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AUTHOR Bigart, Robert J.
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ABSTRACT

The four papers in this publication discusses Montana's social structure as it relates to culture, income, urbanism, and communal religious communities. "Montana Social Structure and Culture" includes rural and suburban life styles; the history of rural community organization; rural-small town communities; urban physical conditions; developments in urban social structure; and the implications for Montana's social structure. "Social Characteristics Reflected in Income Distribution Within Montana" discusses the State's six economic regions and income distribution by county. Tables give the percentage distribution of family income by region and county in 1959. In "Urbanism and Montana Cities", the State's cities are tested for differences in social structure between them and large urban centers such as Chicago or New York City. Distribution of family income for 1959 is presented in tabular form. Topics covered in "Communal Religious Communities in Montana" are the Montana Hutterites (a Mennonite group), colony life, nonrational behavior by religious communities, and the effects of these colonies on State economic growth. A 1964 listing of Hutterite colonies in Montana is given. (NQ)

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN MONTANA

Robert J. Bigart

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Montana Economic Study

Staff Study

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University of Montana
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PREFACE

These papers on social organization in Montana are offered to the reader as an attempt to explain the available evidence. The reader should be cautioned that the scarcity of information about Montana society makes the conclusions offered tentative at best. These conclusions seem to be supported by the evidence currently available, but more field research into Montana's social structure may call for new and different formulation. The reader is also advised that these papers do not attempt an overall description of Montana's society. They concentrate on those aspects of the society which the writer considers important to his argument.

It is hoped that the reader will find the papers entertaining and provocative. The hypotheses advanced here are tentative at this time, but the effort will have been worthwhile if more interest and research into the nature of society in Montana is stimulated.

Bob Bigart

MONTANA SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE*

Many people who move to Montana mention, as one of their reasons for immigrating, that they like the "way of life" here better than that of more urban, industrialized areas of the country. The state's relative isolation from urban influences is characterized by a more informal style of living; newcomers often find relief in being away from "the hustle and bustle of city life." In Montana, many also experience less pressure than in suburbia to conform to community standards.

Of course, most of these traits are typical of rural regions in comparison to urban areas. Montana's particular social distinctiveness probably also derives from the remaining influence of the frontier tradition and specific regional differences in American social patterns which make living in Montana different from living in other areas. This difference is emphasized when comparing urban centers such as New York City, Boston, and Los Angeles to predominantly rural Montana. That either the urban or rural style is "better" is a value judgment which is not the concern of this paper, but it is interesting to note that many Americans find that the rural life style has more appeal.

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*The evidence available on the subject is not sufficiently complete to prove conclusively the conclusions I have drawn here. The interpretation offered in the paper is only intended to be consistent with the information available at this time, with the hope that it offers a useful conceptual framework for dealing with the problem. See Maurice R. Stein, The Eclipse of Community, An Interpretation of American Studies (New York: Harper and Row, 1960).

RURAL LIFE STYLES

As a state, Montana is predominantly rurally oriented. The 1960 Census classified 50.2 percent of Montana's population as urban; but the census defines every community with more than 2,500 people as urban. A town of that size has hardly been able to develop urban social characteristics, since its social and economic life is geared to the surrounding rural area. Even Montana's two largest cities, Great Falls and Billings, had only slightly more than 50,000 people in 1960, and only about 60,000 in 1970, not enough to have developed the social and cultural patterns one finds in large metropolitan centers such as Chicago and New York City. In this paper, "urban" is used to refer to the larger, industrially-oriented metropolitan areas as opposed to Montana's cities which are largely dependent on agriculture, logging, mining, and small industry, and are therefore more rurally oriented.[1]

Urban can be used to mean either: (1) any gathering of more than a set number of people, or (2) an area that has developed distinctive cultural and social patterns because of this accumulation of people. The present discussion will consider urban life to be the sort found in metropolitan areas such as New York City, Boston, and Chicago, and the developing suburban communities which surround them; such urban life will be compared to the small cities and agricultural areas that make up the rest of the country and all of Montana. A few of the more

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1. See the use of "urban" in Wilfred Owen, Cities in the Motor Age (New York: Viking Press, 1959) pp.27-29.

recent developments that seem to have reduced the appeal of city and suburban living will thus be pointed up.

History of Rural Community Organization

Even before the development of an urbanized culture, American social life was noted for being heavily organized. The popular vision of the hardy pioneer setting out alone, or with only his family, to tame the wilderness by perseverance and courage is unrepresentative of the westward movement.

People moved across the continent in groups in order to consolidate resources for hiring guides and standing guard duty, and to achieve the safety provided by larger numbers. Daniel Boorstin notes in his social history of the United States that:

> . . . by the time of the Gold Rush of 1849, it was already a well-established custom of the trail for those venturing through a territory where the laws of our common country do not extend their protection to make themselves into a political body.[2]

Many of these political bodies were complex, often patterned after the United States Constitution. Moving to the frontier commonly involved groups organized as both economic and political units.[3]

New western communities were organized immediately upon establishment--with vigilance committees, where needed, and "claims clubs"

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2. Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience (New York: Vintage Books, 1965) p. 66.

3. Ibid., pp. 51-72.

which operated on a continuing basis to protect the members from claim jumpers and to solve land disputes between neighbors.[4] For these clubs:

> . . . organization often began with a mass meeting of the local settlers, who formed a committee to draft a constitution and bylaws and then elected officers. Each club had its established procedure for choosing juries to settle disputes, usually providing a salary for their president and their marshall, when on judicial duty. They kept a register of land titles and in many ways acted like a regular United States government land office.[5]

Of necessity, extensive formal organization came early to western communities and became a community tradition.

Evon Vogt in his book, The Modern Homesteaders, described a community which had not succeeded in establishing the level of organization and cooperation required to meet general problems.[6] Community members belonged to different internal factions and organizations but were unable to work effectively on a community-wide basis. A cooperative attempt to build a community gymnasium, for example, failed and the structure was left uncompleted. Vogt prophesied, on the basis of his study, that the town's lack of cooperative success would probably mean its eventual demise.

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4. Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience, p. 75.

5. Ibid., p. 75.

6. Evon Vogt, The Modern Homesteaders (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1955).

So, despite the myth that makes the individual pioneer representative of American history, it was more typical to form highly organized cooperative groups for mutual protection and economic advantage, even in frontier days. The contemporary reputation of American pioneers emphasized their skill as organizers.

Rural-Small Town Communities

Most studies of the social organization of more modern rural communities indicate that they follow their cooperative heritage. Douglas Ensminger notes in a text on rural sociology that "rural society is developing a complex and heterogeneous social organization."[7] The famous community studies in the 1930s found a similar development in the small cities they studied. Robert Lynd described 'Middletown" in this famous passage:

> Small worlds of all sorts are forever forming, shifting and dissolving. People maintain membership, intimate or remote, formal or tacit, in groups of people who get a living together . . . and so on indefinitely through all the activities of the city.[8]

Another study of the period, A. B. Hollingshead's Elmtown's Youth, found a society that was heavily organized--providing a recognized place for each individual.[9]

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7. C. C. Taylor, et al., Rural Life in the United States (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949) p. 72.

8. Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929) p. 478.

9. August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949).

This pattern in the rural and small-city style of social organization would seem to give the individual a secure and structured place in his community. Such security does not preclude the individual's deciding to leave that position and strive for another by economic advancement but it does give him security. As long as he stays reasonably close to his socially defined role, he can expect to be relatively free from many sources of social pressure. For example, what society expects of a common laborer and what he will receive in return, have been pretty well established by tradition. Rural communities might well be able to exert many kinds of social pressure more effectively than a suburban community, but such pressure is used less often, a larger degree of certain types of deviance being tolerated by the rural communities before pressures are imposed. The rural society would not react to a deviant just because he differed from someone else, though deviance such as public homosexuality or bigamy which flagrantly violated the community's concept of ideal behavior would be intense. Mechanisms of social control in rural areas are largely in the form of negative sanctions--keeping people from being too deviant, in contrast to the suburban pattern (to be discussed later) which is positive in the sense that it rewards people for behaving like their neighbors.

Frank Alexander and Carl F. Kraenzel showed that Sweet Grass County, Montana, has social characteristics that are similar to this established rural pattern.[10] They found 85 formal organizations in

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10. Frank Alexander and Carl F. Kraenzel, Social Organization in Sweet Grass County, Montana, Montana State Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 490, November 1953.

the county--an average per organization of only 35.9 persons over 9 years of age. This concentration of formal organizations is true despite a population distribution so sparse that most of the organizations are

> . . . constantly confronted with the problem of survival simply because the membership is small and scattered and unable to accomplish all that is necessary to keep the organization alive.[11]

This results in people having to put forth more effort and cost to obtain services available for less in areas of denser population.[12] Another in this series of rural life studies, conducted in North Dakota, found the same characteristics of organizational structure.[13] A study of Libby-Troy, Montana, communities known for their relative instability because of their reliance on lumbering, found 50 organizations in 1944 for a population of 4,500 not including many school and youth organizations or organizations within churches.[14]

Implications for Montana Social Structure

Montana's social structure is characterized by stability and relative security. Montanans, like other rural people, live in an established society with defined roles that allow psychological and social stability. This easing of individual pressure decreases social

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11. Ibid., p. 85.

12. Ibid., p. 85.

13. A. H. Anderson and Glen V. Vergeront, Rural Communities and Organization, North Dakota Agricultural Experimental Station Bulletin No. 351 1948.

14. Harold F. Kaufman and Lois C. Kaufman, Toward the Stabilization and Enrichment of a Forest Community, The Montana Study with USFS Region 1, 1946 Mimeographed pp. 5, and 86-87.

competition. When one has an established place in a society, one's neighbor is less likely to be a social threat. Such a situation permits friendlier and more open relationships.

In an established social system such as Montana's, slight deviances in behavior are more likely to be tolerated than they are in less firmly established communities such as the suburbs, where differing values are likely to threaten the security of the group as a whole. (There are a few exceptions, such as homosexuality and wife-swapping, which are more openly tolerated in metropolitan communities and their suburbs.)

A secure society can afford to protect the individual instead of prodding him into conformity. In such a society there is less pressure to work at one's maximum speed in order to stay in the same place relative to others. Instead of each person's having to "stake out" and maintain his own place in the community, the society offers him a choice of established roles. In each role, the individual knows what is expected of him and what he will get in return--easing the external pressure on him and allowing him more of a chance to be directed by his personal desires and wishes.

SUBURBAN LIFE STYLE DIFFERENCES

Suburban communities are a new development on the American social scene, made possible by relatively recent advances in transportation and communications technology. Changes in national demography normally result in social developments and alterations. The development of the

modern suburbs and the affluent society associated with them is no exception and has forced social readjustment on a scale rarely matched in American history. The trauma of the core cities has added to the social upheaval of the new suburbs to create, temporarily at least, metropolitan social patterns which contrast sharply with those of traditional America.

Most suburbs have been formed from a selected population and have not had time to develop the class distinctions found in older American communities.[15] Suburbanites tend to be white college graduates of relatively homogeneous age and economic affluence. While often highly differentiated among themselves, suburbs are usually internally homogeneous.[16] One book of readings on suburban life points out that:

> . . . the 300 communities, mostly of small population, which make up Greater New York are not so well integrated socially as an equal number of independent communities of the same size. They lack social development and community consciousness. They are not completely themselves.[17]

Individual suburbanites are affected by these differences in social organization in a variety of ways. The suburb helps people develop their social and leadership capabilities by expecting individual participation and involvement on the neighborhood level.[18] To fill

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15. William M. Dobriner, ed., The Suburban Community (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958) p. 158.

16. Ibid., p. 103.

17. Ibid., p. 92.

18. Ibid., pp. 158-9.

the lack of a leadership caste or traditionally established roles, each person is expected to develop his own place in society by taking an active part in local social affairs. This expectation of involvement "brings out" the new residents, making them more socially active. William H. Whyte quotes an ex-Park Forester as reminiscing that:

> I learned at Park Forest how to take the initiative. . . It certainly stood me in good stead. I found out when I got here that most of the people really didn't know one another, and I just naturally started getting them together.[19]

Other results of suburban life are less roundly praised. The suburbs have reacted to homogeneity and lack of traditional roles by emphasizing conformity. The lack of differentiation within the community eases some of the pressure to strive for conspicuous consumption, but it also increases the emotional pressure on the individual, who must consider what his neighbors' reaction would be to anything smacking of pretentiousness. Whyte notes that:

> Even in a single neighborhood, what in one block would be an item eminently acceptable might in another be regarded as flagrant showing-off.[20]

Rural communities oppose "putting on style" when it is haughty or officious, while suburban society reacts to pretentiousness because such people are not trying to be like the rest of the community. The suburban goal becomes uniformity, while the rural intention is

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19. William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1956) pp. 327-8.

20. Whyte, The Organization Man, p. 347.

to oppose behavior which is so far from the desired that it insults the community's social conscience. The suburbanite has social obligations to and expectations from the other individual members of the community. There is no set of social traditions to mediate between the individual and the group. In those suburban neighborhoods that have a tight-knit group:

> . . . each member feels an equity in others' behavior. With communications so intensive, the slightest misunderstanding can generate a whole series of consequences. . . . The more vigorous the search for common denominators, the stronger the pressure to alikeness.[21]

The treatment of deviance is an important aspect of this difference between the traditions of rural American culture and the suburban lack of established social patterns. Whyte quotes one suburbanite who relates this case of suburban deviance:

> She was dying to get in with the gang when she moved in. She is a very warm-hearted gal and is always trying to help people, but she's, well--sort of elaborate about it. One day she decided to win over everybody by giving an afternoon party for the gals. Poor thing, she did it all wrong. The girls turned up in their bathing suits and slacks, as usual, and here she had little doilies and silver and everything spread around. Ever since then it's been almost like a planned campaign to keep her out of things.[22]

Much of the present-day suburban way of life is influenced by the immaturity of its social system, and so the suburbs could change greatly by the end of this century. David Reisman, for example, has

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21. Ibid., p. 396.

22. Ibid., p. 397.

pointed out that pressures for conformity may be decreasing in the newer suburbs.[23] The way of life characterized in this sketch, however, seems to be important now, and if an individual's preferences are for the rural rather than the suburban life style, then this would be a nonpecuniary reward for living in Montana.

URBAN PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

When considering the differences between urban areas and Montana, one must include the differences in quality of environment and government services as well as in social structure. Environmental conditions in American cities have deteriorated rapidly in the last twenty years. Pollution and overcrowding have combined with some poor community services and high taxes to make the cities a much less enjoyable place to live for many people.

Air and Water Pollution

Pollution problems have been widely publicized in recent years. One biologist was quoted by a columnist as predicting the possible end of life on earth in the next 35 to 100 years.[24] The brunt of pollution in America is borne by people living in urban areas. New York City air is so bad, for example, that it has the toxic equivalent of smoking 38 cigarettes a day.[25] Research has indicated that air

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23. Dobriner, The Suburban Community, p. 377.

24. Anthony Lewis, "Not with a Bang But a Gasp," The Missoulian, December 18, 1969, p. 4.

25. Robert Rienow and Leona Train Rienow, Moment in the Sun (New York: Ballantine Books, 1967) p. 141.

pollution is probably linked to a number of major diseases including lung cancer.[26] Cases of widespread death resulting from air pollution are on record, with the most famous in London in 1952 where 4,000 deaths were attributed to a week-long concentration of smog.[27]

Water pollution is also a problem, and sources of clean water are getting rare. The communities who use water from the Great Lakes are an example:

> Four million Americans--60 percent of all those in this area--depend on the Great Lakes for drinking water. Often their water intakes are clogged with filth.[28]

The great rivers that flow by or through so many of America's largest cities are becoming increasingly unfit for recreation, or even pleasant viewing. Most people are remarkably calm about the health problems associated with pollution; however, most are concerned over its unpleasantness. The acrid irritation of smog or the stink of a polluted river create an environment people find quite unappealing.

Overcrowding

Living conditions inside urban areas have deteriorated further--too many people in too small an area. As early as 1959 a third of the downtown land area in most large cities was covered by streets and

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26. Mitchell Gordon, Sick Cities (New York: MacMillan Co., 1963) p. 64.

27. Ibid., p. 66.

28. Rienow and Rienow, Moment in the Sun, p. 134.

parking areas. Parks and other open areas in the cities were being sacrificed for new highways and developments.[29] By the mid-1960s, two-thirds of downtown Los Angeles was given over to automobile use.[30] Recreation areas within weekend driving distance from large cities have become increasingly rare.[31] This decrease in open spaces and urban recreational facilities has proceeded to the point where Fred Smith, Director of the Council of Conservation, has warned that urbanites:

> . . . will wake up one day to find that we no longer have traditional parks. We will have a new kind of urbanized area, not for living in, like a city, but for standing in line in, for playing in with such competition, vengeance, purpose, and breathless determination that there will be no point in going there at all.[32]

That such heavy concentration of people results in deterioration of the quality of city life is indicated by crime rates and certified by the effects of population density on animals other than humans. Animal reactions to overcrowding usually indicate "psychological discord--mental anguish really."[33] Snow hares, for example, react by dying by the thousands "from a disease which seems to result from stress and . . . overcrowded living conditions."[34] Probably the

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29. Wilfred Owen, Cities in the Motor Age, p. 24.

30. Mitchell Gordon, Sick Cities, p. 18.

31. Ibid., p. 170.

32. Ibid., p. 111.

33. Rienow and Rienow, Moment in the Sun, pp. 121-122.

34. Sally Carrighar, Wild Heritage (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), p. 174.

most famous reaction to overcrowding is that of the lemmings who, according to Swedish Zoologist, Professor Alf Johnels, begin "to quiver, then to run madly in every direction--anywhere where there are fewer lemmings--even into the sea."[35] Though it has not been proven directly, these observations suggest that overpopulation is costly in human psychological stability as well.

Community Services

Most large cities are experiencing serious problems in maintaining and expanding their community services to meet the needs of huge populations. Rising crime rates have seriously taxed urban police departments and no effective way to reduce crime has been found.[36] Fire protection is similarly hampered by budget limitations and personnel shortages. Warren Y. Kimball, an official of the National Fire Protection Association states that:

> In the vast majority of cities the undermanning of fire companies is so critical as to seriously cripple the ability of the fire departments to promptly combat anything more than the smallest fires.[37]

Protection services are not the only urban facilities facing problems. Many large cities are finding it increasingly difficult to provide good schools. In most cities the school problem is

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35. Rienow and Rienow, Moment in the Sun, p. 123.

36. Gordon, Sick Cities, p. 123 ff.

37. Ibid., p. 151.

further complicated by the special problems of providing effective schooling for minority groups, and a solution has yet to be developed.[38] Other facilities ranging from libraries to garbage service and street cleaning are under increasing financial pressure, and in many cities service has seriously deteriorated.

Tax Rates

Urban financial needs have been increasing with the post-World War II population shift to cities. At the same time, growth of the suburbs has drained off a disproportionate amount of the core city's tax base, as the emigrants to the suburbs are usually among the more affluent urban residents. This exodus of the more affluent to the suburbs has been accompanied by a similar movement out of the cities of many factories and offices, and a move into the city by the low-income groups most in need of social services. This leaves the core city, in the words of Mitchell Gordon, "trapped in the vice of climbing expenditures and a shrinking tax base."[39] As a result, city taxes have been rising at the very time that the quality of government services has declined. Consequently the poor in urban areas have been deprived of social services because the more affluent, who could afford to support the services, live in another community.

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38. James S. Coleman, Quality of Educational Opportunity, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

39. Gordon, Sick Cities, p. 251.

Urban Advantages

The picture is not entirely bleak; cities still have many of the advantages that have historically attracted rural migrants. The concentration of population in the cities allows for many cultural, educational, and social facilities that cannot be supported by either suburban or rural communities. Large cities also offer more varied employment opportunities, but that topic shall be explored in another paper.

Summary

A deteriorating physical environment and generally declining levels of government services have in recent years combined to make cities less enjoyable places. Many have found this an influencing--even deciding--factor in determining where to live. The glitter of the large cities that has attracted so much of the rural population over the last fifty years has tarnished a bit.

DEVELOPMENTS IN URBAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The large urban centers in the United States have developed a distinctive cultural and social structure. The traditional American social organization that emphasized the local community seems to be breaking down in the remarkable growth of urban population. Scott Greer in his text on urban sociology has summarized studies which indicate that neighborhoods and local residential areas are of less significance than in rural areas. The complexity of social organization

in the cities is declining on a per capita basis; indeed, most urban families were found to belong only to a church (which they often did not attend), or to a church and one other organization.[40]

Neighborhood social organizations in most cities are becoming sparse and no longer does each person have a well-defined role within his local society. The social units (such as the city and ward) now include so many people that effective control of the individual by society is increasingly difficult. (This does not mean that city dwellers necessarily have fewer friends than do rural residents, since kinship associations and personal friends often compensate for the lack of organizational and neighborhood contacts.[41]) The individual in the large city is not only free but socially isolated, to such an extent that many find city life unenjoyable and even bewildering. Organized entertainment is also declining in importance for urban adults. The urbanites, according to Greer:

> . . . live their lives in relative isolation from neighborhood, community, and voluntary organization, but compensate by intensive involvement in primary relationships with kinfolk and friends. . . . In the metropolis the community as a solid phalanx of friends or acquaintances does not exist; if individuals are to have a community in the older sense of communion, they must make it for themselves.[42]

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40. Scott Greer, The Emerging City: Myth and Reality (New York: Free Press, 1962) pp. 90-3.

41. Ibid., p. 91.

42. Ibid., pp. 93-4.

For many it has not proved possible to construct this sort of new community in the cities, and instead they find themselves individuals against forces beyond their ability to control.

This sense of isolation has been a contributing factor to the rising crime rate. Many urban residents are beginning to see their apartments as fortifications against the outside world. This urban fear was recently examined in several national periodicals. The March 24th Newsweek carried an article on "Learning to Live With Fear."

> City people can get used to almost anything, but it takes a long time to learn to live with fear--and fear is the scourge of the cities these days.[43]

Probably the most widely publicized example of the breakdown of low-level urban society is the murder of Kitty Genovese in New York City in 1964. Almost forty neighbors heard Miss Genovese's screams in a murder attack that lasted over half an hour in a respectable middle-class neighborhood in Queens. Even in her own community, appeals for help from Miss Genovese brought only the most hesitant of responses from witnesses. Residents were quoted as being too afraid to call police (from the safety of their locked apartments) because they did not want to get involved.[44] Some of the social psychological studies instigated by this murder indicate that in an emergency people are less likely to respond if they feel a third party could, or if they

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43. "Learning to Live With Fear," Newsweek, vol. 73:12, p. 62.

44. Martin Gansberg, "37 Who Saw Murder Didn't Call Police," New York Times, March 27, 1964, p. 1.

do not know the victim.[45] According to these indications, living in a community where one does not know his neighbors personally can increase the chance that no local help will be offered in an emergency.

The urban social problems have been characterized as a loss of individual and group identity. The Rienows, in their book, Moment in the Sun, saw:

> Man's cities, engulfed by more people than they can decently absorb, have in the process lost their own character; they have been effaced. There is now nothing left with which the city dweller can constructively identify. The city has become anonymous, the citizen faceless. Little of the municipal heritage, either man-made or natural, remains for him to admire, to cling to, to boast about, improve, or defend. The city itself has lost its cultural meaning. Much of it is a hostile jungle where Girl Scouts are banned in the name of safety from peddling cookies from door to door.[46]

Again, one ought not try to make definitive judgments on the developing urban culture. Many people have thrived on this new freedom, but for others it has had anything but desirable effects. Many of those who find the new urban milieu undesirable might find Montana an appealing place to live.

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45. Bibb Latane and Judith Rodin, "A Lady in Distress: Inhibiting Effects of Friends and Strangers on Bystander Intervention," Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 5 (1969) pp. 189-202.

46. Rienow and Rienow, Moment in the Sun, p. 123.

SUMMARY

Montana society is patterned almost entirely after that of traditional America. The average individual finds himself in a highly organized society with a definite set of social expectations, and is generally free to do as he wishes as long as he stays within the broad bounds set by society or changes roles by a method which the society approves. The society has secure and well-developed differentiations; therefore, many idiosyncratic desires are not threatening.

Suburban culture, however, is a relatively recent development where the very homogeneity of the residents actually works against the development of patterns and traditions which would command the respect of the majority of the population. As a result, suburban society must keep a close eye on its citizens to insure that the social order is not threatened.

The core cities are developing another variation on traditional American culture, linked to problems of environment and overtaxed government services. Pollution, overcrowding, poor public services, and high taxes have combined to make the city a much less enjoyable place to live. Over the last twenty years, the cities have not been able to adjust to their phenomenal growth. This growth has resulted in the disintegration of the local units of society--neighborhoods and local communities--leaving only scattered kinships and personal friendships to give a communal sense to urban residents. At this stage, many urbanites are finding that the new-found freedom from local social

control leaves them isolated, alone against the world. Such isolation often turns to fear and makes city life a threatening experience.

The cities and suburbs have many advantages over Montana life which were ignored in this paper, in order to concentrate on those newer differences working to Montana's favor in attracting new residents. Because of personal preference, some find Montana's more traditional social organization more appealing than the changing social organizations of the suburbs and cities.

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SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS REFLECTED IN INCOME DISTRIBUTION WITHIN MONTANA

The patterns of income distribution among the different economic regions in Montana reflect social and economic differences within the state which are impressive and indicate wide divergences. The Gini Ratio of concentration (GR) of income distribution for the economic regions and individual counties will be examined here to help illuminate these social and economic differences.[1]

Montana Economic Regions

The basic division in income distribution splits the western third and eastern two-thirds of the state (see map 1). Regions I and IV easily have the lowest GR--in other words, the most equal income distribution. This probably reflects a pattern of generally smaller agricultural units and the predominance of the wood products industry which provides more opportunities for semiskilled work than do the more heavily agricultural sections of Montana. Western Montana probably offers more opportunities for people with few capital resources to move into the middle income range.

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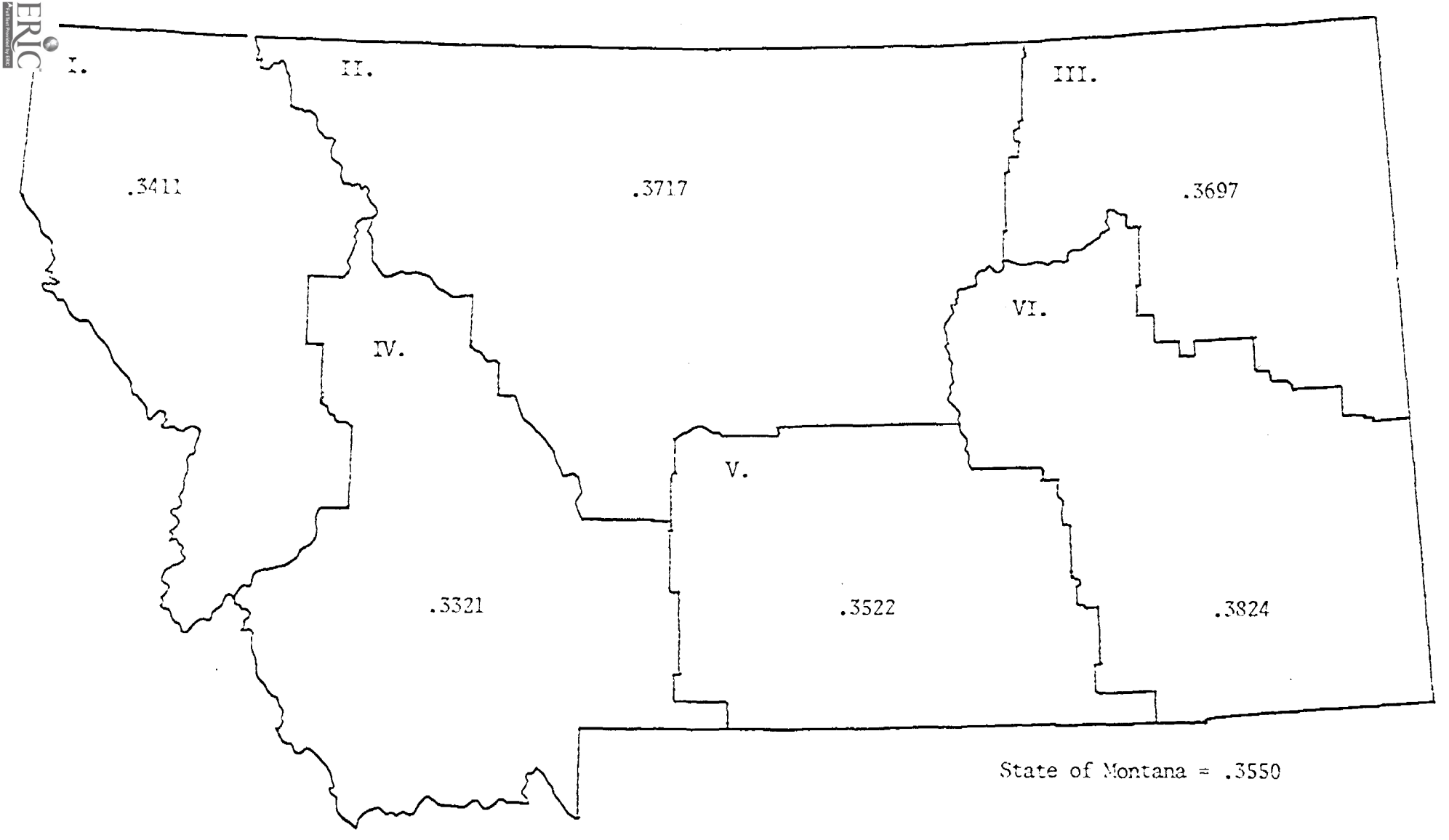
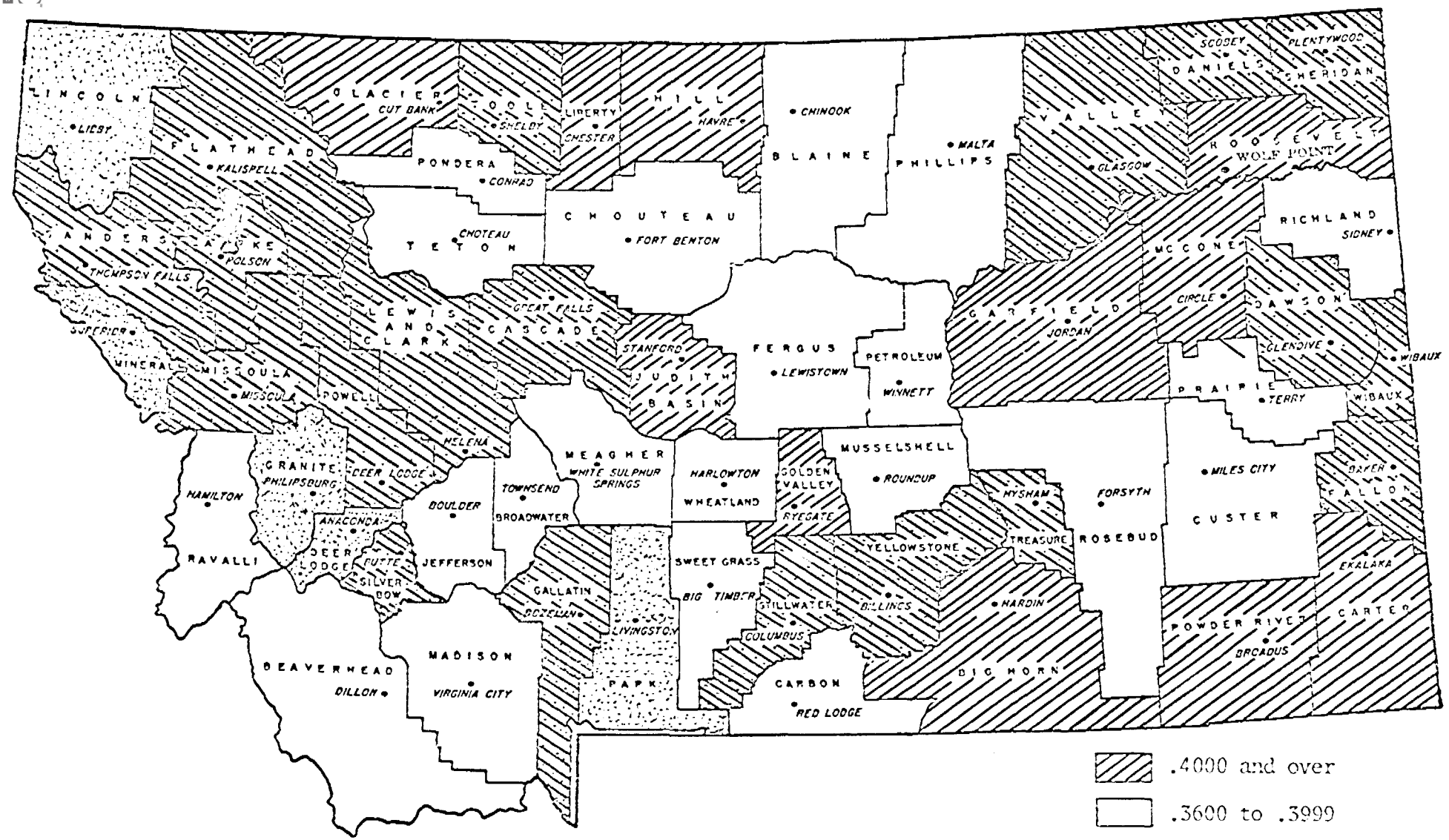
1. The Gini Ratio equation has been explained in "Urbanism and Montana Cities." A high ratio indicates an unequal distribution of income while the lower ratios signify the more equal distributions. All correlations used in this paper are rank order correlations.



Map 1 - Gini Ratios for Montana Economic Regions



Map 2 - Gini Ratios for Montana Counties, 1959

Source: Derived from data in the U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Montana (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

The two most eastern regions, III and VI, have a less equal income distribution because they have more poor people and fewer in the middle range than do the western regions (see figures 1 and 3). The comparatively few persons in the middle income range reflects the relative lack of manufacturing industries which would provide semiskilled jobs in this range, while the large number of poor people suggests that much of the population makes its living from inefficient-sized agricultural units and hired farm labor. The eastern part of the state does not seem to have successfully exported the surplus labor caused by agricultural mechanization. The few farmers with units sufficiently large to allow for efficient operation are doing well, but the many others who cannot meet the new requirements find their real income near or below the poverty line.

Unlike the eastern part of the state, each of the two regions in the middle of the state, Regions II and V, have a large city as the hub of the region (figures 2 and 4). These regions have more rich people than the western part of the state, but, significantly, do not have more poor families. Both regions are predominantly agricultural, but Great Falls and Billings seem to have offered enough employment opportunities to allow an alternative to rural poverty. The relatively larger numbers of rich people probably represent both the influence of the increasing capitalization of rural areas and the economic growth of Great Falls and Billings.

Figure 1

Percentage Distribution of Family Money Income, 1959

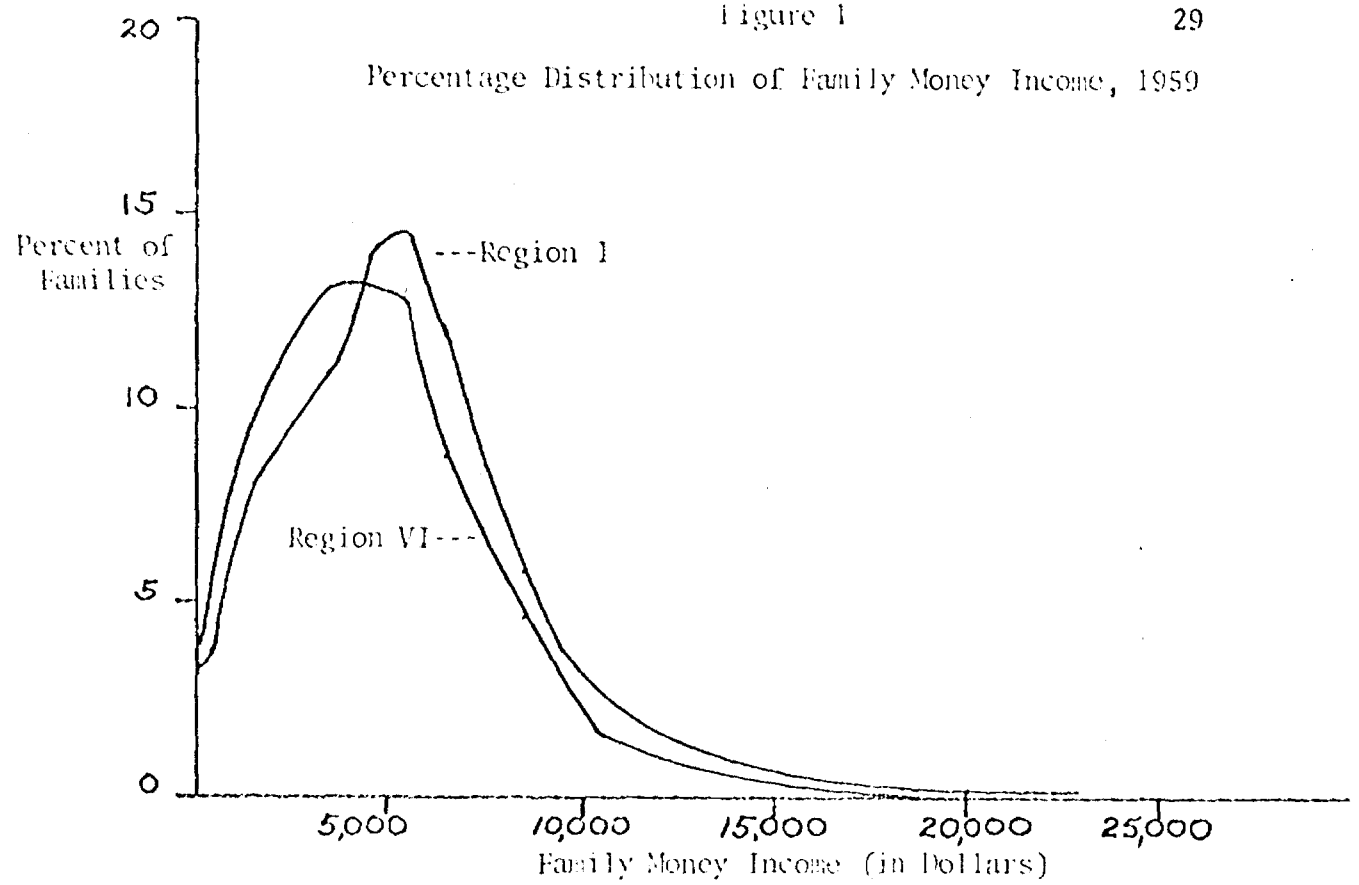
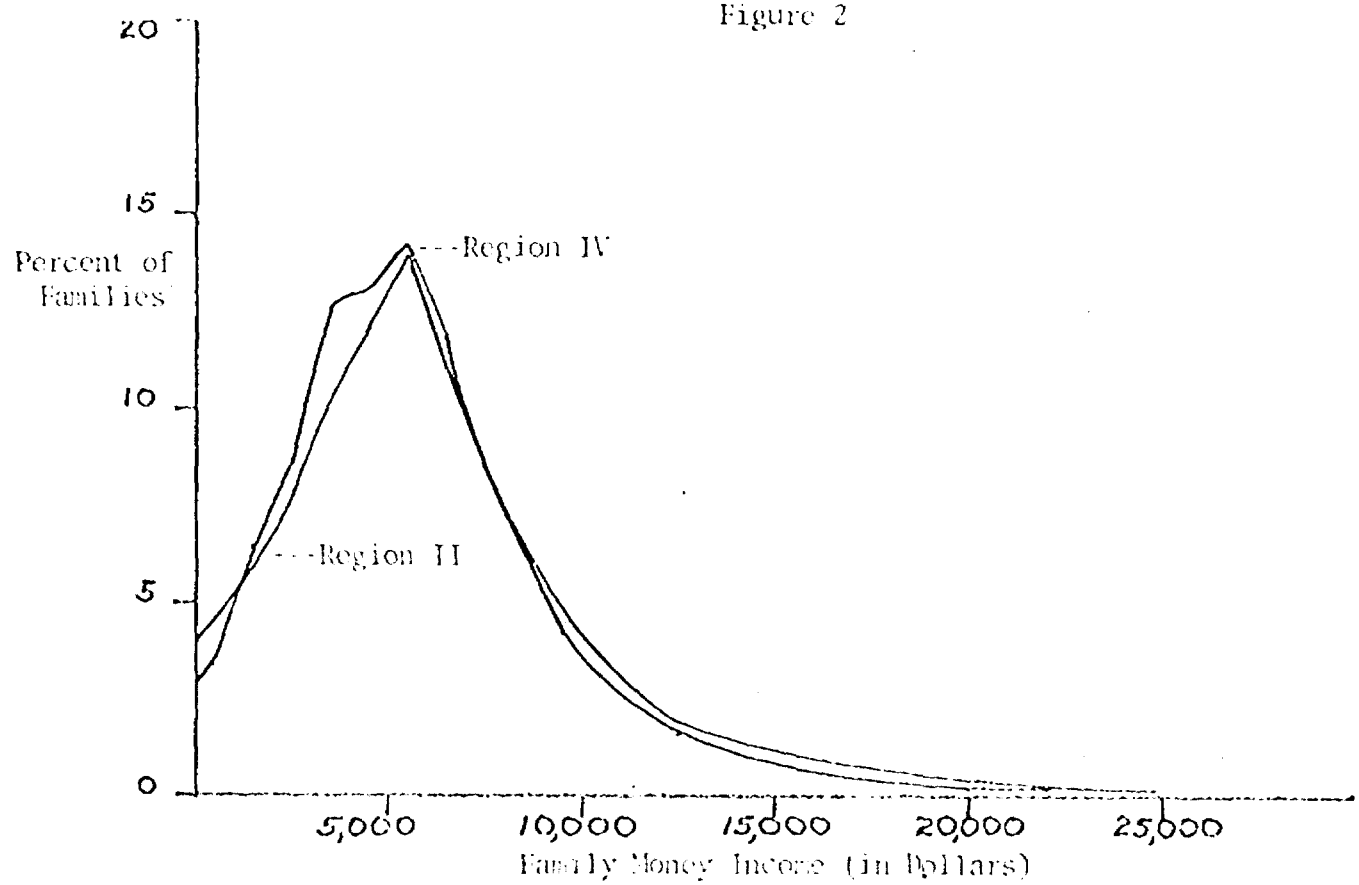


Figure 2



Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960.

Figure 3

Percentage Distribution of Family Money Income, 1959

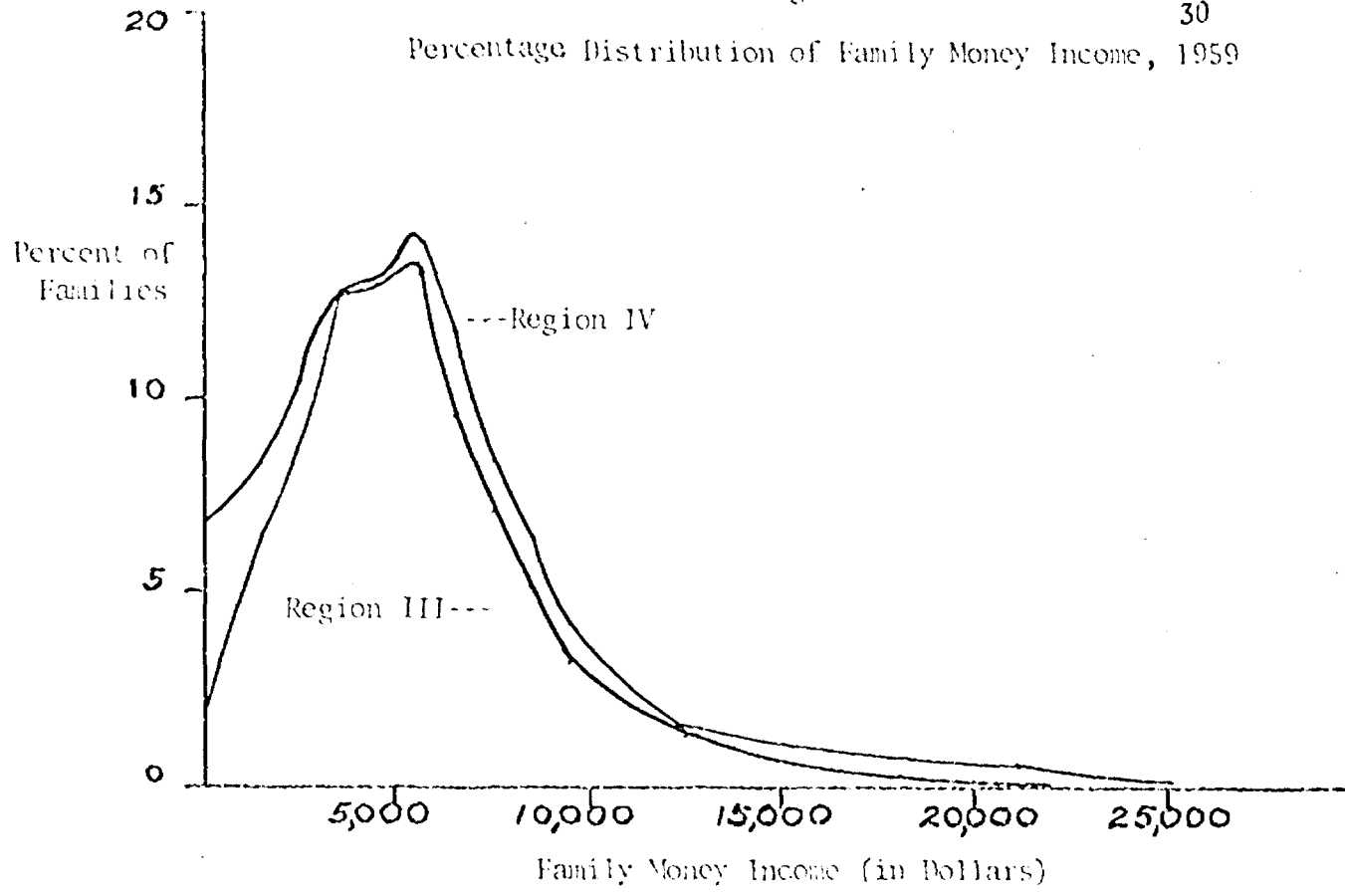
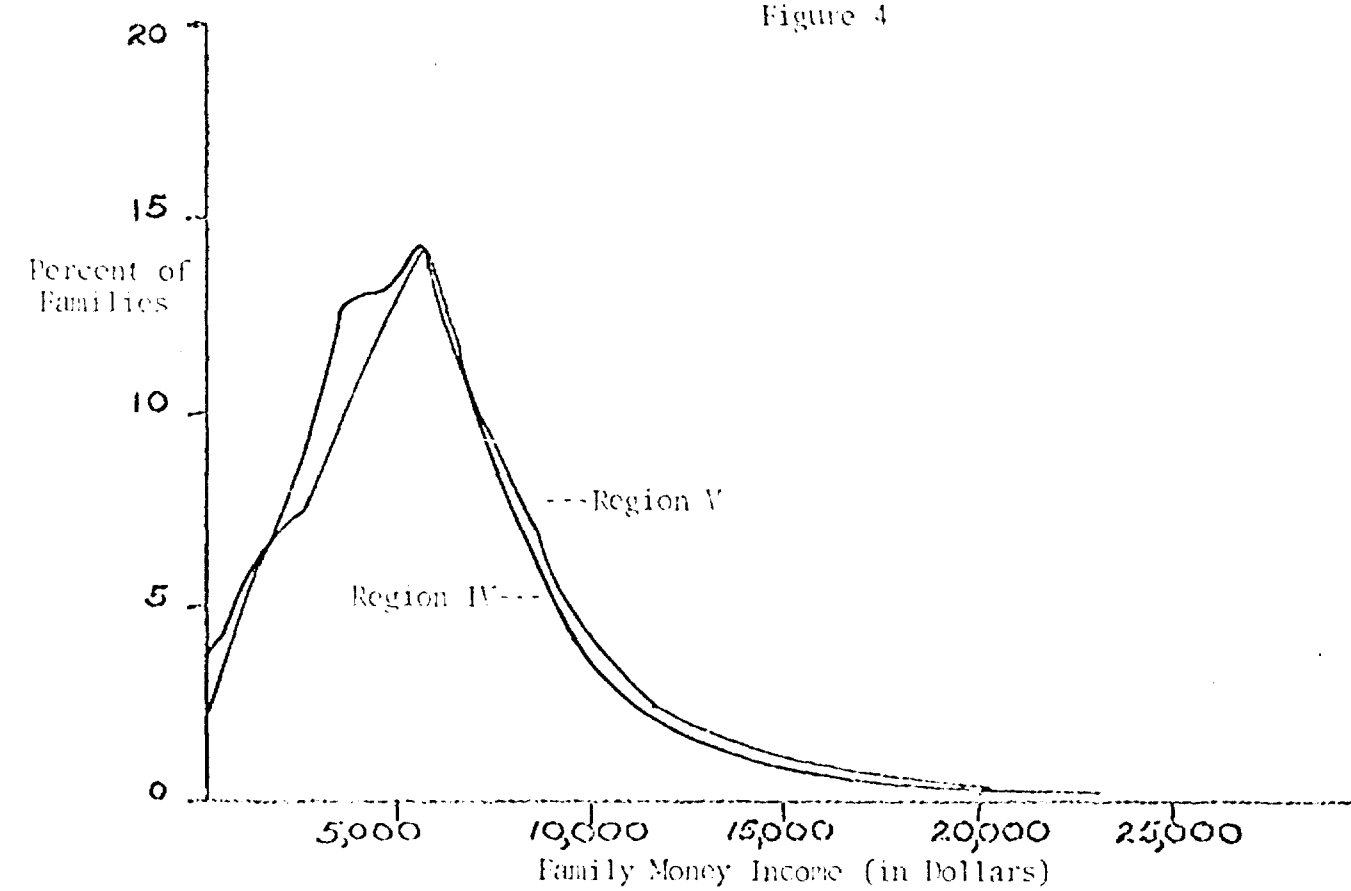


Figure 4



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960.

Income Distribution by Counties

By county, the income distribution offers some interesting correlations. The GR correlated with the percentage of population growth from 1950 to 1960 by -.38, indicating that those counties with the most equal income distribution generally had the highest rate of population growth. The correlation of equality of income distribution and population in 1960 was also -.39. Population and population growth correlate at .51. Those counties with the most people tend to have both the highest rate of population growth as well as the most equal income distribution.

The growth of personal income shows a -.46 correlation to the GR, indicating that the counties with a more equal income distribution tend to be those that had the greatest growth in personal income from 1950 to 1960.

From these correlations one can sketch two types of counties in Montana. The first is a county with a large population that has a relatively equal distribution of income and a high rate of growth for both personal income and population; these counties number less than ten. The other 40 to 50 counties are likely to have a small population, a relatively unequal distribution of income, and slower growth rates for population and personal income. The correlations, however, are not high enough to indicate that the relationships tested are independent of outside influences. Any causal relationship between these correlations therefore seems questionable. Large populations tend to have high rates of population and personal income growth, but these seem to be the result of a favorable industrial situation in

the area. Industry with its economic opportunity attracts and holds people, which in turn causes growth in population and personal income. The personal income growth is concentrated in the middle-income range because the high city wage level makes the income distribution more equal.

In order to test these conclusions further, five of those counties with the highest GR have been paired with five others with more equal income distribution (two with large cities and three others). The pairings generally support the previous conclusions. The three pairings of counties without large cities all show the high GR counties as having more poor and rich people and relatively fewer in the middle range than the counties with low GR (figures 5, 6, and 7).

The pairings with urban counties are slightly more complicated. When comparing McCone and Silver Bow Counties (figure 8), the county with a high GR (McCone) has a higher proportion of poor people than Silver Bow, but both have high percentages of rich families. Both Hill and Lewis and Clark Counties are unusual (figure 9). Hill has relatively few poor people but a very high number of rich families probably because so many farmers were in a good position to benefit from the technological changes in agriculture. Lewis and Clark County has a high number of families in the $7,000 to $15,000 range, presumably because the state capital makes more administrative jobs available at that salary level.

The county pairings also indicate two types of rural counties: those with many poor and rich people, and those which do not rely as

Figure 5

Percentage Distribution of Family Money Income, 1959

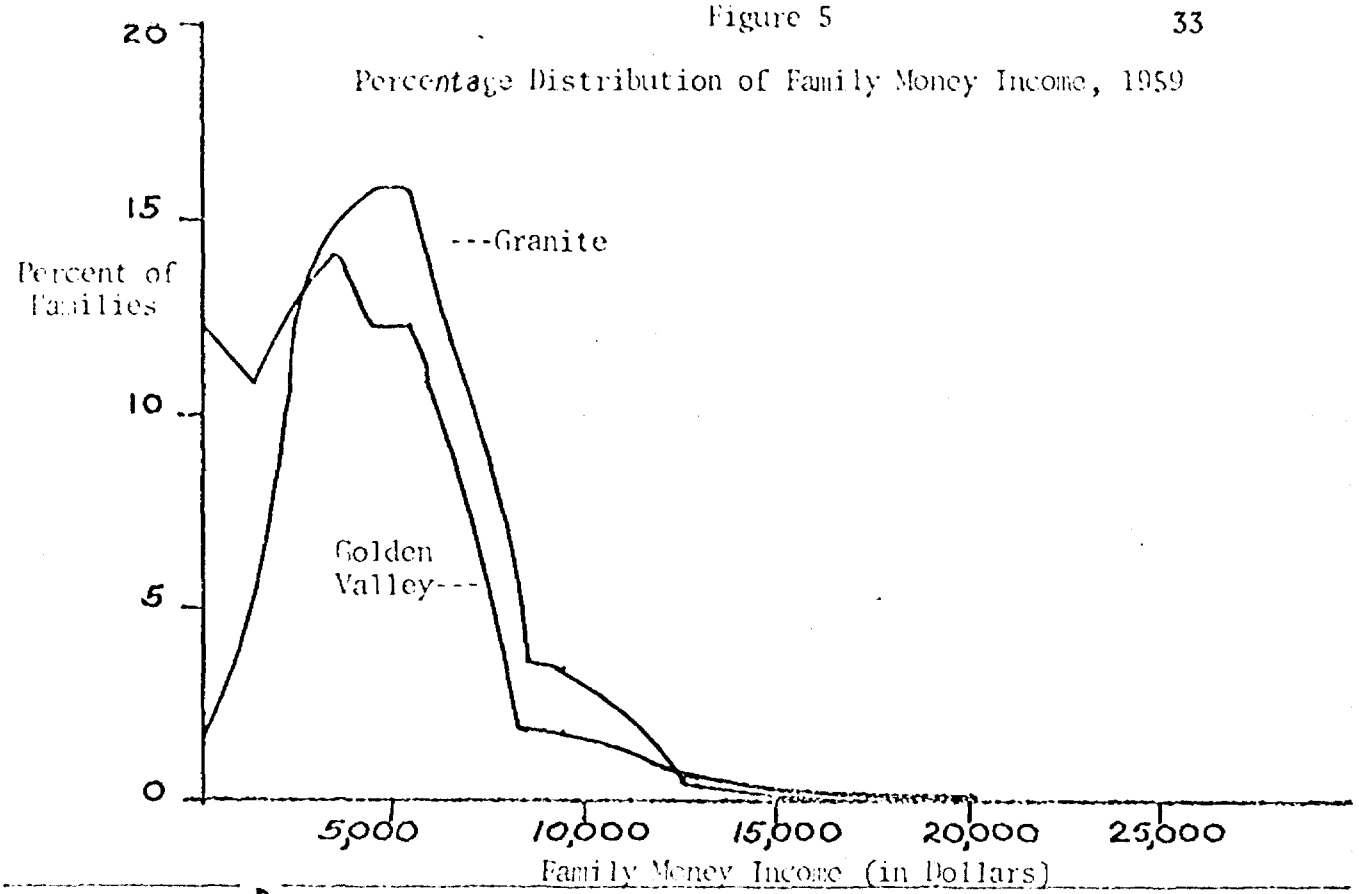
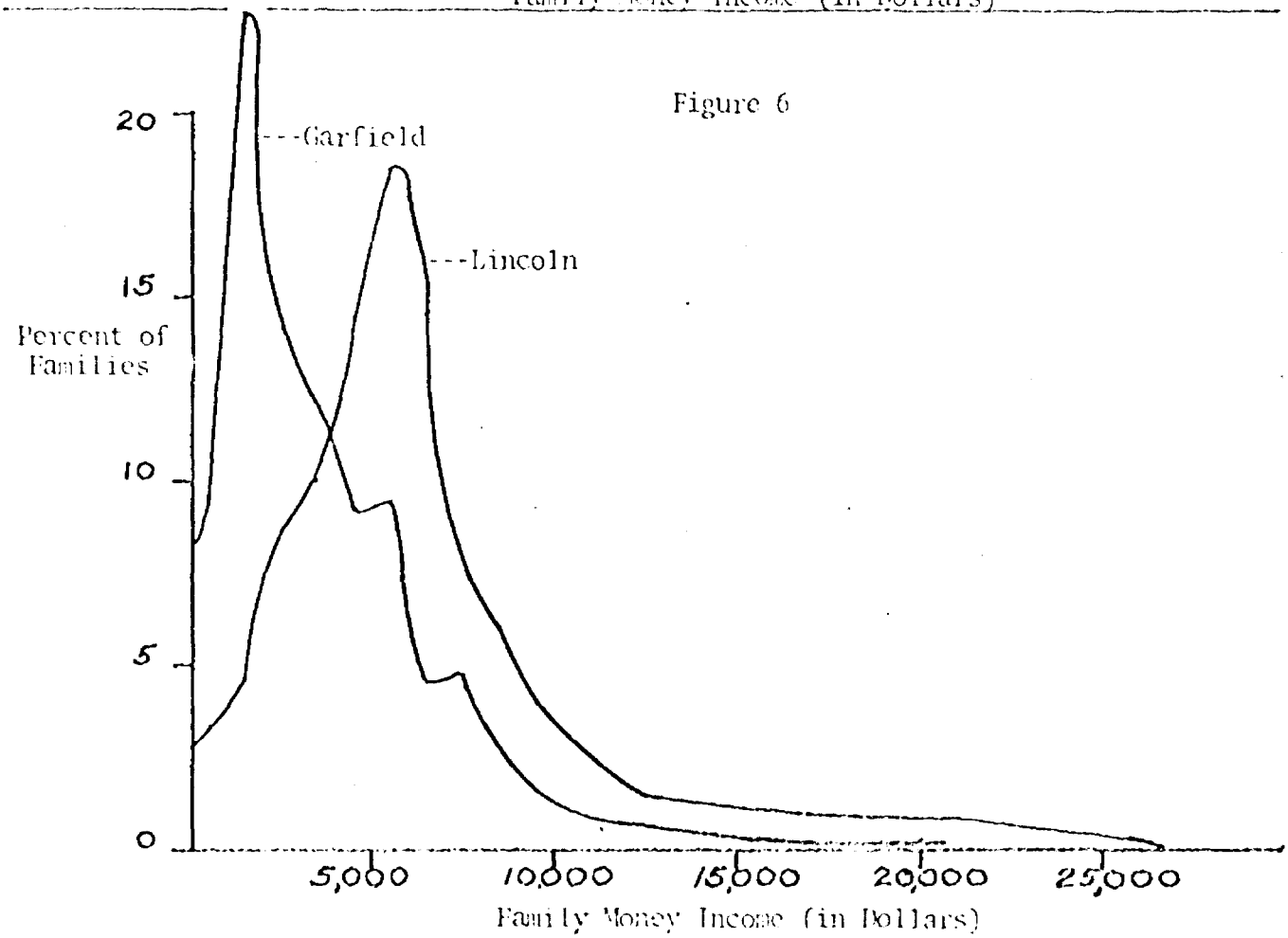


Figure 6



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960.

Figure 7

Percentage Distribution of Family Money Income, 1959

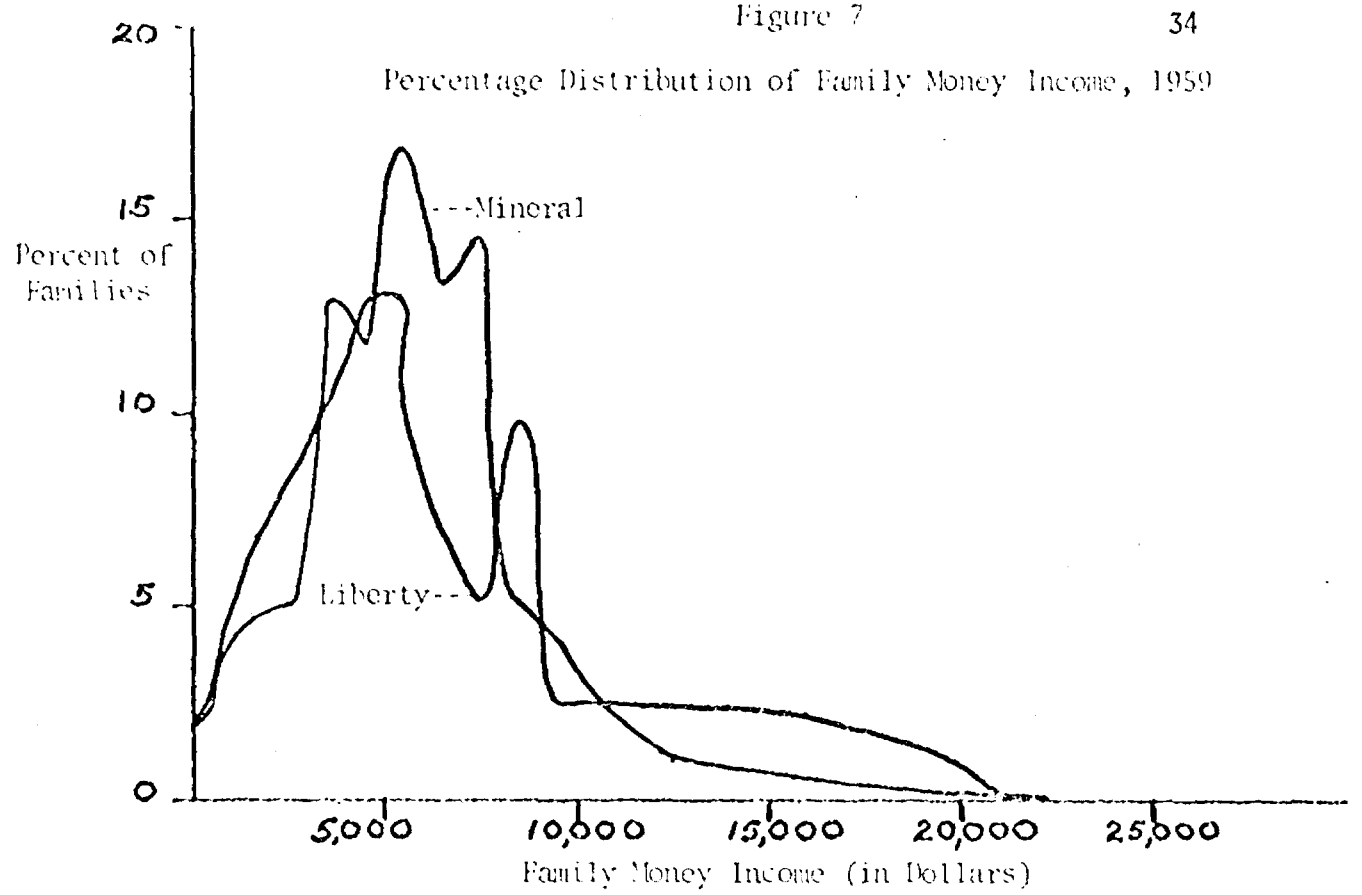
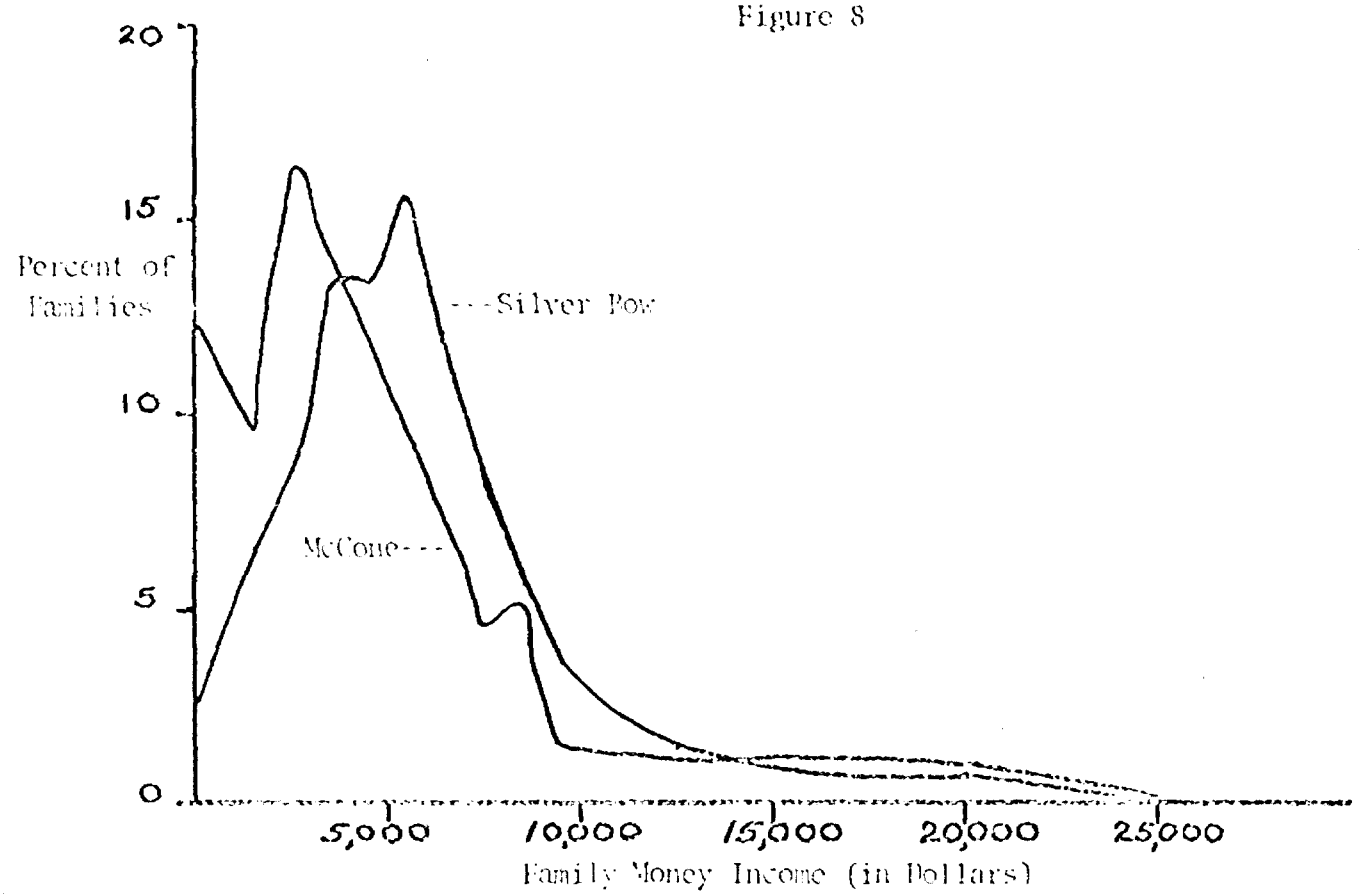


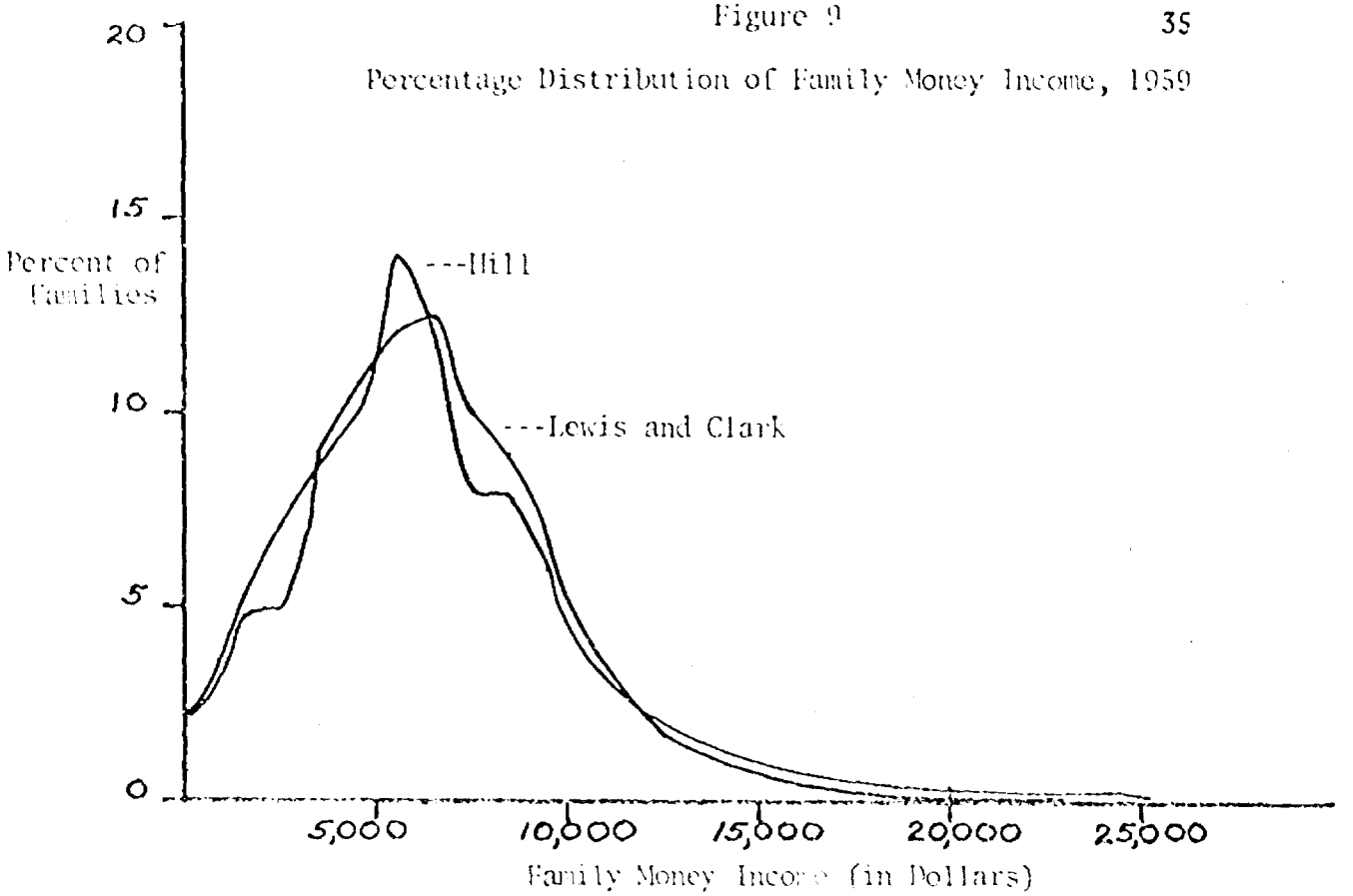
Figure 8



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960.

Figure 9

Percentage Distribution of Family Money Income, 1959



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960.

much on agriculture and have more families in the middle-income range. Counties with large cities have fewer in the poor range but more rich families than the low GR rural counties.

Rural areas in Montana tend to have a less equal income distribution as shown by the relative number of rural and urban counties with a GR of .3399 or less in Table A. (Urban counties are defined as those containing one of the 5 largest Montana cities. The remaining 51 counties are considered rural.)

Summary and Implications

The income distributions indicate that the rural areas in the state are undergoing a change in economic structure. The recent changes in agricultural technology are benefiting some, who consequently enter the high income group, but many of the less fortunate people are entering the poverty range. The cities have fewer poor people and more in the middle income range, but their recent growth has also boosted many of the families into the high income group.

The impact of the generally rising economic level in rural areas makes certain that the social implications of this technological revolution will be felt. Eastern Montana has long been a center of Populist agitation, as economically insecure farmers moved against "the system." Now that technological developments have improved the economic position of many farmers, the pressure on these people to oppose "the system" is less, and they are more apt to defend it.

TABLE A

Gini Ratio of Income Distribution for Counties
With Five Large Cities and Other Montana Counties

	.3400 or more	.3399 or less
Rural	40	11
Urban	0	5

$X^2 = 21.49$, significant at the .005 level.

Calculated from data in the U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Montana (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

Part of the farm population is finding an economic place in society and consequently their attitudes toward social and economic traditions are changing. Richard Hofstadter noticed the first signs of this trend among farmers toward business conservatism as early as sixty years ago when:

> Leaders of the new farmers' organizations no longer spoke of the humble and exploited yeoman, but urged farmers to act like captains of industry . . . and put farming . . . "on a safe profitable basis," with benefits "equalling those realized in other business undertakings."[2]

Those farmers that have been able to modernize can now usually afford to send their children to college, move into town for the winter, purchase luxury items such as appliances, and generally take advantage of the abundance in the affluent society.

The agricultural changes also have important implications for economic development. Many farmers are now more productive than they have been in the past, but large numbers of other farmers have not been able to successfully incorporate the new agricultural technology and consequently are not producing enough to stay above the poverty level. The presence of many rural poor in Montana indicates a pool of poorly allocated labor available for use in economic development. Also, the increase in families with high incomes indicates an increasing rate of local capital formation which, because of the local ties of

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2. Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Random House, 1955) p. 126.

the new capitalists, may be more freely available for use in Montana than the capital from out of state.

The income distribution in the more urban counties is less easy to interpret due to the economic diversification of these areas. The data does suggest, however, that the counties which have the largest populations offer greater opportunity for employment in the semiskilled and skilled trades. Industry in these counties has probably been growing more complex in organization and more sophisticated in technology requiring more workers with special skills.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

Gini Ratios of Income Distribution
for Montana Counties and Economic Regions

Montana (entire state) .3550

Beaverhead	.3692	Madison	.3758
Big Horn	.4000	Meagher	.3729
Blaine	.3831	Mineral	.3055
Broadwater	.3943	Missoula	.3344
Carbon	.3616	Musselshell	.3652
Carter	.4096	Park	.3129
Cascade	.3357	Petroleum	.3829
Chouteau	.3888	Phillips	.3790
Custer	.3656	Pondera	.3750
Daniels	.3458	Powder River	.4259
Dawson	.3495	Powell	.3263
Deer Lodge	.2903	Prairie	.3678
Fallon	.3472	Ravalli	.3779
Fergus	.3629	Richland	.3739
Flathead	.3369	Roosevelt	.4048
Gallatin	.3363	Rosebud	.3824
Garfield	.4511	Sanders	.3319
Glacier	.4247	Sheridan	.3384
Golden Valley	.4774	Silver Bow	.3232
Granite	.2935	Stillwater	.3401
Hill	.4285	Sweet Grass	.3995
Jefferson	.3929	Teton	.3915
Judith Basin	.4043	Toole	.3488
Lake	.3586	Treasure	.3224
Lewis & Clark	.3212	Valley	.3518
Liberty	.4298	Wheatland	.3662
Lincoln	.2936	Wibaux	.3531
McCone	.4286	Yellowstone	.3327

Region I	.3411
Region II	.3717
Region III	.3697
Region IV	.3321
Region V	.3522
Region VI	.3824

Note: The data in tables 1 through 8 was calculated from the U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Montana (Washington,D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

APPENDIX

TABLE 2

Percentage Distribution of Money Family Income
Montana, 1959

Income in Dollars	Percent of Families	Percent of Aggregate Income
under 1,000	4.45	.35
1,000- 1,999	6.93	1.67
2,000- 2,999	8.78	3.54
3,000- 3,999	11.28	6.37
4,000- 4,999	12.84	9.32
5,000- 5,999	14.10	12.50
6,000- 6,999	11.33	11.88
7,000- 7,999	8.33	10.07
8,000- 8,999	6.25	8.57
9,000- 9,999	4.17	6.39
10,000-14,999	8.31	16.76
15,000-24,999	2.41	7.79
25,000 and over	.75	4.72

TABLE 3

Percentage Distribution of Money Family Income
Region I, 1959

Income in Dollars	Percent of Families	Percent of Aggregate Income
under 1,000	3.86	.32
1,000- 1,999	8.04	2.05
2,000- 2,999	9.62	4.09
3,000- 3,999	10.95	6.53
4,000- 4,999	13.89	10.65
5,000- 5,999	14.54	13.62
6,000- 6,999	11.78	13.04
7,000- 7,999	8.54	10.92
8,000- 8,999	5.73	8.30
9,000- 9,999	3.78	6.12
10,000-14,999	7.05	15.02
15,000-24,999	1.61	5.50
25,000 and over	.55	3.77

APPENDIX

TABLE 4

Percentage Distribution of Family Money Income
Region II, 1959

Income in Dollars	Percent of Families	Percent of Aggregate Income
under 1,000	4.61	.34
1,000- 1,999	5.87	1.30
2,000- 2,999	7.95	2.94
3,000- 3,999	10.17	5.28
4,000- 4,999	12.16	8.12
5,000- 5,999	13.88	11.32
6,000- 6,999	11.40	10.99
7,000- 7,999	8.44	9.39
8,000- 8,999	6.77	8.54
9,000- 9,999	4.68	6.60
10,000-14,999	9.31	17.27
15,000-24,999	3.44	10.21
25,000 and over	1.26	7.63

TABLE 5

Percentage Distribution of Family Money Income
Region III, 1959

Income in Dollars	Percent of Families	Percent of Aggregate Income
under 1,000	7.17	.64
1,000- 1,999	8.32	2.25
2,000- 2,999	10.48	4.72
3,000- 3,999	12.67	8.00
4,000- 4,999	13.04	10.58
5,000- 5,999	13.59	13.48
6,000- 6,999	9.67	11.33
7,000- 7,999	7.11	9.61
8,000- 8,999	5.23	8.02
9,000- 9,999	3.24	5.56
10,000-14,999	7.04	15.88
15,000-24,999	1.93	6.99
25,000 and over	.44	2.87

APPENDIX

TABLE 6

Percentage Distribution of Money Family Income
Region IV, 1959

Income in Dollars	Percent of Families	Percent of Aggregate Income
under 1,000	3.44	.28
1,000- 1,999	6.47	1.60
2,000- 2,999	8.69	3.59
3,000- 3,999	12.74	7.36
4,000- 4,999	13.09	9.72
5,000- 5,999	14.30	12.99
6,000- 6,999	11.85	12.72
7,000- 7,999	8.41	10.41
8,000- 8,999	6.33	8.89
9,000- 9,999	4.21	6.61
10,000-14,999	8.04	16.60
15,000-24,999	1.90	6.28
25,000 and over	.47	2.89

TABLE 7

Percentage Distribution of Money Family Income
Region V, 1959

Income in Dollars	Percent of Families	Percent of Aggregate Income
under 1,000	4.37	.33
1,000- 1,999	6.38	1.46
2,000- 2,999	7.42	2.84
3,000- 3,999	10.04	5.38
4,000- 4,999	12.13	8.36
5,000- 5,999	14.27	12.02
6,000- 6,999	11.62	11.57
7,000- 7,999	8.84	10.16
8,000- 8,999	6.97	9.07
9,000- 9,999	4.61	6.71
10,000-14,999	9.53	18.25
15,000-24,999	2.95	9.06
25,000 and over	.82	4.75

APPENDIX

TABLE 8

Percentage Distribution of Money Family Income
Region VI, 1959

Income in Dollars	Percent of Families	Percent of Aggregate Income
under 1,000	5.95	.53
1,000- 1,999	9.49	2.54
2,000- 2,999	11.80	5.26
3,000- 3,999	13.15	8.21
4,000- 4,999	13.10	10.51
5,000- 5,999	12.82	12.58
6,000- 6,999	8.83	10.24
7,000- 7,999	6.93	9.27
8,000- 8,999	4.61	6.99
9,000- 9,999	3.08	5.23
10,000-14,999	7.66	17.09
15,000-24,999	1.86	6.65
25,000 and over	.66	4.83

URBANISM AND MONTANA CITIES

American society has become considerably more urbanized in the last twenty years, dramatically affecting the life style, aspirations, and customs of many citizens. Over this period, the large cities have been forming a subculture which differs dramatically from traditional America. The "culture of numbers" of the large cities is still very much in the formative stages, but its differences from the American small town tradition seem already set. (See discussion in paper "Montana Social Structure and Culture.")

What impact this national development is having on Montana depends upon one's view of the size a city must attain before the traditional social structure becomes impractical and the city must develop the urban characteristics of the large metropolis. This paper uses income distribution, an economic measure that is closely related to sociological developments, to test for differences in social organization between Montana cities and large cities such as Los Angeles and Chicago. Major differences indicate that Montana cities are not yet large enough to have been sociologically urbanized.

The Gini Ratio of concentration is a tool economists employ to measure equality of income distribution within a group. A Gini Ratio of .000 indicates a perfectly equal distribution of income in the community, while a ratio of 1.000 would indicate that one person

or family received all of the community's income. In general, the lower the ratio, the more equal the distribution of income.

Table 1 gives the Gini Ratio for 12 large cities outside Montana and for the five largest cities in Montana.[1] Of the cities listed, the Montana cities have both the smallest populations and the most equal distributions of income, except for Minneapolis/St. Paul and Seattle.[2] The Gini Ratio values correlate .81 with population, indicating that the larger cities tend to have more unequal income distribution. The association between population and income distribution is not continuous, however, because that correlation, figured for each of the ten most populous and the nine least populous cities are lower (.62 and .53 respectively). This implies that income distribution is a "breakpoint variable" that changes after a city's population reaches a "critical" size; this size is probably different for individual cities. However, the information does not indicate that population size alone has any direct causal effect on distribution of income.

Montana Cities and Large Urban Centers

This paper compares family income distribution of the five largest Montana cities to Boston, New York City, and Los Angeles (see figures

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1. All calculations and figures used in this paper are from 1960 Census data.

2. For New York City and Chicago, the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and the larger Standard Consolidated Areas will be considered as separate cities. The correlations used are rank order correlations, as are all correlations in the paper.

TABLE 1

Gini Ratios of Income Distribution
for Selected American and Montana Cities

City	GR	1960 Population
New York City*	.3826	10,695,963
NYC (SCA)**	.3718	14,760,759
Los Angeles/Long Beach	.3620	6,746,356
San Francisco/Oakland	.3549	2,783,355
Portland, Ore./Wash.	.3540	821,885
Boston	.3539	2,590,040
Detroit	.3485	3,764,131
Chicago	.3481	6,220,913
Washington, D.C.	.3480	1,989,377
Chicago (SCA)	.3462	6,794,453
Spokane	.3438	278,333
Salt Lake City	.3375	383,035
Great Falls	.3357	73,418
Seattle	.3348	1,107,213
Missoula	.3344	44,663
Billings	.3327	79,016
Minneapolis/St. Paul	.3307	1,482,030
Butte	.3232	46,454
Helena	.3212	28,006

*Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

**Standard Consolidated Area

Source: Calculated from data in U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S.Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics; United States Summary (Washington D.C.:, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962).

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population:, 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Montana (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

County figures used for Montana city populations.

1 through 5; the appendix gives the statistics on which these figures are based, as well as those for comparable metropolitan areas.

Montana cities have a much higher proportion of their populations in the $3,000 to $7,000 income range. While average income for the Montana city dwellers is lower, this tendency has less impact on the income distribution than does the higher concentration of population in the middle range. Of the five Montana cities, Missoula alone has more people in the low income ranges ($0 to $3,000) than the large cities (see figure 1). Helena varies from the pattern of concentration in the middle range because it has larger numbers of families in the $8,000 to $15,000 range--probably state administrative personnel who live in the capital city (see figure 2). Compared to the large cities, all five Montana cities have considerably fewer families earning over $15,000 and all except Helena also have fewer in the $10,000 to $15,000 range.

The social implications of these differences are important. Economic differentiation among families in Montana's cities is not as great as it is in the large urban centers. In the large cities, the rich are so numerous, both in absolute numbers and relative to the total population that they can form--socially at least--separate communities, depriving the rest of society of many of those who would usually be considered its "natural leaders." The absolute number of rich in Montana cities, however, seems too small to permit the formation of a separately organized, rich-only class association with its own subculture.

Figure 1

Percentage Distribution of Family Money Income, 1959

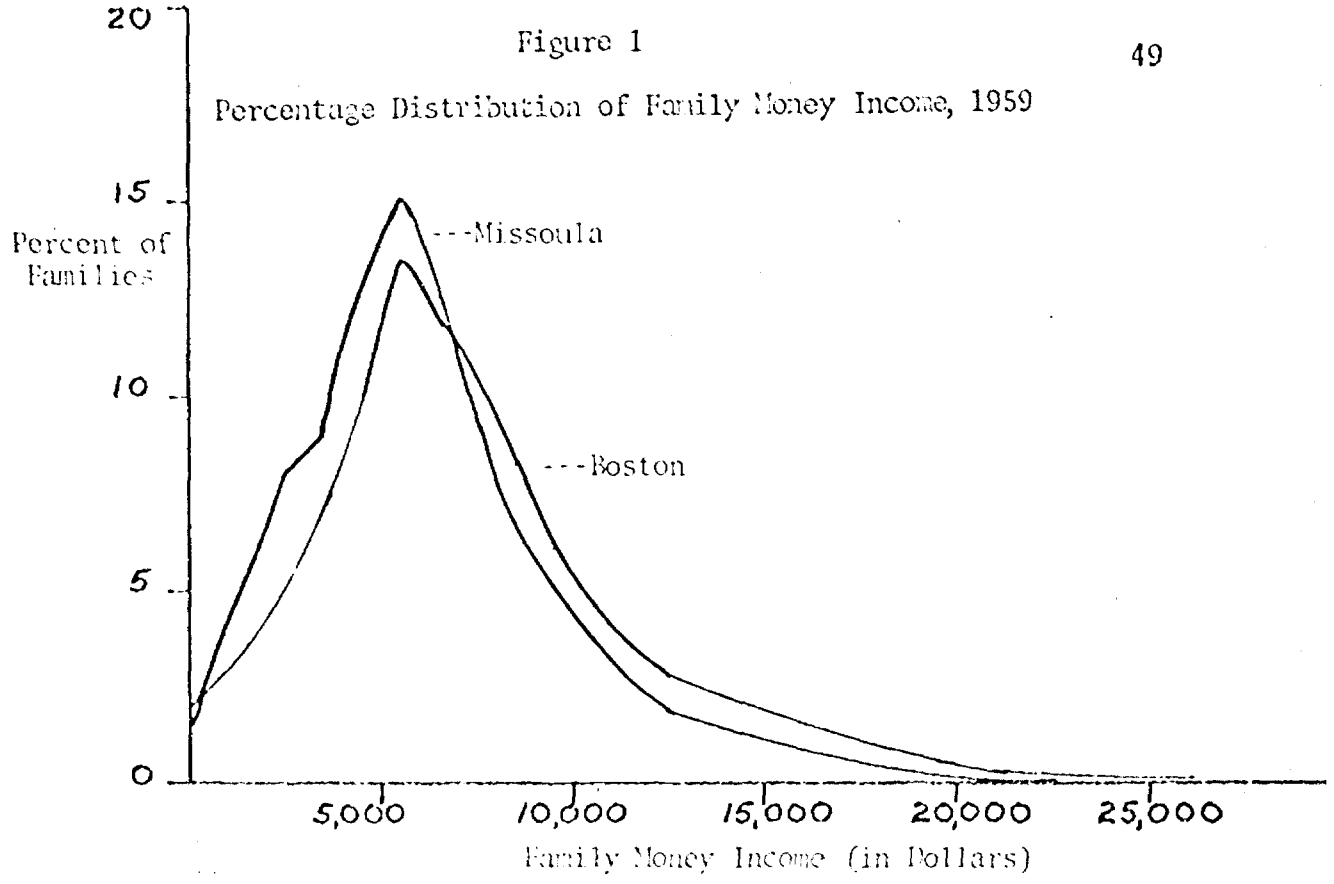
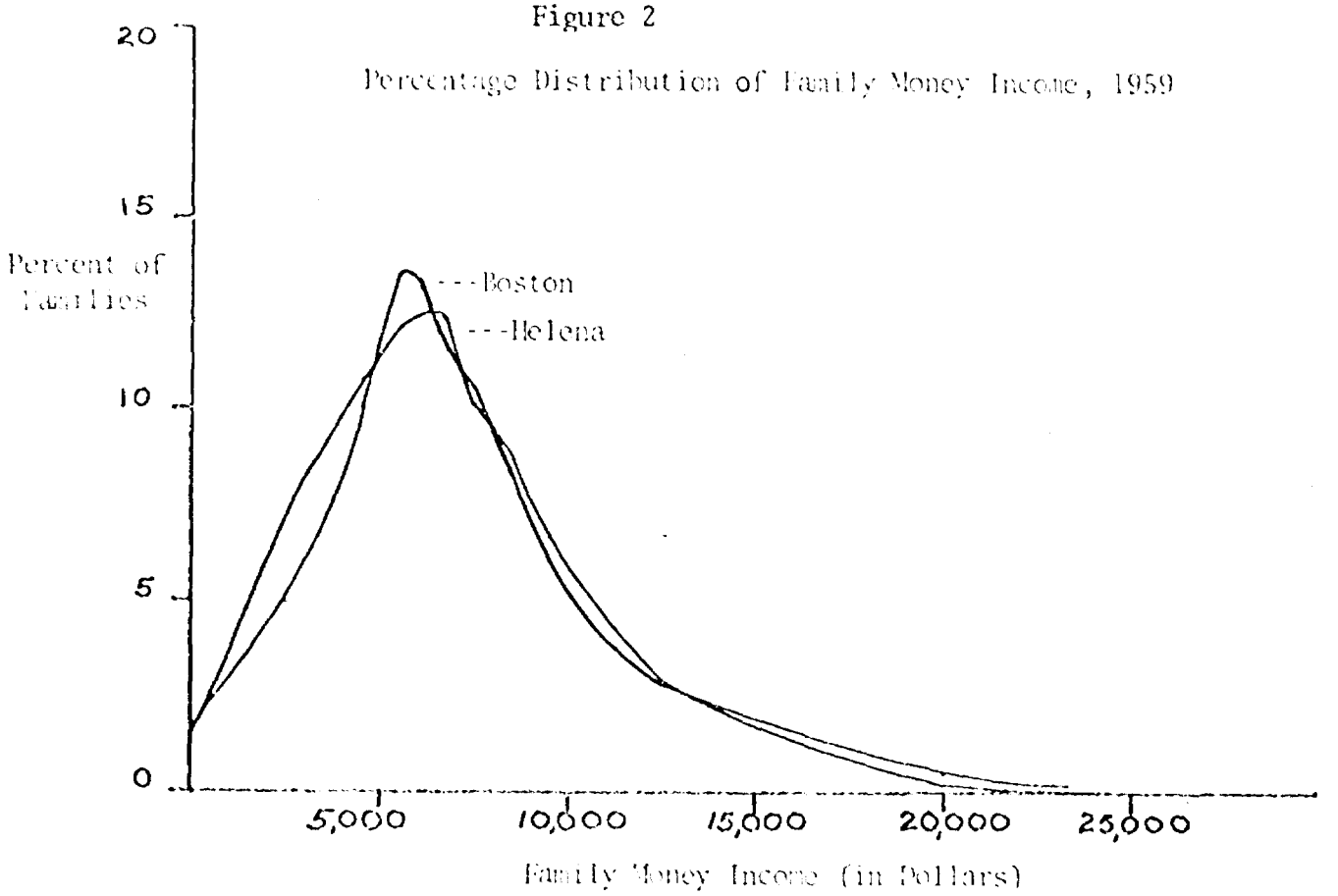


Figure 2

Percentage Distribution of Family Money Income, 1959



Source: Figures 1 through 7 calculated from the U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Montana (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

Figure 3

Percentage Distribution of Family Money Income, 1959

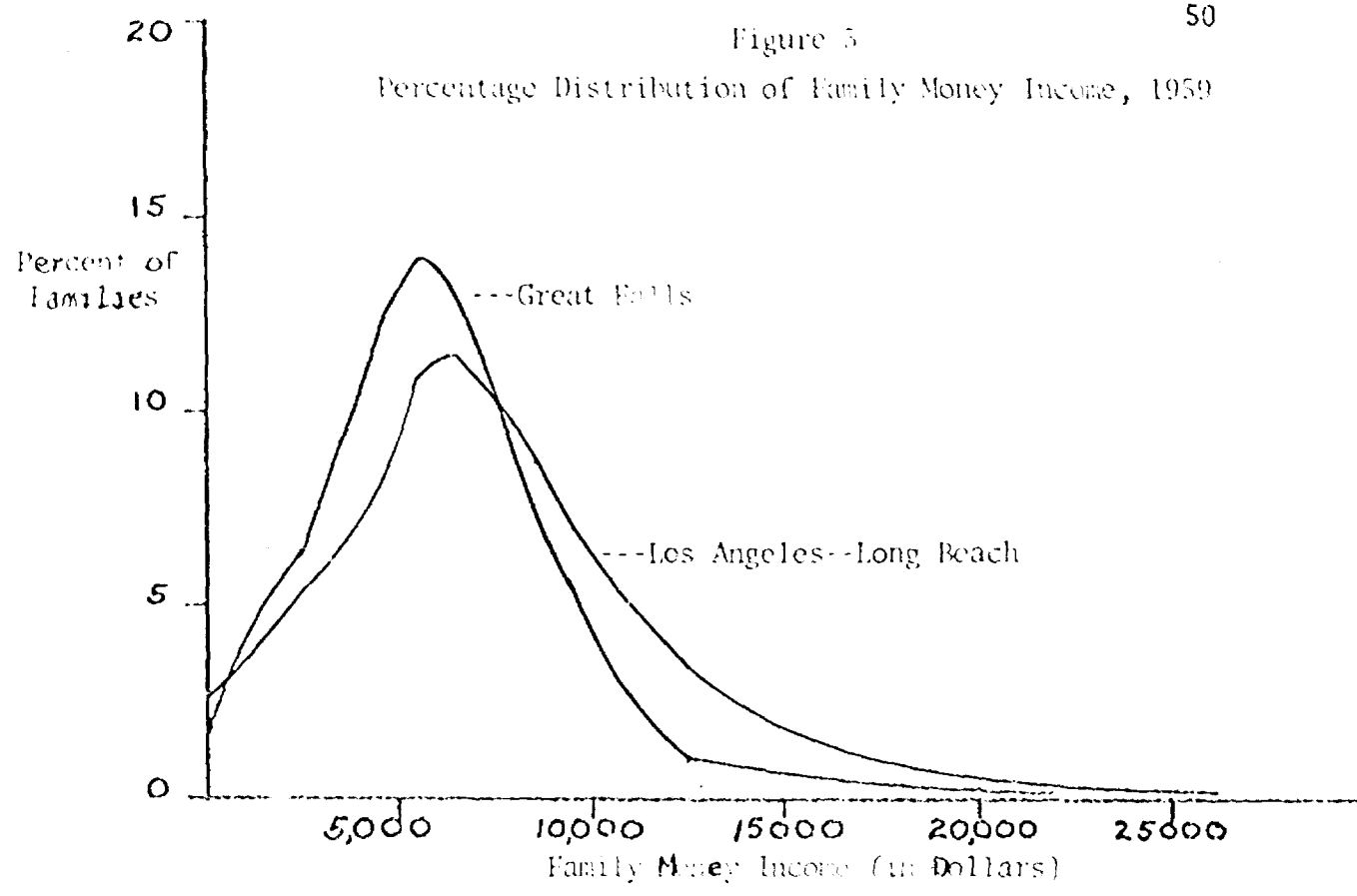
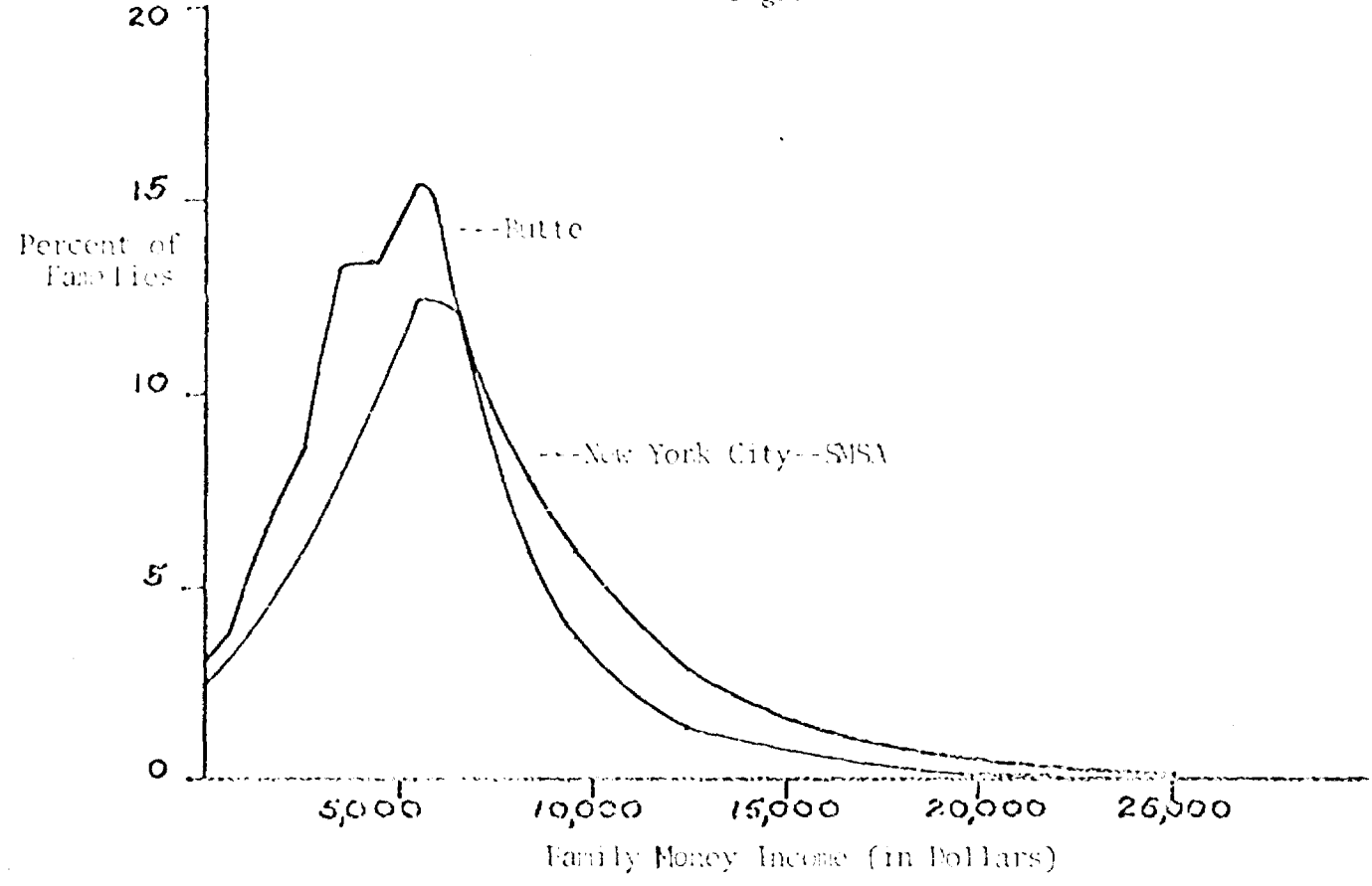


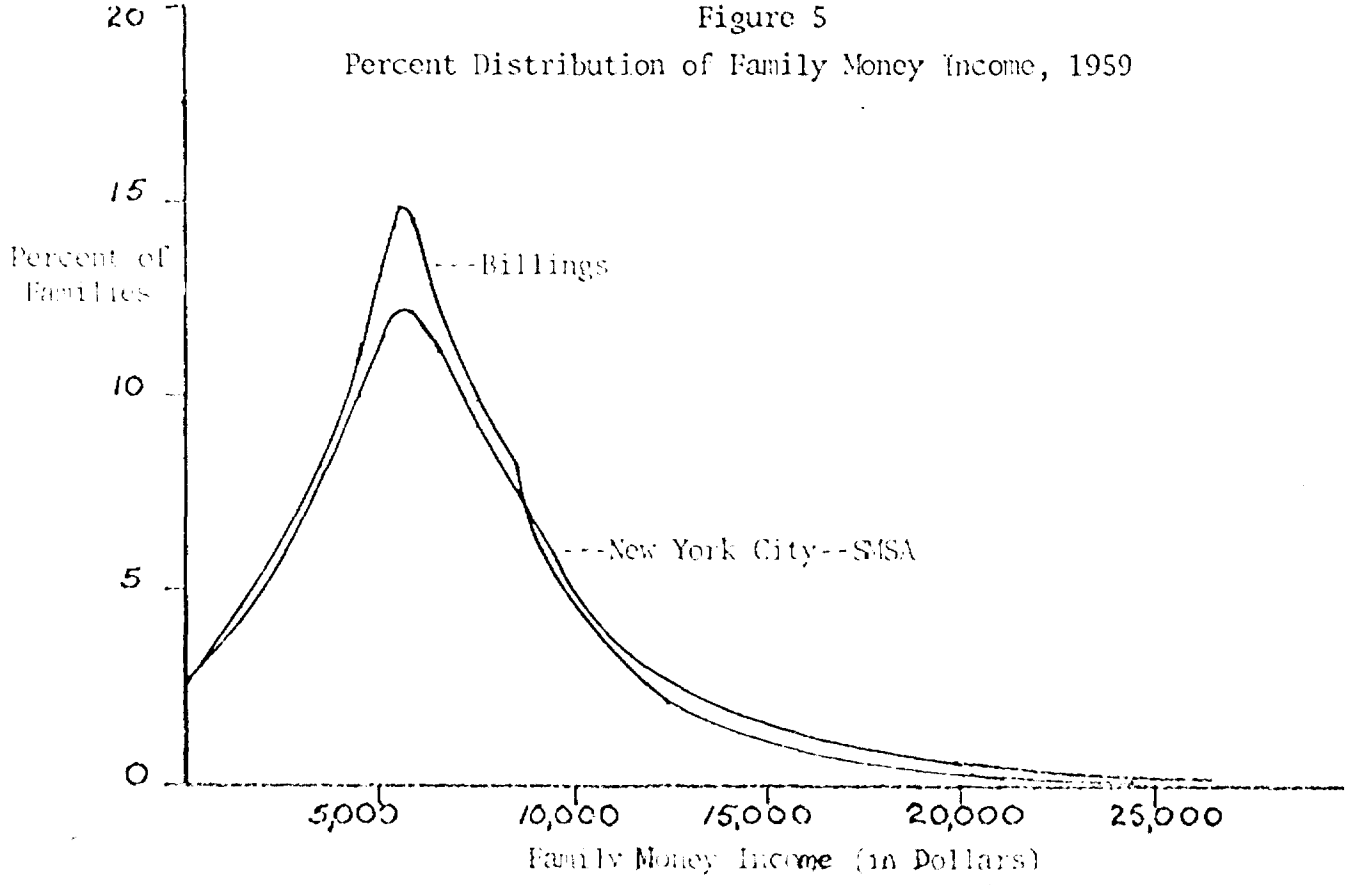
Figure 4



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960.

Figure 5

Percent Distribution of Family Money Income, 1959



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960.

Similar factors are at work at the other end of the income spectrum. Generally, lower living costs and lack of a high concentration of families in the poverty bracket have kept the poor of Montana cities from being isolated in a separate culture of poverty, at least to the degree found in the large urban centers.

Maverick Urban Centers

The two large cities which have a low Gini Ratio are Seattle (.3348) and Minneapolis/St. Paul (.3307). The reason for this unusual income distribution appears to be the relatively greater concentration of employment in middle and high wage jobs in the two cities. Seattle has a higher concentration than New York City in the $6,000 to $15,000 range, indicating an unusually large number of skilled, semiskilled, and lower management positions (see figure 6). These positions are attributed mainly to the very large aircraft industry in Seattle; they have balanced out the income distribution, but this situation may change in the future.

Similarly, in Minneapolis/St. Paul (see figure 7) there is an unusual concentration in the $5,000 to $9,000 range, probably caused by the number of low level white collar positions made possible by the many business offices maintained in the city by manufacturing and service industry firms. One might predict that these two cities will approach the pattern of income distribution of the other large cities as their industrial base becomes more diversified.

Implications for Montana Cities

The Montana cities do not yet show--at least in their income distribution--the patterns of class differentiation which have con-

APPENDIX

TABLE 19

Income Distribution in Percents
Helena*

Income in Dollars	Percent of Families	Percent of Aggregate Income
under 1,000	2.50	.17
1,000- 1,999	4.82	.99
2,000- 2,999	4.99	1.71
3,000- 3,999	8.99	4.33
4,000- 4,999	10.72	6.64
5,000- 5,999	12.18	9.22
6,000- 6,999	12.52	11.20
7,000- 7,999	10.01	10.34
8,000- 8,999	8.91	10.43
9,000- 9,999	6.73	8.80
10,000-14,999	14.00	24.10
15,000-24,999	2.73	7.51
25,000 and over	.84	4.50

*County census figures used.

COMMUNAL RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN MONTANA

Much economic theory depends, in large part, upon the assumption that people are rational. In a market-oriented economy such as ours, individuals are generally assumed to act in rational ways designated to maximize their personal satisfaction, which in turn is usually equated with maximizing real income. This approach has proved useful in explaining most observed behavior; the real world, however, includes numerous social and religious forces which work counter to this simplified concept of economic motivation. The theocratic communities of the Montana Hutterites, for example, are functioning groups which make many of their major economic decisions with noneconomic criteria.

HUTTERITES IN MONTANA

The 1,761 Hutterites in the central and north central part of the state have religious roots which go back to the Reformation in the 17th century.[1] Their most distinctive religious doctrines require communality of colony life, rigorous avoidance of the outside world,

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1. For more information on the history of the Hutterite Brethren, please refer to the bibliography at the end of this paper.

and total nonresistance. Their other doctrines are similar to traditional conservative Christianity. Centuries ago, severe persecution forced them to move about in central Europe with dwindling numbers until 1770 when a small group managed to emigrate to the Ukraine.

In the 1870s, rising Russian nationalism forced the group to move again, this time to the United States, where they established successful agricultural communities on the unsettled South Dakota prairie. Government pressure on them to fight in the First World War forced the groups to move to Canada where they were at first welcomed. During the Second World War and early 1950s, however, the Canadian provinces passed laws seriously restraining the expansion of the communities. Many new colonies since that time have been established in Montana. The communities are agricultural and aim to be as self-supporting as possible.

After their arrival in Montana there was increasing agitation against them. In 1948 Joseph Kinsey Howard reported that:

> Montana newspaper editorials have begun to reflect the uneasiness of their new neighbors, and demand for state legislation to check further settlement by them has started.[2]

Opposition was usually justified on grounds of national loyalty, but others have maintained that the real objection is economic. One Canadian official has stated that the dislike resulted from the

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2. Joseph Kinsey Howard, "Hutterites: Puzzle for Patriots," The Pacific Spectator (Winter 1948), 2:1, p. 40.

Hutterites being "such good farmers, that others can't compete."[3] The fear that a colony located in an area will cause neighboring land values to drop has also caused resentment, and local tradesmen seemed to feel the communities will mean a net loss of business.[4]

In addition, a question has arisen over taxes, since as religious groups they might be expected to operate tax-free. But the Hutterites pay taxes despite their status as religious organizations. Exactly which taxes they pay depends on how a specific colony is organized.[5] In 1962, the 97-member Milford Colony in Lewis and Clark County, paid $4,300 for corporation license fees, $5,663 for property taxes, and $3,107 for federal corporation taxes.[6] The Hutterite colonies usually pay more taxes than the previous owners of their land because their intensive cultivation increases the taxable value of the property. With development only beginning, the Milford Colony increased the value of the improvements on their property from $9,000 to $30,000 in one year.[7]

Victor Peters found that in the Canadian colonies he had worked with the most prejudiced people (toward the Hutterites) were usually those who had the fewest contacts with them. Colony relations with

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3. Victor Peters, All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965), p. 65.

4. Kenneth C. Thomas, "A Survey of the Hutterite Groups in Montana and Canada" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Missoula: University of Montana, 1949), p. 60.

5. "Hutterite Farm Groups Facing Inquiry by Montana Legislature," New York Times, June 2, 1963; and Kenneth C. Thomas, "A Survey of the Hutterite Groups in Montana and Canada," p. 61.

6. Internal Revenue Service (District Office personal communication, Helena, Montana).

7. Howard, "Hutterites: Puzzle for Patriots," Pacific Spectator, pp. 40-41.

immediate neighbors were such that Peters reported "no colony is surrounded by hostility."[8]

Economic discrimination practiced by Montanans, according to available reports, has taken the form of reluctance to do business with Hutterite colonies. This is especially important in land transactions. The colonies have had to pay higher prices in order to overcome the hesitancy of the sellers to offend their neighbors.[9] Since it is very rare for the Hutterites to complain about prejudice they can live with, only one reference to discrimination in everyday business dealings was found. John Wurz, head of a colony near Lethbridge, Alberta, noted that "we buy goods in the local markets, we pay without haggling--prices often higher than other people pay for the same lands and goods."[10]

No law has yet been passed in Montana to restrict the Hutterite colonies, though the early sixties saw repeated attempts to do so. In the 1961 and 1963 legislative sessions, bills were killed that would have restricted land purchases by the colonies. The 1963 session did create a legislative committee which was asked to report on the situation of the Hutterites in Montana. A measure to pay the expenses of the committee was defeated. Several hearings were held in 1964 and

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8. Peters, All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life, p. 181.

9. Howard, "Hutterites: Puzzle for Patriots," Pacific Spectator, p. 40.

10. "Hutterite Head Explains Work, Viewpoint of Colony in Interview with Publisher of Pioneer Press," Lewistown Daily News, August 1, 1950.

a report was made to the 1965 session of the legislature. The only misconduct by the Hutterites reported by the committee was the purchase by individuals of state lands for colony use, allegedly to circumvent limits on how much state land can be purchased by a single person. When the report was submitted in 1965, the committee was attacked by the Montana Council of Churches as "high handed and biased."[11] Since 1965, the Hutterites have not been a live political issue in Montana.

The recent educational problems of the Hutterites in Montana seem to have been limited mainly to a 1958 controversy over whether the children of the Ayers and Deerfield colonies (located in Fergus County) would continue in school past eighth grade. The state enforced the 1955 law requiring that children attend school until their sixteenth birthday but compliance does not seem to have had any long-range effect on the colonies.[12]

Colony Life

Hutterite colony life appears to be socially satisfying. The contentment shown by colony members has impressed most observers.

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11. "Senate Kills Bill Aimed at Hutterite Expansion," Great Falls Tribune, February 28, 1961; "Hutterite Farm Groups Facing Inquiry," New York Times, June 2, 1963; "Study of the Hutterite Opens," Great Falls Tribune, January 30, 1964); "Operation of Hutterite Colonies Told at Legislative Fact Finding Session," Great Falls Tribune, February 8, 1964; "Communal Society Study Committee May Hold Second Meeting in April," Great Falls Tribune, March 10, 1964; "Hutterite Probe Urged in Report," Billings Gazette, January 16, 1965; "Hutterite Probe 'High-Handed'," Great Falls Tribune, January 23, 1965.

12. "First Hutterite Adjudged Guilty in Truancy Cases," Lewistown Daily News, October 9, 1958.

Joseph Kinsey Howard noted this in 1948 when he mentioned that:

> Visitors to a bruderhof are struck most forcefully by the apparent happiness of the colonists, though they have no entertainment or recreation of any kind except what may be drawn from conversation.[13]

Al Funderburke, a Billings Gazette reporter, noted more recently that:

> Hutterites are unprofessionally happy in their way of life. Smiles are evident everywhere. Towheaded youngsters cling to their parents with evident affection, smiling shyly at visitors. Faces are open and friendly.[14]

This contentment with colony life seems quite closely tied to the frequent and satisfying social interactions within the community. Victor Peters noted that the most common form of recreation in the colonies was visiting after work on weekdays and on Sunday. Bertha Clark also noted the Hutterite conversational skill and pointed out that work is usually done in groups.[15] She describes the work activities of the women as follows:

> A visitor driving into a community may see one group of women stringing beans, another group making rhubarb pies on a great table under the trees, others knitting on benches beside the houses, others spinning, and still others plucking pigeons for the Chicago market.[16]

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13. Howard, "Hutterites: Puzzle for Patriots," Pacific Spectator, p. 36.

14. Al Funderburke, "Hutterites Have Communal Existence Full of Work and Prayer," Billings Gazette, July 29, 1960.

15. Bertha Clark, "Hutterian Communities," Journal of Political Economics, p. 362.

16. Ibid., p. 370.

A team of psychologists studying the mental health of the Hutterites noted a high level of psychological adjustment which they traced to the group's system of mutual aid and the support and love demonstrated by the community at the first sign of depression or other mental stress.[17] John Hostetler has shown how growing up in a Hutterite colony encourages one to develop that pattern of values and expectations which the colony can best satisfy in its adult members.[18]

Avoidance of modern conveniences has not hindered the Hutterites in mechanizing their agricultural operations. When a colony purchases land it usually uses more mechanized cultivation than the previous owners. A new colony near Augusta in Lewis and Clark County bought a ranch that previously raised only feed crops and in 1947, the first year, broke over 1,200 acres for wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a truck garden.[19] A visitor to another colony in 1948 found that:

> In most colonies there are to be found diesel caterpillar tractors, modern tillers, seeders and other cultivating machinery. Most of the colonies also have well equipped repair shops for this equipment.[20]

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17. Joseph W. Eaton and Robert J. Weil, "The Mental Health of the Hutterites," Scientific American, vol. 189, no. 6 (December 1953), pp. 36-37.

18. John A. Hostetler, "Total Socialization: Modern Hutterite Educational Practices," Mennonite Quarterly Review, vol. 44, no. 1 (January 1970), pp. 72-84.

19. "Flat Creek Hutterites Build Community in Six Months," Great Falls Tribune, May 25, 1947.

20. Thomas, "Survey of Hutterite Groups in Montana and Canada," p. 36.

A research team in the early 1950s observed that often the colonies have the most modern equipment in the neighborhood.[21]

In a recent book on Hutterian groups in Canada John W. Bennett demonstrated that the increased diversification allowed by colony labor resources resulted in a much more stable income than a comparable family farm organization.[22] The local Canadian individually-owned farms were dependent on a single commodity--wheat. Consequently, their income fluctuated dramatically as wheat prices moved up or down. For the Hutterite colony, poultry products and other produce were additional major income sources, and thus their income was not tied to the price level of any one commodity. Bennett also found that per acre returns were higher for the colony than for the individual farm, because the individual farmer had a seriously restricted labor supply which resulted in his operation being more capital-intensive than production efficiency would recommend. The colony, on the other hand, had a more adequate labor supply which did not require capital outlay in the form of wages.[23]

Nonrational Behavior by Religious Communities

Hutterite colonies have been very successful in limiting the allure of outside economic opportunities on their members. It is very rare in normal times for anyone of middle age or over to leave the community.

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21. Joseph W. Eaton, Robert J. Weil, and Bert Kaplan, "The Hutterites Mental Health Study," Mennonite Quarterly Review (January 1951).

22. John W. Bennett, Hutterian Brethren: The Agricultural Economy and Social Organization of a Communal People (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1967).

23. Ibid., pp. 230-233.

Despite the Hutterite conviction that their young people are being "lost" to the world, desertion of the colony, even by members of the younger age groups, is rare and such separations are usually only temporary. While there are no figures available, the religious communities seem to hold more of their young people than do most other agricultural communities in Montana. This is accomplished through a religious indoctrination program that begins in kindergarten at age two and a half and by strenuous efforts to isolate the community from worldly temptations.

The Hutterite children, for example, drop out of school as early as is legally possible--ending contact with even this limited measure of outside influence. For fear of worldly influence, Hutterites rarely send their young people to college. The colonies are usually physically isolated and economically almost self-sufficient. The flow of labor resources in and out of the community is negligible compared to the free flow envisaged in the orthodox theory of market economy.[24]

The effectiveness of the control of the church over its members is illustrated by an incident cited by Victor Peters, of a teacher who brought a television set into a colony. Most of the community visited the teacherage with its television set at least once during the year but the teacher noted:

> A noticeable decrease in the number of visits to the teacherage was observed toward the end of the year

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24. Howard, "Hutterites," p. 39; Peters, All Things Common, pp. 128, 135, 162-164; Clark, "Hutterian Communities," pp. 360, 484; Thomas, "Survey of Hutterite Groups," p. 33.

> and writer assumed that Hutterian beliefs and indoctrination held firm and won the battle over "the devil's own instrument of temptation."[25]

Capital accumulated by the colonies is not invested for maximum return, but is usually invested in land and equipment for new communities. Religious ideals, in this case, rather than the pure profit motive, determine allocation of capital.

Another instance of the unresponsiveness of the members of these religious communities to economic inducements is that maximum personal satisfaction for them does not require or even allow the maximum level of consumption. By the standards of most Americans, they make an effort to underconsume. As a result, the colony members do not need to work at their maximum pace to satisfy consumer demands. Victor Peters, for example, quoted Samuel Kleinsasser of Winnepeg, a former colony member, as saying "I work a lot harder here than I ever did on the colony."[26] Bertha Clark also noted in her study of the Hutterites that "idleness and overwork are two extremes which Hutterian people know little of."

Capital accumulates rapidly in the colony, though, because the generally efficient operations are combined with the fact that relatively few resources are used for personal consumption.

Nationally, the population of the colonies is skyrocketing. In the 1940s, the Hutterites had a birth rate almost twice that of the

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25. Peters, All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life, p. 137.

26. Ibid., pp. 103-104.

United States with only half the American death rate:

Population	Period	Birth Rate per 1,000	Death Rate per 1,000	Rate of Increase
Hutterians	1946-1950	45.9	4.4	41.5
United States	1949-1951	24.0	9.7	14.3

Total population of religious communities in Montana is so small, however, that a rapid growth rate has had little effect upon the state as a whole.[27]

Effects of Colonies on Montana Economic Growth

Despite the generous economic success of the religious colonies, they avoid making maximum use of their resources. If the communities were to invest their capital and transfer their men without consideration of religious principle, they could receive a higher rate of return. Even with this limitation, they have been more successful than most private farmers.[28]

As mentioned above, neither capital nor labor are used to get the highest return for the colony. Religious principles of communalism take precedence. This has resulted in a situation where communal land is much more intensely worked than other farm land, and, because the rate of return decreases, the rewards for the additional investment are probably considerably less than they would be if the funds were invested elsewhere.

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27. There are only about 5,000 Hutterites in the entire United States. Robert C. Cook, "North American Hutterites," Population Bulletin, vol. 10 (October 1954), pp. 3, 97-107 and Peters, All Things Common, p. 152.

28. Cook, "North American Hutterites," Population Bulletin, p. 119.

The low consumption level of the communities is the only way their peculiar economic conduct costs outsiders potential profits. Through the multiplier effect from the increased spending in the community, a higher level of consumption for the Hutterites would probably benefit some of their neighbors, particularly merchants. How much better off, if any, the neighbors would be if the colony land were owned by others remains to be demonstrated. The low level of consumption is probably largely offset by the additional purchases of materials needed for intensive cultivation of the land and for supplying the larger population the colonies bring to an area.

The Hutterite per capita acreage in Manitoba was found by Peters to be thirty-five acres--meaning a given acreage can support considerably more Hutterites than outsiders.[29] For example, the Thomas survey of Hutterite groups in Montana and Canada in 1948 found one colony near Lewistown to be spending five to six thousand dollars a year at a local supermarket for food they could not produce. A 1963 article in The Mennonite Quarterly Review reported that most colonies do business with the "outside world" in excess of $100,000 annually.[30] A colony's total spending in the outside economy is probably higher than if the same land were owned and worked by fewer farmers who were not Hutterites.

This low level of per capita consumption allows for increased rates of capital accumulation, as mentioned, with most of this money

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29. Peters, All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life, p. 109.

30. Eaton and Weil, "The Hutterites Mental Health Study," p. 32.

going for more land. When a commune becomes overpopulated and new land must be purchased in another area, the money leaves the community; but most Hutterites prefer, when possible, to locate new colonies in the same locality as the older ones.

Effects of these economic practices on the larger community or the state as a whole are generally beneficial in that the colonies usually increase the productivity of the land they work. Their inefficient use of capital does not adversely affect the larger economy, since their capital comes from within the Hutterite community, not the larger economy. The lower return on their capital hurts only themselves.

Religious communities are unusual and include only a small proportion of the Montana population, but, beyond what direct importance they have, they serve to illustrate some of the problems hindering efficient allocation of resources in much of rural Montana--noneconomic influences which lead to lack of mobility for resources and noneconomic goals that affect spending patterns.

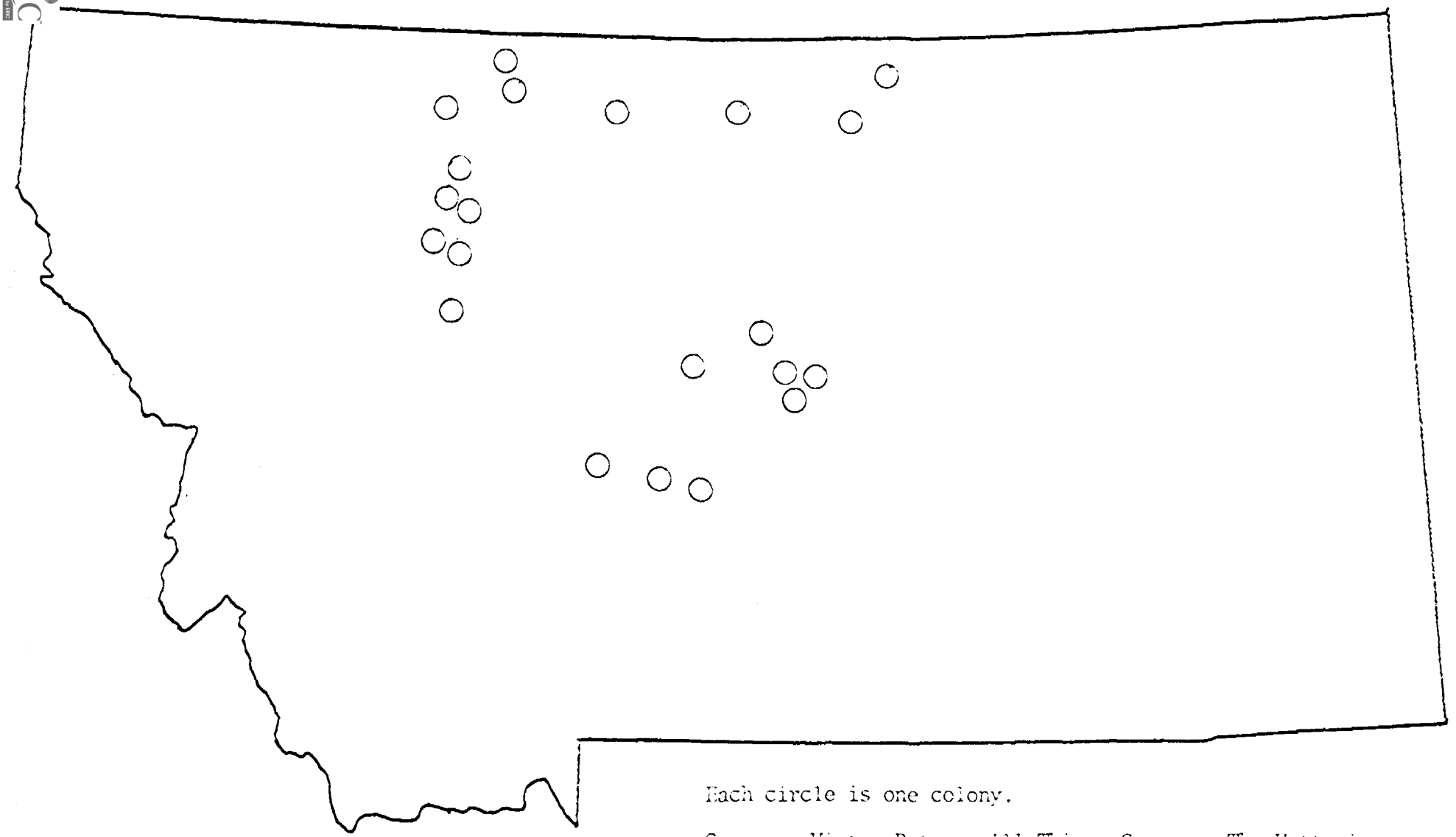
HUTTERITE COLONIES IN MONTANA 1964

	Name of Colony	Minister	Address	Year Founded	Population
1	King Ranch	Elias Walter	Lewistown	1935	50
2	Ayers	John Stahl	Lewistown	1945	55
3	Spring Creek	Paul Walter	Lewistown	1945	51
4	Deerfield	Paul Stahl	Danvers	1947	52
5	Birch Creek	Jacob Waldner	Valier	1947	79
6	Millfort	Joseph Kleinsasser	Augusta	1948	97
7	New Rockport	Peter Hofer	Choteau	1948	131
8	Miami	Issak Wurtz	Pendroy	1948	80
9	Rockport	John Kleinsasser	Pendroy	1948	78
10	Miller Ranch	David Hofer	Choteau	1949	98
11	Glacier	Joseph Waldner	Cut Bank	1951	132
12	Hillside	Andreas Wurtz	Sweet Grass	1951	91
13	Turner	John Hofer	Turner	1957	75
14	Martinsdale	John Wipf	Martinsdale	1959	93
15	Springdale	Peter Wipf	White Sulphur	1959	97
16	Wolf Creek	Joseph Hofer	Harlem	1960	55
17	Sage Creek	Paul Wipf	Chester	1961	106
18	Duncan Ranch	John Entz	Two Dot	1963	81
19	Rimrock	Peter Hofer	Sunburst	1963	82
20	Hilldale	Joseph Waldner	Havre	1963	103
21	Wilson Range	Elias Walter	Stanford	1963	75

Total = 21 colonies with 1,761 people.

Source: All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life, Victor Peters (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965) pp. 207-210.

Hutterite Colonies in Montana



Each circle is one colony.

Source: Victor Peters, All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life (University of Minnesota Press, 1965).

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