LIFE CYCLES OF BEHAVIOR SETTINGS: THREE RURAL COMMUNITIES IN KANSAS

by

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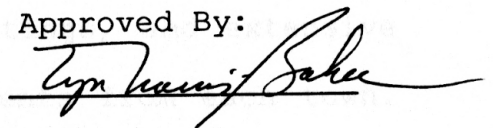
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ABSTRACT

This study used a case study approach to describe the historical and temporal context of Midwestern small town behavior settings over their life cycles. The study gathered information about three towns with similar socioeconomic, geographic, and demographic characteristics in order to describe comparatively their behavior settings, including community changes such as the evolution, demise, and birth of settings. The study employed concepts of behavior setting theory as developed by Roger Barker and his colleagues (Barker, 1968) and extended by Allan Wicker (1987). Behavior settings are naturally occurring units composed of people and physical objects that interact in ways to carry out programs of activity within specific time and space boundaries. Examples of small town behavior settings include historical society meetings, craft shops, and community festivals. The study used qualitative methods to examine current and past public behavior settings in Esbon, Neosho Falls, and Ramona, Kansas. Methods included archival research on the history of each town and its settings, documentation of current behavior settings, and extensive interviews conducted with key respondents from each town. The 21 key respondents were over age 50 and had resided in

the community for most or all of their lives. On the basis of these data, chronologies of the numbers and types of settings per decade were developed for each community. Chronologies and types of settings were compared across communities as well as with changes in population for each town. Reasons for setting decline were explored within the context of behavior setting theory, especially the role of understaffing. Respondents perceptions of settings essential to small town existence and variations in their attachments to settings were summarized as well. The study provides insights about factors which contribute to the survival or extinction of small town behavior settings, and thus to the future of rural communities.

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INTRODUCTION

This study used a case study approach to describe the historical and temporal context of Midwestern small town behavior settings over their life cycles. Behavior settings are naturally occurring units composed of people and physical objects that interact in ways to carry out programs of activity within specific time and space boundaries. The concepts of behaviors setting theory were developed by Roger G. Barker and his colleagues (Barker, 1968) on the basis of studies of small Kansas communities and extended by Allan Wicker (1987). Surveying the settings within a particular community and the characteristics of settings which are created, evolve, or die provides insights about factors which contribute to the survival or extinction of small town behavior setting, and thus to the future of rural communities and the well-being of their inhabitants.

Roger Barker's (Barker, 1968) behavior setting theory was used as a conceptual guide for this research. Since the research relied on archival methodology as a major means of data collection, identification of all behavior settings was difficult to establish. It is impossible to

determine all the possible behavior settings that might have been associated with each building, or place during a certain time period. When the existence of a place had been documented, the researcher could only surmise what behavior settings it contained. For example, in one of the towns, the café was currently being used for the social setting of card playing in the afternoon and as a bus stop for school children. Archival records would have established the existence of the place, but not the behavior settings of card playing or the bus stop. Retrospectively, it is difficult to identify people/place transactions.

This study examines the behavior settings, in relation to the economic conditions and the demographic and geographic contexts of three small towns: Ramona, Esbon, and Neosho Falls, Kansas. Several significant factors that can determine the continued existence of a behavior setting are the climate of an area, the natural resources available, and the characteristics of the people who live there (Wicker, 1987). This study focuses on the patterns of behavior settings in these towns within the changing economic, demographic and historic contexts of rural Kansas during the twentieth century.

Rural communities in Kansas are increasingly becoming smaller and more economically threatened. Very little

comparative research studying the history of behavior settings, their birth, evolution, and demise and community attachment has been done to this point. By researching this area we can possibly discover "key" settings that are needed to sustain these small communities. Some of these communities have a high proportion of elderly and when these residents are gone, there is no one to replace them in their leadership roles for the community, which could lead to the demise of that community.

The technological revolution of the twentieth century has brought great change to the world and has impacted and formed the construct of society as we know it today. As people have integrated and made use of inventions such as electronics, automobiles, telephones, advanced machinery, and medical technology, their lives and communities have evolved. One area that has been greatly affected is the small American rural town. For example, with the advances in farm technology fewer people are needed to raise the crops, such as wheat, rye, and corn, which are grown in rural areas of the United States. Thus, many available jobs have declined in rural communities. In addition, many young people who are raised in rural areas choose professions which require them to relocate to urban areas. Despite this trend, a great number of rural communities

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professions which require them to relocate to urban areas. Despite this trend, a great number of rural communities continue to be a part of the fabric of contemporary American life.

> Towns of 2,500 or fewer inhabitants comprise the
> majority of communities in some Midwestern
> states, and make up 83% of those in Kansas.
> Approximately half of these little towns suffer
> from acute and long-term economic factors that
> threaten their survival and result in losses of
> settings." Fitzgerald, personal communication;
> (Norris-Baker and Scheidt, 1990, p. 333).

A high percentage of these small town inhabitants are elderly. These small communities continue to diminish due mostly to economic factors. As most do not have a thriving economic base, the younger population continues to move to the metropolitan areas.

> Older residents of small towns which are losing
> behavior settings (Barker, 1968) are more
> psychologically vulnerable to such losses than
> residents of larger towns… Behavior settings
> in small towns are more likely to be
> geographically specific (as opposed to generic),

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with less redundancy among setting types. Hence, it is more difficult to find alternative settings which might replace the functions and personal meanings associated with the original. (Norris-Baker and Scheidt, 1990, p. 334)

In Kansas, according to the 1990 census, 13.8% of the population is 65 years of age or older. It is projected that by the year 2020, the 65 plus population will have increased to 18%. The elderly in rural communities lack the resources, such as doctors, restaurants, and other services which are available to those in larger areas. Often the elderly fulfill many, if not most, of the roles in their community, such as running the store, the cafe, and even delivering the mail. This is partially due to a lack of younger adults in some communities. This demographic profile may create a stressful situation within behavior settings. If an older resident in a leadership role becomes incapacitated by illness, moves away, or dies, there may be few or perhaps no residents who are able to replace them in setting roles. That behavior setting then evolves, is replaced, or dies.

A prime example of this occurred in Ramona, Kansas. A man had just retired from his job. His employers were not

planning on replacing him because their business was down, so this setting has evolved. Even though his role was terminated, the existence of this setting continues with modifications to its structure. This caused someone to take on his responsibilities, yet unfortunately for this town, it did not create a job opening.

BEHAVIOR SETTINGS

DEFINITIONS AND HISTORY

In <u>Qualities of Community Life</u> (Barker, 1973), Roger Barker and his associates, including his wife Louise Barker, Phil Schoggen, Paul V. Gump, and Herbert F. Wright, describe the twentieth century behavior settings in the towns of Oskaloosa, Kansas, and Layburn, Northern Yorkshire, England. The two towns were chosen because they had very similar characteristics. They both had an agricultural economic base, their population was similarly situated with respect to cities, and they were of similar size in geographical area. Oskaloosa is in northeastern Kansas. The population in Oskaloosa for the time period Barker and his associates studied the town, ranged from 721 in 1950 to 830 in 1960. Barker and his research team resided in these two towns during their research, which studied the occupants' daily behavior patterns and uses of space.

The initial research was done September 1954, through August 1955, and an additional study was conducted September 1963, through August 1964 (Barker, 1973). Barker and his associates formed a comprehensive list of

220 behavior settings that existed in the towns that they researched. Barker then divided these behavior settings into eleven larger categories called "Action Patterns." These are identified and defined as: 1) aesthetics (making the environment more beautiful), 2) business (exchanging goods, services or privileges for money), 3) education (formal education of any kind), 4) government (making, implementing, and evaluating government regulations), 5) nutrition (eating and drinking), 6) personal appearance (improving appearance via clothing, grooming, and adornments), 7) physical health (promoting health), 8) professional involvement (paid rather than voluntary performance in a setting), 9) recreation (play, sports, and games), 10) religion (behavior concerned with worship), and 11) social contact (interpersonal interaction). (Barker, 1973). The settings studied were limited to those in the public domain as Barker and his associates did not research private or family situations.

A behavior setting can be categorized using more than one action pattern. For example, Barker shows the tavern under nutrition and under recreation. Under each action pattern he also lists new sites, enlarged sites, eroded sites, and reduced sites that occurred in the two towns between the two time periods studied. In Barker's study,

seven of the action patterns increased between study periods. These were aesthetics, education, government, nutrition, physical health, professional involvement, and social contact. Businesses such as animal feed stores, farm implement agencies, and grocery stores declined. Personal appearance, recreation, and religion gained in salience but declined or stayed the same in productivity (Barker, 1973).

Wicker, who further developed Barker's behavior setting theory, defines a behavior setting as "a bounded, self-regulated and ordered system composed of replaceable human and nonhuman components that interact in a synchronized fashion to carry out an ordered sequence of events called the setting program" (Wicker, 1979). In other words, a behavior setting is an event that typically happens within a building, composed of people and physical objects that interact to carry out programs of activity. A building may house several behavior settings, yet by the same token, a behavior setting may take place outside of any type of formal structure.

Behavior settings are an essential part of community life. By studying behavior settings, we can, in effect, study the history as well as the present conditions of

specific communities. These types of studies may help us to plan for future development of community sites and use of resources. Such studies, however, must also take into account other factors which may affect the birth, evolution, and demise of certain behavior settings. According to Wicker (1987), contextual factors that significantly influence the creation and life course of behavior settings include:

1) Value patterns and other cultural conditions
2) Political and legal conditions 3) Economic conditions 4) Technical and informational conditions 5) Demographic and geographic conditions. These factors are, of course, interdependent, and they fluctuate over time. (Wicker, 1987, p. 637)

A historical analysis of behavior settings should consider what events or other behavior settings contributed to establishing a setting, and whether there were previous settings that supported the same or a similar function (Wicker, 1987). It is also important to consider what happened to these settings over time. For example, did they evolve or were they replaced? Wicker says:

Among the conditions that guarantee the demise
of a behavior setting are the loss and non-
replacement of essential resources. The most
widely publicized lack is financial resources -
money, credit, budget allocation. (Wicker,
1987, p. 622)

The potential loss of actual or essential resources may or
may not be immediately apparent to those who are affected.
Wicker also asserts that the departure of a key figure or
a founder of a behavior setting could contribute to the
loss of that setting.

Settings may also suffer from a lack of timely
information about conditions within or beyond
their boundaries such as depressed sales or
unfavorable market conditions. Catastrophic
events such as epidemics, floods, earthquakes,
fires, and bombings can also temporarily or
permanently terminate behavior settings by
removing some or all essential resources (cf.
Miller, 1971a, 1972). (Wicker, 1987, p. 633)

People often attribute more to these catastrophic events
as time progresses. Natural disasters tend to stand out
in their memories, and great significance is placed on
these events. This could be because it is an immediate

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event and not a progressive effect which is less
noticeable.

SIGNIFICANCE

Describing behavior settings in small rural
communities is significant because very little is known
about the history of behavior settings or the processes
involved in their transformation or demise. Wicker (1979,
1987) and Barker (1968, 1973) have given us some
significant guidelines to use, but they believed that
these concepts should be expanded and changed to fit the
researchers' needs. There are well developed theories
about behavior settings, but very little comparative
research that includes the historical and temporal context
of settings over their life cycles. By focusing on the
histories of behavior settings, this continued research
hopes to expand the understanding of the life cycles of
some settings in small communities. Such information
could lend itself to research and predictions which may
prove useful in future planning issues.

OBJECTIVES

This study intends to describe the chronological development of behavior settings of three different small towns within the context of changes in population and major historical events; explore the dynamics involved in the demise of behavior settings, focusing on case studies of settings for which sufficient information is available; and explore and describe any similarities and differences in behavior setting histories among the three towns. Comparing towns' behavior settings and their histories may identify similarities in processes or events that lead to the evolution and to the demise of different types of settings. As previously stated, this type of information could possibly lead to better community planning by identifying situations in which important settings such as a post office or recreational setting may be becoming vulnerable or at risk for survival. By obtaining information about community and individual attachment to particular settings, it should be possible to explore any relationships between attachment and setting life cycles. However, as each town's history and its settings are unique, each particular town must be viewed as a case study. In addition, by obtaining information about community and individual attachment to particular

settings, it should be possible to explore the
relationships between attachment and setting life cycles.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Rather than testing a hypothesis to prove a theory valid using quantitative methodologies, this study is based upon the concept of a "naturalistic paradigm." An emic insiders view was sought to construct an image of each town studied. Allan E. Wicker states that:

> A primary aim of such inquiry is to gain an in-
> depth understanding - to generate an idiographic
> or closely comparative body of knowledge - and
> convincingly to communicate that understanding.
> Prediction and control are viewed as unlikely,
> and secondary, outcomes of research. (Wicker,
> 1992, p. 163).

Naturalistic inquiry is intended to study people in a natural setting and to capture that in detail, using observation and in-depth interviews. It involves participant research that acknowledges preconceived notions or biases; the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the setting or environment in any way, except in as much as his or her presence causes some change. Qualitative methods are beneficial due to their flexibility. New concepts can be formed and developed as

the research evolves. The research is regarded as a process that continually develops, and the results are specific to that situation or event and are not generalized to cover all such events.

> Generality of findings, or of concepts, propositions, or theories emerging from studies is not assumed, but regarded as an open question to be explored by careful analysis of the conditions in the research situation and of conditions that might exist in other settings. Similarly, researchers who work in the paradigm stress the tentative and conditional nature of any practical applications that might be suggested by their investigations. (Wicker, 1992, p. 163)

The present study used a naturalistic method to study each of the three towns, which have a unique combination of behavior settings as well as unique historical events.

Roger Barker and his associates also employed the concept of a "naturalistic paradigm" to study behavior settings. As he and his research team lived in the two small towns and studied the behavior settings that were currently there, his work is much more detailed and accurate than a retrospective study of behavior settings.

Retrospective reports depend upon informants' memories, which can vary in their accuracy and completeness. However, retrospective accounts from long-term residents of a town, together with information from newspapers, phone books, museum archives, town libraries, and historical societies provide the only approach that can be used to identify settings historically. None of these methods provides immediate documentation of behavior settings, but together they may create a general portrait of the settings and changes over time. The multiple methods of data collection along with researcher observations and tours of the towns provide for triangulation of data which facilitates credibility and accuracy. However, these methods do not provide a complete record, and there will be time intervals of unsubstantiated evidence.

COMMUNITIES

This exploratory study of the life cycles of behavior settings was conducted in three small, economically threatened rural communities in Kansas. The towns were selected on the basis of existing research on the towns and the well-being of their older residents that

had been conducted by Norris-Baker and Scheidt (1990). They studied the effects of population and economic decline on elderly residents of small, rural towns in the Midwest. By studying and researching behavior settings using the three towns that have been studied previously, it is possible to interpret the data from this study within the context of the earlier research findings.

The three towns studied were Esbon, Neosho Falls, and Ramona, Kansas. In the 1990's they all had populations under 175 and were of approximately the same chronological age, dating from the mid-to-late nineteenth century. They all had been experiencing economic and population decline. Esbon, at this time, had a bank, a truck line, a school, two churches, a grain elevator, a café, a senior center, a grocery/gas shop, and a post office. Neosho Falls had a post office/community center, a senior center, a tavern, a welding shop, and a water plant. Ramona had a post office, a grocery store, a café, a tavern, a senior center, a garage/gas station, a welding shop, a manufacturing plant, a part-time grain elevator, and a part-time bank. Each town was at least five miles off a major highway and at least 15 minutes from a town with a population of 3,000 or more. They all possessed a large and increasing proportion of elderly residents. As shown

in Table 1, the 1990 census revealed that 43.7% of Esbon's population was 55 years of age and older, Neosho Falls' population over 55 and was 45%, and Ramona's was 50%. Each of these three towns also had a written history, which gave descriptive information about a number of places and events in the town.

TABLE 1.--Comparison of percentage of elderly in each of the three towns studied.

	ESBON 1990 CENSUS	NEOSHO FALLS 1990 CENSUS	RAMONA 1990 CENSUS
Total Population	167	157	106
65-74 years	30	37	15
75-84 years	22	12	16
85-over	4	6	4
Number 65 years and over	56	55	35
Percentage of total population 65+	33.5%	35%	33%
Number 55 years and over	73	71	53
Percentage of total population 55+	43.7%	45%	50%

DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

Three primary data collection methods were employed: archival research, observations which documented the current settings in each town, and in-depth interviews with knowledgeable older residents of each town.

Archival Records

Much of the background information about behavior settings was established through each town's history books written by local historians, newspapers, old telephone directories, resources available from the county historical societies, county museums, county libraries, and the State Historical Society. Polk's Business Directory, which is a directory that has a brief description of the town and lists the businesses and the proprietors by name, listed Neosho Falls for the year 1878, but there was no mention at all of the towns Esbon or Ramona.

Sanborn Insurance maps were also reviewed, but due to the small size of each of the towns, they were not listed. The Kansas Historical Society did have a few insurance rate booklets that listed Esbon for the years 1924, 1930,

1934, and 1936. They listed Neosho Falls for the years 1920, 1926, and 1932. They listed Ramona for the years 1922, 1928 and 1931. These booklets contained names, amounts, and items insured. They were very helpful in establishing definite dates for some businesses. The telephone directories that were found at the State Historical Society included listings for clusters of towns, and were available for the 1960's through the 1990's. Often, it was found that the town did not have many advertisements in the yellow pages, and much of the information was found in the white pages. Unfortunately, telephone directories did not provide a complete list, even of current settings, since some settings do not have telephones. For example, in two of the directories, churches in Esbon that are currently active were not listed in the 1980's or 1990's. Another example was a truck-line that had been established for fifty years that was listed only in the 1990 directory. All of the archival sources used to document settings for each town are summarized in Appendix A for Esbon, Appendix B for Neosho Falls, and Appendix C for Ramona.

Documentation of Current Settings

The researcher obtained maps of each of the three towns from the Kansas Department of Transportation, Planning and Development Division. A drive-by documentation of current settings, which had some visual identification, was completed for each town. Photographs of the locations of each town's existing behavior settings were taken at this time. Documentation of the existing settings for each town also helped to structure the interviewing guide used with older residents of the towns.

Interviews with Town Residents

To supplement the information obtained through archival records, four key respondents were chosen from each town. Respondents were selected from names of participants in a previous research project and additional residents suggested by those participants. A telephone screening technique was used to determine if the person would be a good respondent, one who knew about the history of the town. The selection criteria included people who had lived in the town all of their lives, who had moved into town after living in a surrounding area, or who had moved back to town after a short absence. Respondents

were expected to be at least fifty years of age. It was anticipated that the respondent would know personally many of the settings and would have reliable secondhand knowledge of other settings through relatives and other older individuals. Out of a possible sample of 27 residents, the researcher was unable to contact one person, one had moved out of state, one was deceased, two were too young (the mayors of two of the towns), and four declined, saying that there were others more qualified and suggesting their names.

After the telephone screening, a letter (see Appendix D) was mailed to the potential respondent with a copy of the interviewing guide (see Appendix E). The letter stated the credentials of the researcher, the purpose of the research, the types of information involved, and some background information which described a behavior setting. After four to five days, the potential respondent was contacted by telephone to see if he or she was interested in participating. At that time, an interview date and time were established.

A total of twelve interviews were completed involving twenty-one individuals as participants. Each of these residents was knowledgeable about the history of the town

and the social as well as business settings that occurred there. In nine cases, two people were interviewed and treated as one respondent, (seven of these cases being couples, one case being mother and daughter and the last being two women). This was done in an effort to maintain validity because some respondents were unsure of certain questions. In all cases, the respondents interviewed as pairs jointly agreed, or quickly came to an agreement, or chose to let one person answer because they were unable to answer the question. Questions concerning attachment to settings were recorded for each individual separately.

The respondents who participated in this study had decided to stay in these towns or had returned after an absence. Of the twenty-one participants, twelve grew up in or on the outskirts of town and continued to live there. Three of the participants moved to nearby towns in their twenties or thirties and never moved back; yet they kept in touch with people and continued to participate in those towns and were familiar with its settings. Six of the participants moved away for periods of five to fourteen years, but moved back during the 1980's for various reasons.

The interviewing guide (see Appendix E) was based on the two hundred and twenty behavior settings listed in Barker and Schoggen's (1973) Qualities of Community Life. In order to simplify the list, some behavior settings which would not occur at all in these towns were eliminated, such as settings dealing with county government. Potential behavior settings, which would not have existed in the 1950's and 1960's (the time period during which Barker and Schoggen completed their study), but which could exist today were added. Examples of such settings include video rental, computer repair, an arcade, and transportation for the elderly. In the interviewing guide, the known settings (obtained during the drive-through of the towns) were listed first.

The interviews, based on this guide, were open-ended. Responses were tape-recorded and transcribed at a later date. Field notes were made at the time of the interview. In two cases, the interview ended with a guided tour of the town. Questions asked about each setting included: Do you know when the setting started? Is it still there and still used? Please mark its location on a map of the town. In what decade was the building where the behavior setting was located built? Was the behavior setting ever located in some other building? How many people are

involved in running this setting? The complete interviewing guide is provided in Appendix E. At the end of each interview, the informant was asked questions about attachment to the settings that had been discussed. The participant was asked which, if any, of the behavior settings he or she felt attached to. Participants were asked to think of any behavior settings not listed that they could identify in the town, and to describe them. Some of the structured yet open-ended questions were followed by conversations which were not necessarily related to the specific inquiry. The contents of these conversations have been included at random intervals in an effort to preserve the oral histories of the respondents, and to present a more emic view of the towns' characteristics and development.

During the interview the participants were asked to mark on a map of the town where behavior settings were in the past and where they existed currently. This technique of verification was conducted with each setting. This was done only with the first two interviews in each town. This process was not conducive to the research as the participants would stop the interview to correct a mistake on the map and it seemed to confuse several of the participants. This process also proved inconclusive as

several of the participants were unable to identify where previous settings had been.

Procedure

Archival research was conducted from October 1993, until February 1994. Approximately 200 hours were spent obtaining data. Documentation of current town settings was completed for each town in November 1993. The interviews with respondents were conducted during December 1993, and January 1994. Specific dates for interviews were scheduled at the convenience of the respondents. The interviewing times were set for morning or afternoon, and each interview took from three to five hours to complete. The longer interviews were with the town historians, as they included many names and dates. All of the respondents were interviewed in their homes, with the exception of one couple who felt more comfortable in their town's Community Center. Again, a total of twenty-one individuals were interviewed in twelve sessions.

ANALYSIS

The principal aim of the data analysis was to trace the behavior settings of Esbon, Neosho Falls, and Ramona,

Kansas starting in the 1900's. The open-ended verbal responses were summarized and compared to provide content and confirmation for the archival research done previously. Behavior setting time lines were completed for each town. By comparing the population and behavior setting time lines significant periods of change for each town were identified. Significant historical events were listed chronologically on the population time lines.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

HISTORY OF SETTINGS IN ESBON

Esbon, Kansas is located in north-central Kansas on Kansas Highway 112. It is north of US Highway 36 and east of US Highway 281, between Mankato and Smith Center. Esbon is in Jewell County, which was organized in July of 1870. Ezbon township was organized in 1872 and the Ezbon Town Company was chartered on June 22, 1887. When the town of Ezbon was established, it was named after Ezbon Kellogg, who was the son of A. B. Kellogg, one of the first settlers in that area. Until 1890, the spelling was Ezbon. The first town newspaper was The Esbon Leader which was established in June 1892. After this date the letter S began to replace the letter Z.

In the late 1800's success in business was related to location, and retailers often had more than one business located in the same building due to economic reasons. These preferences had direct impacts on the development of early behavior settings. In the early years of Esbon, the town's buildings were built on runners for mobility. "The

lots or land were owned by certain people. You would put up a building on something that you did not own – but it may be on runners and you pay so much rent. Then you could move it if you did not get along," said one historian. The buildings on runners created a sense of mobility, a characteristic not typically associated with buildings today.

An example of mobility is documented regarding the town of Salem, located in close proximity to Esbon. In 1887, when the railroad route did not include the town of Salem, in favor of Esbon, the residents believed Salem would not continue to prosper. As a result, the businesses, residents, and buildings decided to move. Half the residents of Salem (200 -250 people) moved into Esbon, transporting homes and business buildings with them, and the other half moved into another nearby community, Lebanon. This event, in conjunction with the advent of the railroad, accounts for the growth in the number of Esbon's businesses in such a short amount of time in the late 1800's.

Figure 1 documents the population changes in Esbon from 1910-1990, as well as major losses of buildings and/or settings. As shown in Figure 2, the peak years of

FIGURE 1

ESBON, KANSAS

POPULATION


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450
400   347   375
350               319   292   278
300                             237       234
250                                 206       167
200
150
100
50
0
     1910  1920  1930  1940  1950  1960  1970  1980  1990
                        YEARS
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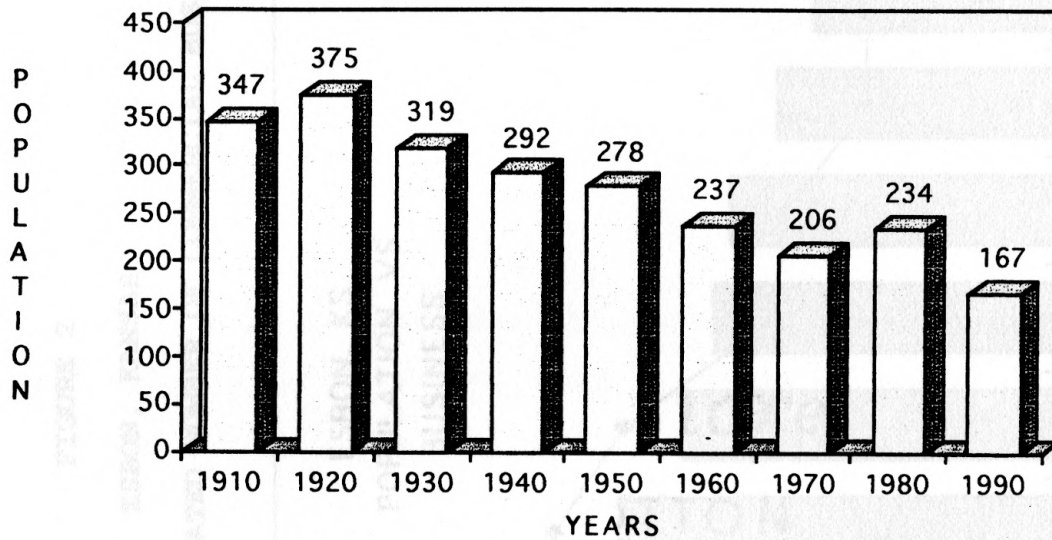
Year	Event
1893 -	Fire burned furniture store, barber shop, and Gilbert Brother's store
1904 -	East elevator burned - rebuilt
1917 -	Christian Church burned - rebuilt
1926 -	City Hotel, Patterson Grocery, and Esbon Hardware burned, only Patterson rebuilt
1936 -	Hospital fire - rebuilt
1938 -	Hospital fire - rebuilt
1942 -	Two tornadoes - homes and businesses damaged
1950 -	Bank building burns - includes Roger's store, locker plant, Legion hall, post office, and apartments. The post office moved to a new location and the Legion hall built a new building. The others did not rebuild.
1988 -	Café burned - brought in a new café from Courtland, Kansas.
1926-1950 -	Large fires that informants remembered or had heard about

FIGURE 2

ESBON, KANSAS

POPULATION VS. ESTIMATED NUMBER OF COMMERCIAL BUSINESSES

ESBON, KS
POPULATION VS
BUSINESS
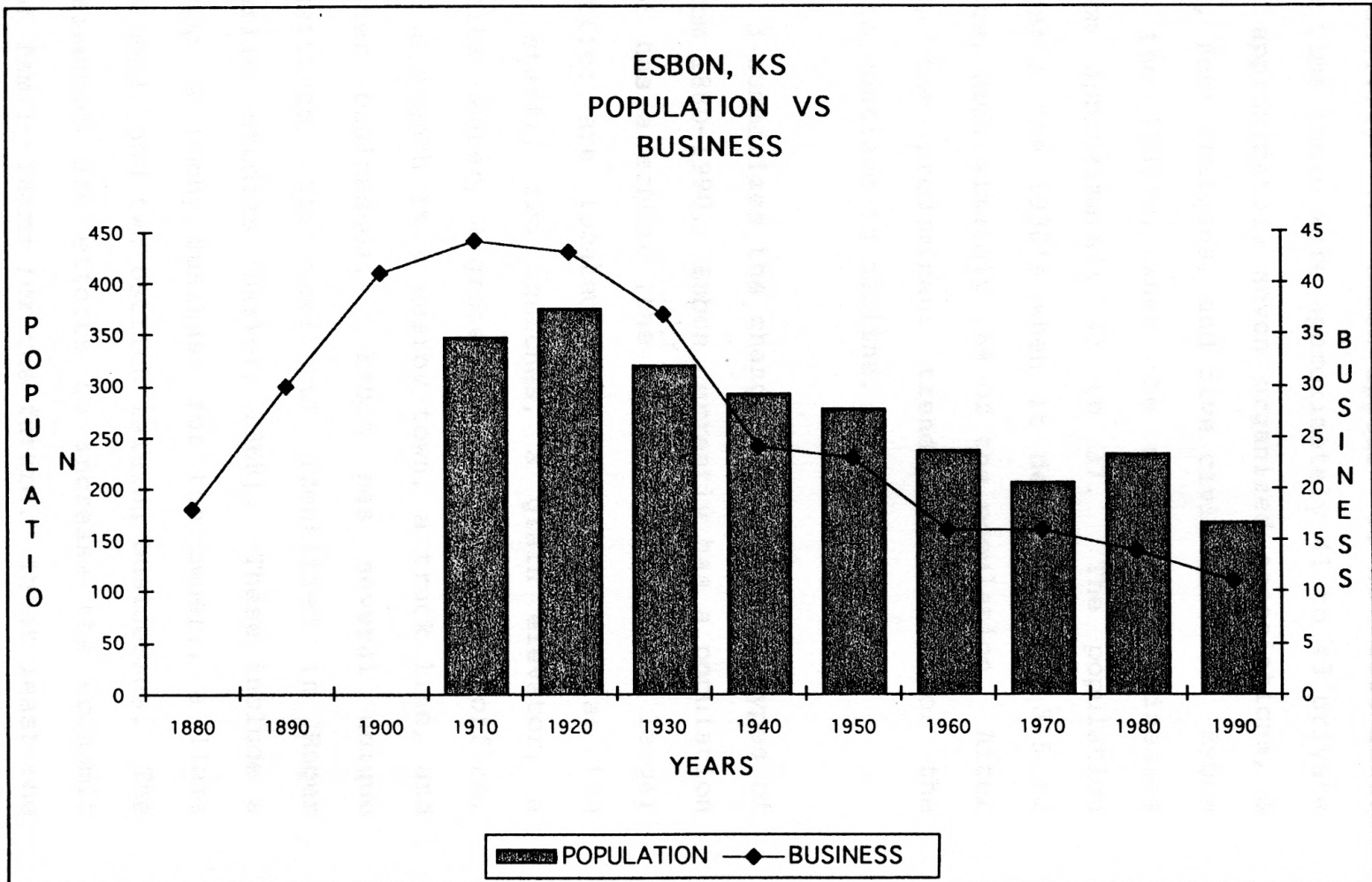
commercial activity in Esbon appear to be 1900-1920. During this time there were approximately 41 to 43 private businesses, approximately seven organized associations, a high school, four churches, and five civic offices. Esbon grew until the 1930's, when the number of businesses dropped from approximately 43 to 37. The population increased until the 1930's when it declined from 375 to 316 residents, approximately 16% of the population. After the 1930's, the predominant trend has been for the population to continue to decline.

Figure 3 summarizes the changes in different types of settings from 1880-1990. Esbon currently has a population of 167. It has a school (the middle grades of a larger school district are located at Esbon, as well as the secretarial staff), two churches, a grain elevator, a café, a senior center, a grocery/gas shop, a post office, a bank with a branch in a nearby town, a truck line, and several other businesses. Esbon has several unique behavior settings that were not identified in Roger Barker's earlier studies (Barker, 1968). These include a ceramics shop (a hobby business for the owner), a llama farming business, and two ostrich raising businesses. The farming businesses are efforts to increase the economic viability of family farms for the future. In at least one

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FIGURE 3

ESBON, KANSAS

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF MULTIPLE SETTING PLACES/ORGANIZATIONS
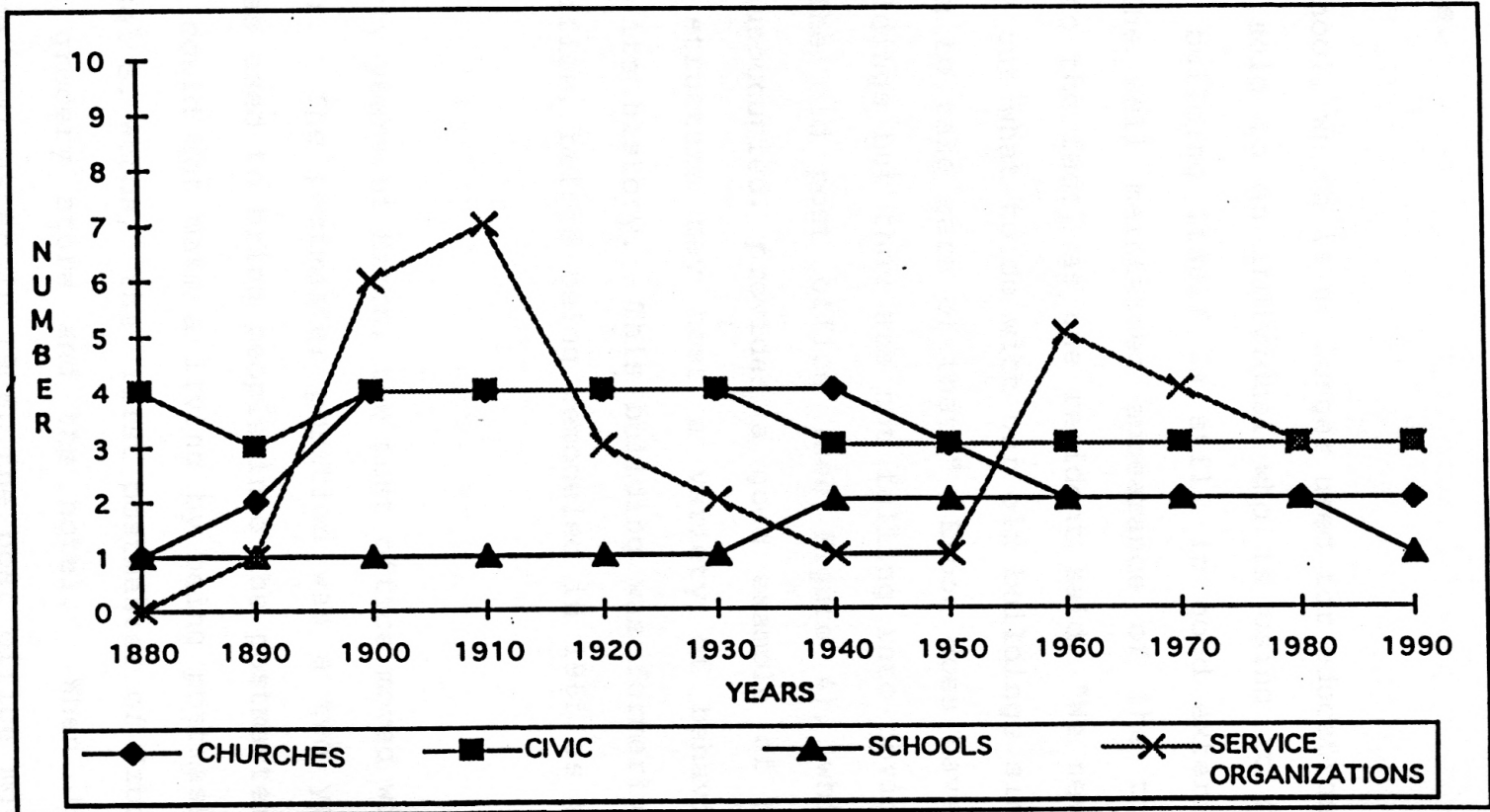
case, the intent is to help the farmer provide income for two generations.

The old school, which is no longer used for educational purposes, was sold to an individual who is using it for storage. The building itself is still in good exterior condition. The well maintained appearance of the town could be due to the fact, as one resident said, "We never have to figure out what to do with our old buildings since the fires seem to take care of that." Esbon does have a few empty buildings but they are not falling into obvious disrepair. The old post office (see Figure 4), which currently is unoccupied, provides a good example of how one physical structure may host a variety of behavior settings over its history. This building was formerly a lumber yard office, before being remodeled in 1965 as the post office.

In the early years of Ezbon, the post office moved with the postmaster. The postmaster position was a two year term and it was used to bring people into the postmaster's store for one could not make a living by being postmaster alone. Samuel S. Woods, the first postmaster of Ezbon, also ran the grocery store and the hotel. When John McCammon became postmaster in 1906, the post office moved

to one half of a building, the other half being occupied
by the drugstore. The post office was located in this
building for 26 years. In 1932, the post office moved

FIGURE 4

ESBON - OLD POST OFFICE

again, this time to the old bank building. In 1950, the
bank building burned and the post office location was
moved across the street. The post office moved to the
remodeled lumberyard building in 1965. Sometime in the
late 1980's, this building was declared unfit
structurally, and the townspeople found it would be less

expensive to build a new building than to repair the old
one. The current location of the post office, the most
recent of many locations for the same setting, is pictured
in Figure 5.

FIGURE 5

ESBON - CURRENT POST OFFICE

In Esbon, many residents are still thinking in terms of
mobility regarding settings and the buildings that house
them. The United Brethren Church moved an old schoolhouse
from the country into town to use as a church building,
and the senior center building is one that was brought

from Salem. When the café burned in the late 1980's, some of the townspeople went to Courtland, Kansas, purchased an old restaurant, and moved that building onto the main street of Esbon. This café is pictured in Figure 6.

FIGURE 6

ESBON - CAFE

In Esbon, some behavior settings are physically nested within the locations of other behavior settings. For example, the current grocery/gas store (see Figure 7) has a craft store in the upstairs during November and December. In addition, residents contract shoe repair and

dry cleaning services through the store, which will transport these items to Belleville, where the service is

FIGURE 7

ESBON - GROCERY/GAS STORE

provided, and then return them. The store also provides services to assist frail residents, such as delivering groceries.

The senior center provides another example of multiple settings in one location, as well as the mobility of settings (see Figure 8). The senior center houses a

traveling library, afternoon card playing (which moved there temporarily when the café burned), and a bus to take

FIGURE 8

ESBON - SENIOR CENTER

senior citizens into nearby towns, both to see health care providers and also to go on occasional sightseeing trips.

Esbon's residents seem to pull together in order to sustain a setting deemed important to the community. As previously mentioned, after the café burned, several residents went to Courtland, Kansas and purchased a

building that used to be a fast-food restaurant. They
moved the building to Esbon to replace the café because
they wanted to sustain that setting. The senior center
provided a location for the settings of afternoon cards
and morning coffee while the café was closed. As soon as
the café reopened, the senior center was no longer made
available as a location for those settings. As one
resident said, "We wanted the café owner to know that we
would support his business."

HISTORY OF SETTINGS IN NEOSHO FALLS

Neosho Falls is located in the southeastern part of Kansas, north of US Highway 54 between Iola and Yates Center. It is the oldest town in Woodson County. Neosho Falls was established in 1857 by Nathaniel S. Goss and Isaac W. Dow, who were looking for a good place to build a sawmill. In 1858, Neosho Falls was formally declared the county seat of Woodson county, but it lost this designation to Yates Center in 1876. By 1882, Neosho Falls had a population of 750, and the State of Business Directory for 1882-83 reveals forty-six behavior settings. As Figure 9 shows the town's population peaked in the 1900's at 763 residents and the number of businesses peaked in the 1920's at 375. This pattern was affected by a number of different occurrences within the dynamics of the town. The population figures for Neosho Falls were initially greater due to the influence and presence of the Santa Fe Railroad. The commercial activity peaked in the 1920's due to strong population, the discovery of natural gas wells, and a favorable agricultural economy. Much of the information about Neosho Falls from 1880 to the 1930's is chronicled in the town newspaper, the Neosho Falls Post.

FIGURE 9

NEOSHO FALLS, KANSAS

POPULATION VS. ESTIMATED NUMBER OF COMMERCIAL BUSINESSES
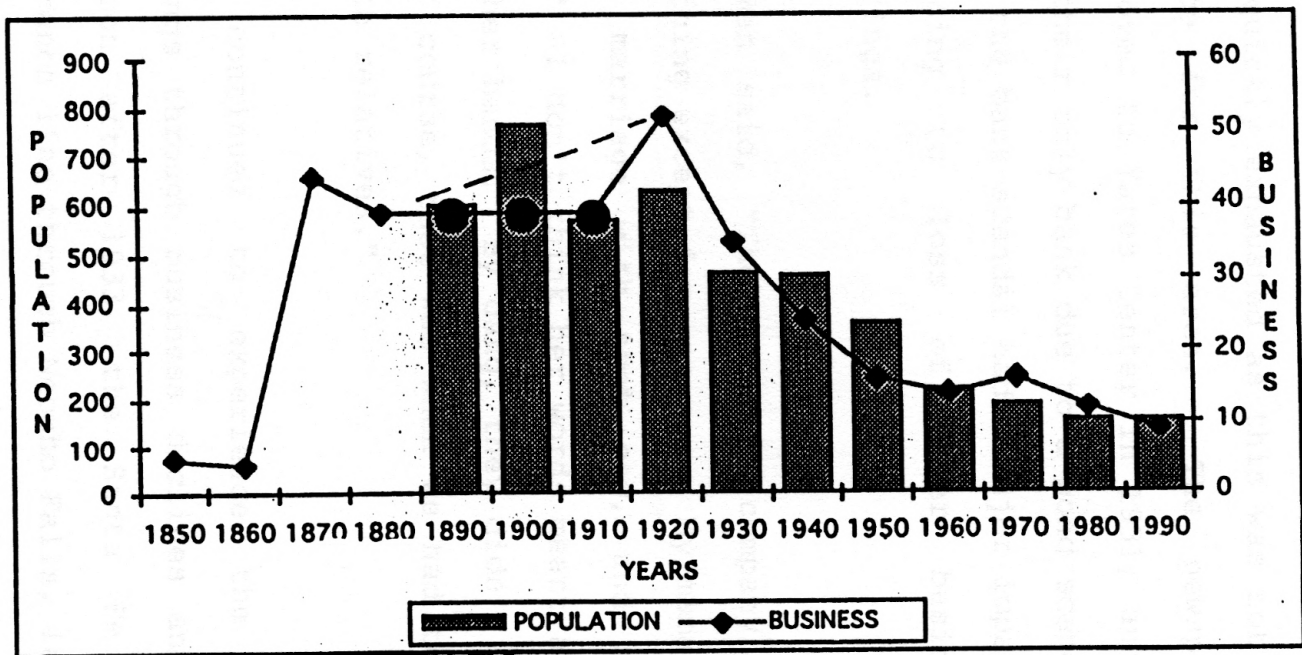
The following decades were difficult years for Neosho Falls. As Figure 10 shows, the 1926 flood destroyed hundreds of acres of crops and some livestock. Natural gas wells were quickly exhausted as this was not a strong natural resource for this area. The newspaper was purchased and moved to Yates Center in 1931, and in 1933 residents lost their only bank due to a bond scandal. The consequences of the bank scandal had a major impact on the community, leading to loss of other business and residential settings.

As one woman said, "The mortgage company came and took away everything except for one cow. My mama said, 'I came into this marriage with that cow, and she's not leaving me now.' I don't think her words meant as much as the shotgun in her hands. By dang, they didn't take that cow either. Of course, that was when we had to move to town to live with relatives."

The town continued to experience the loss of important settings through business declines and natural disasters. Soon after 1933, the Santa Fe Railroad abandoned the branch line through Neosho Falls, leaving

FIGURE 10

NEOSHO FALLS, KANSAS

POPULATION

Population bar chart:
- 1890 — 606
- 1900 — 763
- 1910 — 571
- 1920 — 628
- 1930 — 462
- 1940 — 452
- 1950 — 355
- 1960 — 222
- 1970 — 184
- 1980 — 157
- 1990 — 157
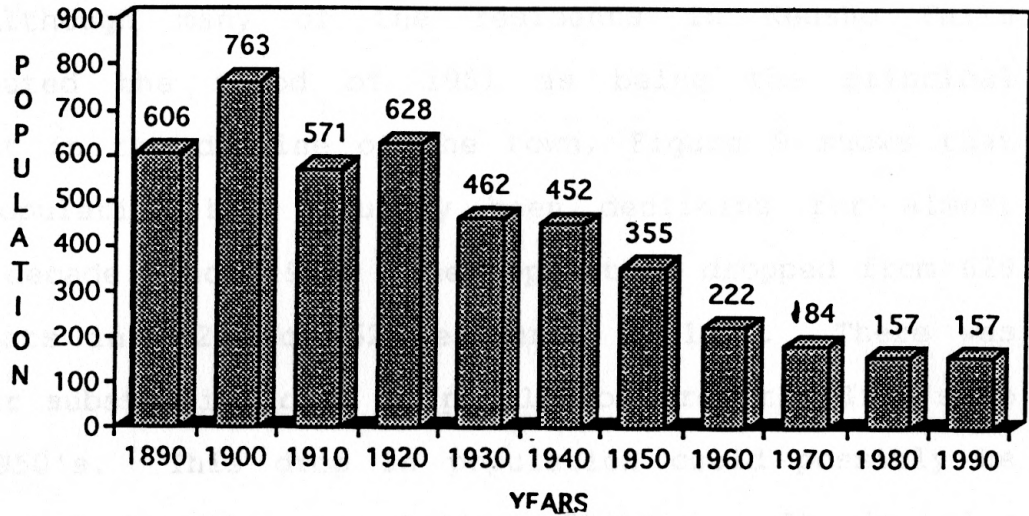
Year	Event
1958-1876	County seat
1879	President Hayes visited
1926	Flood
1927	Natural gas discovery went dry
1932	Neosho Falls newspaper the "Post" folded
1933	Finney bank scandal - bank closed
1933	Santa Fe Railroad went out
1948	Flood - 9.6 feet above flood level
1951	Flood - 16.5 feet above flood level
1957	MKT Railroad went out
1980	Tavern burned - rebuilt
1984	Tried to close the post office

the town without rail service. The town suffered another
flood in 1948, and yet another in 1951. Some homes were
washed away, and livestock and crops were lost. After the
1951 flood, a substantial part of the population,
approximately 133 people, moved away.

Although many of the residents in Neosho Falls
attributed the flood of 1951 as being the principal
element in the decline of the town, Figure 9 shows that
the population had actually been declining for almost
every decade since 1900. The population dropped from 628
residents in 1920 to 462 residents in 1930. There was
another substantial drop in population from the 1940's to
the 1950's. This drop in population could possibly be
attributed to the devastating floods. It is also
plausible that other factors, such as the declining
agricultural economy, influenced the population decline as
well. The steady decline of business settings after 1920
suggests that people may attribute more significance to
the natural disasters than may actually be correct (see
Figures 10 and 11). Like Esbon, Neosho Falls had and
continues to have multiple settings and resident roles.
Respondents remembered an insurance salesman who was also
the town undertaker, sold real estate, and distributed
drivers licenses.

FIGURE 11

NEOSHO FALLS, KS

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF MULTIPLE SETTING PLACES/ORGANIZATIONS
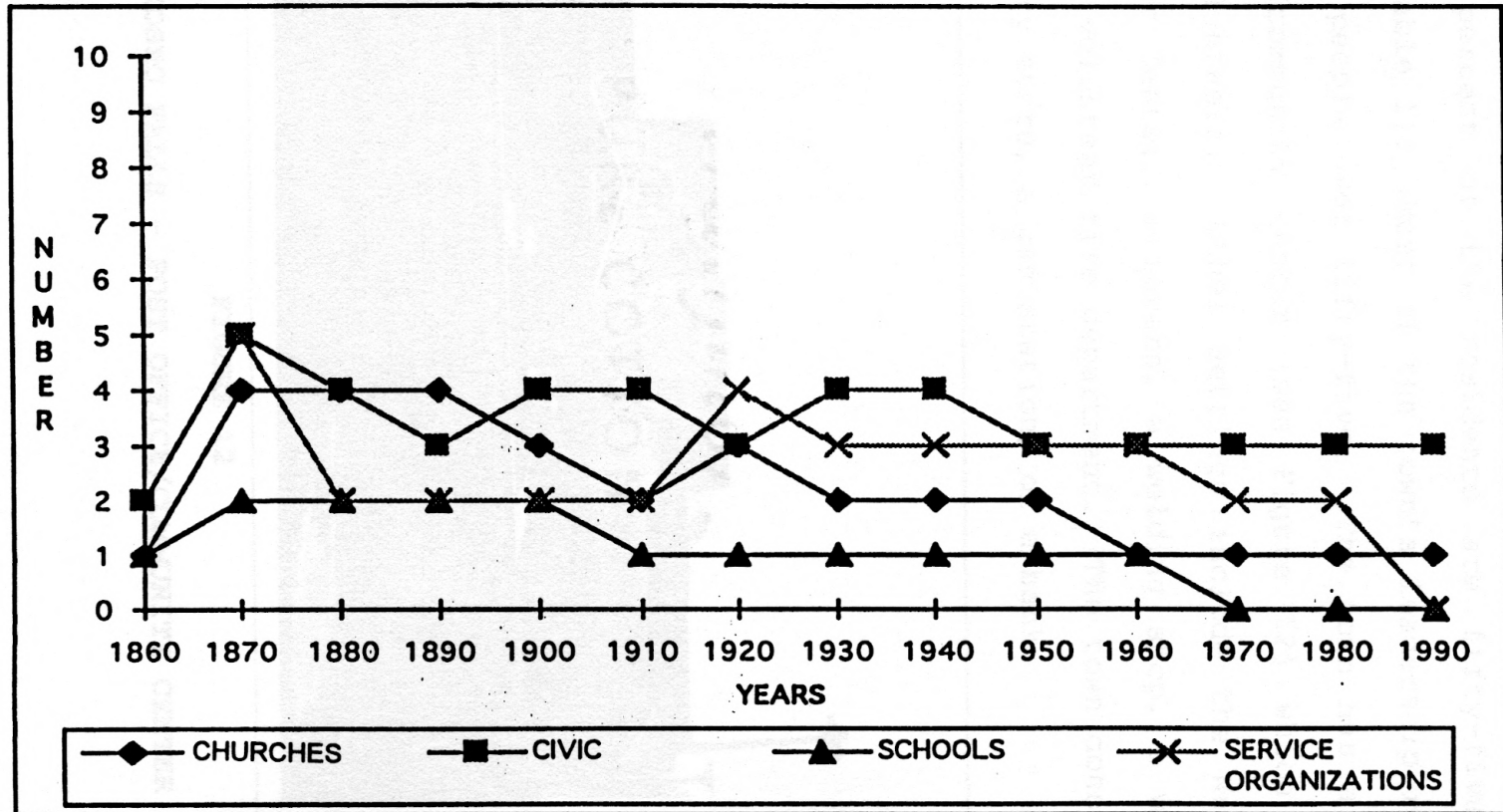
Neosho Falls currently has a population of 157. Forty-five percent of the residents are fifty-five or older (see Table 1). Most of the town's leadership roles are held by people over fifty-five. The town has a new post office/community center (see Figure 12) which was built by volunteers. Other settings include the Neosho Valley Senior Center, a tavern, a welding shop, a water plant, and a volunteer fire department. The town does not have a grocery store, a gas station, or a bank.
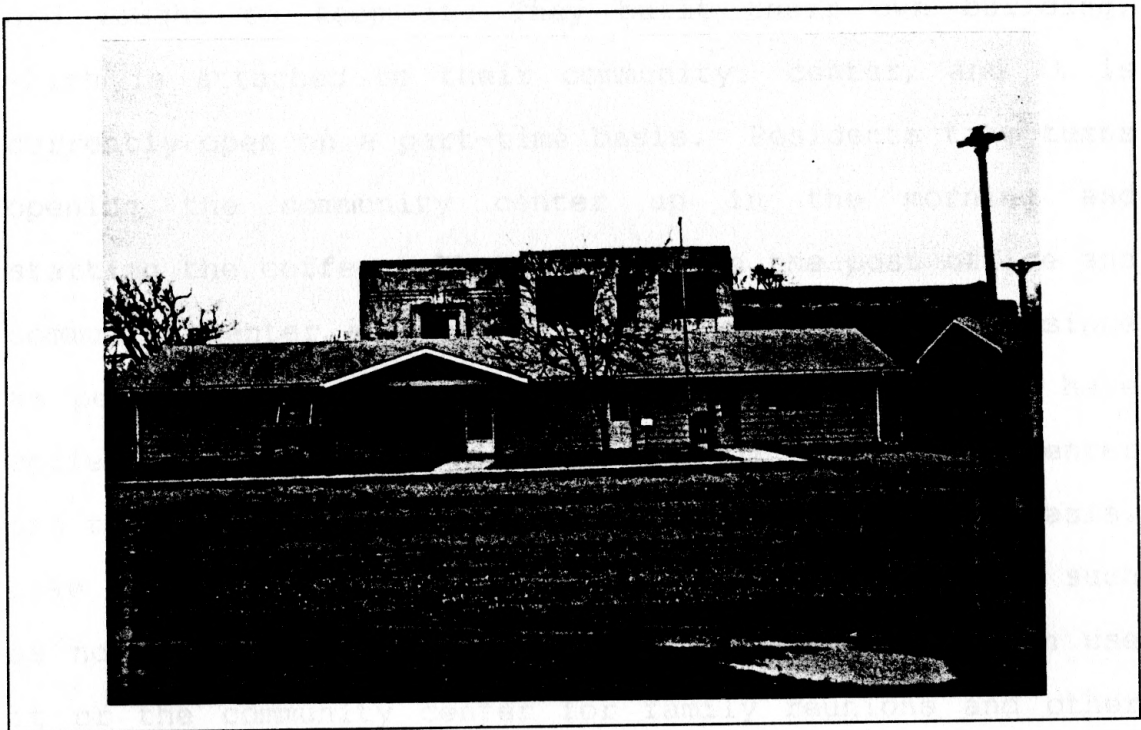
FIGURE 12

NEOSHO FALLS - POST OFFICE/COMMUNITY CENTER

When one resident was asked about the lack of business in Neosho Falls, she replied, "With everyone having a car it was no big deal to drive into Iola or Yates Center or another nearby town. We were cutting our own throats and didn't even know it."

The town of Neosho Falls shows some signs of cohesiveness. For example, when the government tried to take away their post office, the community got together and fought to keep it. They built their own building, which is attached to their community center, and it is currently open on a part-time basis. Residents take turns opening the community center up in the morning and starting the coffee. The link between the post office and community center supports a regular social setting, since as people come to pick up their mail, they stop to have coffee and chat. The town also built the senior center and the new fire department building on a volunteer basis. Like Esbon, the senior center hosts multiple settings such as noon meals and afternoon cards. Townspeople often use it or the community center for family reunions and other parties. The senior center offers a noon meal. It has volunteers which will pick residents up or deliver the meal. The senior center also provides transportation for

residents to nearby towns to see health care providers or for shopping. The senior center is pictured in Figure 13.
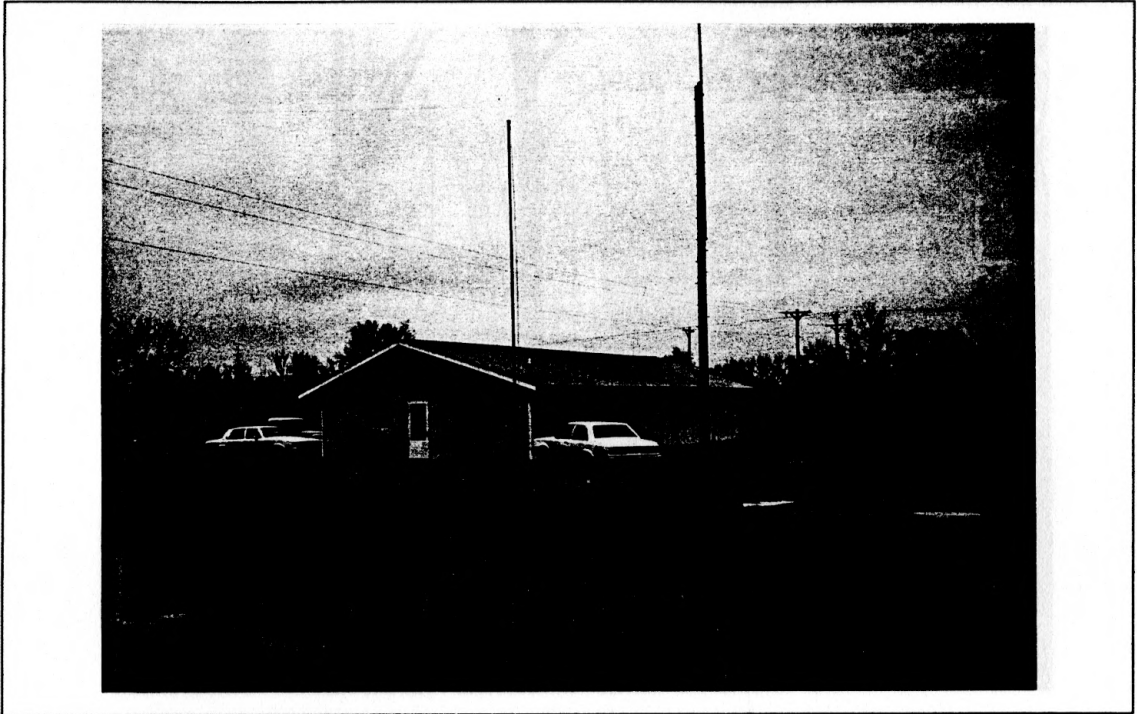
FIGURE 13

NEOSHO FALLS - SENIOR CENTER

Another example of a setting that builds community cohesiveness and pride is the park where President Hayes visited in 1879. In later years the park fell into disrepair and weeds grew so high that cattle grazed on it. Some of the town residents then joined together and cleaned it up. Today it is used by campers and for the

annual "Old Settlers Day" celebration.   The park is
pictured in Figure 14.

FIGURE 14

NEOSHO FALLS - PARK

The Methodist Church is still active in Neosho Falls.
They have a church board made up of townspeople, and most
settings associated with the church still function.
However, many church-related activities do not occur as
often as they might, since the minister does not live in
town and is not available for extra activities.   The
church is pictured in Figure 15.
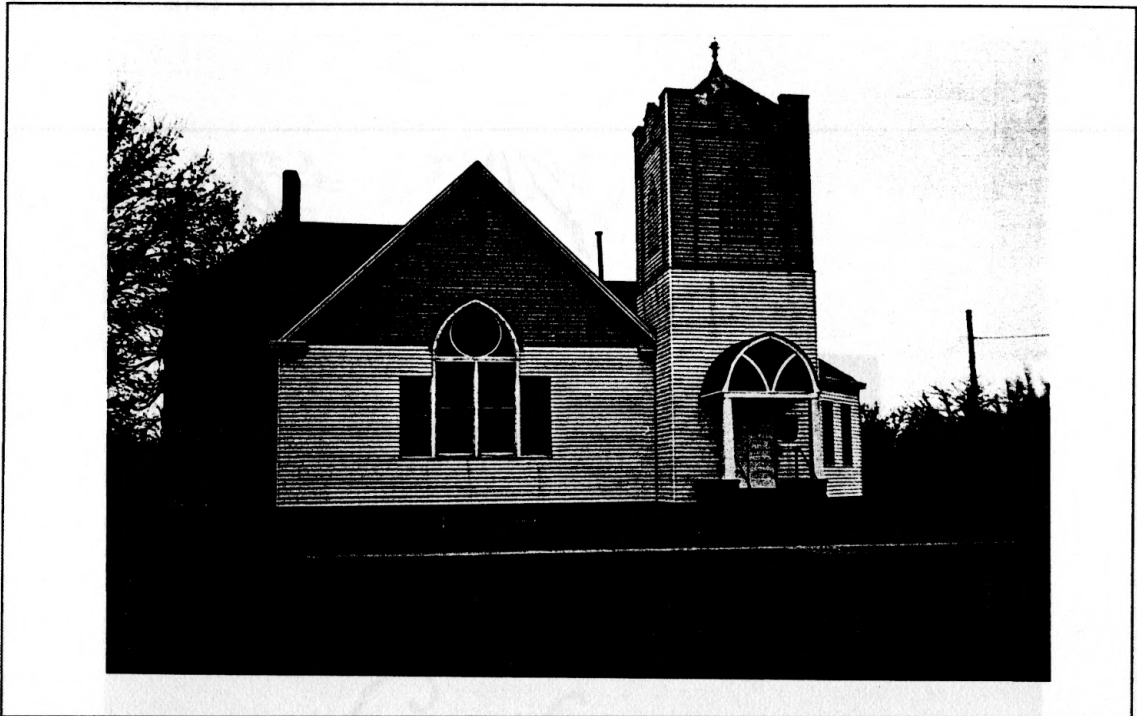
FIGURE 15

NEOSHO FALLS - METHODIST CHURCH

Despite these signs of cohesiveness, Neosho Fall's residents are at odds with each other over their vision for the future of the town. The downtown area is currently full of buildings which are falling down from neglect. The new post office was built in front of the old high school, one of many decrepit buildings found in Neosho Falls. The school was sold for one dollar, in order for the town to avoid paying taxes on it, abandoned for several years, and then sold again to someone for

salvage. As seen in Figure 16, the demolition process was
started and never finished.
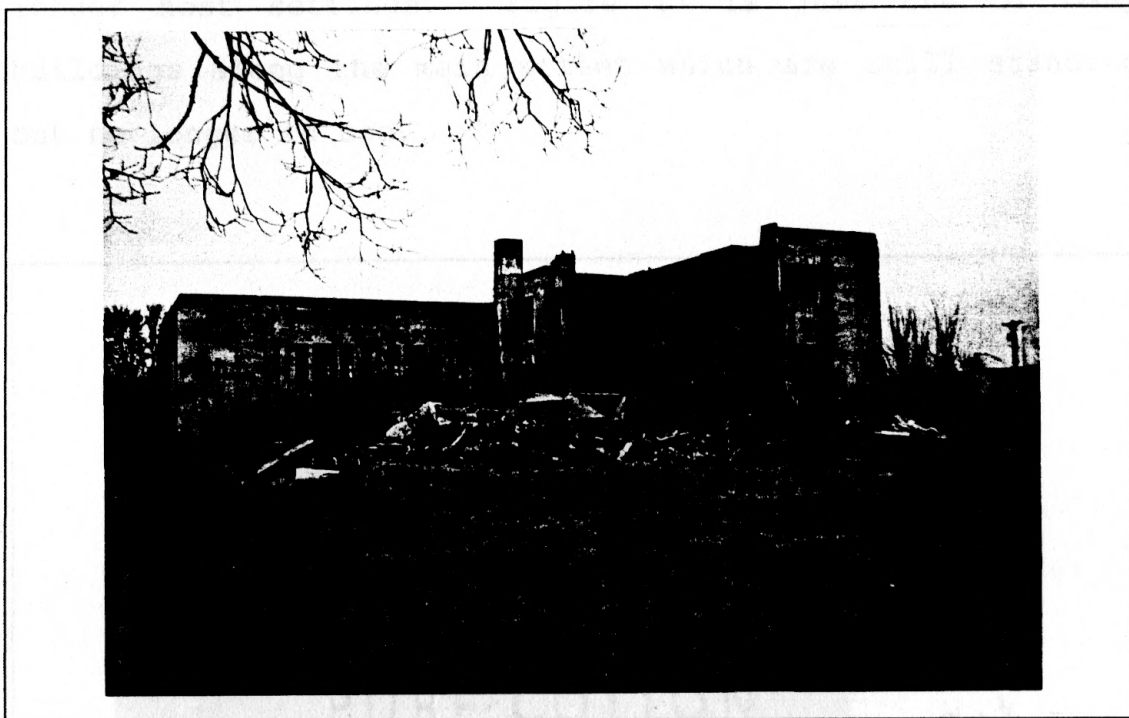
FIGURE 16

NEOSHO FALLS - HIGH SCHOOL

Some of the residents would like to see all of the
old vacant buildings torn down. They claim the buildings
are unsafe and create a hazard for the town's children.
Other residents want the town's buildings left as they
are. They are claiming historical significance as a ghost
town and are hoping to attract tourists as such. Neosho
Falls was described in Ghost Towns of Kansas by Daniel

Fitzgerald (1988). At this date, the town council is made up mostly of "ghost town" proponents. However, the town remains divided about the future of these relics which no longer host settings. Figure 17 is just one of many buildings along the main street which are still standing but no longer in use.

FIGURE 17

NEOSHO FALLS - ABONDONED BUILDING

HISTORY OF SETTINGS IN RAMONA

Ramona is located in Marion County in central Kansas. It is west of US Highway 77 and north of US Highway 56. The closest towns are Tampa to the west, Lost Springs to the east, and Herington to the north.

The town was platted in 1887 by the Golden Bell Town Company and given the Spanish name Ramona. It was one of the last areas in Marion County to be settled. The first settlers came in the late 1870's and early 1880's, and the Rock Island Depot was built in 1887 when the railroad came through town. The railroad was used both as a passenger line and a freight line. The railroad today is the Southern Pacific which still runs through town although it no longer stops. It took until 1909 for Ramona to acquire the 250 residents it needed for incorporation as a city government. Many of the early settlers were of German ancestry, and in one of the earliest schools German and German-Russian were spoken. Figure 18 shows the population trends and major setting related events from 1910-1990. After reaching a maximum population of 303 in 1920, the town's population has experienced decline to almost one-third of its 1910 size.

FIGURE 18

RAMONA, KANSAS

POPULATION

Year	Population
1910	265
1920	303
1930	240
1940	236
1950	190
1960	132
1970	121
1980	116
1990	106
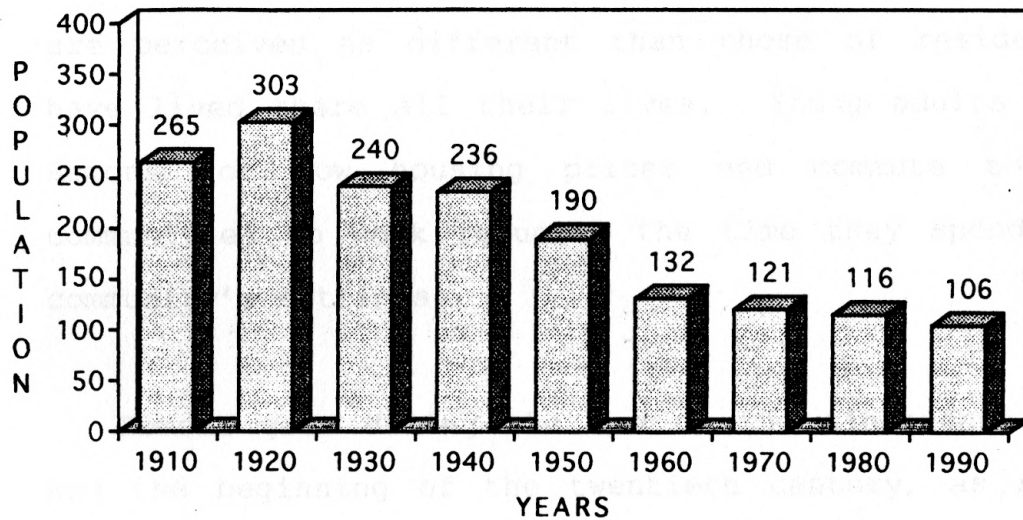
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1929   - Oil discovered
1937   - Oil wells went dry
1948   - Passenger Train "Doodlebug" quit running
1955   - Fire burned variety store - was not rebuilt
1960's - Volunteer Fire Department formed
1969   - Schools consolidated
1970   - Tatge Manufacturing bought old High School
         building
1983   - Bank moved to Hillsboro, Kansas
1986   - St. Paul Lutheran Church was torn down
1988   - Branch bank reopened
1993   - Fire  in  an  old  building  on  Main  Street
```

Ramona's population in 1990 was 106; 50% of the residents were 55 years of age or older (see Table 1 and Figure 18). Ramona has some new inhabitants yet the older inhabitants are having problems accepting these newcomers as part of the community settings. According to the older residents, the new residents are younger and they have different socioeconomic backgrounds. Their expectations about contributing to behavior settings in the community are perceived as different than those of residents who have lived there all their lives. Young adults move to Ramona for low housing prices and commute to larger communities to work reducing the time they spend in the community's settings.

Ramona grew during the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, as shown in Figure 19. Ramona's behavior settings have experienced a steady decrease since the peak of the 1920's. Figure 20 summarizes the changes in different types of settings from 1880-1990. There were no major disasters, such as floods or tornadoes during the twentieth century, yet there was a steady decline in behavior settings through the 1970's. There have been approximately the same number of businesses from the 1970's through the 1990's. The

FIGURE 19

RAMONA, KANSAS

POPULATION VS. ESTIMATED NUMBER OF COMMERCIAL BUSINESSES
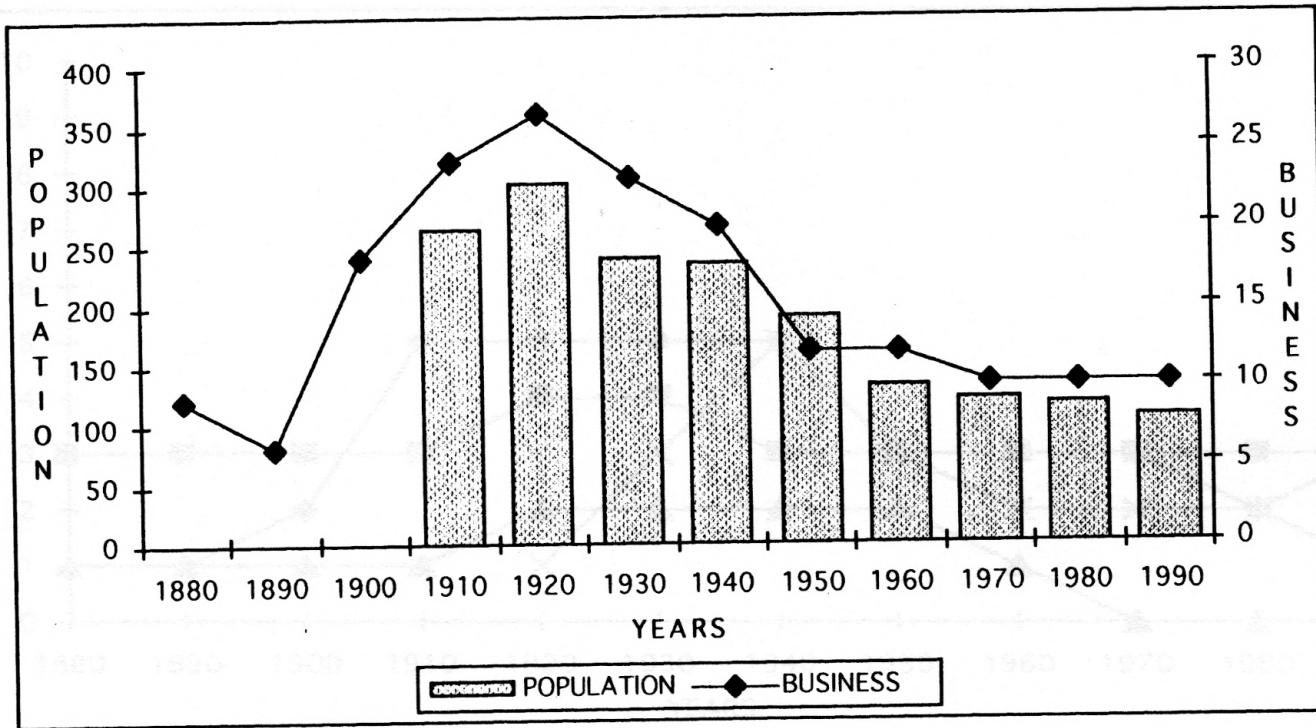
FIGURE 20

RAMONA, KANSAS

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF MULTIPLE SETTING PLACES/ORGANIZATIONS
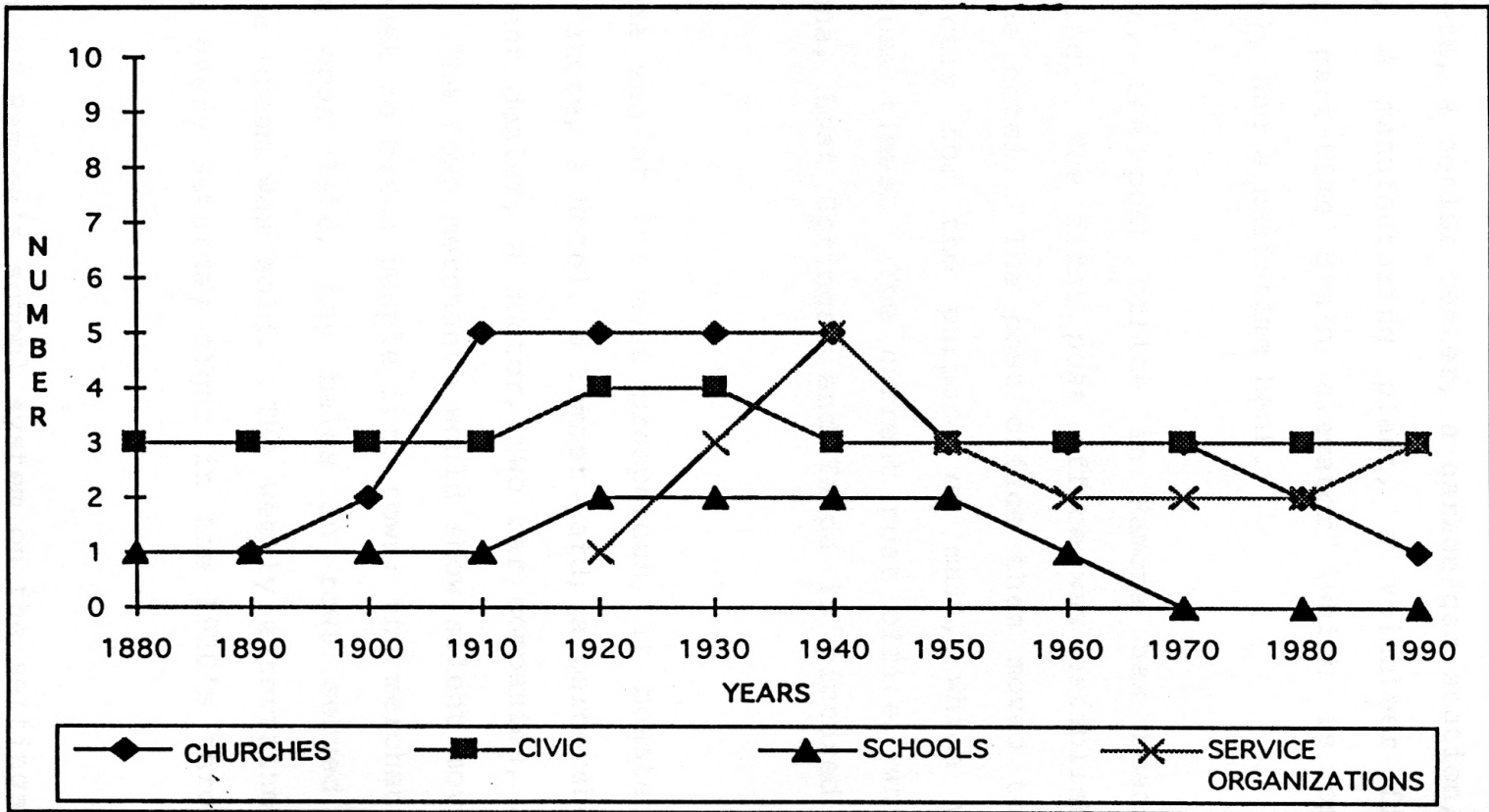
current town of Ramona has a post office, a grocery store, a café, a tavern, a senior center, a garage/gas station, a welding shop, a manufacturing plant, a volunteer fire department, a part-time grain elevator (which is open during harvest), and a part-time bank.

Like Esbon, the post office in Ramona has been a moveable setting. The first post office was established in 1887 in the hotel. The post office then moved to a building strictly for the purpose of mail, which was unusual in those times. The current post office, which services Ramona, Lost Springs, and Tampa is pictured in Figure 21.

When Ramona was at its most prosperous, it boasted a large general store, a hotel, a lumber yard, a barbershop, a farm implement dealer, a doctor, two car companies, and six churches. The town merchants would show silent movies one night a week to bring people into town; the merchants' stores stayed open late, hay bales in rows served as seats, and ice cream was sold. The weekly entertainment became a band every Saturday night in the 1920's through the 1930's.

The impact of Ramona's school system on the settings
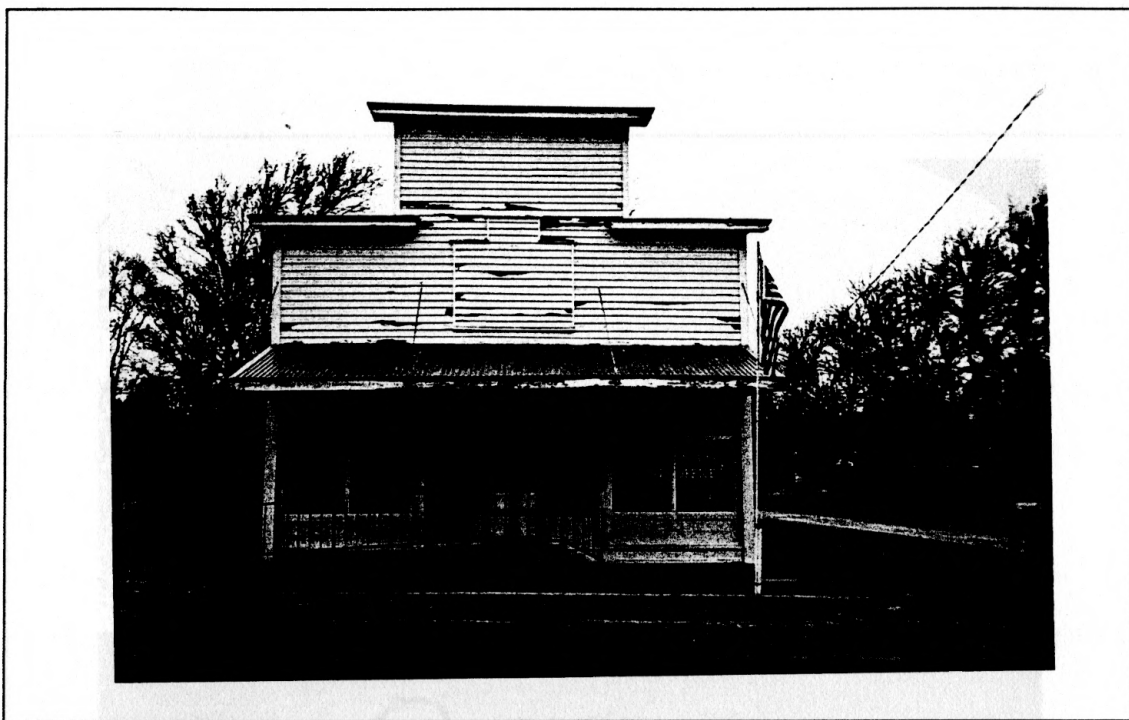
FIGURE 21

RAMONA - POST OFFICE

available in the community is illustrated in Figure 20.
The school was first located in the teacher's home, and
the first school building was built in the late 1800's. A
new grade school and a new high school were built in the
1920's. The schools in Ramona were consolidated in 1953,
and Ramona's children now attend schools in other
communities. After the school settings were lost, the
high school building hosted a branch factory of a company

from Herington. The old high school is pictured in Figure 22.

FIGURE 22

RAMONA - OLD HIGH SCHOOL

Ramona had a large number of settings associated with churches for a town of its size. When the population exceeded 300 in the 1920's there were six churches. The River Brethren, one of the earliest established churches, is one of the two church settings currently in Ramona. The Dunkard Church of the Brethren was disbanded in the 1930's, and their building was sold and removed from town.

Very little information exists about the Methodist Church, or the Holiness Mission Church whose building was moved into Herington and used by the Nazarene Congregation.

The events surrounding the Lutheran churches provide insights into the way settings evolve and interact. The St. Paul Lutheran Church was organized from the St. John Lutheran Church. As the congregation grew and flourished there was a doctrinal dispute which lead to the division of the church, and the Trinity Lutheran Church was organized in 1916. The St. Paul Lutheran Church remained active until December 1986, when it was disbanded because of lack of membership. The church bell and a history of the church activities were placed in the cemetery and the building was torn down. In 1964, the Trinity Lutheran Church formed a dual parish with the St. John Lutheran Church in order to share resources. This church, pictured in Figure 23, is still active in Ramona today.

All of the respondents mentioned "John Deere Day," which was an annual event put on by the farm implement agency. Main street was closed for this event. The agency hosted a street fair and barbecue; all the farmers would come in to see the latest technology. The entire community looked forward to participating in this event.
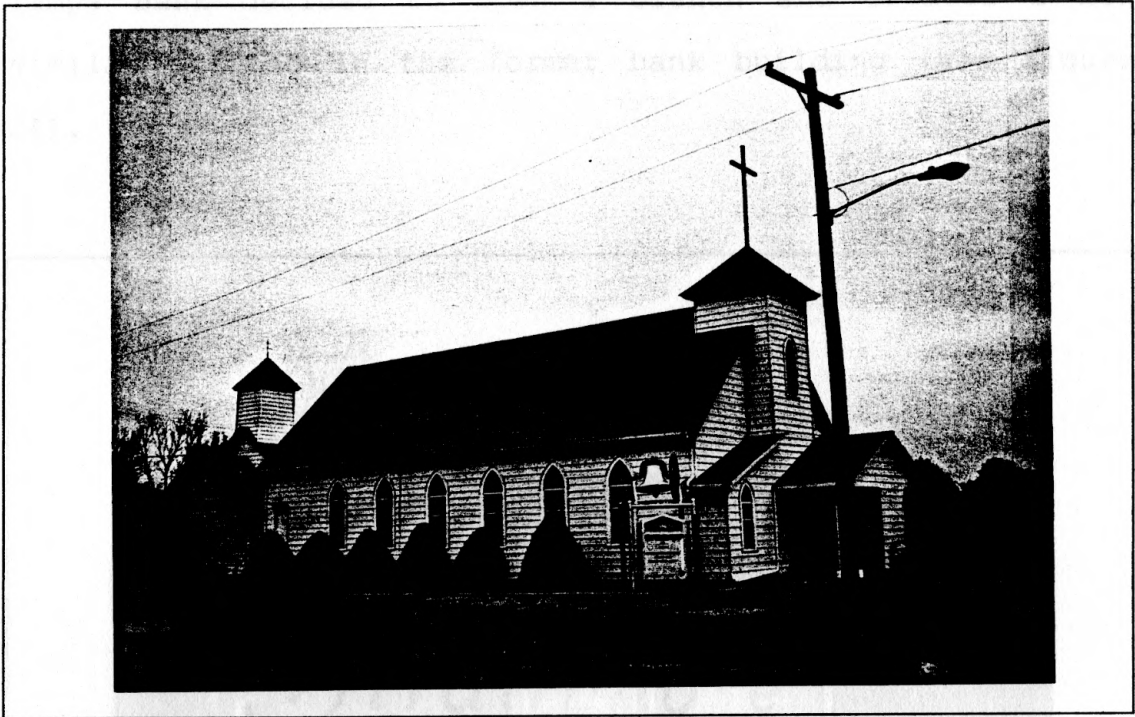
FIGURE 23

RAMONA - ST. JOHN LUTHERAN CHURCH

The community remains very active in the Lutheran Church behavior settings. The town's Memorial Day picnic is held annually in the park, a setting which helps provide a cohesive setting within this community. Ramona's bank was bought by the Hillsboro bank in 1983 and closed, due to the small number of customers. One resident explained "Oh yes, there was a lot of hostility about it. Because they just closed it up and moved it out. We had

protest meetings and everything to try to keep it here."
Ramona did not have a bank for several years, until the
Tampa Bank decided to open a branch and created a new
similar setting in the former bank building (see Figure
24).
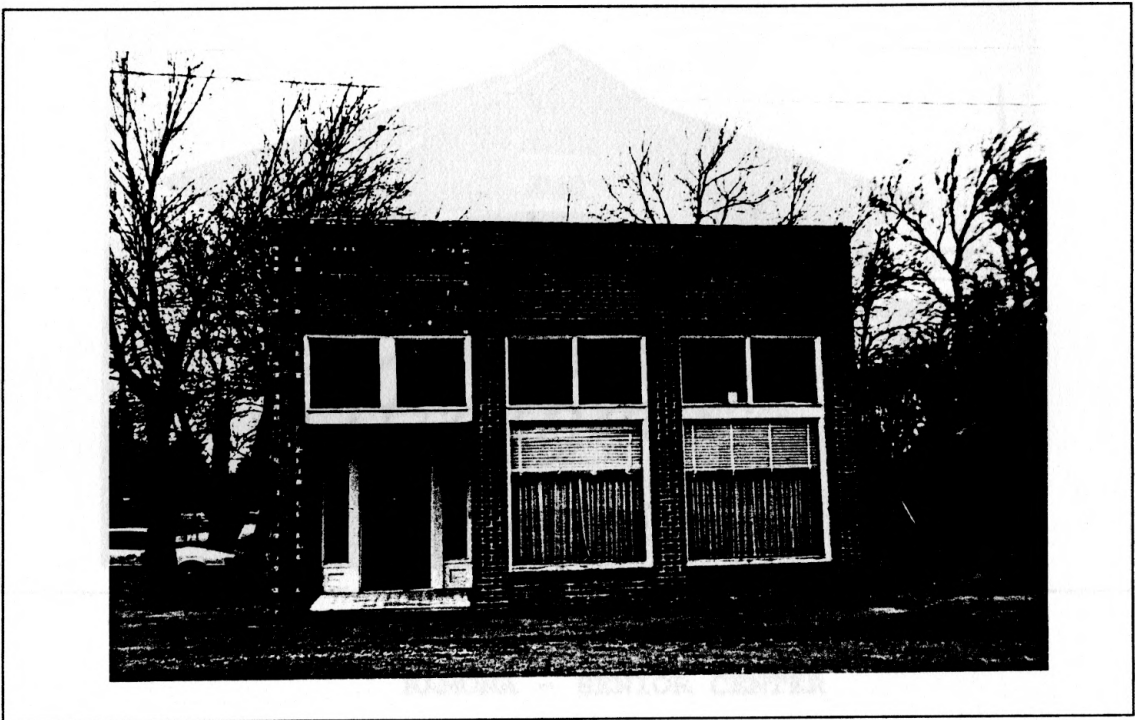
FIGURE 24

RAMONA - BANK

Ramona has a senior center (pictured in Figure 25), but
residents are divided about its purpose. Few residents
use the senior center. No regular meals are served, the
café is used to play cards in the afternoon and the church

is used for social functions and dinners. Several people interviewed in Ramona said the senior center was not needed at all.
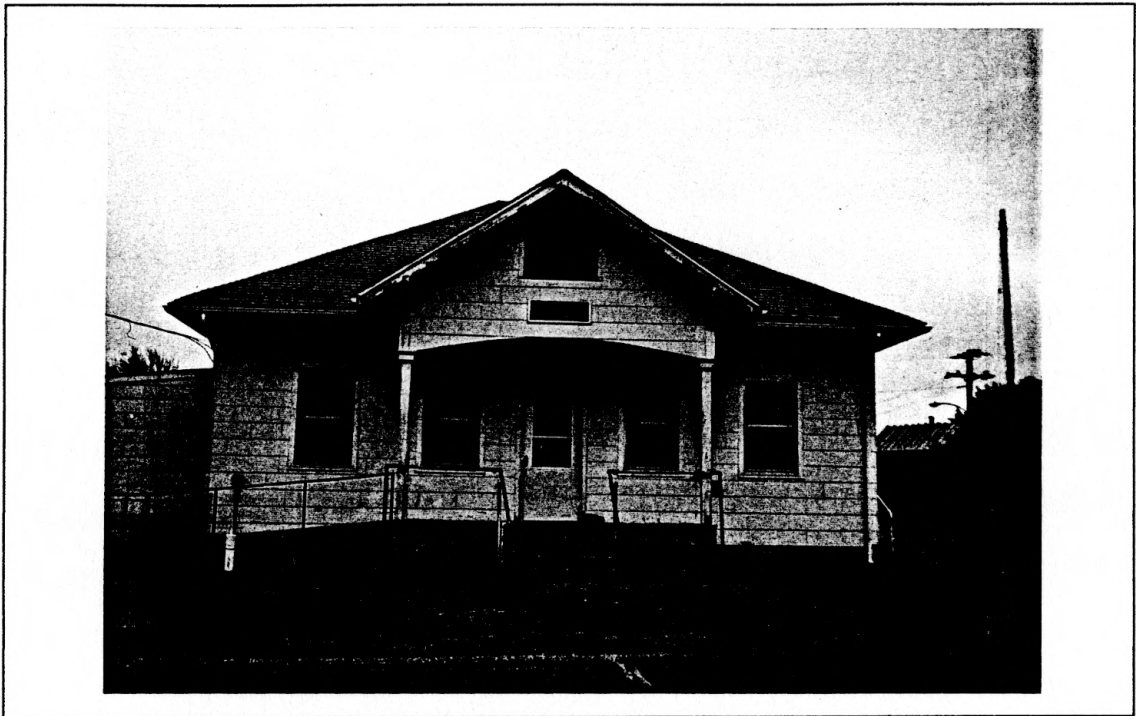
FIGURE 25

RAMONA - SENIOR CENTER

In the early years of Ramona, as in Esbon and Neosho Falls, several behavior settings were nested within a single location. One example of this was the post office, which shared space with a hardware store, and later a television and radio store. The barbershop was a social gathering place for men and also used as a voting place

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for several years. Before the school was built, school practices for plays and basketball were held in the garages around town. The school also performed their plays in the garages.

SETTINGS THAT HAVE EVOLVED, WERE REPLACED OR HAVE
BECOME EXTINCT IN THE THREE COMMUNITIES

In Qualities of Community Life, Barker briefly described the behavior settings that had evolved, were replaced and had become extinct (Barker, 1979). Many of the transformations in these behavior settings were due to changes in American culture. Each changing behavior setting was replaced by a substitute setting or was no longer needed. For example, cream collection stations have become extinct due to the changes in agriculture. Permanently eroded sites for Barker's (1973) town "Midwest" included: book exchange services (where school books were bought and sold), box socials, circuses, cream collection stations, dairy barns, farm classes, ice depots, initiations, rug weaving services, and telephone exchanges.

Similar types of behavior settings have evolved, been replaced or become extinct in Esbon, Neosho Falls, and Ramona. The three communities had telephone exchanges in town until a larger company took over. This is an example of a setting evolution, replacement, and individual extinction, as the larger company is providing a substitute setting for all former telephone exchanges.

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Many settings have been transformed by changing or adding patterns of behavior. For example, ice depots and cream collection stations are completely extinct settings, due to changes in technology and business practices.

SETTINGS THAT HAVE EVOLVED
OR BEEN REPLACED

Gas service stations have evolved to gas stations combined with other settings such as grocery stores or convenience stores, as found in Esbon and many other rural and urban communities. Esbon was the only town that mentioned a traveling photographer, which has evolved into a photography studio. The switchboard telephone services in each town have evolved to larger telephone conglomerates servicing many towns, due to changes in technology and regulatory policy. This behavior setting evolved for all three towns. In addition, some bakeries have evolved into parts of grocery or convenience stores. Many hardware stores are now part of lumberyards or variety stores.

Moving pictures have evolved from silent movies, which traveled from town to town, to stationary movie

theaters. One step in this evolution for all three towns was the Saturday night free movies, provided by merchants during the 1930's to encourage people to come to town. In the 1940's this practice was discontinued and traveling movies were offered one night a week. These were shown in a tent and there was a charge for admission. As they traveled from town to town the movie was shown on a different night for each town.

Some barber shops have evolved into unisex hairdresser shops based on fast service. Esbon had a hairdresser that came into town two days a week for a while, but that setting is now gone. Shoe repair shops can still be found but they are not as common as they used to be. School settings evolved when smaller schools consolidated into larger school districts, due to lack of local populations.

Several of the settings have been replaced due to modern technology but some have declined due to changes in social behavior, such as the box social. The variety store settings have been replaced with stores such as Wal-Mart and K-Mart, which bring together many settings and are found only in larger communities. The grain stores have been replaced with an elevator or a co-op

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association, again combining settings. The changes in the blacksmith setting illustrate how settings may be reallocated: machinery repair shops now perform metal working and a veterinarian will do horse-shoeing. In transportation, the horse and buggy along with the passenger train have been replaced by the automobile.

COMMON SETTINGS

Esbon, Neosho Falls, and Ramona were all railroad towns. When the rail services were discontinued or curtailed, the towns lost their behavior settings and populations. All three towns had a written history. All the towns have an annual celebration, such as Funfest, Old Settler's Days, and Memorial Day events. The three communities still have school reunions which, due to the small size of the schools, include everyone who ever graduated from that school.

During the early 1930's through the 1940's, Saturday nights were associated with a special group of settings, populated by people who only came to town one day a week. The merchants would stay open late on Saturdays, hoping that the free movies would entice people into town. The

barbershop would be full of men socializing and waiting to get their hair cut; other men would play horseshoes outside the bar, while drinking beer. The women would be in the store trading eggs and cream for groceries, clothing or cloth. In the evening people would sit on hay bales and the movie would be shown on a screen in the middle of the street. Many respondents remembered that eating ice cream was a special activity tied to Saturday nights.

Picnics which took place on the first day of school were another social setting all three towns had in common. The picnics allowed parents to meet their children's teachers and provided a social gathering for the town. Even if residents did not have children in school, they attended the picnic. This setting was eroding before the schools consolidated, but consolidation meant its immediate extinction.

All three towns have serious understaffing problems in many behavior settings. Understaffing according to Wicker (1979) is the:

-lack of enough people to carry out smoothly the essential program and maintenance tasks in a setting. Barker contrasts *undermanning* with

optimal manning, which exists when the number of people present is precisely the number required to operate and maintain a setting at its most effective level. (Wicker, 1979, p. 71)

Wicker describes degrees of manning of workers and nonworkers in terms of staffing (understaffing, adequately staffed, and overstaffed) for behavior settings. Understaffing can place a strain on the occupants of a behavior setting, since individuals must assume a greater share of the tasks as they have fewer people to carry them out. This can be positive as it may make individuals feel greater responsibility, more versatility, and more importance. In accordance with such feelings, they may work harder to support the setting. On the other hand, participants can also feel stress related to the inadequate number of people. If someone were unable to perform his or her function, for whatever reason, another individual must assume that role. Individuals in these positions often must perform at the peak of their abilities, and to do so for a long period of time can create stress and illness. (Norris-Baker and Scheidt, 1990)

Each town showed signs of understaffing. In Neosho Falls, for example, church membership is small and the

preacher is a student. Therefore, a lot of the typical settings that would occur with a regular preacher do not occur. This is partially due to economic circumstances. The church does have a sermon on Sunday. However, there are no classes during the week, no pastor's study group, or other services. The responsibilities for all the church activities have shifted from the minister to the church board. Eventually, membership may become so small that this church setting cannot continue to exist. Within all three communities church memberships have become so small that some church settings are extinct.

ATTACHMENT TO SETTINGS

As an area of interest the questionnaire was designed to elicit a response about residents' attachment to behavior settings. Attachment is the perceived connections and feelings between one's self and place (Norris-Baker and Scheidt, 1990). Few positive responses were gained through the questionnaire, as most respondents denied any attachment to place or setting. As the interviews were open-ended, the responses related to attachment were more detailed for certain questions. In addition, some of the community attachments were apparent through the written histories, for

example, Ramona's effort to reinstate their bank and Neosho Falls rally to save their post office.

Other signs of attachment were detected during the story-telling after the interview was completed. Often mentioned were family-owned businesses, settings remembered as children, and recently lost settings. In Esbon several participants were deeply attached to the old post office, which is one of the only buildings in town that is not used, yet still stands. Residents realized that it was more economical to build a new building but they still preferred the old building. In Esbon, several respondents mentioned and discussed the high school. They showed attachment to this setting as they were upset about having to merge with the schools arch-rival, Burr Oak, in order to keep the two schools viable.

Many of the respondents had strong affiliations with their church and spoke at length about social functions and fund-raisers that were held there. In Ramona, the town historian exhibited strong feelings about the St. Paul Lutheran Church, which was disbanded due to lack of membership. She felt a strong sense of attachment to this setting which is now extinct.

Although there did not seem to be a consensus among the respondents about attachment, the respondents listed the settings they believed were necessary to sustain a community. They were a post office, a bank, a gas station, and a grocery store. Currently Esbon and Ramona have all of these settings, however Neosho Falls only has a post office, and has not possessed the other settings for quite some time.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The main purpose of this study was to describe the historical and temporal contexts of small town behavior settings over their life cycles and to evaluate the impact of residents' attachments to specific settings, using a case study approach. This study was based on previous work by researchers such as Roger Barker, Allan Wicker, Lyn Norris-Baker and Rick Scheidt. The three small, economically threatened, rural communities studied were: Esbon, Neosho Falls, and Ramona, Kansas. They all have populations of less than 175 residents and are approximately the same chronological age. The three towns were all railroad towns, they are agriculturally based communities, and they have very little or no industrial work. They have high percentages of elderly residents, and few younger people moving back or into these communities. This causes serious understaffing problems as the central leadership roles are mostly held by older individuals. Describing the behavior settings in small rural communities such as these is significant because very little is known about the history of behavior

settings or the processes involved in their evolution or demise.

Esbon, Neosho Falls, and Ramona have experienced a decline in behavior settings and population since the 1920's. Natural disasters often led to loss of behavior settings, although people's perceptions of these disasters sometimes masked general trends of decline. For example, some residents of Neosho Falls believe that the flood of 1951 basically destroyed the town, as they thought it caused the loss of many of their settings. Actually, the behavior settings had been declining since the 1920's and after the flood there was a decrease in the population, but not as large as residents perceived. Esbon had several fires which caused losses of settings, but their population had also been declining since the 1920's. Although Ramona did not have any natural disasters that the respondents remembered, their population and behavior settings have been declining since the 1920's.

All the respondents agreed that a post office, a gas station, a grocery store, and a bank, were settings needed to keep a town in existence. In many areas, small convenience stores now provide the settings for gas stations and grocery stores. In former years, a location

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for social settings (such as a church, senior center or café) and medical service settings were also considered important in keeping a community alive. The respondents in this study did not mention social settings as needed to maintain their communities, yet spoke with pride about social functions each town hosted.

Attachment varied among respondents. When directly asked by the interviewing guide, the responses concerning attachment were negative. Yet, as shown by the emic view, several attachments to settings did surface. Church settings were a strong area of attachment for almost all of the respondents. Strong attachments may serve to help keep a setting alive. The townspeople in Neosho Falls run the church board, because their minister is a student whom they share with another church in a nearby community. In Esbon, the townspeople who went to a nearby community to purchase and bring back a building to house their café show attachment to that setting. One resident stated that they ate dinner there once a week, "Even though it isn't anything special", which suggests recognition of the importance of maintaining the setting within the community. In addition, almost all of the respondents mentioned schools and consolidation in relation to attachment. The residents with children seemed more

attached to the local school settings. This was especially true in Esbon, whose school had merged with a rival school. Respondents spoke specifically about having to accept new colors and a new mascot.

LIMITATIONS

Although many similar settings have evolved, been replaced, or become extinct in each town, it is difficult to determine the exact causes of behavior setting change and demise. Certainly economic, cultural, political, geographic, and demographic conditions, all play their part in determining the life of a behavior setting. Understaffing contributed to the loss of settings, yet, each town's situation is unique. What seemingly led to setting loss in one community cannot be applied to all such situations.

It is interesting, however, to compare how these towns and their occupants dealt with the circumstances of setting losses as they happened. Some of the responses were generalized since respondents' reports were retrospective, the accuracy and detail of the information obtained must be interpreted with caution. Respondents'

memories vary due to their personal perspective on life or their "world view." All of the towns had a documented history written by a resident or a former resident, yet the archival research has time intervals of unsubstantiated evidence. All of the respondents referred back to these written histories when asked questions about changes in their communities. One participant was even quoting page numbers for the researcher. It is hard to know if the written histories of these towns have accurately portrayed that town, but they are now regarded as fact by residents. Not one respondent disagreed with the written history at any time. Two of the town histories are more genealogy inclined, including history of the town, but focusing on information about the people who had lived there. The third written town history had been more thoroughly researched. The authors questioned town residents, used newspaper articles, researched at the State Historical Society, and tied the genealogy of the town to its history.

Other limitations of the study include the researcher's use of town histories as part of the archival data. The researcher had also read articles on each of the towns written by Norris-Baker and Scheidt. This may have caused some biases as she was familiar with the context

before interviewing the residents. Also, due to economic and time constraints, the researcher was unable to live in each of these towns as Barker and his associates did with their study. This effort provides an historical overview of many of each town's settings and how those settings have changed over time, but it is not an exhaustive list because of the erosion of archival data and shared community memories over time.

IMPLICATIONS

This study was conducted using the "naturalistic paradigm" which often can lead to more questions than conclusions. However, implications may be drawn from this research. To understand the needs of elderly residents in rural communities is to inevitably face questions concerning planning for the future of the towns. If such a plan is to be approached several questions need to be addressed. The present research supports Wicker's theories that "understaffing" can lead to setting loss (Wicker, 1979). For example, the Methodist Church in Neosho Falls losing a minister who resided in that town caused the church board to take on more responsibility. If demands of staffing the setting are too high, they

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potentially could lead to setting loss. In Ramona the St. Paul Lutheran Church was disbanded in 1986 due to lack of membership. In other words, settings were understaffed. Another example throughout the Midwest is school consolidation, due to lack of population.

Studying the evolution of settings is also a value based issue, suggesting the places are important to residents. Frequently planning and design professionals presume a behavior will happen if there is a place provided for it, or focus on the characteristic's of a town from only the economic, and/or physical point of view. For example, a restaurant is an economically viable commercial setting, but the restaurant can also be a social setting. As shown in Esbon, one resident did not think the food justified the café, but she did think that the setting was important to the life of the community, so she supported it. In Neosho Falls, which does not have a restaurant, they maintain the social settings of a restaurant in their community center and at their senior center. For design professionals to look only at communities in physical or economic terms would ignore these important settings and the values residents place on them.

By studying towns that are likely to be gone soon, planning and design professionals need to look beyond the commercial settings to look at the values and needs of the residents. Planning strategies should consider, through historical research and communication with current citizens, not only the nature of general population and economic trends, but the settings the residents perceive are important and their attachments to these settings. These needs can be evaluated through research focusing on past and current settings as well as the resources needed to maintain them. In some cases, resources existing within a community might be shifted to better support the most important settings to that town.

If individualized behavior setting studies are not conducted in small rural communities, important settings may not be identified and could vanish within a few years, with only a few residents wondering about the causes of their demise. What could be the behavioral implications of a setting dying? In Esbon if the grocery/gas station should close, what would happen to the community? Currently, if an elderly resident were unable to go to the grocery store, the staff will deliver what the resident needs. If the setting were lost, that resident would be dependent upon someone else to do the shopping. Healthier

residents would have to drive to other nearby towns to get groceries, gas, and to have dry cleaning or shoe repair. They would probably have to go to three different places, perhaps in different towns, instead of just one place to obtain all of these services. The result would be loss of control over daily activities for many older residents. Thus, planning strategies must include more extensive assessments of the values and needs of the residents in terms of the settings they use and value, since the continuity of settings may enhance the mental and physical health of the residents of these communities.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The results of this study suggest several issues for further research. First, these towns were all predominately culturally and racially uniform. Different insights might be gathered from studying culturally diverse communities. Second, these towns all had a written history. It would be important to explore whether there were such consensus among a town's residents without such a history. Third, all respondents seemed to believe that certain key settings such as a post office were needed to keep a town alive.

Another area of research focuses on the well-being of older residents of rural communities which are experiencing change, and how behavior settings needed for daily life can best be sustained or strengthened. Strategies might include recruiting additional resources, such as offering incentives to younger people to return to these rural communities. An example is the student loan reduction for doctors in an effort to reintroduce health care provider services.

This research would be a good starting point for studying the residents' attachments to settings and places, incorporating research regarding attachment, residents' well-being, and behavior settings. What psychological motivation does attachment to settings have for residents of small towns? How does it vary among residents?

The three communities exhibited attachment to their post offices and in the case of Neosho Falls, fought to save it. It would be valuable to study towns experiencing the loss of "key settings" such as a post office in comparison with those who continue to have the setting. For example, Matfield Green, Kansas, recently lost its

post office - will this loss lead to the loss of other settings or the town's sense of identity? Will the loss mean the end of the town as some residents have predicted? The real and threatened impacts of the loss of a post office, both on the town's self-esteem and to its economic growth or decline are important issues for future research.

What effect does setting demise have on residents' perceptions of control, which are important to their well-being. What effect does perceived control have on the ways in which behavior settings operate? How does it affect the future of that setting? Would the loss of the setting lead to demoralization among some residents?

In terms of design issues, perhaps the past can inform the future. All the towns had nested behavior settings, and many settings were characterized by their mobility. Are these viable options for maintaining or reintroducing needed behavior settings in the future? Do residents of these communities desire intervention? How can we meet existing attachment needs and encourage attachment to new settings? How can we help residents "detach" from settings that are being lost? By continued study of small economically threatened communities, we can

discover what settings are crucial to keep a towns
survival and how to better support the continued existence
of such settings.

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APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX D

Cover Letter

Dear,_____

My name is Celia Aldrich and I am currently working on my
Masters in Architecture at Kansas State University. I am
studying the history of _____, Kansas related to
behavior settings. A behavior setting is a public setting
such as a school, church, or business and the type of
activities that occur there. For example, in the church
there could possibly be several behavior settings, such as
attending choir, listening to the sermon, attending classes,
or holiday events, an example is the Christmas pageant. I
am enclosing a copy of my questionnaire for you to look over
before the interview. The questions a - q will follow each
question that is applicable. If you feel any of the
questions are ones you would not like to answer or you feel
after having read the questionnaire that you do not wish to
participate in this study, please do not hesitate to tell me
so when I contact you to set up the interview time. This
interview will be taped and the answers will remain
confidential.

Thank you!

Celia Aldrich

Interviewing Guide

Questions a - q were asked after every question.

1. Has there ever been a post office in town?

   (No - skip to #2.   Yes - continue)

   a. Do you know when it started.

   b. Is it still here and is it still used?

      (No - change to past tense. Yes - continue)

   c. Where is it located? (Mark on map of town)

   d. Do you remember about what decade the building was built?

   e. Was the setting ever located in some other building?

   f. How many people are involved in running this service?

   g. What kind of leadership was involved? (Defined according to Barker's rules)

   h. What was the largest number of people involved in a typical interaction? When?

   i. What are some of the events that happened there?

   j. How often did these events occur?

   k. How long did these events last?

If setting is not currently in use:

l. Did something happen to the setting/town to stop its use?

m. Where did people go for these activities?

n. What happened to the building?

o. What decade did this setting stop?

Attachment questions:

p. How important do you believe this setting was/is to sustaining the community?

1) not important 2) somewhat important 3) neutral 4)important 5)very important

q. How did/do you personally feel about this setting?

1)strongly dislike 2)dislike 3)neutral 4)like 5)strongly like

2. Has there ever been a gas service station in town?

3. Has there ever been a bank in town?

4. Has there ever been a beauty shop in town?

5. Has there ever been a barbershop in town?

6. Has there ever been a farm implement agency in town?

7. Has there ever been a fire station/fire fighters in town?

8. Has there ever been a garage service in town?

9. Has there ever been a grocery store in town?

10. Has there ever been a machinery repair shop in town?

11. Has there ever been a senior center in town.

12. Has there ever been a restaurant in town?

13. Has there ever been a tavern in town?

(No - skip to next question. Yes - continue)

    a.   Do you know when it started.

    b.   Is it still here and is it still used?

          (No - change to past tense. Yes - continue)

    c.   Where is it located? (Mark on map of town)

    d.   Do you remember about what decade the building was built?

    e.   Was the setting ever located in some other building?

    f.   How many people are involved in running this service?

    g.   What kind of leadership was involved? (Defined according to Barker's rules)

    h.   What was the largest number of people involved in a typical interaction? When?

    i.   What are some of the events that happened there?

    j.   How often did these events occur?

    k.   How long did these events last?

If setting is not currently in use:

    l.   Did something happen to the setting/town to stop its use?

    m.   Where did people go for these activities?

    n.   What happened to the building?

    o.   What decade did this setting stop?

Attachment questions:

    p.   How important do you believe this setting was/is to sustaining the community?

        1) not important 2) somewhat important 3) neutral

        4)important   5)very important

    q.   How did/do you personally feel about this setting?

        1)strongly dislike 2)dislike 3)neutral 4)like

        5)strongly like

14. Has there ever been an antique store in town?

15. Has there ever been a craft store in town?

16. Has there ever been a toy shop in town?

17. Has there ever been an auto parts store in town?

18. Has there ever been a variety store in town?

19. Has there ever been an elevator in town?

20. Has there ever been a church in town?

    Did it contain any of these behavior settings?

        religious worship service

        wedding

        religion class

        pastors study group

        religious prayer and meditation service

        memorial service

21. Has there ever been a cemetery in town?

22. Has there ever been a lodge/club meeting in town?

23. Has there ever been a park or playground in town?

24. Has there ever been an elementary school in town?

(No - skip to next question. Yes - continue)

    a.   Do you know when it started.

    b.   Is it still here and is it still used?

           (No - change to past tense. Yes - continue)

    c.   Where is it located? (Mark on map of town)

    d.   Do you remember about what decade the building was built?

    e.   Was the setting ever located in some other building?

    f.   How many people are involved in running this service?

    g.   What kind of leadership was involved? (Defined according to Barker's rules)

    h.   What was the largest number of people involved in a typical interaction? When?

    i.   What are some of the events that happened there?

    j.   How often did these events occur?

    k.   How long did these events last?

If setting is not currently in use:

    l.   Did something happen to the setting/town to stop its use?

    m.   Where did people go for these activities?

    n.   What happened to the building?

    o.   What decade did this setting stop?

Attachment questions:

    p.   How important do you believe this setting was/is to sustaining the community?

        1) not important 2) somewhat important 3) neutral

        4)important   5)very important

    q.   How did/do you personally feel about this setting?

        1)strongly dislike 2)dislike 3)neutral 4)like

        5)strongly like

25. Has there ever been a junior high school in town?

26. Has there ever been a high school in town?

Did it contain any of these behavior settings?

agricultural economics class

agronomy classes

animal husbandry

athletic equipment

English class

farm practices class

home economics

Latin class

locker and shower room

Mathematics class

landscaping and floriculture

instrumental music class

vocal music class

music competition

Question 26 cont.

    painting class

    physical and biological science

    physical education

    special education class

    sewing and dressmaking class

    social science class

    graduation and promotion ceremony

    knitting class

    rug weaving class

27. Has there ever been a baseball diamond in town?

28. Has there ever been a basketball court in town?

29. Has there ever been a football stadium in town?

30. Has there ever been a golf course in town?

31. Has there ever been a volleyball court in town?

32. Has there ever been a track and field meet in town?

33. Has there ever been an agricultural adviser's office in town? (an extension office)

34. Has there ever been an attorney's office in town?

35. Has there ever been an auditing and investigating company in town?

36. Has there ever been a chiropractor's office in town?

37. Has there ever been a civil engineer's office in town?

38. Has there ever been a dentist's office in town?

39. Has there ever been an optometrist's office in town?

40. Has there even been a physician's office in town?

(No - skip to next question. Yes - continue)

    a.   Do you know when it started.

    b.   Is it still here and is it still used?

          (No - change to past tense. Yes - continue)

    c.   Where is it located? (Mark on map of town)

    d.   Do you remember about what decade the building was
          built?

    e.   Was the setting ever located in some other
          building?

    f.   How many people are involved in running this
          service?

    g.   What kind of leadership was involved? (Defined
          according to Barker's rules)

    h.   What was the largest number of people involved in a
          typical interaction? When?

    i.   What are some of the events that happened there?

    j.   How often did these events occur?

    k.   How long did these events last?

If setting is not currently in use:

    l.   Did something happen to the setting/town to stop
          its use?

    m.   Where did people go for these activities?

    n.   What happened to the building?

    o.   What decade did this setting stop?

Attachment questions:

    p.   How important do you believe this setting was/is to sustaining the community?

        1) not important 2) somewhat important 3) neutral 4)important   5)very important

    q.   How did/do you personally feel about this setting?

        1)strongly dislike 2)dislike 3)neutral 4)like 5)strongly like

41. Has there ever been a photographic studio in town?

42. Has there ever been an abstract and title company office in town?

43. Has there ever been a real estate agent's office in town?

44. Has there ever been a sheriff's office in town?

45. Has there ever been a soil conservation service office in town?

46. Has there ever been a telephone service office in town?

47. Has there ever been a veterinary service in town?

48. Has there ever been a weed control service in town?

49. Has there ever been an SRS office in town?

50. Has there ever been an animal feed mill/co-op in town?

51. Has there ever been an automobile washing service in town?

52. Has there ever been a bakery in town?

53. Has there ever been a billiard parlor in town?

54. Has there ever been a book exchange service in town?

    (No - skip to next question. Yes - continue)

    a.   Do you know when it started.

    b.   Is it still here and is it still used?

         (No - change to past tense. Yes - continue)

    c.   Where is it located?   (Mark on map of town)

    d.   Do you remember about what decade the building was
         built?

    e.   Was the sheriff's office ever located in some other
         building?

    f.   How many people are involved in running this
         service?

    g.   What kind of leadership was involved?   (Defined
         according to Barker's rules)

    h.   What was the largest number of people involved in a
         typical interaction? When?

    i.   What are some of the events that happened there?

    j.   How often did these events occur?

    k.   How long did these events last?

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    l.   Did something happen to the setting/town to stop
         its use?

    m.   Where did people go for these activities?

    n.   What happened to the building?

    o.   What decade did this setting stop?

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Attachment questions:

p. How important do you believe this setting was/is to sustaining the community?

1) not important 2) somewhat important 3) neutral

4) important 5) very important

q. How did/do you personally feel about this setting?

1) strongly dislike 2) dislike 3) neutral 4) like

5) strongly like

55. Has there ever been a bowling alley in town?

56. Has there ever been a building, construction, and repair service in town.

57. Has there ever been a school bus stop in town?

58. Has there ever been a cleaners in town?

59. Has there ever been a clothier & dry goods store in town?

60. Has there ever been a school custodial work group in town?

61. Has there ever been a cream collection station in town?

62. Has there ever been a day care home or nursery in town?

63. Has there ever been a newspaper delivery and collection route in town?

64. Has there ever been a drugstore in town?

65. Has there ever been an election polling place in town?

66. Has there ever been an excavation contracting service in town.

67. Has there ever been a factory assembly shop in town?

(No - skip to next question. Yes - continue)

a. Do you know when it started.

b. Is it still here and is it still used?

(No - change to past tense. Yes - continue)

c. Where is it located? (Mark on map of town)

d. Do you remember about what decade the building was built?

e. Was the setting ever located in some other building?

f. How many people are involved in running this service?

g. What kind of leadership was involved? (Defined according to Barker's rules)

h. What was the largest number of people involved in a typical interaction? When?

i. What are some of the events that happened there?

j. How often did these events occur?

k. How long did these events last?

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n. What happened to the building?

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         1) not important 2) somewhat important 3) neutral

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         1)strongly dislike 2)dislike 3)neutral 4)like

         5)strongly like

68. Has there ever been a floor laying service in town?

69. Has there ever been a funeral director's service in town?

70. Has there ever been a furniture store in town?

71. Has there ever been a hardware store in town?

72. Has there ever been a hotel in town?

73. Has there ever been an insurance office in town?

74. Has there ever been a washing and/or ironing service in town?

75. Has there ever been a jail in town?

76. Has there ever been a jewelry store in town?

77. Has there ever been a kennel in town?

78. Has there ever been a self-service laundry in town?

79. Has there ever been a public library in town?

80. Has there ever been a lumberyard in town?

81. Has there ever been a moving picture show/movie theater in town?

82. Has there ever been a newspaper published in town?

(No - skip to next question. Yes - continue)

a. Do you know when it started.

b. Is it still here and is it still used?

(No - change to past tense. Yes - continue)

c. Where is it located? (Mark on map of town)

d. Do you remember about what decade the building was built?

e. Was the setting ever located in some other building?

f. How many people are involved in running this service?

g. What kind of leadership was involved? (Defined according to Barker's rules)

h. What was the largest number of people involved in a typical interaction? When?

i. What are some of the events that happened there?

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If setting is not currently in use:

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Attachment questions:

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        1) not important 2) somewhat important 3) neutral

        4) important   5) very important

    q.   How did/do you personally feel about this setting?

        1) strongly dislike 2) dislike 3) neutral 4) like

        5) strongly like

83. Has there ever been a nursing home in town?

84. Has there ever been a plumbing, heating, and/or electrical service in town?

85. Has there ever been a refuse hauling service in town?

86. Has there ever been a sewing or alteration service in town?

87. Has there ever been a shoe repair shop in town?

88. Has there ever been a sign painting service in town?

89. Has there ever been a speech therapy service in town?

90. Has there ever been a tree removal service in town?

91. Has there ever been a truck line in town?

92. Has there ever been a tool sharpening service in town?

93. Has there ever been a TV and radio repair service in town?

94. Has there ever been an upholstery service in town?

95. Has there ever been a new or used car sales lot in town?

96. Has there ever been a wallpapering and painting service in town?

(No - skip to next question. Yes - continue)

a.   Do you know when it started.

b.   Is it still here and is it still used?

     (No - change to past tense. Yes - continue)

c.   Where is it located? (Mark on map of town)

d.   Do you remember about what decade the building was built?

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1) not important 2) somewhat important 3) neutral 4)important   5)very important

q.   How did/do you personally feel about this setting?

1)strongly dislike 2)dislike 3)neutral 4)like 5)strongly like

97.   Has there ever been a water supply plant in town?

98.   Has there ever been a woodworking and/or machine shop in town?

99.   Has there ever been a hospital in town?

100.   Has there ever been a railroad station in town?

101.   Has there ever been a public bus stop in town?

102.   Has there ever been a taxi service in town?

103.   Has there ever been a transportation service provided for older residents or handicapped residents?

104.   Has there ever been an auction sale in town?

105.   Has there ever been a box social/fund raiser in town?

106.   Has there ever been a carnival in town?

107.   Has there ever been a circus in town?

108.   Has there ever been a cooking class offered in
        town?

        (No - skip to next question. Yes - continue)

    a. Do you know when it started.

    b. Is it still here and is it still used?

        (No - change to past tense. Yes - continue)

    c. Where is it located? (Mark on map of town)

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1) not important 2) somewhat important 3) neutral 4)important 5)very important

q. How did/do you personally feel about this setting?

1)strongly dislike 2)dislike 3)neutral 4)like 5)strongly like

109. Has there ever been a dance/dinner dance in town?

110. Has there ever been a dinner with recreational and cultural program in town?

111. Has there ever been a fashion show in town?

112. Has there ever been a food and/or rummage sale in town?

113. Has there ever been a horseshoe pitching contest in town?

114. Has there ever been an organized horse show in town?

115. Has there ever been an ice cream social in town?

116. Has there ever been a parade in town?

117. Has there ever been a piano recital in town?

118. Has there ever been a community picnic in town?

119. Has there ever been a play or program with band/choral music in town?

120.   Has there ever been a public speaking and drama
         competition in town?

(No - skip to next question. Yes - continue)

   a.   Do you know when it started.

   b.   Is it still here and is it still used?

         (No - change to past tense. Yes - continue)

   c.   Where is it located? (Mark on map of town)

   d.   Do you remember about what decade the building was
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p. How important do you believe this setting was/is to sustaining the community?

1) not important 2) somewhat important 3) neutral 4)important 5)very important

q. How did/do you personally feel about this setting?

1)strongly dislike 2)dislike 3)neutral 4)like 5)strongly like

121. Has there ever been roller skating rink in town?

122. Has there ever been a sales promotion party in town? i.e. Avon, Mary Kay, etc. (not a private party)

123. Has there ever been a school rally in town?

124. Has there ever been a scout meeting in town? i.e. boy scouts, girl scouts, etc.

125. Has there ever been a community fund drive in town?

126. Has there ever been a spelling bee in town?

127. Has there ever been a street fair in town?

128. Has there ever been a swimming class in town?

129. Has there ever been a tractor pulling contest in town?

130. Has there ever been a motor vehicle operators class and examination in town?

131. Has there ever been a computer sales and/or repair store?

(No - skip to next question. Yes - continue)

a. Do you know when it started.

b. Is it still here and is it still used?

(No - change to past tense. Yes - continue)

c. Where is it located? (Mark on map of town)

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Attachment questions:

p. How important do you believe this setting was/is to sustaining the community?

1) not important 2) somewhat important 3) neutral 4) important   5) very important

q. How did/do you personally feel about this setting?

1) strongly dislike 2) dislike 3) neutral 4) like 5) strongly like

132. Has there ever been an arcade in town?

133. Has there ever been a video rental store in town?

134. Has there ever been a public land condemnation hearing in town?

135. Has there ever been an awards ceremony in town?