changes in the original ERM-membership relationship, does SES have a similar effect? Past research, especially the study by Lehman (1964), indicates that SES operates independently of identification with the community. If this holds true for our study we would expect SES to have no effect on the ERM-membership relationship.

In the following section we will investigate the relationship between ERM and membership in expressive associations, using SES as a control variable. For instrumental associations we find that SES was our most significant control variable in terms of its ability, along with knowledge of ERM, to reduce prediction errors. Sub-hypothesis II B₁ stated that:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for those in high SES categories.

also, sub-hypothesis II B₂ stated that:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for those in low SES categories.

The data presented in Table IX indicates that sub-hypothesis II B₁ is substantiated while sub-hypothesis II B₂ is not. Families with high SES and low ERM belong more (about 30% more) to expressive associations

TABLE IX

MEMBERSHIP IN EXPRESSIVE ASSOCIATIONS BY EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY, CONTROLLING FOR
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

NUMBER OF ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS		HIGH SES ERM			LOW SES ERM		
		Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
		Many	4(13%)	10(28%)	6(16%)	6(6%)	7(18%)
Some	11(35%)	6(17%)	11(28%)	15(15%)	11(28%)	10(20%)	
None	16(52%)	20(55%)	22(56%)	80(80%)	21(54%)	29(60%)	

Somner's $Dy.x = -0.0214$
N=106

Somner's $Dy.x = +0.1904$
N=189

than families with low SES and low ERM. However, for families in both SES brackets but with high ERM the difference becomes negligible. In terms of the effect of the control variable on the ERM-membership relationship, this relationship is strengthened for low SES (0.19), but weakened for high SES (-0.02).

An explanation for this finding may be that low SES group members who intend to be mobile (high ERM) identify more with the norms of the high SES group which generally participates more in associations. This group could consist of individuals who have high achievement motivations and are not only intending to move horizontally, but also vertically. On the other hand, this relatively strong positive relationship could reflect ethnicity, since almost 40% of the long term low SES group are non-white. Because expressive associations are more closely aligned to the white culture, non-whites might be less likely to join, thus yielding the much lower percentage of expressive memberships in the long term low SES group. The data presented in Table X indicates that non-whites (approximately 50%) belong less, generally, than whites, (approximately 40%). Concerning ethnicity, sub-hypothesis II C₁ stated that:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for whites.

Also, for non-whites, sub-hypothesis II C₂ stated that:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for non-whites.

The data presented in Table X indicates that for whites the relationship between ERM and expressive membership is positive, although the relationship

TABLE X

MEMBERSHIP IN EXPRESSIVE ASSOCIATIONS BY EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITYCONTROLLING FOR ETHNICITY

		WHITE			NON-WHITE		
		ERM			ERM		
		Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
NUMBER	Many	9(10%)	14(21%)	12(18%)	1(2%)	3(33%)	4(17%)
OF	Some	23(26%)	15(23%)	15(23%)	3(7%)	2(22%)	6(26%)
ASSOCIATION	None	57(64%)	37(56%)	38(58%)	39(91%)	4(44%)	13(57%)
MEMBERSHIPS							
		Somner's $Dy.x=0.0618$			Somner's $Dy.x=0.3126$		
		N=220			N=75		

is quite weak, while for non-whites it is strongly positive (31%). This does not substantiate sub-hypothesis II C₂, but it does support sub-hypothesis II C₁. ERM seems to have little to do with expressive association memberships for whites while for non-whites it seems quite strongly related. This difference may in part be due to non-white cultural factors. The expressive association, especially in Churchill, seems to be more closely related to white than to non-white culture. Such prominent associations as the bowling club, the Aurora and Borealis Clubs and various sports associations indicate this closeness to the white culture. Thus, the significant difference in non-white members between transients and long timers may be because non-whites who are transient have shown by the very fact of their willingness or desire to move, a closer link to the white culture than to the traditionally stable non-white culture. Thus non-white transients are more likely to internalize aspects of the white culture such as belonging to voluntary expressive associations. The low level of formalism which is usually attached to expressive associations is probably found to be much more comfortable than the formalism attached to instrumental associations, thus they seek to join expressive rather than instrumental associations.

In this next section we will examine the relationship between ERM and membership in expressive associations under our fourth control variable, life-cycle. Sub-hypothesis II D₁ stated that:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for life-cycle one.

also, sub-hypothesis II D₂ stated that:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its

level of participation in expressive voluntary associations when controlling for life-cycle two.

The data presented in Table XI indicates that a weak positive relationship exists between ERM and expressive association membership in both life-cycle one and two. The data indicated that those in life-cycle two are more likely to join expressive associations, but that ERM seems to have more of an effect for those in life-cycle one.

One explanation for this finding might be that those with families, (life-cycle one), and high expectations of mobility have internalized the white 'southern' norm of joining to a greater extent than those who expect to stay. We suspect that much of the differential effect of the independent variable is due to the high percentage of non-whites with low ERM in the life-cycle one.

In the first two sections of this chapter we have noticed that ERM is generally negatively related to membership in instrumental community associations and positively related to membership in expressive associations. In the following section we will examine the effect of ERM on instrumental non-community association membership. Hypothesis III stated that:

There is no relationship between a family's ERM and its level of participation in instrumental non-community associations.

The data presented in Table XII tends to support this hypothesis. Knowledge of the dependent variable reduced errors in prediction over dependent variable by less than one percent. This finding seems reasonable for our theoretical perspective. Non-community instrumental associations imply rewards outside of the community and therefore expectations of

TABLE XI

MEMBERSHIP IN EXPRESSIVE ASSOCIATIONS BY EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

CONTROLLING FOR LIFE-CYCLE

		LIFE-CYCLE ONE ERM			LIFE-CYCLE TWO ERM		
		Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
NUMBER	Many	8(8%)	10(19%)	9(5%)	2(6%)	7(33%)	7(27%)
OF	Some	15(15%)	13(24%)	17(27%)	11(35%)	4(19%)	4(15%)
ASSOCIATION	None	78(77%)	31(57%)	36(58%)	18(58%)	10(48%)	15(58%)
MEMBERSHIPS							
		Somner's $Dy.x=0.1494$			Somner's $Dy.x=0.0768$		
		N=217			N=78		

TABLE XII

MEMBERSHIP IN INSTRUMENTAL NON-COMMUNITY VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS BY EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

		EXPECTATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY		
		Low	Medium	High
NUMBER OF ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS	Many	1(1%)	0(0%)	1(1%)
	Some	5(4%)	4(5%)	2(2%)
	None	126(96%)	71(95%)	85(97%)

Somner's $D_y.x = -0.0063$

N=295

leaving the community should have little to do with changing the reward structure for this type of association. The data tends to support this contention, although it should be pointed out that the relatively large numbers of families (95%) who do not belong to any instrumental non-community association make it necessary to caution the reader about generalizing on the basis of this finding.

TABLE XIII

RESULTS OF CONTROL VARIABLES ON ERM - INSTRUMENTAL NON-COMMUNITY
ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP RELATIONSHIP

CONTROL VARIABLE	SOMNER'S $D_{y,x}$ SCORE
Long Timers	-0.0097
Short Timers	-0.0153
High SES	0.0085
Low SES	-0.0278
White	0.0023
Non-White	-0.0395
Life-Cycle One	-0.0096
Life-Cycle Two	0.0039

Because there are only 13 families with instrumental non-community association memberships and since instrumental non-community associations represent a sub-type of the instrumental type of association we will not present our findings on the impact of the control variable in the table form as we did for instrumental and expressive associations. Table XIII above lists the $D_{y,x}$ scores obtained using each of the four control variables. The fact that the $D_{y,x}$ score never rises above 0.03 indicates that all of the sub-hypotheses for instrumental non-community associations have been substantiated. Since instrumental non-community associations are related to non-locality variables such as occupation, it seems reasonable that locality relevant factors such as ERM should not affect the joining of these associations.

For instrumental community associations we found that ERM is negatively related to membership; for expressive associations we found this relationship to be positive, while for instrumental non-community associations we found no relationship between ERM and membership, even under all controls. In the next chapter we will explore some possible reasons for these divergent findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

Summary and Conclusions

The basic problem which this research attempted to investigate was the relationship between expectations of residential mobility and membership in voluntary associations. Underlying this problem was a theoretical premise which postulated that people make decisions about joining voluntary associations using a type of calculus which involves defining various situations in terms of their profitability. On the basis of past research and this theoretical perspective, twenty-four hypotheses dealt with the relationship of ERM to the three types of associations under four specified control variables while the remaining three dealt with the relationship under no controls.

Of these twenty-four hypotheses, some support was found for nineteen of them. Table XIV below indicates the $Dy.x$ scores obtained for both instrumental and expressive associations, both with and without controls. (Instrumental non-community scores are not shown since they were developed in the previous chapter.)

TABLE XIV

SOMNER'S $Dy.x$ SCORES FOR INSTRUMENTAL AND EXPRESSIVE ASSOCIATIONS

BOTH WITH AND WITHOUT CONTROLS

CONTROL VARIABLE	INSTRUMENTAL	EXPRESSIVE
I None	-0.05	0.13
II Long Timers	0.05	0.25
Short Timers	-0.07	0.008
III High SES	-0.17	-0.02
Low SES	0.03	0.19
IV White	-0.09	0.06
Non-White	0.05	0.31
V Life-Cycle One	-0.03	0.14
Life-Cycle Two	-0.07	0.07

For instrumental associations the reduction in errors with knowledge of ERM never exceeded 17% and it generally ranged between 5% and 10%, with the direction of the relationship being negative in all but two cases, while for expressive associations errors were reduced by as much as 31% with the direction of the relationship generally being positive.

The above findings present us with an interesting picture of the role that expectations of residential mobility play in determining membership in the various types of associations. With the exception of instrumental non-community association, membership changes both with different types of associations and under different controls. Since instrumental community and expressive associations account for most of the association memberships in Churchill, and are theoretically the most important, (instrumental non-community being a sub-type of the instrumental case) most of the summary and conclusions will center around them.

In this summary of findings for these two types of associations we will first analyze and try to account for the direction of the relationship in each type of association. This will be followed by an analysis of the differences in strength of the ERM membership relationship in each type of association and an attempt to account for the operation of the control variables in each type of association. Finally, we will relate these findings back to our theoretical framework in an attempt to specify strength and weaknesses in the framework. For instrumental associations ERM operates as hypothesized in a negative direction while for expressive association the tendency seems to be that those who expect to leave are more likely to belong while no relationship was

hypothesized. This finding seems to cause some doubt about the 'non-zero sum' outlined earlier. For those expecting to leave, yet wishing to belong it seems that expressive associations are viewed as the most profitable of the alternatives. The reason for this is found in the different nature of the two types of associations. The instrumental association with its long term rewards and short term costs would not be viewed as profitably as the expressive association with its short term rewards and short term costs.

In terms of the strength of the ERM-membership relationship, those for expressive associations are much stronger than those for instrumental. As pointed out in Chapter Three, the reason for this difference can be accounted for in large measure by the way in which we measured the level of membership. The measure which we used was an extensity (extent of membership) measure, and thus changes in the level of participation (intensity) if an individual's ERM changed could only be accounted for if he formally quit the organization. Instrumental associations having external, long term goals, tend as a result of this to be more structured than the expressive associations. In the instrumental association level of participation can be more differentiated than in expressive associations. Thus changes in a family's ERM may result in a less intense involvement in the instrumental association with membership still being retained.

The operation of the control variables on the ERM-membership relationship is perhaps one of our most important findings. For instrumental associations the control variables seem to work in one direction, while for expressive associations they work in the other. For

example in instrumental associations knowledge that an individual has high SES decreases our errors by 17% with the direction being negative while knowledge of low SES has no effect on the ERM-membership relationship; for expressive associations, however, the knowledge of ERM for the SES group decreased our errors by 25%, while knowledge of ERM for the high SES group did little to reduce errors. This pattern existed for all four of the control variables and leads us to believe that two groups exist with reference to the use of ERM in their decisions about joining. The first group--high SES short timers, white and in life-cycle two--seem to be affected by their membership in instrumental associations but not in expressive, while for the second group--low SES long timers, non-white and in life-cycle one--the individuals seem to be affected by their membership in expressive associations but not in instrumental. The reason for this seems to lie in differential definitions of the profitability of joining. For the first group, (high SES) this profitability is affected by ERM in instrumental associations in such a way that staying seems to make joining appear more profitable while for the second group (low SES), leaving seems to make joining expressive associations more profitable.

In terms of our theoretical perspective outlined in Chapter One, these findings indicate that not all families define costs and rewards in the same way. We had postulated that those who expect to leave would define instrumental association as less profitable than those who expect to stay. This seems to be true only for certain groups and not for others as our control variables indicate. Also, for expressive associations we had postulated no relationship between membership and

ERM while our data indicated that relationships did exist and in some cases, quite strong relationships.

These findings do not, we believe, call into question our theoretical framework (exchange theory) as such, but are inconsistent with Babchuk's implicit contention that instrumental and expressive associations represent two distinct types of voluntary associations. What our findings show is that some people define one association in one way (as instrumental), while others may define it in another way (as expressive). This brings us back to a symbolic interactionist stance since it seems that instrumental and expressive types of associations cannot be defined in a situation merely by the use of objective criteria. What is essential is a delimitation of how each member in an association defines that association. ERM will have a differential effect on voluntary association membership depending on how a particular individual defines that association. Thus, while Gordon and Babchuk's typology did not adequately delineate the differential definitions of cost and rewards of interactants in the same association, we believe that exchange theory served as a useful paradigm in the process of constructing hypotheses.

An alternative explanation of our findings might be what we will call 'the group exclusion phenomenon': this explanation centers around the belief that ERM, instead of causing changes in participation in voluntary associations, is itself affected by the ability of the individual to gain membership in a particular association; since voluntary associations function to integrate members of a community, an individual or family which was excluded from membership might not become psychologically

attached to the community and might therefore become disenchanted with the community, causing an increase in his expectations of leaving. Future research should attempt to test both of these theories, hopefully through longitudinal research. It may be that ERM and the group exclusion phenomenon act upon each other causing changes in both the structure and functioning of voluntary associations.

The implication of this study is that ERM does in some cases affect membership in voluntary associations with both the strength and direction of this effect dependent upon the type of association considered and the controls which are used. The fact that ERM-membership relationships were as strong as they were (considering the measurement problems involved), is, we believe, an indicator that variables other than the traditional social background characteristics (SES, age, etc.) can also be important in determining voluntary association membership.

The study attempted to utilize a theoretical framework in accounting for voluntary association membership. Considering the novelty of this approach in the study of voluntary associations we believe that we were at least partially successful. The major independent variable--ERM-- was derived more from our theoretical framework than from past research and considering the unique findings obtained using this variable we believe that the use of a theoretical framework served a useful purpose. Future research, in addition to testing alternative theories of voluntary association membership should, we believe, be more cognizant of the many types of associations in attempting to discover what the determinants of membership are. Future research should also attempt to tie the determinants

of membership as closely as possible to some theoretical framework, and thus not only answer the question who, but also why.

In drawing any final conclusions on the basis of this study, the reader should be reminded to take into account the isolated nature of the community that was studied. The factor of isolation and the role which it played in the ERM-membership relationship can only be further understood by research in comparisons of isolated and non-isolated communities. The reader should also be cognizant of the fact that this research was carried out just after the announcement by NASA that it would no longer be conducting research in Churchill, thus placing the future of many of the families in Churchill in doubt. Such an announcement may have sharply increased the expectations of residential mobility of many families while the hypothesized resultant changes in membership may not yet have occurred. The reader should also remember some of the difficulties encountered in measuring our variables. We believe that future research should take into account this problem of measurement in the following ways: first, an attempt should be made to measure expectations of residential mobility both in terms of how long the individual or family expects to remain in the community and what his subjective probability of remaining is, or how sure he is that he will be in the community for that length of time. In terms of measuring membership in voluntary associations, we believe that it is crucial to have both an extensity as well as an intensity measure, thus giving future researchers more definitive data on which to test some of the hypotheses outlined in this thesis. In addition to these problems, there is also the problem of defining various voluntary associations as being either instrumental or

expressive. To meet this problem, we think it is necessary to use as much as possible a 'subjective' measure of each association. In other words, instead of 'objectively', measuring, as we did, each association in terms of the Gordon and Babchuk typology, questions should be asked of each of the respondents in the future about how they perceive the association, and on the basis of answers to these questions, that association membership could be defined as being either instrumental or expressive or both.

Final conclusions about the impact of this study can only at best be ambiguous. Expectations of residential mobility seem to affect membership in some cases but not in others. What this study has done, we believe, is to pose interesting questions for future research rather than to furnish complete answers to present questions. These questions center around the relationship of membership to both the type of group or association and the personal and situational characteristics of the individual. Some of the problems which we encountered in using Gordon and Babchuk's typology (such as the fact that many associations exhibited both instrumental and expressive characteristics) point to the need to perhaps develop new and more thorough typologies of voluntary associations. These new typologies should, we believe, not only differentiate in terms of the function of the association, but also in terms of certain organizational characteristics and take into account the life-cycle of the community in which the voluntary association is found.

The importance of the voluntary association as a tool of community integration or segregation (depending on its structure and function) makes it one of the more important institutions deserving of sociological study. The fact that ERM is related to this structure and function is of

significance, especially considering the increased residential mobility of Canadians and Americans. This increase in residential mobility, coupled with its relationship to voluntary associations makes it a variable in need of more study.

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APPENDIX A

CLASSIFICATION OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN CHURCHILL

Akudaluk Recreation Association	I
American Meteorological Association	INC
American Radio Relay League	INC
Arena Association	I
Army Cadets	B
Aurora Club	E
Badminton Club	E
Band Council	I
Basketball League	E
Borealis Club	E
Bowling League	E
Boys Brigade	B
Boy Scouts	B
Brownies	B
Catholic Women's League	B
Camera Club	E
Chamber of Commerce	I
Chess Club	E
Choirs	E
Churchill Advisory Council	I
Churchill Recreation Association	I
Churchill Tourist Association	I
Concerned Citizens of Churchill	I
Concert Association	E
Conservative Party	I
Consumers Protest Group	I
Credit Union	B
Cubs	B
Curling Club	E
Dene Village Art Club	E
Fastball Club	E
Fishnet Club	E
Flying Club	E
Game and Fish Club	E
Girl Guides	B
Hobby Shop	E
Hockey Association	E
Home and School (PTA)	I
Hospital Board	I
House Committee	I
Hudson Bay Route Association	I
Indian Metis Committee	I
Indian and Metis Handicraft Guild	E
Ladies Aid	I
Ladies Club	E

Legion	B
Liberal Party	I
Library Committee	I
Lions	B
Manitoba Association of Social Workers	INC
Manitoba Metis Federation	INC
Manitoba Teachers Society	INC
Masons	B
Metis Center	B
Ministerial Association	B
Other Church Organizations	B
New Democratic Party	I
Nanuk T.V.	I
Odd Fellows	B
Physical Fitness Club	E
Project and Planning Committee	I
Registered Nurses' Association	INC
Rifle Club	E
St. Francis Club	E
School Board	I
School Band	E
Scout Council	B
Sewing Group for Hospital	I
Shriners	B
Teen Club (Youth Club)	E
Volunteer Fire Brigade	I
Whalers Co-op	I
Women's Auxiliary	B
Eastern Star	E
Manitoba Motor League	INC
Elks	B
Pan Am Sports League	E
Public Service Alliance	INC
Community Development Council	I
Centennial Council	I

CODE:

I- Instrumental Association
 INC - Instrumental Non-Community Association
 E- Expressive Association
 B - Borderline Association

APPENDIX B

ITEMS FROM THE CHURCHILL HEALTH UTILIZATION STUDY USED IN THIS THESIS

1. Who are the members of the family living here with you and what are their ages?
2. How long have you lived in Churchill?
3. How long do you expect to live in Churchill?
4. What is the last year of school attended by all adult members of your family presently living at home?
5. What was the family income last year (before taxes)?
6. What was the principle occupation of the family head during this last year?
7. What is your family's ethnicity (White or Native Canadian)?