MOUNT PEARL: A COMMUNITY STUDY OF A SUBURB
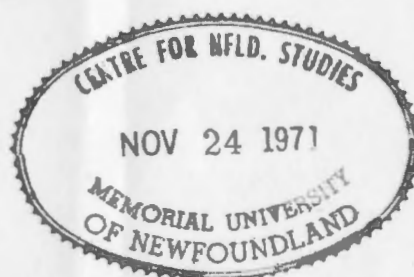
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MOUNT PEARL: A COMMUNITY STUDY OF A SUBURB

A Thesis

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By

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Acknowledgements

The people of Mount Pearl have been the subject of this entire thesis. Yet, the most important thing that I learned about them from my personal experience with them is how extremely kind, and sometimes tolerant, they were to allow me to intrude upon their lives.

To my thesis advisor, Dr. Ralph Matthews, I owe an inestimable debt. His knowledge and insights helped shape the whole study. His encouragement, interest, and friendship helped me survive those spells of depression and uncertainty that plague all thesis writers.

I would also like to thank the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation who have supported me through my period as a graduate student in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

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CHAPTER I

MOUNT PEARL: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

One day they were simply people living in a particular
area; the next they were identifiably something other than that.
This was the situation on February 15, 1955 when the Mount Pearl
Park—Glendale area became incorporated as a municipality by the
Provincial Government of Newfoundland.

Mount Pearl is situated on the Torbay Peninsula of
eastern Newfoundland. At first the town's boundaries were several
miles from those of the nearby city of St. John's, but with the
continuing western expansion of the city swallowing up the land,
the boundaries are today but a few feet apart. Mount Pearl is
bounded on the north by the Waterford River which flows into
St. John's Harbour; and on the south by the Federal Government
Experimental Farm. The western boundary for the Mount Pearl Municipal
Planning area runs about one and a half miles west of the Trans Canada
Highway.

It is not surprising that a town like Mount Pearl should
spring up next to St. John's. St. John's is the capital city of
the province, and in 1966 it had a population of 79,884. The
St. John's Metropolitan area has a total population of slightly over
100,000. Corner Brook, situated on the west coast of Newfoundland,
is the province's second largest center and in 1966 its total
population was only 27,116. St. John's and Corner Brook are

Newfoundland's only cities, and apart from these the province has no
other centers with a population over 8,000.

St. John's also enjoys the honour of being North America's
oldest city. Because of its fine harbour and convenient location
it began as a fishing center in the early 16th century, and it
continued as such for several hundred years. The slow growth rate of
St. John's over the centuries is explainable by the type of city that
it is.

Since the 16th century St. John's has been the supply
center for the whole island. As such most of the businesses were,
and still are, of the importer-redistributor type. Even today there
is very little manufacturing of any type going on in the city. The
city is also the seat of the Provincial Government and this provides
a main source of employment for the residents. Another great boon
to the economic life of the city has been the establishment of a
university in St. John's. The university with a full-time enrollment
of 7500 students and all the necessary staff and faculty makes a
significant contribution to the city's economy.

Hist   Mount Pearl's history is not a lengthy one. Until the
late 1930's the land within the present day municipal planning area
of the town was largely untouched. The only development of any kind
was the building of a few summer cottages by residents of St. John's
for whom the area was 'in the country.' For a hundred years prior
to this the area passed through the hands of several people whose
names were to remain with the area long after they had died.

As has happened in many parts of Newfoundland a community
or even a whole area has taken its name from that of the English lord

who was granted land there as a reward for his loyalty to the king or queen of England. Captain James Pearl after having served in the Royal Navy for 26 years was granted 1000 acres of land in the area now bearing his name.

When he first came to Newfoundland in 1829 he named the area 'Mount Cochrane' in honour of the lieutenant-governor of the island at that time. After continuous trouble with Cochrane he changed the name to 'Mount Pearl' (1838-1839).

Pearl died in 1840, and when his wife died in 1860 the estate began a journey through a series of owners with there often being more than one owner at a time. Andrew Glendenning farmed the area for about 30 years until the early 1920's. With the death of Glendenning the estate was put up for sale. The Commission of Government, which ruled Newfoundland from 1933 to 1949, bought some of the land, and this has since become the Federal Government Experimental Farm (forming one of the boundaries of Mount Pearl). In 1922 a company known as the Mount Pearl Park Company Limited was set up with plans to convert the Mount Pearl Park area into a garden city. The company became defunct after several years although the exact date could not be found.

Thus all that happened in the 100 years prior to the 1930's was that the community obtained a name from Pearl and Glendenning. When it was incorporated in 1955 it was as Mount Pearl Park-Glendale, and although the Glendale part of the name has since been dropped, many of the longer residents of the area still use the earlier version. Glendale is still used to refer to that area west of Commonwealth Avenue.

By the time World War II had ended the demand for housing in the St. John's area far outstripped the supply. Most of the available housing was more expensive than the average person could afford. People began to buy summer cottages in Mount Pearl and convert them to year-round homes, and some began to buy up the cheap land in order to erect permanent residences. One of the main attractions of the area was that by moving outside the city, one escaped property taxes. The rapidly increasing usage of the private automobile was also an important factor in the early development of Mount Pearl, as it enabled people to live in the countryside and still be able to commute for working, shopping, and other urban services. At that time Topsail Road (now forming the north boundary of Mount Pearl) was the only paved highway from the city, and this made the Mount Pearl Park-Glendale area easily accessible. "The area became in effect a dormitory suburb of St. John's." (Municipal Plan, 1965:3).

During the period 1945-1955 the area developed rather haphazardly. Lacking water and sewage facilities, the land had to be developed with the use of wells and septic tanks or earth privies. Housing was mostly of lesser quality, and building lots and roads were taking on an irregular shape. "In order to bring some form of systematic government and control to the rapidly developing community, the areas known as Mount Pearl Park and Glendale became jointly incorporated in 1955." (Municipal Plan, 1965:3). The 1956 census records the total population of the community as 1979 persons.

The Development of Mount Pearl in a
Newfoundland Context

Our starting point for this analysis is March 31, 1949--
the day that Newfoundland became the tenth province of Canada. Since
that event, and largely because of it, Newfoundland has grown, developed,
and changed in proportions never before matched in history.

The cod fisheries was the basis of Newfoundland's economy
from the early 16th century until the beginning of the 20th century.
It was because of the cod fishery that settlement first began in
Newfoundland; and because of the nature of the fishing industry small
villages were scattered all around the coast of the island.

In these small, isolated villages the fisherman was
totally dependent upon the local merchant both as a buyer of his catch
and as a supplier of all his needs for his family and livelihood.
Barter became the mechanism of trade and the fisherman was always
fishing to pay off what his family had eaten last winter or the gear
that he had to have for this year's fishery. The merchant profited
greatly; the fishermen stagnated.

Newfoundland's economy began to diversify toward the end
of the nineteenth century. A railway was completed across the island
in 1898 and this helped to open up the interior. In 1865 copper
mining began on the Burlington Peninsula, in 1895 an iron mine opened
on Bell Island, and a limestone quarry at Aguathuna, and a copper and
zinc mine at Buchans began shortly thereafter. About 1933 St. Lawrence
on the South Coast became the site of a fluorspar mine. Newfoundland's
forest industry also began to expand. A newsprint mill was began at
Grand Falls in 1905, and another at Corner Brook in 1923.

During the Second World War the British and Newfoundland Governments built an airport at Gander. Also, the United States Government built bases at St. John's, Argentia, Stephenville, and Goose Bay. In each case many civilian Newfoundlanders were hired from the surrounding territory and the economy of the affected region benefited.

> The construction of these bases, along with the development of the mining and forest industries encouraged a gradual movement away from the barter system and a subsistence way of life towards a more developed and monetized economy. (Pushie et al; 1967:14).

Since Confederation with Canada in 1949 Newfoundland's economy has grown quite rapidly. Its Gross Provincial Product has increased from an estimated $251 million in 1949 to about $645 million in 1965--representing an increase of 6% per annum. The economy has also diversified greatly with the growth of the Government sector, construction activity, mining developments, structural changes in the fishing industry, and a rapid growth in the service industries. The Provincial Government has not shown any restraint in its efforts to get more industries based in Newfoundland. Included in the list are a liner board mill, an oil refinery, hydro-electric power developments, a rubber plant, and a cement and gypsum board factory.

An examination of the net value of commodity production for 1951 and for 1965 (see Table 1) shows that the greatest increases in production have been experienced in the mining and construction industries. Compared to these the fishing industry has increased little in value.

Similarly an examination of the number and percentage distribution of the labour force (see Table 2) shows decreases in the percentages employed in fishing and trapping from 17.3 percent in 1951 to 15.3 percent in 1965, and increases in the percentages employed in construction; trade; community, business and personal services, and public administration.

TABLE 1

NET VALUE OF PRODUCTION IN COMMODITY PRODUCING
INDUSTRIES, NEWFOUNDLAND, SELECTED YEARS, 1951-1965

Year	Total	Forestry[1]	Fishing[2]	Mining	Electric Power	Manufacturing[3]	Constructi
			(Millions of Current Dollars)				
1951	146	61	21	25	3	12	24
1956	212	59	23	51	8	19	51
1961	265	59	23	54	11	26	92
1962	291	53	28	59	13	28	111
1963	310	56	30	80	15	30	98
1964	353	61	34	105	18	28	105
1965	368	59	36	120	21	25	107

[1]Includes primary forestry, sawmilling and pulp and paper production.

[2]Includes primary fishing and fish processing.

[3]Excludes pulp and paper, sawmilling and fish processing.

Source: D.B.S., Survey of Production (61-202); and unpublished data.

Table From: Gordon F. Pushie et al., (1967) Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic State and Prospects of Newfoundland and Labrador. (St. John's: Queen's Printer).

TABLE 2

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
LABOUR FORCE IN NEWFOUNDLAND, BY INDUSTRY, 1951 & 1961

Industry	1951		1961	
	Total	%	Total	%
All industries	106,411	100.0	122,677	100.0
Agriculture	3,514	3.3	1,641	1.3
Forestry[1]	10,532	9.9	6,891	5.6
Fishing and Trapping[2]	18,420	17.3	18,756	15.3
Mines, Quarries & Oil Wells	3,661	3.4	4,293	3.5
Construction	5,465	5.1	9,525	7.8
Manufacturing[3]	13,926	13.1	12,168	9.9
Transportation, Communication and other Utilities	12,718	12.0	15,213	12.4
Trade	14,691	13.8	18,928	15.4
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	610	0.6	1,432	1.2
Community, Business and Personal Services	12,267	11.5	17,763	14.5
Public Adm. and Defence	9,250	8.7	12,579	10.3
Not Stated	1,357	1.3	3,488	2.8

[1]Includes primary forestry, sawmilling and pulp and paper production.

[2]Includes primary fishing and fish processing.

[3]Excludes pulp and paper, sawmilling and fish processing.

Source: D.B.S., Census of Canada, 1061, Occupation and Industry Trends (94-551), and Economics Branch, Federal Department of Fisheries, St. John's.

Table From: Gordon F. Pushie et al., (1967) Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic State and Prospects of Newfoundland and Labrador. (St. John's: Queen's Printer).

Implicit in all this is the rapid migration of rural

people to larger centers. A mining town or a paper town can support

more people than a traditional Newfoundland fishing village. The
construction industry will be greater in larger centers; government
agencies set up in the larger towns in a region; and better and
fuller educational facilities also establish there. Community, personal
and social services could never begin in small fishing settlements.
Thus with the coming of industrial diversification there also came
urbanization.

The Canadian Census (1966) defines as "urban" the population
living in cities, towns, and villages of 1000 and over, whether
incorporated or not. It includes also the urbanized fringes of these
centers in all cases where the population of the city or town together
with its urbanized fringe amounts to 10,000 or more.

While the actual number of persons in rural communities
has continued to increase slowly since 1901 such an increase has been
minute in comparison to the growth experienced in urban centers (see
Table 3). During that time the number of people classified as "rural"
has increased by 21.6 percent whereas the number of people classified
as "urban" has increased by 437.5 percent. The percentage of the
population that is rural has decreased from 77.5 in 1901 to 45.9 in
1966. In the period 1945 - 1966 it decreased from 68 percent to
45.9 percent. The largest single decrease took place in the period
1945 - 1951 (a decrease of 10.8 percent), and is perhaps indicative
of the effect of the American bases, the first 2 years of Confederation,
and the general industrial boom that followed World War II.

Also indicative of the great amount of migration going on
within Newfoundland is the decrease in the total number of communities

TABLE 3

RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION OF NEWFOUNDLAND
AND PERCENTAGES RURAL AND URBAN,
FOR CENSUS YEARS 1901 TO 1966

Census Year	Total Census Population	Rural Population (under 1,000)	Per Cent Rural	Urban Population (over 1,000)	Per Cent Urban
1901	220,984	186,458	77.5	49,616	22.5
1911	242,619	186,485	76.9	56,161	23.1
1921	263,033	198,555	75.5	64,478	24.5
1935	289,588	203,986	70.4	85,602	29.6
1945	321,819	218,886	68.0	102,933	32.0
1951	361,416	206,621	57.2	154,795	42.8
*1956	415,074	229,822	55.4	185,252	44.6
1961	457,853	225,833	49.3	232,020	50.7
1966	493,396	226,707	45.9	266,689	54.1

*The current D.B.S. definition of "urban" was adopted in
1961; but when the 1956 definition was applied to the 1961 data it
made little difference - urban 237,666; rural 220,187.

Sources: for 1951, 1956, 1961, and 1966: Canada Year Book, 1956, 1968.
for 1901 to 1945: Compiled from statistics on communities of
over 1,000 population given in Census of Newfoundland, 1945,
p. 2. Urban and rural percentages calculated by the writer.

Table From: D. R. Matthews, (1970) Communities in Transition: An
Examination of Government Initiated Community Migration in
Rural Newfoundland. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of
Minnesota, p. 59.

in the island (see Table 4). Although much of this phasing out of

communities has been done under a Government directed resettlement

program (which offers "shifting" money), much of it has been spontaneous.

People have simply left their settlements to look for work elsewhere.

Over the five year period 1961 - 1966 the number of communities
with a population over 50 decreased from 866 - 766.

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES IN NEWFOUNDLAND BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY,
CENSUS YEARS 1961, 1966

Size of Community	Number of Communities 1961	1966	Size of Community	Number of Communities 1961	1966
0 to 49	238	unavailable	1500 to 1599	3	2
50 to 99	174	166	1600 to 1699	3	2
100 to 199	263	235	1700 to 1799	0	3
200 to 299	140	126	1800 to 1899	1	4
300 to 399	83	69	1900 to 1999	0	0
400 to 499	69	38	2000 to 2499	3	8
500 to 599	24	33	2500 to 2999	4	3
600 to 699	31	16	3000 to 3499	1	2
700 to 799	16	15	3500 to 3999	2	0
800 to 899	4	6	4000 to 4999	4	7
900 to 999	8	4	5000 to 5999	2	2
1000 to 1099	6	6	6000 to 6999	2	1
1100 to 1199	9	3	7000 to 7999	1	3
1200 to 1299	4	4	10000 to 20000	0	0
1300 to 1399	4	4	20000 to 30000	1	1
1400 to 1499	3	2	30000 and over	1	1

Total communities 1961, 1104

Total communities with population over 50 in 1961, 866

Total communities with population over 50 in 1966, 766

Sources: Census of Canada 1961, 92-538, Bulletin SP-4, "Population of
Unincorporated places of 50 persons and over." Canada Year
Book 1968, p. 197, "Incorporated Towns and Villages, 1961."
Supplement provided by Dominion Bureau of Statistics, St. John's;
"Unincorporated places with less than 50 persons."

Table From: D. R. Matthews (1970), Communities in Transition: An Examinatio
of Government Initiated Community Migration in Rural Newfoundland.
Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota, p. 61.

The reasons for the magnitude of this rural to urban migration are many and varied. They include: the obsolescence of the traditional Newfoundland inshore fishery; the chance of a better job in a larger center; the opportunity for a better education for one's children; better medical services in the larger centers; regular church services; and the advantages of electricity, and water and sewerage. Such a list of things to be gained would encourage almost anyone to move.

Mount Pearl has to be considered in part in this general pattern of rural to urban migration. We say in part because we must also consider the out-migration of residents of St. John's to Mount Pearl, as well as the in-migration of people from outport communities to Mount Pearl.

It has already been mentioned that Mount Pearl started to grow after the Second World War. Prior to this there had only been a few scattered summer cottages in the area. Thus the beginnings of Mount Pearl coincide with the start of the large-scale rural to urban migration in Newfoundland. As shown in Table 3 significant decreases in the percentage of Newfoundland's population classified as "rural" only began to occur after 1945.

Those migrating to the St. John's area had very little choice in housing; they had to take what they could get. Being uneducated and unskilled most of them could not afford to buy or build reasonable housing in St. John's. Added to this there was a great housing shortage in St. John's, and the cost of what was available was unreasonably high. The choice for many was between crumbling row housing in one of the poorer areas of the city, and

buying, building, or renting a small house outside the city in a place such as Mount Pearl.

The same dilemma was faced by those living in St. John's who desired a house of their own or cheaper or better living accommodations, and were not in the position to afford it. Migration within St. John's itself took on another aspect as urban renewal and redevelopment programs were begun. Hundreds of families had to move when their houses were appropriated for the harbour enlargement and new city hall projects. All these groups were victims of the housing situation in St. John's at that time.

As noted earlier, many of the first residents of the Mount Pearl area lived in converted summer cottages, and even the new homes built were often of inferior quality. Nevertheless Mount Pearl at that time met the needs of its people, giving them homes they could afford near the city in which they worked, and near enough that they could avail of the amenities of the city.

However, migration within Newfoundland is a continuing phenomenon, as is evinced by Tables 3 and 4. For those moving to the St. John's area, or from the city itself, in more recent years Mount Pearl still offered a cheaper way of life than St. John's. The chief reasons for this were cheaper housing and lower property taxes. Until the last 2 or 3 years, for example, a house in Mount Pearl was cheaper than a comparable house in St. John's, with a major part of the difference being due to differences in land values. A lot similar to one costing $5000 in St. John's would cost $2000 or less in Mount Pearl.

Mount Pearl: The Community

If one approaches Mount Pearl from the east, one enters
the community at the east end of Park Avenue and encounters first an
array of small houses which, despite fresh paint, still reveal
themselves as being quite old. Many of the houses along Park Avenue
are situated along the south bank of the Waterford River and this was
one time the 'summer cottage' area. As one continues along the
avenue the image is repeated many times with a scattered corner store
interrupting the sequence and an occasional house of more recent
vintage. One is also amazed by the many curves in the road; showing
that the road was only put through after houses had been built and
property claimed by the residents. The side-streets off Park Avenue
show a great variety. Some contain the older, smaller houses, others
newer houses, and still others such as Smallwood Drive appear to be
large modern sub-divisions.

At the extreme west end of Park Avenue one comes to the
business section of the town. The business section is situated
within the south-east corner formed by the intersection of Park and
Commonwealth Avenues. However, private residences still line the
opposite sides of these two streets. The business section contains
a large supermarket belonging to a national chain, a dry cleaning
plant, a bank, a shoe and clothing store, several other small businesses,
a couple of restaurants and a chicken take-out.

One can also enter the community from the north west via
Topsail Road and Commonwealth Avenue. Here one first encounters
housing of much the same type as on Park Avenue. But once he gets

beyond the business section the road is lined by newer homes of the bungalow type, and a string of duplex houses.

Housing development in Mount Pearl in the last 10 years has been of two types. The first of these is on new streets on the vacant land between streets containing older type housing. This is characteristic of the development in the area between Park Avenue and Smallwood Drive. The second type is expansion on the fringe of the town. This is characteristic of the area west of Commonwealth Avenue all of which has been built in the last 10 years. The town simply keeps expanding westward.

The general impression that one forms of Mount Pearl from looking at the housing, consequently depends upon which area of the town one happens to be in at the time. Houses range in quality from those characteristic of a low class community, through working class, with more recent housing being much like that of a middle class suburb. The contrast of these newer houses with the previous ones is sometimes acute, and is substantial enough to make one highly aware of it.

Previously we have discussed the development of Mount Pearl in the context of the general rural to urban migration occurring in Newfoundland in the last 26 years. The figures in Table 5 attest to the drawing power of the province's only big city. The table gives the populations of Mount Pearl, St. John's, and Newfoundland for the census years 1951, 1956, 1961, and 1966. It is evident that both Mount Pearl and St. John's are growing at a much faster rate than the province as a whole. Over the period 1951 - 1966 the population of Mount Pearl increased by 674 percent, the population of St. John's by 51 percent, and the population of Newfoundland by 36.5 percent.

TABLE 5

POPULATION OF MOUNT PEARL, ST. JOHN'S, AND NEWFOUNDLAND, AND
PERCENTAGES INCREASED FOR CENSUS YEARS 1951 TO 1966

Census Year	Mount Pearl Population	Percentage Increased	St. John's Population	Percentage Increased	Newfoundland Population	Percentage Increased
1951	572		52,873		361,416	
1956	1979	246.0%	57,078	8.0%	415,074	14.8%
1961	2785	40.7	63,633	11.5	457,853	10.3
1966	4428	59.0	79,884*	25.5	493,396	7.8

*Indicates a change in the boundaries of St. John's.

Sources: For 1951, 1956, 1961, 1966 Canada Census 1951, 1956, 1961, 1966.
Percentages Increased calculated by the writer.

These figures do not give an up-to-date picture of the community. A census is to be taken in 1971 and it would be a safe estimate that it will find that the population of the community has increased by at least 50 percent in the last 5 years. The Federal Post Office did a householder count in February, 1971 and found there to be approximately 1950 households in the town. The Town Clerk estimates that there are 1600 houses in the town and this suggests that roughly 350 families are the second family in multiple family dwellings. In this case they would be mostly living in basement apartments. A total population estimate of 7000 would probably be conservative.

An examination of the population by age groups (see Table 6) reveals several interesting facts about the population of Mount Pearl in comparison to that of St. John's, and Newfoundland

TABLE 6

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS FOR MOUNT PEARL, ST. JOHN'S, AND NEWFOUNDLAND, AND
PERCENTAGES FOR CENSUS YEAR 1966

	Total Population	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39
Mount Pearl	4,428	717 16.2	650 14.7	539 12.2	362 8.2	320 7.2	368 8.3	336 7.6	327 7.4
St. John's	79,884	9,188 11.5	8,758 11.0	8,571 10.7	8,819 11.0	7,162 9.0	4,942 6.2	4,237 5.3	4,409 5.5
Newfoundland	493,396	68,545 13.9	67,007 13.6	63,531 12.9	54,307 11.0	35,976 7.3	27,931 5.7	25,368 5.1	25,276 5.1

	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	90+
Mount Pearl	258 5.8	172 3.9	124 2.8	84 1.9	50 1.1	35 .8	45 1.0	25 ..6	14 .3	2 .0	–
St. John's	4,240 5.3	4,326 5.4	4,208 5.3	3,240 4.1	2,277 2.9	1,927 2.4	1,568 2.0	986 1.2	652 .8	272 .3	102 .1
Newfoundland	23,751 4.8	23,114 4.7	20,753 4.2	16,358 3.3	12,307 2.5	10,261 2.1	8,188 1.7	5,576 1.1	3,268 .7	1,378 .3	502 .1

Source: Canada Census, 1966.

as a whole. Children under 15 years of age make up 43.1 percent of the population of Mount Pearl, 33.2 percent of the population of St. John's, and 40.4 percent of the population of Newfoundland as a whole. Adults between the ages of 25 and 44 years make up 29.1 percent of Mount Pearl's population, 22.3 percent of St. John's population, and 20.7 percent of the population of Newfoundland as a whole. For every age group beyond 44 Mount Pearl has a lower percentage of population in that age group than either St. John's, or the province as a whole. These figures indicate that the population of the town consists mainly of young families with the parents primarily in the age group 25-44, and with children mostly under age 14.

Such a fact would seem reasonable given a knowledge of the context in which Mount Pearl first developed, and is still developing. The old fisherman is not as likely as his 20 or 25 year old son to pull up his roots and look for something better. And the same holds true for the out-migrants from St. John's.

However, lest we confuse migration with upward social mobility we should examine Table 7 showing the occupation division of Mount Pearl, St. John's, Newfoundland, and Canada, for the census year 1961. For occupations such as managerial, professional and technical, clerical, and service and recreation, the percentage of Mount Pearl's working force occupying such positions are clearly below those of St. John's, while still above those of Newfoundland as a whole. It is when you get to such occupations as transportation, manufacturing (31.7 percent) and labourers that Mount Pearl is more

TABLE 7

OCCUPATION DIVISION, MOUNT PEARL, ST. JOHN'S,
NEWFOUNDLAND AND CANADA - 1961

Occupation	Mount Pearl Persons	%	St. John's %	Newfoundland %	Canada %
Managerial	64	8.6	10.7	8.1	8.3
Professional and Technical	60	8.0	14.0	5.2	9.9
Clerical	121	16.2	23.6	8.8	12.9
Sales	71	9.5	9.0	6.0	6.3
Service and Recreation	73	9.8	15.5	11.7	12.3
Transportation	66	8.9	6.8	8.0	6.1
Farmers and Farm Workers	2	0.3	0.3	11.5	10.0
Other Primary	-	-	0.3	14.4	2.8
Manufacturing	236	31.7	18.3	22.8	24.0
Labourers	27	3.6	3.2	6.8	4.9
Others	25	3.4	2.9	6.7	2.5
All Occupations	745	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1961.

highly represented than St. John's. This tends to give the town a working class character.

One would be safe in saying that 90 percent or more of the working population of Mount Pearl make their living in St. John's. The town has no industries or other basic economic activities, and the only places of employment are of a service nature such as school, stores, and service stations. At the time of the Revised Town Plan (1965) only 70 persons or less than 4 percent of the work force were employed within the town of Mount Pearl in local stores, administrative, and teaching occupations.

It is most unlikely that Mount Pearl will ever acquire an independent economic base which would allow the town to become financially self-supporting. The more desirable areas for economic development lie in other parts of the St. John's Metropolitan area; and as a residential town, industrial development would probably have a detrimental effect on the quality of the houses there.

The fact that Mount Pearl does not have and may never have an independent economic base is in some respects unfortunate. Were it to have some industries and large businesses it would give the council much more money to carry out its programs. As it now stands the council is unable to do many of the things it wants to do because the necessary funds cannot be raised through property taxes on private households.

Mount Pearl elected its first council on February 15, 1955. The council consisted of seven men, and they elected the mayor from among themselves. Of the first council none of its

members are residing in Mount Pearl now. The present mayor was
elected as a councillor in a bye-election in May, 1956 and has been
on the council ever since. Apart from the mayor two of the present
councillors have served on previous councils in the community. The
council elections are held every four years. The present council
is therefore the fourth in the short history of the community.

The occupations of those on the present council are
druggist, elementary school principal, junior high school teacher,
trades college instructor, insurance agent, automotive body shop
foreman, and real estate agent. All the councillors, except the
trades college instructor and the body shop foreman work in the
community itself, and are thus different from the vast majority of
the citizens they represent.

Serving on the council is voluntary in the sense that
councillors receive no pay whatsoever. The only rewards are prestige
and a certain amount of free publicity which is helpful in certain
occupations. The council has regular meetings on the first three
Monday nights of the month. Such meetings are open for public
attendance but this is rarely high.

The council offices and a town library are housed in a
new two storey brick building which the council undertook as a
centennial project in 1967. The council maintains an office staff
consisting of a town clerk, an assistant town clerk, a clerk meter
reader, and a secretary.

The council is responsible for the day-to-day running of
the community in all respects. It raises money through property and
business taxes, water and sewer charges, local improvement assessments

for such things as sidewalks, and grants from the Federal and
Provincial Governments. An example of the last of these occurred
with the new council offices and library for which the town raised
two-thirds of the funds and the Federal Government granted the
remaining one-third.

For most town councils a primary source of revenue comes
from taxes on business and industrial premises. In Mount Pearl these
taxes are higher than those on households but account for only a small
proportion of the town's revenue because of the small number of
business establishments within its boundaries. Another problem
confronting the town council is its lack of qualified professional
personnel. Mount Pearl lacks lawyers and big business men who, in
larger centres offer themselves for public office.

Education in Newfoundland has generally been left in the
hands of the religious denominations. Until recently the various
denominations ran schools which were supported by public funds.
The Anglican, United Church, and Salvation Army denominations have
found this impractical and in the last two years they have integrated
their school systems. The Roman Catholic, Pentecostal, and Seventh
Day Adventist denominations have maintained their autonomy, and have
refused to integrate.

Within Mount Pearl itself there are two schools operated
by the Integrated School Board. The Park Avenue Elementary School
(grades kindergarten to six) has grown room by room over the last
20 years and increased from a two room school to a 16 room school.
Morris Academy (grades kindergarten to nine) although opened only
eight years ago has already outgrown its 18 classrooms and has been

enlarged by seven portable (prefabricated) classrooms. There is no high school in Mount Pearl so the children commute daily by bus to St. John's to complete their high school education.

Mary Queen of the World School (grades one to nine) operated by the Roman Catholic School Board is situated on Topsail Road just outside the town boundary. This school provides the Roman Catholic school population of Mount Pearl with its elementary and junior high school education. Like the Protestants (Integrated School Board) the Roman Catholic school children must go to St. John's to complete their high school education.

Mount Pearl has a church for virtually every religious denomination to be found within the town. Those denominations and sects with church buildings in the town include the Anglican, the United Church, the Church of the Nazarene, Pentecostal, Jehovah's Witness, and Salvation Army. Of these the Salvation Army is the only church without a full time minister. As is the case with school facilities, the Roman Catholic population of Mount Pearl is served by the Mary Queen of World Parish on Topsail Road.

The 1961 census shows the Anglican population to be the largest (33.3 percent), followed by the United Church (28.5 percent), and the Roman Catholic (27.1 percent). Other denominations and sects account for 11 percent of the population.

The two large Protestant bodies are over-represented for the distribution of Newfoundland as a whole. The percentages for the province are Anglican 28.6 percent, United Church 21.3 percent and Roman Catholic 35.8 percent.

The two main roads in Mount Pearl, Commonwealth and Park Avenues, both terminate at Topsail Road. This in turn is the main road connection between Mount Pearl and St. John's, although access to the city is available by a longer and roundabout way via the Trans Canada Highway.

The city of St. John's is responsible for the bus service between Mount Pearl and St. John's. In the last year this service has been reduced so that buses no longer run after 6:30 p.m. during week-days, or at all on Sundays. The only exception to this are those nights when shopping centers in St. John's are open—Thursday and Friday. There is no bus service within the town itself except that provided by the city buses as they pass through the town.

Fire protection is provided by the St. John's Brookfield fire station at the intersection of Brookfield and Topsail Roads one mile from the town's eastern border. The department is remunerated on a per call basis.

Police protection is handled by both the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Mount Pearl Town Police. The latter of these consists of only two men, and thus it can not provide full time protection.

Mount Pearl has branches of two service clubs; the Lions and the Kinsmen. Through fund raising activities such as bingo, broom sales, and hockey sweepstakes they are able to run the town swimming pool, equip playgrounds, erect bus shelters, sponsor youth sports, and hold an annual Christmas float parade.

The Lions Club has been operating in Mount Pearl for 15 years, and has a present membership of 45. The Kinsmen Club has

become active in the last two years and boasts 29 members.

There is also a branch of the Royal Canadian Legion in Mount Pearl, but it is almost purely a social club. It has a membership of 150 members and 150 associate members. With 300 members, the only liquor licence in town, and regular dances and bingo games, it is in some respects a community focal point.

Conclusion

Thus far we have had three foci:

(1)   the history and development of Mount Pearl;

(2)   the development of Mount Pearl in the context of the whole province of Newfoundland; and

(3)   the town of Mount Pearl as it is now.

The town only started to develop after World War II because of the housing shortage, and high cost of available housing in St. John's. Early housing was poor and disorderly so the area had to incorporate to prevent any further haphazard development. This brought with it the levying of town taxes which was one of the things that the people had originally moved to the area to escape.

The development of Mount Pearl is really just one part of the general pattern of rural to urban migration going on in Newfoundland since 1945. Industrial diversification, migration, and the growing obsolescence of the inshore fishery as a means of making a livelihood, contributed to the changing of Newfoundland from a peasant to a monetary economy. The out-migration of residents of St. John's has also been a factor in the development and growth of

Mount Pearl. A crucial point is that both these forms of migration to Mount Pearl are on-going processes and will continue.

Mount Pearl today shows great contrasts in the quality of its housing with the housing appearing to improve according to the recency with which it was built. This apparent raising of quality is largely attributable to the fact that Mount Pearl has lost most of the construction and property tax advantage it once had over St. John's. By occupational standards, Mount Pearl is more of lower class community than St. John's. The town council is handicapped by a tight budget and a lack of professional personnel, the first of which is due to the town's lack of an independent economic base. Mount Pearl also lacks adequate school facilities, bus service, fire and police protection, and shopping facilities. The town in many ways is highly dependent upon the 'big' city.

CHAPTER 2

COMMUNITY THEORY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Eclecticism has often been used in the social sciences as a means of bringing elements of conflicting definitions and theories together. While no attempt has been made to produce an eclectic definition of the 'community' Hillery (1955) tried to abstract from the multitude of definitions the essential elements contained in them. Of the 94 definitions he examined, slightly more than two-thirds maintained that "social interaction" and "area" are to be considered in studying the community. A third important element was "ties or bonds in common." These three concepts were the most frequently mentioned of 16 identified by Hillery. The only agreement among all definitions was that they dealt with people but even then they did not agree as to the qualities of people--interacting or non-interacting, free willed or coerced. Hillery added empirical evidence to support the common fact that the Sociology of the Community is a confused and undefined area. Combined with the non-specificity of sociology itself (although such freedom is often advantageous) it is little wonder that community sociologists often feel anomic.

Lindeman (1937) made a notable attempt to clarify many of the problems encountered in the field. He essentially asked community sociologists to discover the Industrial Revolution and he emphasized an approach to community which Hillery's work 18 years later didn't bring out. Namely, he argued for a change from thinking

of community in structural terms to thinking of it in processual or dynamic terms. Structurally community "designated a geographical area with definite legal boundaries, occupied by residents engaged in interrelated economic activities and constituting a politically self-governing unit." (Lindeman; 1937:102) He argued that such a position was becoming obsolete due to changes such as: the factory system becoming corporate and projecting itself beyond the boundaries of the local community, and also being owned by people in other places; production being no longer just for local consumption; labourers being more mobile and often travelling from one community to another as work became available; means of communication becoming better and faster, making the local community more feasible and less self-contained. These changes should have converted the community concept into a dynamic one.

For Lindeman, the dynamics of society do not reside in its structure but rather in the interests, wishes, desires, and purposes of individual human beings interacting with other human beings in varieties of social groupings. The shift should be toward people in interaction. (1937:103)

A second useful distinction which Lindeman makes, which is closely tied in with the first, is that between the "explicit" and "implicit" elements of a definition of community. What we refer to by the terms "denotative" and "connotative" closely parallel these. Explicit in a definition of community is the idea that it

> is any consciously organized aggregation of individuals residing in a specified area or locality, endowed with limited political autonomy, supporting such primary institutions as schools and churches and among whom certain degrees of interdependency are recognized. (1937:103)

A community if we define its implicit elements

> is any process of social interaction which gives rise to
> a more intensive or more extensive attitude and practise
> of interdependence, cooperation, collaboration and
> unification. (1937:103)

The basic differences between the two is that the latter omits all consideration of locality or other spatial terms and directs attention to the processes by which socialization takes place, processes which are in essence social psychological and social behavioral. Attempts to define or describe the community in spatial terms are unlikely to be successful because of changes such as those previously mentioned which make community boundaries fluid and indefinite. (Lindeman; 1937:103)

For Lindeman, the status of the individual in a modern community is determined by his relationship to functional groups. He is an effective member of the community insofar as he is represented in these organized forms; the unassociated individual loses both status and functional capacity. This is where the previously mutually exclusive explicit and implicit elements of a definition of community can be united. That is, where we realize that attention needs to be focused on how functional groups reach decisions, implement them and interact with each other. Thus, the community is an aggregation of individual human beings living within numerous types of groupings. (Lindeman; 1937:104)

These insights could have greatly advanced the field of community sociology, but as our examination of Hillery's work shows sociologists were still fixated on spatial criteria up to the mid-50's.

The interim since then has also produced figures who have done their worst for the field. Stein (1960) wrote bemoaning the demise of the community. To him the processes of bureaucratization, industrialization, and urbanization were destroying the community. They were "breaking up the complexes of primary group qualities bringing about the eclipse of community." (Martindale; 1960:65) There was even that most dastardly of all deeds--children dispensing with their parents at an even earlier age in suburbia. For Stein all signs pointed to a destruction of values and a loss of all sense of community.

However, not all Sociologists spent their time grieving for the lost. Some even kept on examining life around them to try to discover what it was that made aggregates of people communities in the past, the present, and the future.

Martindale was influenced by Lindeman's work, particularly that on the implicit elements in a definition of community--a definition concerning the process of social interaction, and omitting any dependence upon locality. For Martindale "one of the general properties of contemporary social life is its relative emancipation from geographical area." (Martindale; 1960:132) Due to the vast improvements in communication systems a man's most intimate social life may often be detached from the area where he works or lives.

The community as defined by Martindale is

>...A set or system of groups sufficient to solve all of the
>basic problems of ordinary ways of life. As a way of life,
>a community is complete in two senses: it comprises a set
>of groups sufficient to carry a plurality of people through
>all the routine problems of an ordinary year and through the
>cycle of an ordinary life from birth to death. (1964:69)

The definition places no territorial restrictions on the term "community." A community of wandering hunters or a gypsy community has to be considered as much a community as a farming town. The difference is only that the first two move around in their exploitation of the environment. As already mentioned, the decline of territory as an organizing principle of the modern community is linked to the growth of transportation and communication systems, for the means of transportation and communication available to men implements their relations with nature. (1964:70) When these systems were primitive such total ways of life were usually confined to a restricted area and it was natural to think of communities as having a territorial basis.

Martindale's approach to the study of community is in respects historical. Thus he examines communities from different times and different places—ancient Greece and China, feudal Europe, early North America, and modern western. He concluded that "the essence of the community has always been found in its character as a set of institutions composing a total way of life" (1964:71) If this is the case then the frettings of such people as Stein are simply reactions to social change caused by their failure to recognize the essential elements in a community. The "eclipse of community" was merely a change in outward appearance while the essentials remained the same. In Martindale's term it is another example of the formation and destruction of communities.

As did Lindeman, Martindale thought that the formation of groups is a necessity in order to have a community. For Martindale these groupings center around three problem solving areas of life:

(1) mastery of the material environment; (2) socialization; and
(3) social control. A community represents the integration of these
groups into a total way of life. Such a fusion reduces conflicts by
the establishment of a legitimate order, and provides the extra
stability caused by the sheer pressure of the whole on any single
part. As a fusion of groups a community is the way the people act;
it can not act itself.

There are three interrelated processes involved in
community formation: stabilization, consistency, and closure.
Stabilization comes about as the solutions to collective problems
in various areas of social life tend to be remembered and repeated
successfully in similar situations. There is always the possibility
that the solutions to problems in different areas of life may come
into conflict with each other. Thus if a group wants to run a
bingo game to raise funds to equip a playground it may run into some
stiff opposition from the church and have to change its plans.
Consistency refers to this "re-stylization of groups and institutions
in the area of their primary operation to prevent major collisions
with behavior from other areas." (Martindale; 1964:2) The third
process, closure, is the fixing of a formula which laces the whole
circuit of institutions into a working arrangement. This is the
situation where one can estimate what he can do in a certain area
without receiving an unfavorable reaction from another area.

An important principle following from Martindale's theory
is that of completeness. A community, at least as an ideal construct,
is a set or system of groups sufficient to solve all of the basic

problems of ordinary ways of life, and as such it is complete in itself. This principle is important for our analysis of the suburban community and it shall be supplemented by the work of Warren (1963).

Warren saw "social units" (people, groups, organizations) as being involved in two types of relationships in today's modern society. "Horizontal" relationships are those cutting across the different sectors of the community and as such are indicative of "cohesion" and "community integration." "Vertical" ties relate social units within the community to those outside it, often as subordinate parts of a larger organization. In considering a town's horizontal pattern we may investigate the relationship between the schools, the town council, and the library. But if we were interested in its vertical ties we would study the relationship of the schools within the town to the school board for the region, of the town council to the federation of municipalities, of the local library to the provincial library system.

With "vertical" ties binding the local community to the larger society forever increasing and strengthening, it becomes more difficult to conceptualize the local community as complete. For those who feel that there is a vital psychological component to community or to the sense of community it poses further questions. Although the community concept has had a locality-oriented nature in the past, nowadays the institutions serving people, the interests and behavior patterns that people share more often than not extend beyond the political boundaries of the village, town, or city in which they live. The community has to be considered as "a total

framework of living" (Warren; 1963:6) rather than merely a political jurisdiction.

Warren lists functions of the community analogous to those given by Martindale: production - distribution - consumption; socialization; and social control. But to these he adds social participation and mutual support as distinct functions. Social units for providing for social participation range from the church and voluntary associations to family, kinship, and friendship groups. Mutual support functions have, following the general trend, been removed from the responsibility of family, neighbors, and local church and placed in the hands of governmental welfare agencies. But in some places we still find voluntary community health and welfare agencies. Both of these functions of social participation and mutual support will be useful in our general community framework and in our analysis of whether or not Mount Pearl, or any suburb can be considered a community.

It is our contention that from the work of Lindeman, Martindale, and Warren one can formulate the basis for a community theory. This is not to be an eclectic effort for we have shown that Martindale flowed out of Lindeman, and is highly similar to Warren. The latter, while not having a well developed conception of community, has provided through the concepts of horizontal and vertical integration an added flexibility not to be found in Martindale's work. It comes as a corollary to this that Stein and similar writers were grossly mistaken. At a later point we will examine suburbia in terms of our conceptual framework to determine whether or not it constitutes a community.

We do not think, however, that the theorists mentioned have provided us with a framework broad enough to include all the essentials of the community. The discussion so far has moved the emphasis from spatial criteria to that of people in groups and the integration of these groups. It has yet to get to the level of the individual. As we saw with Martindale's theory the emphasis was on survival (cf. Matthews; 1970:124)--handling the routine problems of an ordinary year and an ordinary life time. By doing this Martindale ignored the other needs of the individual such as social and esthetic. How could one fit voluntary associations or friendship groups into Martindale's theory? These are needs beyond mere survival. Warren's "social participation" does allow for this although he does not fully develop the idea as such.

What to the individual is the extent of his community? Let us create a hypothetical case. A man, let us call him X, lives in a suburb, he works in the suburb, attends church there, and sends his children to school there. X's next door neighbor, Y, works in the central city, sends his children to school in the city, and attends church in the city. Do we say then that both belong to the same community? Yes if our criterion is in spatial, residential terms, but no if our criterion is more than that. The crux of our argument thus far has been that the community is that which provides a total way of life for the individual. As such it meets all the individual's needs--physical, social, and psychological. Thus for X and Y above, although they reside in the same jurisdictional area, the effective community for each is different. The sets of groups

carrying each of the above individuals through a normal year and a normal life time are almost completely different.

This idea of a total framework of living or effective community has a wide range of application. For the people in an isolated fishing community their total framework of living would be totally within that community itself. For someone living in the slums of a large city and never really going beyond the edges of the slum, the effective community, the total framework of living, would be that slum. In both cases the groupings looking after mastery of nature, socialization, social control, social participation, and mutual support, are within the particular aggregate of people itself. They are in a very real sense self-contained. Also important is the fact that people in both these communities have little opportunity for interacting outside of them. Thus for most of the people in each community, the effective community will be approximately the same.

When we deal with suburban communities the situation becomes much more variable. There are certain contingencies upon which the question of whether or not it is a 'community' must be answered. Are Martindale's three processes of stabilization, consistency, and closure developed to a degree necessary for a 'community'? Can it provide a complete way of life for its residents? Can it satisfy all their needs--physical, social, and psychological? What is the effective community or communities for its residents? The answers to these will vary according to the type of suburb (dormitory or industrial), the size of the suburb, the age of the suburb, and the facilities within it.

A dormitory suburb can not by definition provide a complete way of life for the majority of its residents because most of them must work elsewhere. Conversely an industrial suburb can come that much closer to being a complete way of life for its inhabitants. A small suburb will less likely provide a total framework of living for its residents than a larger one. For example, there is probably a direct relationship between the size of the suburb and the amount of facilities it has in it. If it lacks schools, theatres, churches, and playgrounds then these are things which people will have to go outside the community to use. Moreover, the institutions in an older suburb are more likely to have become stabilized and there is a greater probability of consistency among them, than in a new and growing suburb with a rapidly increasing population and new groups and organizations emerging. As already mentioned, a community, if it is to be self-contained or complete, must have adequate facilities. Thus we must conclude that a general statement on whether or not the suburban community is a 'community' in our defined sense can not be made. The extent to which it meets all the needs of the majority of its inhabitants and has achieved stabilization, consistency, and closure is the extent to which it approaches being a 'community.'

We should now review how suburbia has been treated by sociological literature. This will test the framework that we have thus far established, and clarify how some of the hypotheses for the Mount Pearl case will be derived.

"Suburbia is so facinating just because it reveals the 'eclipse of community' at one of its darkest moments." (Stein; 1960:329)

This quote from Stein's book, The Eclipse of Community, adds yet
another process, suburbanization, to the three community destroying
processes of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization,
already attributed to him. It is also a good example of much of the
sociological and popular writing done on this phenomenon.

Definitions of "suburbia" or the "suburban community"
are in much the same state as are definitions of "community." Early
definitions stress the economic and cultural dependence of the suburb
on the central city and the resulting commuting that its residents
must do. Such a definition is in agreement with the "myth of suburbia"
(to be mentioned shortly). However, as people have begun to better
understand suburbia we can see changes in definitions. The most widely
applicable one is that

> a suburb is a community lying within commuting distance of
> a central city. Usually, but not always, suburbs are
> dependent on central cities economically and culturally;
> usually, but not always, they are independent of those
> cities politically. (Donaldson; 1969:ix)

This definition has the advantage of allowing the suburb to be a
community in our defined sense.

The term "suburb" has been variously used and misused to
refer to: tract housing from $8,000 to $65,000; rental developments
whose occupants do not think of themselves as homeowners; old rural
towns which because of the expansion of the city and improvements in
transportation, have only gradually become suburban in character; and
gradually developing residential neighborhoods on the edge of the city
itself.

The popular image of suburbia is best portrayed by William
H. Whyte Jr.'s, The Organization Man (1956). The suburb is seen as

a concentration of socially homogeneous and upwardly mobile young middle class business executives. These rootless men identify with the national company for which they work, and their zealousness in community activities has to be explained in terms of the good it does for the company image. A transient population and a work force that must commute to the city daily seem to be the key features of suburbia. Because of this the commuting husbands rarely get to see the children and the mother has the responsibility of rearing them. Social life in these towns is very hectic with local affairs, P.T.A. and other clubs and associations, and neighborliness. The uniformity of the housing and the upwardly mobile career patterns of the residents make such suburbs dens of conformity.

The refutation of this myth lies buried within the sociological literature. Duncan and Reiss (1956: 125-126) examining the U.S. census data for 1950 found that for the total population one year of age and over 81.6 percent of those in the suburbs and 82.3 percent of those in the central cities lived in the same house in 1950 as in 1949. As concerns commuting, Dobriner (1963) found in examining data for the New York Metropolitan Region that for every 13.2 persons living in the outer ring (i.e. suburbs) only 1.8 worked in the core of the city, 1.5 in the inner ring, and 9.9 in the outer ring. This is indicative of the suburbanization of industrial activities, and of the growth of suburban shopping centers and other businesses creating employment within the suburban zone itself. Berger (1960) studied a working class suburb and found the people to be without aspirations or chances of any upward social mobility.

Rather they regarded their homes in the suburbs as a terminal state; as much as they could hope to realize during their lives.

Thus not all suburban studies have been on upper class communities as was Whyte's. Apart from Berger's study of the Working Class Suburb, Gans studied The Levittowners, a working and lower-middle class suburb. Both of these works provide provocative and helpful ideas in the Mount Pearl situation.

Gans lived as a participant-observer in a new tract suburb for the first two years of its existence. Therefore the town had no established residents. He found that 80 percent of the residents came because of the house, which was in a price range appealing to working and lower-middle class people. It was apparent that in this type town where the class structure was open enough to permit low status people to achieve upward mobility through leadership, that community prestige is usually a sufficient incentive for recruitment of needed leaders. Another incentive is occupational with lawyers, insurance salesmen, and merchants filling the necessary leadership roles.

An important issue which Gans examined was whether or not Levittown was a community. He concluded that

> by any traditional criteris, then, Levittown could not be
> considered a community. It was not an economic unit whose
> members were dependent on each other for their livelihood,
> and it was not a social unit for there was no reason or
> incentive for people to relate to each other as Levittowners
> on any regular or recurring basis. And Levittown clearly
> was not a symbolic unit for the sense of community was
> weak. (Gans; 1967:145)

Nevertheless, Gans concluded that Levittown was a community because it was an administrative-political unit plus an aggregate of community

wide associations within a space having legal boundaries. This, then, is Gans definition of community.

We would have concluded that Levittown was not a community. We have already mentioned that as a dormitory suburb it falls short of providing a complete framework of living for its residents. It would seem that Gans was still operating in spatial terms. Also, as a new and still growing suburb it was unstable, and associations, the town government, and other groups had not yet become consistent in their relations with one another. Thus it certainly had not achieved closure. For most of the residents their community would certainly have extended beyond the boundaries of the administrative-political unit.

Berger (1960) studied an industrial suburb and thereby avoided many of the problems of Gans. He interviewed factory workers who had moved en masse from a city to a suburb of another city 50 miles away, when the plant they worked for changed location. Most of these working class families had lived in the slum and subsidized housing areas of the industrial city, and Berger wanted to find out if they would be acquiring middle-class behavior, beliefs, and values as a result of the suburbanization process. There was no increase in formal participation in clubs and organizations. In fact 70 percent of the sample belonged to no clubs at all. Mutual visiting between friends and neighbors was infrequent, and the visiting that did occur was one of an extremely casual nature.

Few of the sample had completed high school and they generally had no aspirations of job improvement or moving to better housing. Their style of living had not changed as a result of their

moving from the inadequate housing in the city. While their incomes permitted them a middle class home and car they had not and were not becoming middle class. "What we are primarily dealing with here is not an instance of social mobility but instead, the movement of and an entire stratum to a new level of domestic comfort." (Berger; 1960:27)

Hypotheses

The basic hypothesis for this study deals with the issue of whether or not Mount Pearl is a community in our defined sense of the word. That is, does it meet all the needs of the majority of its residents and has it achieved stabilization, consistency, and closure? The extent to which it meets these conditions is the extent to which it approximates being a community. What we said about Mount Pearl is quite amenable to analysis within the conceptual framework we have proposed. From such an analysis we predict that Mount Pearl is not a 'community.'

In Chapter 1 we described Mount Pearl as a dormitory suburb of St. John's and thus the overwhelming majority of its residents work in the city. It was also shown to be dependent upon St. John's in other areas: educational facilities, shopping centers, recreation facilities, public transportation, and fire protection. Thus, in many respects Mount Pearl is highly integrated into the life of the whole St. John's Metropolitan Area.

Apart from this, Mount Pearl is still growing rapidly, having increased its population from 1979 in 1956 to over 7000 today.

As the population has grown so has the number of clubs and organizations
in the town. These newer groups are still in the process of
establishing initial relationships with the older groups. Relationships
have not yet become consistent and can not do so while the present
rapid growth rate continues. Stabilization is also hindered by the
fact that the rapidly increasing population has come from all parts of
the province and, as Gans found in Levittown, they have no occasion
to relate to each other as Mount Pearlers. Closure does not seem
imminent under such circumstances. Thus Mount Pearl neither provides
a total framework of living for its residents nor displays stabilization,
consistency, and closure.

Based on the work of Gans we hypothesize that there will
be lower class people achieving upward mobility through leadership.
And as was mentioned in Chapter 1, some of the leaders are in the
insurance salesmen-merchant categories. Berger's study of a working
class suburb leads us to expect that the general population will
display little formal participation in clubs and organizations. It
is also hypothesized that the people of the town will not do much
mutual visiting within the town except what would be considered of
a casual nature.

Two distinct groups of people will be interviewed in the
town: those considered to be community leaders, and a sample of the
general population. It is hypothesized that the community leaders
because of their community-oriented activities will identify more
with Mount Pearl and less with St. John's than the general population.
Further, we hypothesize that the community leaders will display a

higher general community satisfaction, participate more in local activities, and be more highly integrated into the suburb than the general population of Mount Pearl. Because we wish to compare the two groups of people, the same questionnaire will be used throughout and will help establish the frameworks of living for all those interviewed.

Methodology

Sixteen leaders and 35 non-leaders, that is, members of the general population, were interviewed using a semi-structured questionnaire and three attitude scales. Interviewing was conducted from March 9 to May 10, 1971 and mostly carried out at night when the men were free from work obligations. The interviews averaged approximately one hour and 15 minutes duration.

It was intended to select the leaders on the basis of the question "Who are the community leaders?" which was asked of the general population sample. As it turned out most of the general population could not think of any leaders in the town, and it became necessary to supplement those named with some other people who obviously held leadership positions in the community. The analysis of this will be presented later and will be an important point in our examination of community integration.

Members of the general population were selected, using a table of random numbers, from the list of householders in the town. All building lots in the town were numbered consecutively from one

to 2053,[1] thus assuring complete randomness in the sample. In

selecting respondents it became necessary to discard some of the

numbers. The reasons for doing this were: business premises,

absentee landlords, tenants in basement apartments (in cases where

houses contained a basement apartment the apartment was given a

separate number), vacant lots, and lots in areas to be developed were

also numbered. Also, two single female homeowners were included in

the numbers and discarded so that the homogeneity of the sample

could be maintained. The population and sample were thereby

restricted to male household heads owning or paying off a house in

Mount Pearl and occupying it at the time of the study. The accuracy

of the list from which the sample was selected is reflected by the

fact that one of the sample had only been living in the town one

month prior to the interview.

Of those people considered to be leaders in the town all

16 consented to the interview. Forty-six letters were sent to

residents explaining the study and asking permission for the interview.

Of these 35 were actually interviewed. Only three people refused the

interview, three had moved from the town, two were phoned four or

five times but could never be contacted, one was a labourer working on

the west coast of the island and was not at home during the time of

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[1] This figure of 2053 includes all single family dwellings,
basement apartments, business outlets, vacant lots, and planned
development areas in the town. These data were provided by the Town
Council which uses this information for taxation purposes. Of the
first 112 random numbers picked, 55 were for houses occupied by the
homeowner, 33 were for tenants in basement apartments or the main
part of the house, 20 were for vacant lots or areas under construction
and 4 were for business premises.

the interviewing, one was a travelling salesman and also wasn't home, and one was in hospital recuperating from a heavy operation.

As already mentioned, the same measuring instrument was used for both groups. While it consisted mainly of open-ended questions it also included three scales designed to measure community satisfaction, identification and integration. These scales shall be dealt with first since they best exemplify the author's conceptualizations of these variables, and the reasoning behind these pervades the entire questionnaire.

Whereas some writers have considered community satisfaction, identification, and integration to be inseparable, the present author maintains that they can be, and in this particular situation, must be extrapolated one from the other and measured individually. The necessity of this is due to the fact that a high score on one of these scales does not necessarily mean that the interviewee will score highly on either of the others. This is made very clear by the example of a close friend of the author's who was residing in Mount Pearl after having lived most of his life in St. John's. He and his wife were overjoyed about their home and pretty garden in the town and would undoubtedly have scored quite highly on a community satisfaction index. However, apart from the house they had no association whatsoever with the town or the people in it--both worked in St. John's, belonged to clubs in St. John's, and shopped in St. John's. They clearly were not integrated into the town. And neither did they identify with it, for to them Mount Pearl was really just a sub-division on the edge of the city.

We also feel that integration and identification can be separated. Integration is considered here to be a behavioral phenomenon and it was measured in terms of the amount of activity which the person engaged in within the town itself. Thus, scale items probed such factors as did he belong to clubs in Mount Pearl, did he know the other people on his street, and did his children go to school in St. John's or Mount Pearl. Identification was considered to be the "we-they" phenomena where the individual thinks of himself as belonging to a group distinct from another group. In this particular case the items in the scale were designed to measure the extent to which the interviewee felt Mount Pearl to be distinct from St. John's. It was, then, considered to be a psychological or attitudinal phenomenon.

The three scales contained a combined total of 39 items each given as a statement with which the interviewee was asked to agree or disagree on a five-point scale. There were 20 positive and 19 negative items so that the items would be counterbalanced. Also the three scales were combined and all the items put in a random order for presentation to the interviewee.

The satisfaction scale contained a total of 22 items. Of these, 18 were borrowed from Davies (1945), and of these 18, eight were validated by Schulze (1963). It also contained two items from a Time Magazine poll (Time; March 15, 1971:16-22) and two items developed by the present author. The integration scale contained 10 items, and the identification scale consisted of seven items. For both these scales all items were developed by the present author.

This was also the case with the major part of the questionnaire. While it consisted mainly of open-ended questions it also had some straight factual ones. These latter were mainly concerned with socio-economic status, the community of origin of the interviewee, migration patterns, and female participation. The open-ended questions probed into the interviewee's reasons for moving to Mount Pearl, his assessment of the town's facilities, how he would compare life in Mount Pearl to life in his community of origin and to life in St. John's, what he thought the people in the town were like, what social life went on in the town, and whether or not he felt that Mount Pearl is a community distinct from St. John's.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the conceptual framework within which we shall examine Mount Pearl. From Lindemann, Martindale and Warren we have been able to form a basis for our conception of community. The emphasis in the definition of community was shifted from geographical, spatial criteria to that of the individual interacting within diverse social groupings. It was concluded that any aggregation of people is a community as an ideal type when it satisfies all the needs of its individual members and has achieved stabilization, consistency, and closure. As we stipulated, this is an ideal type and it is realized that most communities can only approximate providing a complete way of life for all their residents. However, to be a community in any sense it must provide a 'framework of living' for its members.

When we examined the suburban community in terms of our conception of community it was found that the extent to which a suburb is a community is contingent upon many factors. These include the amount of industry within the suburb, the size of the suburb, the age of the suburb, and the number of facilities which it has. Some of these factors were evident as we tested the work of Gans and Berger against our framework.

The studies which these two writers did were also essential in deriving some of the hypotheses for our Mount Pearl case. But the main hypothesis, that Mount Pearl is not a community, was largely derived from an examination of Chapter 1, the history of Mount Pearl and the town as it is today, in terms of our theory of community as set forth in this chapter.

The suburban community must be considered within the general community framework to find the extent to which it does provide a complete way of life for its residents. This is what we shall do with Mount Pearl based on the interviews with its residents. Our primary concern will be to determine what, for the people of Mount Pearl, is their effective community or communities?

CHAPTER 3

THE SAMPLE: GENERAL POPULATION AND LEADERS

Mount Pearl came into being as a result of the general
pattern of rural to urban migration going on in Newfoundland since
World War II; and also as a result of the movement of people out of
St. John's to obtain cheaper housing on the outskirts of that city.
This was the case that Chapter 1 presented and we shall deal with
this first in our examination of the general population of Mount Pearl.

Of the 35 people included in the random sample of the
general population, 20 were born in outport communities, 11 were born
in St. John's, three were born in small communities within the
immediate St. John's area, and one was born in England. Fifteen of
the twenty born in outport communities actually grew up in them,
while four grew up in St. John's, and one in Mount Pearl itself. All
11 born in St. John's grew up in the city, and the three born in
smaller communities in the immediate St. John's area as well as the
one born in urban England, all grew up in their community of birth.
Thus, overall 15 grew up in outport communities, 15 in St. John's,
four in the immediate St. John's area, and one in urban England. For
purposes of analysis the division shall be 15 with outport backgrounds
and 20 with urban backgrounds.

Although the question was not asked, 10 of the 15 who grew
up in St. John's indicated which area of the city they came from. While
one would appear to be lower middle class, nine of the 10 were obviously

from low class and working class areas characterized by row housing

and in some cases clearly slum housing. For those five who did not

mention which area of the city they came from a check of their father's

education and occupation showed them to have lower and working class

backgrounds. Their occupations included a carpenter, seaman, clerk,

bartender, and mechanic.

In fact, if one examines the education and occupations for

the fathers of both those with urban backgrounds, and those with

outport backgrounds, the low class and working origins of these people

are immediately apparent. Of the 15 growing up in the outports, 7 of

their fathers were fishermen, two were blacksmiths, one a woodsman,

one a carpenter, one a sailor, one a clergyman, one a teacher, and

one a sick pensioner. Two of the fathers had finished high school,

10 had only elementary education, and three had no education

whatsoever. Thus, for most of them their work was seasonal and not

highly skilled.

The situation was much the same for those categorized as

having an urban background although the occupations of the fathers

were more diversified. The father of one was an engineer, two were

policemen, three were unskilled government employees, one a church

dean, and the remaining 13 were unskilled and semi-skilled workers,

including among their number a factory worker, a clerk, a seaman, and

a stationary engineer. One did not know his father so the data was

not available. Only three of the fathers had completed high school

and two of these had some university education. Six had no formal

education whatsoever, one had some high school but never completed it,

and the remaining eight had only elementary education. It is apparent

that for both groups of people comprising the general population of
Mount Pearl their socio-economic backgrounds are highly similar.
While this supports some of our claims about the beginning of Mount
Pearl, and its continuing growth, the most important consideration
is an examination of these variables for those now living in Mount
Pearl.

Initial indications are that the sample as a whole has
a higher educational level than their fathers. One completed a
university degree (the son of one of the clergymen before mentioned),
one graduated from a technical college, two completed high school
plus one year at the Trades College, 13 completed high school, six
completed the penultimate year of high school, eight completed
eight or nine years schooling, four completed five to seven years
schooling, and none had less than five years. When the sample is
divided on the urban-rural basis it results in a fairly equal
distribution of education for both groups. For example, the lowest
formal education received by any member of the sample with an urban
background was six years, and for any member with an outport
background it was five years. Similarly the median education for
those with an urban background was high school completion, and for
those with a rural background it was completion of the penultimate
year of high school plus a part of the final year.

Occupationally the sample does not show the same job
instability as did their fathers, and most seem to have generally
better jobs. As was the case with education, types of occupations
are fairly equally distributed between those with an urban background
and those with an outport background, and there are no apparent

differences between the occupational distributions for the two groups.

It would be unwise to make broad generalizations to the effect that this sample is more upwardly mobile or of a higher class than their fathers for we have set Mount Pearl in a context of rapid development. Because of the context in which it has grown it is difficult to compare the primitive economic system of Newfoundland's outports of 25 years ago, or even of St. John's at that time, to that of urbanized and industrialized St. John's today. Given the rapid development our sample would probably occupy about the same position relative to the rest of the population as did their parents. What we may have here is a situation with parallels to that studied by Berger (1960), and we, too, must consider the possibility of this not being so much upward social mobility as the phenomenon of a whole strata of society raising itself to a new level of domestic comfort.

Mount Pearl was earlier depicted as consisting of a generally young population in comparison to St. John's and Newfoundland as a whole. The mean age of the male householders in this sample of the general population is 38.7 years. However, it is apparent that the mean was being raised by the presence of a 69 year old and a 75 year old. The median age for the sample is 35 years and possibly is a more accurate indicator of the age distribution of the general population. Only six of the 35 were greater than 49 years of age. It would appear, then, that Mount Pearl is still mainly populated by young families.

The people in the sample have been living in Mount Pearl an average of 7.3 years. However, it was found that the mean was

higher than the median of six years residence, being raised by the inclusion of several long term residents.

Dividing the sample on the basis of 'length of residence' and 'community where grew up' (see Table 8) shows that urban and outport people have been settling in Mount Pearl in almost equal proportion over the years. For those residing there for less than six years, more grew up in St. John's and area but the difference does not prove significant for a sample of this size.

A distribution by religious denomination shows the United Church to be the most popular with 12 of the 35 (34.3 percent) affiliated with that church, followed by the Roman Catholic Church with 10 of 35 (28.6 percent), the Anglican Church with 9 of 35 (25.7 percent), and the Salvation Army with 3 of 35 (8.6 percent); and one person claimed to have no affiliation with any church. In the 1961 census the Anglican and the United Churches were over-represented and the Roman Catholic under-represented. In our sample only the United Church is over-represented for the percentage of the population of Newfoundland as a whole belonging to that denomination. The extent to which our figures on religious denomination are representative of Mount Pearl is uncertain since no count of the religious distribution has been made since the 1961 census, and as already mentioned the town's population has more than doubled since then. Moreover, the church records within the town could not be of help since they do not take into account those people who retain their affiliation with a church outside the town itself.

TABLE 8

GENERAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY WHERE
GREW UP AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AS GREATER
OR LESS THAN MEDIAN OF 6 YEARS

	Less Than 6 Years Residence	Six Years or More Residence
Outport	6	9
St. John's and Area	10	9
Other	-	1 (urban)

The examination of the general population in terms of these variables has served several purposes:

(1) to establish the pattern of settlement in Mount Pearl and the origins of the people settling there as either of outport or lower class St. John's backgrounds as suggested in our introductory chapter.

(2) to provide a general picture of the population of the town since none of these basic data have been gathered since 1961 and the population has more than doubled since then;

(3) to compare respondents and fathers on occupation and education suggesting that we have a similar situation to Berger (1960); and

(4) to establish a base in terms of which to examine those categorized as leaders as either representative or non-representative of the general population of Mount Pearl.

Before examining those people included in the category of leaders on these variables it should be explained how they were selected. One question asked of each respondent in the sample of the general population was "Who are the people you consider to be community leaders?" The question allowed the respondent to name people in any sphere of life in the town--council, school, church, or business.

The answers to the question were somewhat astounding. Twenty-three of the 35 respondents could not name anyone in the town whom they considered to be community leaders or who might be considered as such by others in the town. Many of the responses were of the type "Not that I've heard of," or as another respondent phrased it, "I don't know anybody proved themselves in that way," or yet another, "There's

no one that I've seen any action from or participation." Further
this lack of knowledge of community leaders can not be attributed to
a short length of residence. The mean number of years in the town
of this group is 8.4 years and the median length of residence is 9
years.

However, a factor which does prove significant in
deciding whether or not the respondent can or can not name community
leaders is whether he is among those categorized as having an urban
background or an outport one. A chi square (see Table 9) done to test
this proves to be significant at better than the .05 level in favour
of those with outport backgrounds naming leaders.

This will prove a significant factor in a later analysis
of community integration and identification. It may be interpreted
as indicative of the fact that former residents of St. John's have
not integrated as much into the town of Mount Pearl as have former
residents of outport communities. Or conversely, it may suggest that
St. John's still provides the "framework of living" for its former
residents.

Five of the 35 respondents named clubs such as the Lions
and Kinsmen as providing leadership in the town and two more named
one of the presidents of these clubs as a leader. As one respondent
said, [It's] all done more or less with the groups and clubs." Nine
of the 35 respondents named one or more of the councillors (mayor
included) as community leaders. As one informant said, "There's no
one stands out to my mind other than the council."

Given such responses, it was impossible to select leaders by
the reputational method as originally planned. Instead it was decided

TABLE 9

NAMING AND NOT NAMING OF LEADERS ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY WHERE RESPONDENT GREW UP

	Named Leaders	Did Not Name Leaders
Outport	8	7
Urban	4	16

chi square   = 4.23
df   = 1
chi square (.05) = 3.84
chi square (.02) = 5.41

that the sample of leaders in the community would be selected from
those holding key positions in prominent community organizations.
As the council was most frequently mentioned, we decided to interview
as many members of the town council as possible. To this was added
the leaders of the main clubs and organizations in Mount Pearl.
These two groups ultimately accounted for 10 of the 16 people
interviewed in the leader group.

During the course of interviewing our sample of the
general population six other people were frequently mentioned as
having some influence in the community or contributing to it in some
way. They were not mentioned as leaders, but rather their names
appeared in the respondent's answer to another question. For example,
when asked the question "How good are the educational facilities in
Mount Pearl?" the respondent might reply that a certain person is
highly qualified to be running a school and really contributing to
the town in that respect. Or again, the same thing happened in
respect to the town's recreation committee, two of its churches, and
two other people working within the town. Each of these persons was
mentioned from three to five times. While these six people were not
specifically mentioned as community leaders they were otherwise
mentioned as being significant persons within the town. This then,
made a total of 16 persons who were interviewed as community leaders.

When the leaders were interviewed they were also asked
to name the people whom they considered to be community leaders.
Thirteen of the 16 named other people while two simply named the
"council," and one could not name anyone he considered to be a leader.

The council and/or members of it were the most frequently mentioned with all but two people referring to it. Clergymen and club leaders were also frequently named. Overall each of the 16 people included in our leader category were referred to at least twice while two were each named seven times, one was named six times, and two were each named four times. Four people were not named as individuals but as members of the council they had collectively received nine votes. Only four people not included in our sixteen were named, and each of these was only named once. Thus, even after interviewing the original sixteen no other people had been named frequently enough to warrant inclusion in the leader group.

These 16 leaders were first examined in terms of the same variables as were the general population: the community where they grew up, father's education and occupation, their own education and occupation, age and length of residence, and religious denomination.

Thirteen of the 16 leaders were born in Newfoundland outports, and 10 of these actually grew up in these communities. Two of the 13 grew up in St. John's having moved there when they were two and three years of age, and one grew up in a city in another Atlantic province after having lived the first eight years of his life in a Newfoundland outport. Only three were born in St. John's and of these two grew up in that city and one moved to Mount Pearl at an early age with his family.

Seven of the 16 leaders were the sons of craftsmen such as carpenters, stone masons, and ship builders, and five were the sons of fishermen. Two were the sons of the general merchants in the

communities where they grew up, and as was mentioned earlier, this was a powerful position. Only two of the leaders were the sons of unskilled workers.

Educationally, only two of the fathers had completed high school, three had completed the penultimate year of high school, eight had from four to nine years education, and two interviewees were unsure of their fathers' education as they had died when the respondents were young.

An examination of the 16 leaders themselves revealed that five of the 16 were employed at clerical and office manager type work, four were employed in the education profession, three were self-employed, two were clergy, one was a salesman, and one a foreman.

As occurred with the sample of the general population those included in the leader category had a generally higher level of education than did their parents. Seven of the sixteen had graduated from universities, seven had finished high school and the remaining two had completed the penultimate year of high school.

When we examine the leaders on the basis of age we find that the mean age is 42.4 years, and the median age is 43 years. Thus they can not be said to be representative of what is generally a young population (median age of the general population is 35 years). The mean length of residence of the leaders was 12.3 years and the median 12.5 years. Again they do not appear to be representative of a community which has more than doubled its population in the last 10 years.

When the leaders are divided on the basis of length of residence and community where they grew up, as urban or rural, we find that for the eight leaders there more than 12.5 years, four came from urban backgrounds and four from outport backgrounds. However, for the eight leaders there less than the 12.5 years, six came from outport backgrounds and two from urban backgrounds. This seems ironical since the data on the general population suggest that people from both urban and rural backgrounds have been settling in Mount Pearl in fairly equal proportions over the years.

In Chapter 1 the statistics on religious denominations in Mount Pearl (1961) showed the Anglican Church to be the largest one in the town. When the leaders are divided on the basis of religious denomination eight of the 16 are affiliated with the Anglican Church. Five of the leaders are affiliated with the United Church, one with the Roman Catholic Church, and two with two smaller religious groups within the town. Yet our data on the general population suggest that the Anglican Church may no longer be the largest denomination within the town, and those affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church are certainly more numerous than is reflected by the one, out of the 16 leaders, that is affiliated with it. Thus it would appear that the leaders are not representative of the general population in regards to religious denominations.

The extent to which the leaders are representative of the general population of Mount Pearl is a major concern of this chapter. In Table 10, leaders and general population are compared on the basis of the community where they grew up as either an outport community, St. John's, Mount Pearl itself, smaller communities in the immediate

St. John's area, or other (in this case both had urban backgrounds).
When this was collapsed to simply rural and urban, a chi square test
showed there to be a higher proportion of leaders from outport
communities than would be expected merely by the proportion of the
population which they comprise. Omitting the one leader and the
one member of the general population who grew up outside Newfoundland
produced a yet more significant chi square. While both of these chi
square tests fell between the .10 and .20 levels of significance,
and as such are not highly significant, they do suggest that people
from an outport background have become more integrated into the town
to the extent that integration is reflected in leadership, despite
the fact that people from the outports and those from St. John's
have been settling in Mount Pearl in approximately equal proportions
over the years (see Table 8).

When the leaders are compared to the general population
in terms of the education and occupations of their fathers, there
is really little to distinguish them from the general population.
Generally, their fathers had neither higher education nor better
occupations than did the fathers of the general population, either
those with an outport background or those from St. John's.

However, when the leaders and general population are
compared on the basis of their own occupations and education, the
differences are readily apparent. The leaders are notable by
university and high school completion (see Table 11). An examination
of occupations (see Table 12) makes it evident that the leaders are
correspondingly of a higher occupational level than are the general
population.

TABLE 10

GENERAL POPULATION AND LEADERS ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY WHERE GREW UP

Community Where Grew Up

	Outports	St. John's	Mount Pearl	St. John's Area	Other
Leaders	10	4	1	-	1 (urban)
General Population	15	15	1	3	1 (urban)

When collapsed for urban-rural

    chi square   = 1.70
    df   = 1
    chi square (.10) = 2.71
    chi square (.20) = 1.64

When "other" omitted and tested only for "outports--St. John's and area"

    chi square = 2.12

The median age of the general population was earlier given as 35 years and that of the leaders as 43 years. An overall distribution of the ages for both groups is given in Table 13. The median length of residence of the general population was given as six years and that of the leaders as 12 years. In Table 14 we have the distributions of length of residence for both these groups. These tables along with the already mentioned differences in religious denomination illustrate yet more ways in which the leaders of Mount Pearl are not representative of the general population of the town.

Conclusions and Implications

This chapter has verified that, based on our sample, Mount Pearl does indeed consist of a mixture of people from the outports of Newfoundland and mainly lower class and working class people moving from St. John's. The socio-economic backgrounds for the leaders and both of the sub-groups in the general population are very similar. But where the general population would appear to be roughly at the same strata of society as were their parents, given the rapid economic expansion of Newfoundland over a short time, the leaders have far excelled their fathers in education and occupation. It is clear that they are not representative of the general population in these respects nor in terms of age, length of residence in the town, or religious denomination.

Apart from giving a general picture of the population and leaders in the Town of Mount Pearl the data have given rise to two important implications for our theoretical framework and are

TABLE 11

EDUCATION OF LEADERS AND SAMPLE OF GENERAL POPULATION

	Total	University Completion	Completed High School	Some High School	Junior High School	Elementary
Leaders	16	7	7	2	-	-
General Population	35	2	15	6	9	3

TABLE 12

OCCUPATIONS OF GENERAL POPULATION AND LEADERS

Occupation	General Population	Leaders
Teaching	2	4
Clergy	–	2
Self-Employed	3	3
Clerical and Office Management	–	5
Foremen, Supervisors	8	1
Skilled Technicians	2	–
Police, Firemen	2	–
Salesmen	1	1
Craftsmen	10	–
Semi-skilled	1	–
Unskilled	4	–
Retired	2	–
Totals	35	16

suggestive of further hypotheses to be tested in the following chapters. Firstly, in trying to find out who the leaders are in the town a highly significant difference was found between people with an outport background and people with an urban background in the naming or not naming of people who they considered to be community leaders. If a high level of knowledge is associated with orientation to the community (cf. Sykes, 1951:382) then this is a possible indicator of community integration. It would suggest that people from the outports of Newfoundland may become more integrated into Mount Pearl as a community than do people from St. John's. Following from this is the question whether or not the people from St. John's still make the city their community, as indicated by their lack of community knowledge. These questions have not been conclusively answered and will be considered later in the light of other indicators of community identification and integration.

Secondly, in the same vein, it was found that people from an outport background are represented in the leader category out of proportion to that portion of the population which they comprise. While the test of this was not highly significant it does complement the above finding concerning the naming and not naming of leaders. Once again it suggests that outport people have integrated more readily into Mount Pearl as a community than have former residents of St. John's.

Thus this chapter not only presents a general picture of the population of Mount Pearl and its leaders but it suggests new hypotheses concerning the differential integration of former outport

TABLE 13

LEADERS AND GENERAL POPULATION BY AGE GROUPINGS

	Total	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	71-75
Leaders	16	1	2	1	2	4	3	2	–	1	–	–
General Population	35	2	7	9	5	3	3	4	–	–	1	1

TABLE 14

LEADERS AND GENERAL POPULATION BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Years	0-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-18	19-21
Leaders	1	1	3	3	5	0	3
General Population	12	7	6	4	1	2	3

and former St. John's residents into Mount Pearl as a community. As such it has ramifications for our theory of community as a total framework for living. With these differences in mind we can now turn to an examination of the attitudes of the leaders and both sub-groups of the general population toward the community.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY SATISFACTION

It has been suggested that people with an outport
background may integrate more readily into Mount Pearl than do former
residents of St. John's. This hypothesis is based on (1) the fact
that the people included in our sample of the general population and
having an outport background, named leaders in the town significantly
more frequently than did those former residents of St. John's; and
(2) the fact that the people included in the leader category highly
over represent the outport population of Mount Pearl. Both of these
suggest, then, that Mount Pearl may provide a more complete framework
of living for former outport residents than for former St. John's
residents.

Further analysis must include a comparison of the attitudes
of the leaders and of the sample of the general population as a whole
toward the community; and also a comparison of the two main sub-groups
of the sample of the general population. The analysis will be of
three main dimensions: (1) community satisfaction, (2) integration
into the community, and (3) identification with the community.
Open-ended questions, attitude scales, and community knowledge questions
will provide the data for analysis.

The open-ended questions, community knowledge questions,
and attitude scales were designed to gather information from each
respondent regarding his satisfaction with Mount Pearl, the extent of

his integration into Mount Pearl as a community, and his identification with Mount Pearl as his community. Each of these three variables was investigated by both open-ended questions and attitude scales, while community knowledge questions were used as indices of both community integration and identification with the community, or more generally as indicators of community orientation.

The questions used as indices of these variables focused on as many areas of life as possible: shopping, organizational participation, schooling, religion, things liked and things disliked about the town, visiting and neighbourliness, recreation and social, entertainment, the people themselves, local politics, and whether or not the respondent felt Mount Pearl to be a community distinct from St. John's. The community knowledge question quizzed the respondent on the numbers of schools and churches in the town, the members of the council, the year in which the town became incorporated, the leaders of the local clubs, and the population of the town.

Many of the open-ended questions were possible indicators of more than one of the variables. For example, the question concerning shopping and shopping facilities served as an indicator of both integration, that is whether or not the respondent shopped within the town; and satisfaction, that is whether or not the respondent felt the shopping facilities were adequate for the needs of the town. Or, for example, the question concerning educational facilities could serve as an indicator of integration, whether or not the children attended school in St. John's, and satisfaction, whether the respondent felt the town's educational facilities to be inferior to the city's.

These three dimensions will each be examined in depth but in this chapter our focus will be on community satisfaction. Integration into the town will be examined in Chapter 5, and identification with the town in Chapter 6.

The dimension of satisfaction was measured by questions designed to cover as many areas of life in the town as possible. More specifically the questions designed to measure community satisfaction were:

23. (ii)   How would you describe shopping facilities in Mount Pearl?

25. (iii)   Do you think that educational facilities in Mount Pearl are adequate?

29. (i)   What are the things you like about living in Mount Pearl?

30. (i)   What are the things you dislike about living in Mount Pearl?

32.   What are the people in Mount Pearl like?

35. (ii)   How effective is the town council?

    (iii)   What sort of things have they done for the people of Mount Pearl?

As can be seen these questions were varied and wide enough that the respondent could express his satisfaction or dissatisfaction on a variety of topics concerning the town and life in it.

A twenty-two item satisfaction scale was also used. For each of the items the respondent was asked whether he would agree or disagree with a statement read by the interviewer. If he agreed he was asked to indicate whether he felt strongly or moderately about it, and likewise if he disagreed. There was also a middle category thus giving a five-point scale, and a score of five was given for strongly

agreeing with an item favourable to the town while a score of one was given for strongly agreeing with an item unfavourable to the town.

Eight of the twenty-two items on the satisfaction scale were taken from Davies (1945), who used them as part of a larger scale dealing with the measurement of community satisfaction, and had been validated by Schulze (1963). These eight items were:

(2)   It is difficult for the people living here to get together on anything.

(4)   No one living here seems to care how the community looks.

(7)   With few exceptions the leaders are capable and hard working.

(8)   There are not many families you would care to marry into.

(16)   The community is not located in a desirable place.

(19)   The future of the community looks bright.

(27)   It will never seem like home to me.

(33)   Not much can be said in favour of a place this size.

A further 10 items were also taken from the work of Davies (1945) but no record could be found of their having been validated by anyone else. These 10 items included:

(5)   No one here need lack for things to do.

(14)   Almost everyone here is polite and courteous.

(17)   One can buy things at a reasonable price in [Mount Pearl].

(20)   The people of [Mount Pearl] have to do without a good many conveniences.

(21)   Everyone living in [Mount Pearl] helps to decide how things should be run.

(22)   Quite a number of residents from here have really amounted to something.

(23)   The community has to put up with poor school facilities.

(26) A person has to leave town in order to have a good time.

(30) Real friends are hard to find in [Mount Pearl].

(35) The town is seldom troubled with noise and disorder.

Also, two items were taken from a recent Time Magazine article (March 15, 1971) on suburbia. They were:

(38) Many people really enjoy living in the community.

(39) There is a strong sense of neighborliness in the community.

According to TIME, a survey of 100 suburbs carried out by a major American pollster revealed that 74 percent of the respondents agreed with the first of these and 67 percent with the latter.

Two items were designed by the present author to measure satisfaction taking into consideration the proximity of Mount Pearl to St. John's and its great dependence upon it. They were:

(12) I would rather live in St. John's than Mount Pearl.

(24) I don't feel as if Mount Pearl were a real community.

Thus, except for these two items the major part of the satisfaction scale had been used previously.

Analysis of Open-ended Questions

Our analysis of community satisfaction shall largely follow the order already established in this chapter. That is, the open-ended questions dealing with community satisfaction shall be analyzed first, and from there we shall move into an analysis of the scales. Generally, an analysis will be made of each of the individual questions, contrasting the responses of the leaders and the sample of the general population, and also of the two main sub-groups of the sample, those growing up in outports and those growing up in St. John's.

<u>Satisfaction with Public Services and the Town Council</u>:

One factor in determining the degree of the individual's
satisfaction with his community is the adequacy or inadequacy of the
community's shopping facilities. However, even a seemingly simple
issue such as this becomes complicated in the light of varying
criteria by which they are judged. Are they to be judged in terms of
those available in St. John's or in terms of those available in a
more isolated town the size of Mount Pearl; or are they to be judged
on the extent to which they are able to meet the needs of the people
of Mount Pearl. Other relevant issues are whether the facilities
can meet all the needs of the people ranging from grocery to dry goods
or furniture; and could a population the size of Mount Pearl's support
more than those retail outlets already established there.

In foodstuffs Mount Pearl has a supermarket belonging to
a national chain and thus many people expressed feelings such as
"[It's] very well for groceries" or "You got the Brand Stores here,
[the] same as St. John's." In fact, of the 16 leaders only one
reported shopping regularly outside the town itself for groceries, and
of the 35 included in the sample of the general population, all but
five shopped regularly in Mount Pearl for the family's grocery needs.

However, once the people got away from groceries the
sentiments changed. Many started to report that "I don't buy any
clothing here" or "there's no place to buy a fridge or furniture" or
"you can't compare the department store in Mount Pearl with those in
St. John's." In the clothing line the town was handicapped by having
only one department store, and a five-and-ten. This resulted in there

being "not much of a selection" and people having to "go outside for the better things." Yet for a small minority the facilities were adequate for as one respondent phrased it "[We] have a supermarket, clothing store, liquor store and drug store --- all the facilities."

While the facilities were generally considered by the leaders and people to be inadequate some useful insights were turned up. For example, several respondents felt the facilities to be "comparable to any place of its size." Still another expressed the idea that being "only three or four minutes from St. John's, what we have is more than adequate." Perhaps this summarizes any conclusion to this examination of shopping facilities: even though those facilities in Mount Pearl are inadequate no one lacks for anything because anything they may want can be had within three or four minutes drive.

The leaders and sample of the general population were also questioned on the adequacy or inadequacy of the educational facilities within the town. As previously mentioned, Mount Pearl has two schools within its boundaries and one just outside them, but these schools do not include the high school grades. In order to complete their schooling the children must attend high school in St. John's.

Judging the adequacy or inadequacy of the schools in the town from the responses of the leaders and the general population, brings out an interesting contrast in orientation. The leader group is characterized by a more general community orientation in what they think are the needs of the school system within the town. Thus, although seven of the 16 feel the schools to be adequate, six of these seven refer to the shortage of and need for a high school in the town. This

lack of high school facilities is also the main complaint of those
nine who feel the schools to be inadequate, as it was mentioned by
six of the nine. The remaining 3 of the nine complained of
overcrowding and lack of recreational facilities and equipment. One
of the leaders who said they were adequate qualified it by saying that
it was "only because of the supplementary training you can get in the
city." While one of the leaders feeling the facilities to be inadequate
expressed it quite pointedly by the statement that

> if they were adequate my daughter wouldn't have to go
> to town (i.e. St. John's) to high school.

Thus, only one of the 16 leaders stated an unconditional satisfaction
with the schools in Mount Pearl.

Of the nine leaders who have or have had children attending
high school in St. John's, only four of them gave a "No" as their
response when asked whether the schools in Mount Pearl were adequate.
This might suggest a community orientation on the part of the leaders,
for even those who have not had the experience of sending their children
to high school in St. John's mentioned the need for the town to have
its own high school facilities.

When the sample of the general population were questioned
on this, 23 said that the schools were adequate, three said they were
not, and nine people did not have enough knowledge of the schools to
be able to answer the question. Only seven of the 23 answering "Yes"
mentioned the need for a high school; and of the three answering "No"
two did so because of this, and one because of the supposed inadequacy
of the teacher her son had this year; whereas "last year he had a

wonderful teacher" and had passed--a feat he evidently was bound to fall short of this year.

Many of the parents, as was earlier pointed out, were young and as such had their children just starting school. Responses such as

> From what I've seen of kindergarten and grade one I think the teachers are experts [and] have a genuine interest.

or, "the youngsters are really coming along" were not uncommon. Of the six in the sample of the general population having or having had children go to high school, four felt the educational facilities in Mount Pearl to be adequate and found that "even when they got to go to town they got buses coming here." Two had never been associated with the Mount Pearl schools but rather their "kids went to St. John's from the start." Thus it would appear that as a population consisting mainly of young families the schools in the town are adequate for their needs.

Yet, it is also possible that a form of community orientation made those leaders, who had never had experience with the children having to attend high school outside the town, bring out the need their town had for such facilities.

The final of these public service type facilities on which we questioned the leaders and general population as indicative of community satisfaction, was the town council. If not all were affected by the educational and shopping facilities within the town they certainly all were by this particular body.

All but one of the 16 leaders expressed satisfaction with the town council. To most of them it appeared that the council was

handling quite well all its duties such as water and sewage, paving the streets, street lighting, garbage collection, and snow clearing. The council was also involved in recreation to some extent, and was partially responsible for the building of the town hall-library as a centennial project.

Five of the leaders, only one of them a councillor himself, felt the council to be doing well despite the fact of their having limited resources. As one of them said

> You have to think of population, available resources, and the fact that it's voluntary work. Those fellas got to make a living and still try and run the town council.

These points were made earlier: that the council does have limited financial resources, and that it is voluntary work.

The council was also seen as having contributed to the development of the town over the years. As one leader said

> When I first built we didn't have water and sewage, we didn't have paved streets, we had no street lighting, and had no playgrounds, we had no garbage collection.

Another way in which they contributed to the town was that they "made sure that growth went ahead in an orderly fashion." Even the one leader who was dissatisfied with the council admitted that they had done some things for the town such as the establishment of the Recreation Committee and sponsoring minor league baseball. His complaint was that "there are a couple of councillors there wouldn't be missed."

The sample of the general population in evaluating the town council ranged from eloquent eulogies to flagrant condemnations of that particular body. Of the 35 in the sample of the general population 21 spoke favourably of the council, 13 spoke unfavourably of it, and

one could not comment having lived in the town just one month.

"For what they've done and how this place has grown I would say they work like hell." This was one of the more expressive favourable comments on the town council, and of the 23 favourable comments only seven could be categorized as of the superlative type. Indeed, most of the comments were of the type: "I'd say they're functioning O.K.," or "I don't think we've got any complaints with the town council." Some of the highly favourable comments mentioned the efficiency of the town council: "You can just about set your clock by the garbage collection here," or as another said

> We had a pipe broke here last year about 12 o'clock in the night and it wasn't five minutes before they were up here.

Most of the things mentioned as having been done by the town council were public work projects such as water and sewerage, paved roads, snow clearing, garbage collection, and street lighting, while a few people also mentioned their contribution to the recreational facilities in the town.

Ironically, many of the 13 negative evaluations were also on the basis of public work projects and basic services. Numerically the complaints levied against the town councillors themselves were the greatest, there being a total of six. These included: "Lousy, just plain lousy; and pass the buck; that's all they're good for," or "I don't think they got enough zest in them—a bunch of yes men"; or "Go up and make a complaint and they just laugh at you."

The fact that serving on the town council is a voluntary thing, and as such may dilute the quality of the council was expressed by three of the sample of the general population. As one said "it's

only a voluntary run by night affair" referring also to the fact that the council meetings are held during the night when its members are free of their work obligations.

Three also complained of the lack of sidewalks. Snow clearing came in for some unfavourable comment from three---

> We had to shovel ourselves right out to the main road
> last winter--lost a day's work.

Two of the respondents felt that the town council should be more active in the area of recreational facilities, and two complained of their basements flooding and their not getting quick service from the council. As one of these latter exclaimed

> If the water keeps coming in and I don't get any results
> I'm going to be forced--compelled to move out of here.

Finally, one simply complained of water and sewer services and rats resulting from poor building in the area or as he said "council was a bit laxative when these places were being built."

Five respondents saw the council as being hampered by a lack of finances. Four of these were favourable toward the council in light of this, or as one said "They can only do what money they got," or as another said

> Comparing the taxes in Mount Pearl with those in
> St. John's I'd say they're doing very good.

The others still felt that the council could do more in the way of streets and sidewalks. Although three thought that the council was poor because it consisted of voluntary workers, one felt that taking this into consideration they were quite good.

It was tested to see whether a favourable or unfavourable response toward the council was related to the community where the

respondent grew up or to length of residence in the town (see Table 15 and Table 16). Although former outport residents were generally more favourable toward the town council than were former St. John's residents the difference was not significant. However, the length of residence of the respondent in the town may be a factor in determining his attitude toward the town council. The median length of residence for those reacting unfavourably toward the town council was only three years in comparison to a median of six years for the sample of the general population as a whole. Ten of the 13 had lived in the town for four or fewer years.

Satisfaction and the Friendly People:

In Mount Pearl you "can drive along the street and pass somebody's house you know all the time." In an analysis of what it was that the leaders liked about Mount Pearl, 12 of the 16 mentioned this type of thing--or generally the friendliness of the people. The friendliness of the people in Mount Pearl is in sharp contrast to what goes on in the city where, as one respondant said,

> I lived in St. John's from 1949 to 1956 and I didn't
> know my next door neighbour.

The main reason for this friendliness is that

> The people in Mount Pearl are like outport people,
> [and it's] easier to make friends; everybody helps
> everybody else the same as in an outport.

This results in "community living more than city living" and produces "community spirit" which you can not get in St. John's because "the city is so large you can't get that." Another result is a feeling of "security because you know who's who and what's what."

TABLE 15

ATTITUDES OF THE SAMPLE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION
TOWARD THE TOWN COUNCIL[1] BY COMMUNITY
OF ORIGINS

	Community of Origins				
	Outport	St. John's	Immediate St. John's	Mount Pearl	Other
Favourable	9	7	3	1	1
Unfavourable	5	8	–	–	–

[1] N = 34; one former outport resident had been living in the town just one month and did not respond to the question.

TABLE 16

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF THOSE RESPONDING
UNFAVOURABLY TOWARD THE TOWN COUNCIL

	Years					
	-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12
Number of Respondents	5	5	1	-	-	2

The second most frequently mentioned favourable thing concerned the feeling of being in the country, and was mentioned by five of the leaders. As one respondent said "you have more freedom, freedom of space and freedom of movement," or as another said

> The air is still a little bit pure, [there are] a
> few trees around, and you can still see the birds
> fly around.

Four of the leaders named the quiet of the town as an important thing and four more considered the fact that "you're away from the traffic" of the city to be important. While being away from the congestion of the city was important, it was also an important factor to be still so near to the city. In short "you have the city amenities without living in the city." Four of the leaders expressed sentiments of this nature. Three drew comparisons between life in Mount Pearl and life in the outports in doing so. As one said

> It's got the best of two possible worlds--the urban
> city and the outport or the outharbour type of
> thing.

While the leaders singled out the people in the town as the most satisfying thing about it, the sample of the general population named the quietness of the town most frequently as one of the things they liked about living there. A total of 19 mentioned the quietness of the town, and closely related to this were two respondents who liked the fact that there is not much traffic in Mount Pearl. Common responses included "you find it relatively quiet in here," or as another respond nt said, "it's probably a bit quieter than St. John's."

The people in the town were named by 12 of the 35 respondents as helping make the community a good place to live. Common sentiments included the fact that "you know the guy next door," and you "go to the supermarket and people talk to you." While three of these 12 attributed this friendliness to the outport element in the population, all 12 agreed that the people were friendly.

The third most frequently named thing among the sample of the general population was the idea of Mount Pearl being still somewhat "in the country." Ten of the 35 respondents mentioned this with comments such as "it seems to me like you have more freedom," or "in comparison to town [i.e. St. John's] Mount Pearl gives you a little bit of the country," or still again, "parts up there not touched [yet]."

Facilities within the town were named by seven of the 35 respondents as contributing to life in the town. Those included were shopping, educational, religious, and those ordinary facilities such as sidewalks and pavement, characteristic of urban places. And of course those things which the town itself could not provide could be had in St. John's because "if you want to go to town [i.e. St. John's] it's only seven minutes." The advantage of such close proximity to the city were mentioned by five of the 35 respondents.

Finally, six of the 35 respondents considered living in Mount Pearl to be advantageous financially. As one respondent phrased it

> A guy looks after himself first and when I moved in here
> I bought this land for $1500.

Four of the respondents figured that "taxes is a bit lower than St. John's."

It is also noteworthy that three of the 35 respondents could really think of nothing that they liked about living in Mount Pearl. As one respondent phrased it, "I don't dislike it but I can't say there's anything I like," or as another said "I feel the same way as if I were living in St. John's."

Contrary to those seeing a strong outport element in the character of the town two former outport residents bemoaned what they had left behind. As one said,

> I would not like to live here when I retire; I'd rather the outport for me,

or as the other said, "I don't really like it at all--prefer the outport." One former resident of a small community within the immediate St. John's area felt that "you miss the bunch--the fellas you grew up with."

Of the three people equating life in Mount Pearl to life in the outports two were former residents of the outports and one a former resident of St. John's. In all three cases the essential element was that "you'll find the neighbours here are friendlier," and it's "similar to an outport where everybody knows everybody else."

When the leaders and sample of the general population are compared on the things they like about life in Mount Pearl the big differences would appear to be in the proportion of the leaders mentioning the people in the town as opposed to the proportion of the general population who mentioned this; the proportion of the general population mentioning the quietness of the town in comparison to the proportion of the leaders indicating the importance of it; and the number of the general population mentioning facilities and financial advantages (see Table 17).

Examining the responses of the sample of the general population by community of origins reveals that things liked are fairly evenly distributed except for those mentioning the value of quietness (see Table 18). Thirteen of the 21 are former St. John's residents. But this would seem reasonable for having grown up in a city they were probably more used to the environment being noisy [and thus more aware of any decrease of it] than were former outport residents.

The leaders and sample of the general population were also questioned as to what things they disliked about living in Mount Pearl. The most frequently mentioned things among the leaders concerned the lack of facilities within the town itself and it was mentioned a total of 13 times. Eight mentioned the lack of recreational facilities because it resulted in "shuffling children back and forth to the city," and also created the possibility that

> --if the kids got nothing to do they're going to
> find something to do--petty trouble.

Three mentioned the lack of high school facilities, while one felt the churches in the town to be too small, and one also felt that the town needed some entertainment facilities for the adults in the town.

Seven also complained that the public work facilities such as pavement and sidewalks, and in some cases water and sewage systems were not up to par. Two of the leaders had no complaints about the town except

> it's getting bigger, and the bigger towns and cities
> get the more uncivil they get---everybody gets caught
> up in the rat race.

Similarly another leader claimed that

TABLE 17

THINGS LIKED ABOUT LIFE IN MOUNT PEARL BY LEADERS
AND SAMPLE OF GENERAL POPULATION

	Leaders	Percent	General Population	Percent
People	11	68.8	12	34.3
Quietness, Less Traffic	8	50.0	21	60.0
Country Atmosphere	5	31.3	10	28.6
Nearness to the City	4	25.0	5	14.3
Facilities	–	–	7	20.0
Financial Advantages	–	–	5	14.3
Similar to outport	3	18.8	3	8.6
Nothing in Particular	–	–	3	8.6
Total =	31		66	

TABLE 18

THINGS LIKED ABOUT LIFE IN MOUNT PEARL BY COMMUNITY OF
ORIGINS OF SAMPLE OF GENERAL POPULATION

	Community of Origins				
	Outports	St. John's	Immediate St. John's	Mount Pearl	Other
People	4	7	-	-	1
Country Atmosphere	5	5	-	-	-
Quiet, and Less Traffic	7	13	-	-	1
Facilities	4	2	1	-	-
Financial Advantages	3	2	-	-	-
Nothing in Particular	1	1	1	-	-

N = 35

> The people in Mount Pearl still feel they're in
> St. John's. When I went in there first I went
> around visiting my neighbours the same as when
> I was home--but the neighbours didn't come back.

One leader felt that the town was too far from the city in that he had to go so far to his work, while yet another felt the town to be too close to the city because "the Metro board [over the whole area] is sort of city oriented."

When the sample of the general population were asked to enumerate those things which they did not like about living in Mount Pearl the largest category were those who found that what was wrong with the town was "be God nothing to tell you the truth." In fact 11 of the 35 had "no dislikes whatsoever." Six of these eleven had grown up in the outports, two in St. John's, one in a small community in the immediate St. John's area, one in Mount Pearl itself, and one in urban England. Thus a distribution by community of origins of those complaining and not complaining about some or any aspect of life in Mount Pearl suggests that former outport residents are more highly satisfied with life in the town (see Table 19). In fact a chi square test of significance on the two largest sub-groups in the sample of the general population shows the difference to be significant at better than the .10 level of significance.

Nine of the 35 respondents felt that the public works program within the town was not as good as it should be. As one respondant said "I don't like the fact that we paid for a sidewalk we don't have yet." Lack of sidewalks and pavement and occasional water and sewer problems were the main problem in the group. But closely related to it is the fact that the council itself came in

TABLE 19

DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE EXPRESSING OR NOT EXPRESSING
DISSATISFACTION WITH SOME ASPECT OF LIFE IN
MOUNT PEARL, BY COMMUNITY OF ORIGINS

	Community of Origins				
	Outports	St. John's	Immediate St. John's	Mount Pearl	Other
Satisfied	6	2	1	1	1
Dissatisfied	9	13	2	-	-

Chi square on first two columns = 2.7272

Chi square (.10) = 2.71

Chi square (.05) = 3.84

for criticism from three of the respondents. Two of these three
faced a similar problem of a deep puddle of water collecting in
front of their houses. As the more expressive of them said:

> The council tries sometimes to do things in their
> public works program----could write a book on
> that----here in front of my house they filled in
> a [drainage] ditch a couple of years ago and they've
> been ever since trying to figure out how to get rid
> of the water.

The third of the complainants lived in an area affected by a
sewage back up once or twice.

Indirectly, the council came in for further criticism by
four of the 35 for whom the tax burden was too great. As one
respondent said "the taxes are gone up [and] mine went over double
this year what it was last year," or yet another, "property taxes
are too high, water rates is definitely gone mad compared to
St. John's."

While six of the 35 respondents felt that the community
had a need for recreational facilities, one of the six also made the
point that the adults also needed something or as he said "in my
spare time I got nothing to do."

Three of the respondents felt that there was something
wrong with the rest of the people in Mount Pearl. As one former
outport resident said, "It's hard to get neighbours in here like
your own people." Another former outport resident felt that

> There are a lot of transients----houses up here have
> changed hands four or five times since we've been
> here----people transferred here with companies find
> it a bit cheaper to pick up something temporary
> here.

Another former resident of St. John's also felt the people (in Mount Pearl) to be unfriendly.

Three people also mentioned the distance to St. John's as a time consuming daily jaunt especially since all three worked in the city. In addition

if you need something that isn't available here it's about a 20 minute drive to get it.

A problem related to this especially for those who don't have a car is the fact that "the [public] transportation system is lousy," as was cited by three of the respondents.

Two of the respondents felt that the town was literally going to the dogs, or at least complained that there were too many of them roaming around. One was disturbed by "the drivers on [the parking lot across the street]" because "you never know when they're going to crash into your house." And one former outport resident expressed the sentiment that he "would probably feel better if [he] had a little more land." Finally one noted the fact that the town does not have a mail delivery service.

A comparison of things disliked about living in the town by the leaders and the sample of the general population would seem to indicate that the leaders may have a general community orientation in their concerns about life in the town (see Table 20). This would seem to be suggested by the proportion of leaders mentioning the town's needs for recreational and high school facilities, and better public works programs. This point was previously brought out in the examination of the adequacy of the educational facilities within the town.

A distribution of those things disliked by the sample of the general population by community of origins (see Table 21) shows the former residents of St. John's to be the most vocal. This is particularly true in the area of public works, taxes and council, distance from St. John's and public transportation.

The People:

The final open-ended question used as an indicator of community satisfaction is that asking the leaders and sample of the general population what the people in Mount Pearl are like. Although we have already talked considerably about the people in Mount Pearl it was in an examination of the question, "What are the things you like about living in Mount Pearl?" In responding to that question many of the leaders and some of the general population mentioned the people of the town. Thus, the "people of the town" were brought into the interview by the respondents at that point. The present question directly questions all the respondents about the people of the town.

The people of Mount Pearl are chiefly characterized by their friendliness and good neighbourliness. The friendliness of the people in the town was mentioned by seven of the 16 leaders in their description of the people in the town. For at least two of these seven it was attributable to the outport origins of many of the residents and prompted comments of the sort

> the people I know, and that's quite a few, they're
> an excellent type people--friendly, obliging, and
> neighbourly. Most of them are typical outport
> Newfoundlanders.

However, another leader, noting the outport origin of many of the

TABLE 20

THINGS DISLIKED ABOUT THE TOWN BY LEADERS AND SAMPLE
OF THE GENERAL POPULATION

	Leaders	General Population
Public Works	7	9
Taxes	–	4
Council	–	3
Lack of Recreational Facilities	9	6
Lack of high school	3	–
People in the Town	1	3
Distance from St. John's	1	3
Closeness to St. John's	1	–
Transportation System	–	3
Dogs	–	2
Growing Too Much	2	–
Lack of Open Spaces	–	1
Not Quiet	–	1
No Mail Delivery	–	1
Nothing at all	–	11
Total =	24	47

TABLE 21

DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR THINGS DISLIKED IN MOUNT PEARL BY
SAMPLE OF GENERAL POPULATION BY
COMMUNITY OF ORIGINS

	Community of Origins				
	Outports	St. John's	Immediate St. John's	Mount Pearl	Other
Public Works	3	5	–	–	–
Taxes	1	3	–	–	–
Council	–	3	–	–	–
Recreational Facilities	3	2	1	–	–
People	2	1	–	–	–
Distance from City	–	3	–	–	–
Transportation System	–	2	1	–	–
Dogs	2	–	–	–	–
Nothing at All	6	2	1	1	1

residents expressed the opinion that this led some to be clannish and "socialize together."

Three of the leaders thought the people of the town to be anti-social. Thus one of the leaders having a difficult time in formulating his thoughts on this matter decided that "there's a word for it---they're not social" or yet another felt that "it's difficult to get their confidence."

To four of the leaders the people in Mount Pearl were "like people anywhere else---you get all kinds." This would seem to be contradictory to two of the leaders who felt there to be a great homogeneity among the population of the town. As such "everyone is of the same class; there are no rich people or no poor people." To elaborate further on this another described them as "a sort of middle class people." Yet another felt them to be a very heterogeneous group of people presenting

> a very good cross-section [with] a fair number of
> people from St. John's and also a considerable
> number who have come from outports.

Tonnies would feel proud of three of the leaders who like himself were witnessing the destruction of the Gemeinschaft in face of the influx of urban folks, and the acquisition of urban characteristics. As one leader said

> Since the town has grown it has taken on a sort of
> city atmosphere--congestion--not so much closeness.

This loss of closeness is because of "the newer people [who] would be more city people." As another leader said,

> Before the last four or five years ago [I] knew
> everyone by first name--newer type from St. John's
> seem not even on good terms with their neighbours.

Contrary to this two of the leaders still felt Mount
Pearl to be a recluse from city life. As one said

> they're not like the people in the city where you
> live on a street for 20 years and not get on with
> your neighbour,

or as the other said, "they're fairly closer than in the city."

Mentioned once each were the ideas that they are a young
group of people; that they are community minded at least as illustrated
by their interest in the schools; and, also, that they are not community
minded as displayed by their lack of support of one of the community
service clubs.

The response made by 25 of the 35 included in our sample
of the general population may be categorized as indicating the
population of Mount Pearl to be a friendly, neighbourly type people.
This, however, must not be accepted at face value since 8 of the 25
also indicated that "while we don't know that many really, they seem
to be a friendly type person." The fact that they don't know many
people does not appear to be related to community of origin or length
of residence. Four of these eight had outport backgrounds and four
had urban backgrounds; one had lived in the town just seven months
but two had lived there three years, one eleven and one-half years,
one 12 years, two had been there 16 years, and one 19 years.

Five people, including two of these describing the town
as friendly, indicated that the people of Mount Pearl, "are not too
bad a people, [because they] ain't had no trouble [with them] anyway."
For these five the important aspect of their friendliness was the
fact that they "never had no run ins."

For five of those twenty-five describing the people of
Mount Pearl as friendly it was attributable to the fact that "most
of them are from the bay anyway." One felt so strongly about this
that he estimated

> probably 90 percent of the people here are outport
> people--they all seems to be friendly enough.

The fact that four of these grew up in the outports and the other one
of them lived the first 11 years of his life in an outport before
moving to Mount Pearl with his family would seem to be a relevant
fact. Their perception of the town as consisting almost entirely of
former outport residents would seem to indicate that perhaps there
is a certain degree of clannishness among some of the former outport
peoples, as was mentioned by one of the community leaders.

Four of the sample of the general population felt that
the people of the town were anti-social. As one respondant said:

> It seems to me like everybody keeps to themselves
> ---only a place to sleep and eat and come and go.
> [The man across the street]---seen him several
> times---never says a word. People up here two
> houses--see in the yard all summer---never says a word
> ---don't seem to mix very much.

Three of these four were former St. John's residents and had lived in
Mount Pearl one year, 12 years and 19 years. The other was a former
outport resident and had lived in the town just one year.

Three of the respondents felt the people of Mount Pearl
to be just average people. As one said:

> I don't see much difference here in regard to people
> than out in St. John's. You have your friends,
> groups---. There's people on the street I've never
> seen.

Another of these felt that they were average but

> not like around the bay where if they see you doing
> something they come along and next thing you know
> they got a hammer in their hand.

All three of these were former residents of St. John's.

Two of the respondents felt the people of Mount Pearl to be homogeneous. For one the homogeneity was in terms of class:

> Appears to me that everybody around seems to be on the
> same wage scale, have the same problem, haven't got
> that much problem to keep up with the Joneses.

For the other it was the fact that

> Everyone is just moved in here and they got as much
> to do as I have.

But two of the respondents felt that the population was not homogeneous and because "They're from all over Newfoundland--it's not easy to get a characteristic of them all."

Additional ideas mentioned once each were that the people are status seekers who move to Mount Pearl because "It's better to be a big fish in a small pool rather than a small fish in a big pool"; that the people are getting city-like; and that they are community minded. One former resident of St. John's could not answer this question because, although he had lived in the town two years, he did not associate with anyone in it; and one former outport resident who had been living there just one month did not feel qualified to appraise the people of the town.

It is difficult to contrast the leaders and the sample of the general population on how they describe the people of Mount Pearl (see Table 22). Although a much higher proportion of the general population described the people as "friendly" we can not consider this significant. That is because many of the general

population qualified their description with statements such as "we don't really know that many of them," or "we ain't had no trouble with them."

However, when the sample of the general population is sub-divided on the basis of community of origins a trend is evident (see Table 23). It would seem that former outport residents are more favourable toward the people of Mount Pearl than are former St. John's residents.

Satisfaction Scale

An examination of the mean scores on the satisfaction scale by the leaders and the sample of the general population shows the leaders to have generally higher scores than do the sample of the general population (see Table 24). Overall the mean satisfaction score of the leaders is 4.38, as opposed to a mean of 4.15 for the sample of the general population. A t-test showed the difference to be significant at better than the .05 level of significance.

At several points throughout this chapter it was suggested that former outport residents may be more satisfied with life in Mount Pearl than are former St. John's residents. However, a test of the significance of the difference between the means of these two groups on the satisfaction scale does not prove significant.

Yet, when the leaders were contrasted against each of these two groups individually there was a difference.[1] A t-test of

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[1] For both comparisons degrees of freedom = 29; t(.10) = 1.311; t(.05) = 1.699.

TABLE 22

THE PEOPLE IN MOUNT PEARL AS DESCRIBED BY LEADERS
AND SAMPLE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION

	Leaders	General Population
Friendly	7	25
Anti-social	3	4
Homogeneous	2	2
Heterogeneous	1	2
Average	4	3
Growing City Like	3	1
Outport People	3	5
Not Like Outport People	–	1
Community Minded	1	1
Not Community Minded	1	–
Young	1	–
Status Seekers	–	1

N for leaders = 16

N for general population = 33

TABLE 23

THE PEOPLE OF MOUNT PEARL AS DESCRIBED BY SAMPLE
OF THE GENERAL POPULATION: BY COMMUNITY
OF ORIGINS

	Community of Origins				
	Outports	St. John's	Immediate St. John's	Mount Pearl	Other
Friendly	12	9	2	1	1
Anti-social	1	3	–	–	–
Homogeneous	1	1	–	–	–
Heterogeneous	–	1	1	–	–
Average	–	3	–	–	–
Growing Like City	–	–	–	1	–
Outport People	4	–	–	1	–
Not Like Outport People	–	1	–	–	–
Community Minded	1	–	–	–	–
Status Seekers	1	–	–	–	–

N = 33

TABLE 24

MEAN SCORES ON SATISFACTION SCALE BY LEADERS AND
SAMPLE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION

	Leaders	General Population
4.80 – 4.99	1	2
4.60 – 4.79	4	2
4.40 – 4.59	1	11
4.20 – 4.39	4	4
4.00 – 4.19	5	4
3.80 – 3.99	1	4
3.60 – 3.79	–	3
3.40 – 3.59	–	3
3.20 – 3.39	–	–
3.00 – 3.19	–	1
2.80 – 2.99	–	1
N =	16	35

the significance of the difference between means for the leaders and former St. John's residents proved significant at better than the .10 level of significance (t = 1.5727). But a t-test of the difference between means for the leaders and former outport residents fell short of this .10 level of significance (t = 1.2857). This would seem to complement those previous indications that former outport residents are more satisfied with life in Mount Pearl than are former St. John's residents. Also, it means that the leaders more highly resemble the former outport residents than they do former St. John's residents in their satisfaction with the town.

When we compare the mean responses by the leaders and the sample of the general population or individual items in the satisfaction scale there appear to be certain key items discriminating between the two groups (see Table 25). For example on Item 7

> With few exceptions the leaders are capable and hard working

the leaders had a mean response of 4.69 as opposed to the mean of 3.18 for the general population. Another noteworthy discrepancy between the two groups is Item 5

> No one need lack for things to do here.

On this item the leaders had a mean response of 4.38 as opposed to 2.94 for the general population.

Other large differences include a mean of 4.75 for the leaders as opposed to a mean of 4.17 for the general population on Item 24

> I don't feel as if Mount Pearl were a real community.

On this item the higher mean indicates that the leaders have a stronger

TABLE 25

MEAN RESPONSES OF LEADERS AND SAMPLE OF GENERAL
POPULATION TO EACH ITEM ON THE
SATISFACTION SCALE

Item	Mean Response Leaders	Mean Response General Population	Difference
2	4.13	3.61	+ 0.52
4	4.81	4.74	+ 0.07
7	4.69	3.18	+ 1.51
8	4.50	4.79	− 0.29
16	4.88	4.51	+ 0.37
19	4.81	4.40	+ 0.41
27	4.63	4.49	+ 0.14
33	4.94	4.63	+ 0.31
12	4.75	4.43	+ 0.32
24	4.75	4.17	+ 0.58
5	4.38	2.94	+ 1.44
14	4.25	4.43	− 0.18
17	4.06	4.51	− 0.45
20	4.44	4.34	+ 0.10
21	3.06	2.47	+ 0.59
22	3.50	3.21	+ 0.29
23	4.13	4.61	− 0.48
26	3.56	3.29	+ 0.27
30	4.75	4.74	+ 0.01
35	4.38	4.71	− 0.33
38	4.81	4.77	+ 0.04
39	4.13	4.14	− 0.01

feeling, than does the sample of the general population that Mount
Pearl is a community.

On Item 21,

Everyone living in Mount Pearl helps to decide
how things should be run,

the leaders had a mean response of 3.06 to a mean of 2.47 for the
general population. This would seem to complement the scores of both
these groups on Item 7, as described above.

There were also some items on which the mean response of
the leaders was less than that of the sample of the general population.
For example, on Item 23,

The community has to put up with poor school
facilities,

the leaders had a mean response of 4.13 compared to a mean response
of 4.61 for the general population. Thus, the leaders in agreeing
with this statement more than did the general population lend some
support to the idea that the leaders do have a more general community
orientation than do the general population. This was previously
suggested in the analysis of the related open-ended questions.

Conclusions and Implications

Out of this analysis of community satisfaction several
interesting and important findings have arisen. The three main findings
are:

(1) The calm with which the people of Mount Pearl accept the
town's dependence upon St. John's.

(2) The community orientation on the part of the leaders.

(3)   The striking differences in community satisfaction
      between the leaders and the sample of the general
      population, and also between former St. John's residents
      and former outport residents.

We shall take a look at each of these individually.

It was generally agreed by both the leaders and the sample

of the general population that Mount Pearl's shopping facilities

are inadequate. Both groups seemed to express the opinion that even

though they are inadequate it doesn't really matter because St. John's

is only a couple of minutes away by car. When the question moved to

the adequacy of the schools within the town, the general population

was much more contented than were the leaders. Even those among the

general population who had to send their children to high school in

St. John's accepted it noting that they did have school buses. It

was on this issue that the leaders first displayed a community

orientation.

Even many of the leaders who did not yet have the problem

of sending their children to high school in St. John's mentioned

the need that the town had for such a facility of its own. The

same phenomenon occurred on several other issues including the

question on what the respondent disliked about the town. On that

particular question, the leaders expressed the needs that the town

had for recreational and high school facilities as well as more

extensive public works programs. The general population, on the other

hand, expressed more personal complaints such as not being able to

get any satisfaction from the council, or being too far from St. John's.

This idea of the leaders having a community orientation was verified

to an extent by the scale item on the adequacy of educational facilities.

The differences in community satisfaction between the leaders and sample of the general population were usually large, and certainly were to be expected. Also of importance are the findings which show the former outport residents of Mount Pearl to be more satisfied with the town than are former St. John's residents. This was indicated in many places: former outport residents were more satisfied with the town council than were former St. John's residents; fewer former outport residents could find things they disliked about living in Mount Pearl; former outport residents generally expressed more favourable comments toward the people of the town; and, on the satsifaction scale the leaders resembled the former outport residents more than they did former St. John's residents. These findings would seem to complement the suggestion in Chapter 3 that former outport residents do integrate more into Mount Pearl than do former St. John's residents.

These findings undoubtedly have theoretical implications for our definition of the community as that which provides a total framework of living for the individual. However, because of the complementary nature of the three dimensions of: community satisfaction, integration into the community, and identification with the community, we will cover the theoretical implications after the analysis of the two remaining dimensions.

CHAPTER 5

COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

The analysis of community satisfaction in Chapter 4
brought out differences between the leaders and the general population
in their attitude toward life in Mount Pearl. Apart from showing the
leaders to be more satisfied with life in the town it was also
suggested, in several places, that there may be differences in
satisfaction with the community on the basis of community of origins
as outport or St. John's. A parallel idea was developed in Chapter 3
regarding a differential in integration into the community between
former outport and former St. John's residents.

This chapter, concerned as it is with the integration of
the leaders and the sample of the general population into the community,
shall also explore this possibility. As with community satisfaction,
integration into the community shall be examined by open-ended questions
and some scale items. Those community knowledge questions to be used
as indicators of community orientation shall also be examined in this
chapter.

While the questions used as indices of community satisfaction
were attitudinal in nature, those used as indices of integration into
the community were behavioural in nature. That is, they were concerned
with things which the individual did in the town—work, attend church,
send his children to school, shop, socialize, relax, or participate
in clubs and organizations. The specific questions used as indicators

of integration into the town were:

    5. (i)   Where do you work?

   23. (i)   Does your family shop for groceries and other necessities in Mount Pearl?

   24. (i)   Do you belong to any community organizations or take part in any organized community activities?

                Yes _____
                No   _____

      (ii) (If yes)
What is your position in each? Length of membership? Frequency of attendance? How often does each meet?

     (iii) Do you belong to any organizations in St. John's?

                Yes _____
                No   _____

      (iv) Same as (ii)

   25. (ii) Where do your children go to school?

      (iv) Do you attend P.T.A. meetings? How often?

   26. (i)   Do your children belong to any groups or clubs or take part in any organized activities?

                Yes _____
                No   _____
                N/A _____

      (ii) (If yes)
What groups do they belong to or organized activities do they take part in?

   27.(iii) Do you attend the church of your denomination in Mount Pearl?

   31. (i)   Do you do much visiting with your friends and neighbours in Mount Pearl?

      (ii) Where do you go when you want to go out for the evening?

Although these questions cover basically the same areas of life as do the satisfaction questions, they look at the actual behaviour rather than the attitudes of our respondents.

The items on the integration scale were also of this behavioural nature. They were designed to measure the extent to which the individual is integrated into the town of Mount Pearl; and conversely to discover to what extent the individual may be integrated into St. John's. The 10 items on the integration scale were all designed by the present author, and include:

(3)   I take part in local activities.

(9)   I know few of the other people well on my street.

(11)   I belong to a lot of groups in Mount Pearl.

(13)   I prefer to have my children go to school in St. John's.

(18)   I have few friends in Mount Pearl.

(28)   I seldom go out for a night on the town in Mount Pearl.

(32)   I support the town council in its efforts to benefit the community.

(34)   I have little association with groups in St. John's.

(36)   I usually vote in town council elections.

(37)   I attend Mount Pearl churches rather those in St. John's.

A community knowledge question was included because a high level of community knowledge has been found to be associated with an orientation toward the community (Sykes, 1951:381). As such it is a high correlative of integration into the community and identification with it. The community knowledge question was:

39.   (i)   How many schools are there in Mount Pearl? What are their names?

         (ii)   How many churches are there in Mount Pearl? What are their names?

        (iii)   In what year did Mount Pearl elect its first town council?

         (iv)   Who is the present mayor of Mount Pearl?

(v)   Who are the other councillors?

(vi)   Who is the leader of the Lions Club?

(vii) Who leads the local branch of the Canadian Legion?

(viii) What is the approximate population of Mount Pearl?

In actuality if the respondent could identify the schools by the names of the streets they were on, or the churches by the denomination, it was acceptable.

Analysis of Questions

Place of Work

Considering the "community" as that which provides a complete framework of living for the individual we must necessarily take into consideration the place where the individual works in respect to that where he lives. That is, that place, where the individual spends eight or 10 hours per day, five days per week, for anywhere up to 30 or 40 years, must surely be an integral part of his total framework of living.

Mount Pearl has already been described as a dormitory suburb of St. John's and thus we would expect to find that most of the people interviewed work in that city. While such was the case for the overwhelming majority of our sample of the general population, it certainly was not the case for the leaders. Nine of the 16 leaders worked within the boundaries of Mount Pearl, six worked within St. John's, and one worked just outside the town boundaries and inside those of the city, but did not really penetrate into the city in going daily to his job.

When our sample of the general population is examined
28 of the 35 work within St. John's; only two work within Mount
Pearl; two work on the coastal boats and as such can not be
pinpointed as working in a particular center; one, as happened with
one of the leaders, worked in that zone where St. John's meets Mount
Pearl; one was retired; and one was pensioned due to illness.

When we collapse the categories to "those working in
Mount Pearl," and "those who have to go outside Mount Pearl to work"
we have six of the leaders going outside the town to make a living,
and 10 not going outside the town to make a living; and just five
of the general population making a living within Mount Pearl as
opposed to 30 making their living outside Mount Pearl (see Table 26).

The apparent disproportionality of this is supported by
a chi square test showing the difference to be significant at better
than the .01 level of significance. The jobs of the leaders are
truly centered more within the community than are those of the
general population. And in this respect Mount Pearl provides a
more complete framework of living for the leaders than it does for
the sample of the general population.

Shopping

This was largely dealt with when we considered
satisfaction with the shopping facilities in Mount Pearl. As was
evident then many people are satisfied with the grocery selection in
the town, there being a branch of a local supermarket chain there.
However, for most other things such as clothing and furniture it
is necessary to shop outside Mount Pearl.

TABLE 26

PLACES OF WORK FOR LEADERS AND
SAMPLE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION

	Leaders	General Population
Mount Pearl	9	2
St. John's	6	28
Boundary	1	1
Retired and Sick Pensioned	–	2
Other (Coastal Boats)	–	2
	16	35

Chi square, when collapsed to 2 x 2 Table = 9.7142

Chi square .01   = 6.64
Chi square .001 = 10.83

Thirteen of the 16 leaders shopped for their groceries at the local supermarket, while the remaining three shopped outside the town. Of these three one belonged to a co-op in St. John's, one had just joined a new co-op on the outside of Mount Pearl, and one was part owner of a grocery outlet outside Mount Pearl and got his groceries through that.

Twenty-five of the 35 in our sample of the general population reported buying their groceries regularly from the supermarket in the town. Four bought their groceries regularly at other supermarkets in St. John's; three had joined or were thinking of joining the new co-op supermarket just opening outside Mount Pearl; one reported shopping all over, depending upon which supermarket had the most specials on that day; one shopped at a corner grocery store regularly; and one owned a small retail outlet through which he met his own grocery requirements. Thus, twenty-six shopped regularly for groceries within Mount Pearl, eight shopped outside, and one met his own needs.

Thus, it would appear that at least for groceries both the leaders and the sample of the general population are able to meet their needs within the town itself (see Table 27). As was previously mentioned for virtually everything else they must shop in St. John's.

Group Membership

The 16 leaders have a total of 52 open memberships in: town council; service clubs, such as Lions, Kinsmen, and Legion; church and school boards; various other committees connected with the town such as the Metropolitan Board and Library Board; professional and businessmen clubs; and social clubs. This 52 does not include

TABLE 27

WHERE THE LEADERS AND SAMPLE OF THE GENERAL
POPULATION SHOP FOR THEIR GROCERIES

	Leaders	General Population
Within Town	13	26
Outside Town	2	8
Meet Own Needs	1	1
N =	<u>16</u>	<u>35</u>

groups to which the individuals once belonged but have sinced

dropped out. It should also be pointed out that they hold and

have held offices in many of these groups.

Of these 52 open memberships only 13 represent

memberships in groups outside Mount Pearl. In these 13 cases four

were in professional associations outside Mount Pearl; eight were in

social clubs of which there were no branches in Mount Pearl; and only

one was in a group that had a branch in Mount Pearl. In this latter

case the individual had a lengthy membership in a St. John's branch

of that organization before moving to Mount Pearl, and maintained

it afterwards.

Only one leader had no open membership; just one had only

one membership; five had two memberships; two had three memberships;

four had four memberships; one had five memberships; and one had six

memberships; and one claimed eight memberships.

Among the 35 included in the sample of the general

population only 10 people had memberships in service clubs, atheletic

clubs, youth clubs, or social clubs. Of these 10 two had two

memberships each, and the remainder one each, thus giving only 12

open memberships. Only one was a member of a service club, three

were associated with the Legion as a social club; two were active in

the local softball league; three worked with youth groups; one belonged

to the Knights of Columbus; one to the Rod and Gun Club; and one to

his union executive.

Breaking the membership down as within or outside Mount

Pearl shows seven to be within the town itself, and five in St. John's.

Of the five in St. John's, none of the same organizations were operative in Mount Pearl itself.

Probably the most notable thing about the club and organizational activities is the sheer number of memberships which the leaders represent, as opposed to the dearth of participation by the sample of the general population. Through such intensive participation the leaders should certainly be more highly integrated into the town than are the general population.

Schools and Children

A potential indicator of community integration in our case is whether the respondent sends his children to school in St. John's or in Mount Pearl itself. Also, whether the parent is an active member of the P.T.A. tells something about the integration of the parent into the community. Moreover, the clubs and organizations which the child belongs to help to integrate the child into the community. Thus, we shall examine these variables for the leaders and our sample of the general population; and also the children of both groups.

Thirteen of the 16 leaders had children in the age and grade bracket to be attending the schools in Mount Pearl. Twelve of these had their children in the town's schools while only one sent his children to school in St. John's. Three of the leaders could not be considered here because one had no children, one had children but they were too young to start school, and one had only a child of high school age and as such the child was compelled to attend school in St. John's.

Of the 12 with children attending school in Mount Pearl, 7 reported attending P.T.A. meetings regularly, and five not all. The one with just the high schooler did not attend.

The children of nine of the 12 leaders sending their children to school in Mount Pearl belonged to clubs and organizations. All the clubs were of the Boy Scout - Girl Guide type.

With our sample of the general population all 20 of those with children in the age and grade bracket to attend school in Mount Pearl did send their children to school within the town.[1] Fifteen of the respondents could not be considered because: their children were still under school age (7), they were young with no children (3), they were old with no children (3), and they were old but their children had finished school (2). These last two had sent their children to school in St. John's because for one, at the time their children were starting school the facilities in Mount Pearl were poor, and for the other the children had started school elsewhere and were in high school at the time they had moved to Mount Pearl. Thus, none of our sample of the general population were sending their children to school in St. John's when the same grades were being taught in Mount Pearl. Four of those having children in school in Mount Pearl also had children in high school in St. John's.

Only six of those having children in school in Mount Pearl reported attending P.T.A. meetings regularly, and the other 14 reported attending not at all or infrequently.

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[1] For our purposes Mary Queen of the World School on the periphery of the town has been considered as in Mount Pearl. This is because (1) it is the only Roman Catholic School in the area; and (2) most of the respondents considered it a Mount Pearl school.

When we examine the organizational participation of the children we find that the children of 10 of the parents belong to clubs, and the children of 10 do not. However, this latter figure is reduced to seven by the fact that the children of three although attending school were not yet old enough to join the Cubs or Brownies. Once again the Boy Scout - Girl Guide type organizations account for all the organizational activity of the children, except in one case where the child was enrolled in dancing school.

Comparing the leaders and the sample of the general population we see that a higher proportion of leaders attend P.T.A. meetings regularly, than do the general population. Also, a higher proportion of the children of leaders belong to clubs and organizations than do the children of the general population.

Church Affiliation

Fourteen of the fifteen leaders claiming some religious affiliation reported attending the church of their denomination within Mount Pearl. One claimed to have no religious affiliation, and one belonged to a denomination not having regular clergy in the town so he was more or less compelled to attend church in St. John's.

Twenty-six of the 31 in our sample of the general population claiming some religious affiliation reported attending the church of their denomination in Mount Pearl. Three of the respondents maintained their ties with churches they attended while living in St. John's even after periods of one, one and one-half, and four years. Another was waivering between a church in St. John's and one in Mount Pearl, although after four years residence he was

beginning to sway toward the church of his denomination in Mount Pearl. One was affiliated with the Salvation Army and thus had to attend church in St. John's since there was no regular officer stationed in Mount Pearl. Four of the sample claimed to have no religious affiliations.

Comparing the leaders and sample of the general population on this shows that there is not any significant difference (see Table 28). The only difference would appear to be the three who maintained their affiliation with their churches in St. John's.

Social and Recreational

Mount Pearl's lack of recreational, social, and entertainment facilities has already been described. Its almost total dependence on St. John's for these things is very clearly brought out by a list of those places where the people of Mount Pearl go, and the activities they engage in, when they wish to go out for an evening of fun, relaxation, or recreation. We shall omit those things dealt with in the previous section on participation in clubs and organizations; and visiting with friends and neighbours shall be covered in the next section of this chapter.

Nine of the leaders indicate they did not often go out for an evening of entertainment other than those spent with friends and neighbours. For some it was a matter of a lack of time, for others a desire to spend more time at home with the family, and for still others it was a matter of not wanting to spend much money. Five of those indicating that they do take an evening out mentioned St. John's as the place they go to in order to take advantage of its

TABLE 28

CHURCH AFFILIATION OF THE LEADERS AND SAMPLE
OF THE GENERAL POPULATION

	Leaders	General Population
Attend Mount Pearl	14	26
Attend St. John's	–	3
Attend Both	–	1
Salvation Army	1	1
Non-Affiliated	1	4
N =	16	35

movie theatres, restaurants, night clubs, or shopping centers. Only one spent his evenings out in Mount Pearl itself, and that was at the Legion Club. One other person took his evenings out in a night club in his outport community of origin whenever he had the opportunity to be there on the week-end.

With our sample of the general population 18 of the 35 took their evenings out in St. John's. As one said:

> The only place to go would be St. John's---no clubs, no theatres,----not even a spot here like a recreation center.

Bowling, shopping, night clubs, movies, and dances were those things which St. John's offered to the people, and which they could not get within their own town. Sixteen of the 35 did not often take an evening out, or as one said:

> It's so long since we've taken an evening out now I don't know what we'd do.

Only one of these gave any reason for not taking an evening out, and his was that they had a four month old child.

Only one of the sample found his entertainment within Mount Pearl itself. As he said,

> I usually stay in the Park---[go] as far as the Legion Club----suppose that's the only place you can go.

Two of those who spent most of their evenings out in St. John's, also mentioned going to the Mount Pearl Legion Club somewhat regularly.

Comparing the leaders and sample of the general population it is evident that a large proportion of each group does not often take an evening out. But those who do, illustrate very well Mount Pearl's lack of social and recreational facilities. In these areas the town does not appear to meet the needs of its people.

Visiting

It is assumed that the amount of visiting and socializing
which the people of Mount Pearl do within the town is an index of
integration into the town as a way of life. If for example a
resident of the town has all his friends living in St. John's, and
does not interact with the people in Mount Pearl then he has little
opportunity to develop a shared sense of community. However, through
interaction with other residents of the town and just talking about
things concerning the town, there is the opportunity for a sense of
community to develope.

Thirteen of the 16 leaders feel that they do do a fair
or extensive amount of visiting with their friends and neighbours
in Mount Pearl. The types of visiting which occur range from a very
casual dropping in on friends, to planned visits with friends, and
to larger house parties. Each of these types of visiting was named
with about equal frequency.

As one of those considering most of his visiting to be
of the casual sort said "there's umpteen people I drop in on," or
as another said "It's a town where you just drop in--you don't have
to wait for an invitation." But there were also those who did mostly
planned visiting, such as one leader who said

[It is] usually a house visit for a game of cards or
a drink,

or another who said

for instance Saturday night if we weren't invited out
anywhere we'd call a friend and get together.

Although these may not seem highly distinguishable from those feeling

it to be just dropping in, they do not display the total spontaneity
of the former. Finally, there are those who feel that most of their
visiting is in the form of house parties. One of the leaders felt
that this form of visiting was rather limited since it

> depends on the time of year--mostly in the fall or
> around Christmas, or from Christmas up unto Easter.

Or another felt that he did a fair amount of visiting, it being "a
combination of house parties plus casual drop-ins."

Of the three reporting that they didn't do much visiting
with their friends and neighbours in Mount Pearl two gave a lack of
time as their excuse, and the other felt the people to be unfriendly.
As one said

> --haven't got time. Apart from meetings you don't do
> much visiting--spend a little time with the family.

The one who felt the people to be unfriendly thought it to be
because "the people in Mount Pearl still feel they're in St. John's."

The sample of the general population present somewhat less
of an idyllic picture than do our leaders. In fact, of the 35 in the
sample, only 17 considered themselves as doing a mentionable amount
of visiting with their friends and neighbours in the town. Eighteen
responded that they do not do much visiting with their friends and
neighbours in the town. Whether the respondent visits or not does
not appear to be related to the community of origins of the respondent.
As Table 29 shows they are fairly equally divided between those with
an outport background and those with a St. John's background. Nor
does the frequency of visiting appear to be related to the length of
residence of the respondent in Mount Pearl. The median length of

TABLE 29

VISITING OR NOT VISITING WITH FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS
IN MOUNT PEARL BY SAMPLE OF GENERAL POPULATION,
BY COMMUNITY OF ORIGINS

	Community of Origins				
	Outports	St. John's	Immediate St. John's	Mount Pearl	Other
Visit	8	7	1	1	—
Do Not Visit	7	8	2	—	1

residence for the group indicating that they do a considerable amount of visiting was six years and the mean was 7.3 years, while for the group indicating that they don't do much visiting the median was 5.5 years and the mean 7.4 years residence. The reason we say 'does not appear to be strongly related' is that it may be a factor for some people. As Table 30 illustrates eight of those indicating "No" have resided in Mount Pearl for three years or less; but nine have resided there for more than six years.

For those indicating that they do a fair amount of visiting the usual things were either the very casual, just drop-in type of thing, or the planned house visit or small get together. House parties, or anything involving more than a small number of people, did not appear common as only one respondent mentioned this as a form of visiting with friends and neighbours in the town.

The casual type,

it's the back garden stuff---the guy next door pops
over the fence for a bottle of beer.

Or else "basically it's just a jot between houses for a half an hour." Or as another respondent said "we're always darting around here and there---not a formal visitation."

Planned visits and small get togethers were mentioned equally as frequently as was the casual drop-in type (each was mentioned seven times). As one respondent said:

During the winter months we have these card games
Saturday night---go from home to home---in summer
we have barbecues.

Or as another said:

The odd card game, we generally have a good Christmas
here----have a lot of weiner roasts and steak frying in
the summer.

TABLE 30

VISITING AND NOT VISITING WITH FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS
BY SAMPLE OF GENERAL POPULATION,
BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

	Length of Residence in Years						
	-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-18	19-21
Visit	4	6	3	2	0	1	1
Do Not Visit	8	1	3	2	0	2	2

House parties were mentioned by just one of the sample. But mentioned four times was the resemblance or lack of it to a Newfoundland outport. One felt it to be so much like an outport that he described it as

> a bayman's paradise--if anybody got a keg of rum
> they invite you in. Last boxing day people across
> the street called us to come over supper time to a
> barn dance.

But two felt it to be not like an outport for as one said about his visiting with friends and neighbours

> A fair amount I suppose with friends, not so much with
> neighbours because most of the neighbours are strange.
> Not like an outport--it's gradually seeming more like
> a city. When we lived in _____ everybody knew
> everybody and use to go into everybody's house.

Apart from the two feeling it to be unlike an outport another described his "next door neighbour [as] something like out in St. John's.

As already mentioned 18 people indicated doing little or no visiting with their friends and neighbours in Mount Pearl. Discounting the three residing there less than one year, and the two who offered no reason for not engaging in the behaviour, the remaining 13 gave a total of 15 reasons for not doing so.

Mentioned five times (by three former St. John's residents, and two former outport residents) was the fact that their friends and/or relatives lived in St. John's and these were the only ones they visited with. As one said "we have a lot of friends out in the city in St. John's."

Five people indicated that they just didn't go out that much. As one said "My God no! You couldn't drag me out of this place at night with a cart horse." Or as another said, "No, we don't house hop or anything like that."

Four also felt the people to be distant and used this as their reason for not doing much visiting. As one said, "That's one big difference in this day and age---no neighbours like it use to be." Or as another said, "It seems everyone sticks to themselves." Of these four, two had outport backgrounds, and the other two St. John's backgrounds. A final excuse offered was the simple lack of time for visiting with friends and neighbours.

Comparing the leaders and sample of the general population on visiting with friends and neighbours it is apparent that a greater proportion of leaders do visit with their friends and neighbours in Mount Pearl than do the general population. It would also seem that the leaders maintain a more active social life within the town. One implication of this would be that it integrates the leaders more fully into Mount Pearl as a community.

The Integration Scale

On the integration scale the leaders had a mean of 4.22 as opposed to a mean of 3.22 for our sample of the general population (see Table 31). A t-test of the significance of the difference between means proved significant at better than the .0005 level of significance. Thus, the scores on the scale would suggest that the leaders are much more integrated into Mount Pearl than are the sample of the general population.

A comparison of the mean response to each item by the leaders and sample of the general population shows that there are certain items on which they differ greatly (see Table 32). The biggest difference was on Item 3,

TABLE 31

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON INTEGRATION SCALE BY
LEADERS AND SAMPLE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION

Score	Leaders	General Population
4.80 – 4.99	–	–
4.60 – 4.79	3	–
4.40 – 4.59	3	1
4.20 – 4.39	4	1
4.00 – 4.19	4	4
3.80 – 3.99	–	1
3.60 – 3.79	–	7
3.40 – 3.59	–	4
3.20 – 3.39	2	1
3.00 – 3.19	–	4
2.80 – 2.99	–	3
2.60 – 2.79	–	3
2.40 – 2.59	–	1
2.20 – 2.39	–	2
2.00 – 2.19	–	1
1.80 – 1.99	–	–
1.60 – 1.79	–	2
N =	16	35

t = 5.2185
df = 49
$t.0005$ = 3.551

TABLE 32

MEAN RESPONSES OF THE LEADERS AND SAMPLE OF GENERAL
POPULATION PER ITEM ON THE
INTEGRATION SCALE

Item	Leaders	General Population	Difference
3	4.88	1.49	+ 3.39
9	4.50	3.31	+ 1.19
11	3.69	1.29	+ 2.40
13	4.13	3.85	+ 0.28
18	4.63	4.31	+ 0.32
28	2.81	2.77	+ 0.04
32	4.94	3.88	+ 1.06
34	3.06	3.03	+ 0.03
36	4.93	4.46	+ 0.47
37	4.67	4.45	+ 0.22

I take part in local activities.

On this item the leaders had a mean response of 4.88 as opposed to a mean response of 1.49 by the sample of the general population. On a similar item, Item 11

I belong to a lot of groups in Mount Pearl

the leaders had a mean response of 3.69 compared to a mean of 1.29 by the sample of the general population. From our analysis of the organizational participation of these two groups such a difference in scores would seem imminent.

The fact that the leaders reported a greater incidence of visiting with their friends and neighbours in Mount Pearl than did the general population is reflected in the responses to Item 9,

I know few of the other people well on my street.

The leaders had a mean response of 4.50 compared to a mean of 3.31 for the sample of the general population.

Another large difference is evident in their responses to Item 32,

I support the town council in its efforts to benefit the community.

On this item the leaders had a mean response of 4.94 while the general population had a mean response of 3.88. When the town council was examined in Chapter 4 on community satisfaction it was noted that the leaders were generally more contented with the town council than were the general population.

These, then, were the major discriminating questions on the integration scale.

The two main sub-groups of our sample of the general

population, former outport and former St. John's residents, were also compared on their mean scores on the integration scale. There was only a slight difference between the two groups with the former outport residents having a mean integration score of 3.23 compared to a mean of 3.14 for former St. John's residents. The mean, when tested, did not differ significantly. When the mean scores of the leaders were compared to each of these groups the differences were significant at much better than the .0005 level of significance in both cases.

Thus, the scores on the integration scale indicate that the leaders are much more highly integrated into Mount Pearl than are the sample of the general population. Such a difference in integration was also brought out by our analysis of the open-ended questions. The scale, however, did not find any significant difference between former outport and former St. John's residents.

The scores on the integration scale for both the leaders and the sample of the general population were correlated with their scores on the satisfaction scale. For the leaders it produced a correlation coefficient of .4317, while for the general population the coefficient was .5973.

We shall now move to an analysis of the community knowledge questions to further explore differences in community orientation between the leaders and the general population, and also the two main sub-groups of the general population.

General Community Knowledge

As previously mentioned Sykes (1951) studied the

differential distribution of community knowledge, and found a high
level of knowledge to be associated with orientation toward the
community. Conversely, he found that the person oriented away from
the community has a low level of knowledge about the community even
though he may be well educated.

In our present situation the community knowledge questions
were intended to test the hypothesis that those people designated as
community leaders will be more highly oriented toward Mount Pearl
than those selected as members of the general population of Mount
Pearl. In Chapter 3 it was suggested that there may be differential
integration into Mount Pearl as a community by people with an outport
background and people with a St. John's background. Thus, the community
knowledge questions would tend to support this suggestion should they
be found to distinguish significantly between these two groups.

The questions test the respondent's knowledge about
different areas of life in the town. As such they ask what schools
and churches are in the town; what year the town became incorporated
as a municipality; who is the present mayor and who are the other
councillors; who are the leaders of two of the local clubs; and what
is the approximate population of the town. Scores were assigned
as follows: two points for naming the two schools within the town
(one point for each school named); six points for naming the religious
denominations having churches in the town (one point for each
denomination named); one point for naming the year, within a range of
plus or minus one year, in which the town became incorporated; one
point for naming the mayor; six points for naming the other councillors
(one point for each councillor named); two points for naming the leaders

of the two local clubs (one point for each named); and one point
for estimating within a range of plus or minus 1000, the present
population of the town as estimated by town council records. Thus
the maximum score obtainable was 19.

As can be seen in Table 33 the leaders generally scored
much higher on the community knowledge questions than did our
sample of the general population, with the leaders having a mean
score of 16.38 compared to a mean of 8.6 for the general population.
In fact a test of the significance of the difference between means
proved significant at better than the .0005 level of significance.

Except for the questions on the number of schools in the
town, and the name of the mayor (who was also well known through
running the local drug store) all the questions differentiated
sharply between the general community knowledge of the leaders and
that of the sample of the general population (see Table 34).

The question has been posed whether people from an outport
background integrate more readily into Mount Pearl than do people
from a St. John's background. If community orientation is accepted
as an indicator of integration into the community then any significant
difference between these two groups of people on the community knowledge
questions would tend to support this suggestion.

A distribution of scores on the community knowledge
questions on the basis of the community of origins shows that those
with an outport background did, indeed, generally score higher than did
the former residents of St. John's (see Table 35). A t-test of the
significance of the difference between means for these two groups

TABLE 33

SCORES OF LEADERS AND SAMPLE OF GENERAL POPULATION
ON COMMUNITY KNOWLEDGE QUESTIONS

Score

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
Leaders	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	2	2	1	4	4	16
General Population	1	-	1	1	2	-	4	4	4	2	6	1	5	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	35

		Schools		Churches		Year of Incorporation		Mayor		Other Councillors		Leader Club One		Leader Club Two		Population Estimate	
Maximum Score		2		6		1		1		6		1		1		1	
		L	Gp	L	Gp	L	Gp	L	Gp	L	Gp	L	Gp	L	Gp	L	Gp
	0		5		3	5	32		4	1	8	9	34	7	33	1	25
	1		1		2	10	3	16	31		10	7	1	9	2	15	10
Distribution of Scores	2	16	29		4					1	4						
	3				8						5						
	4			2	5					1	4						
	5			5	7					2	4						
	6			9	6					11	0						
N =		16	35	16	35	16	35	16	35	16	35	16	35	16	35	16	35

L = Leaders

Gp = Sample of General Population

proves to be significant at better than the .025 level of significance. Thus, it would seem that there is a difference in the degree of community orientation for these two groups.

A distribution of scores on each question for former outport and former St. John's residents reveals that the two main questions differentiating between the two groups are: (1) knowing what religious denominations have established in Mount Pearl; and (2) knowing the names of the councillors (see Table 36).

Conclusions and Implications

This chapter has examined integration into the community as a behavioural dimension. In doing so we have compared the leaders and the sample of the general population on their responses to open-ended questions, scale items, and community knowledge questions. Three main findings have come from this analysis: (1) the shortcomings of Mount Pearl in providing a complete framework of living for its residents; (2) the leaders are significantly more highly integrated into the community than are the general population; and (3) the former outport residents appear to have a greater community orientation toward Mount Pearl than do former St. John's residents.

The shortcomings of Mount Pearl were shown in the areas of work, shopping, and social and recreation. In the area of work the vast majority of its residents must make their living in St. John's. While Mount Pearl is able to meet the grocery needs of its residents all other shopping needs must be met by St. John's. As for the social and recreation needs there is really no place for Mount Pearl

TABLE 35

SCORES ON COMMUNITY KNOWLEDGE QUESTIONS BY COMMUNITY OF ORIGINS

Score

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
Outport	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	2	2	1	3	1	4	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	15
St. John's	1	–	1	1	1	–	3	2	1	1	1	–	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	15
Immediate St. John's	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3
Mount Pearl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
Other	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1

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TABLE 36

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON COMMUNITY KNOWLEDGE QUESTIONS:
FORMER OUTPORT AND FORMER ST. JOHN'S RESIDENTS[1]

		Schools		Churches		Year of Incorporation		Mayor		Other Councillors		Leader Club One		Leader Club Two		Population Estimate	
Maximum Score		2		6		1		1		6		1		1		1	
		OP	SJ	OP	SJ	OP	SJ	OP	SJ	OP	SJ	OP	SJ	OP	SJ	OP	SJ
	0	1	4	-	3	15	14	1	2	3	4	15	14	14	14	10	13
	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	14	13	2	6	-	1	1	1	5	2
Distribution of Scores	2	14	11	2	1					2	1						
	3			3	4					4	1						
	4			4	1					1	3						
	5			3	2					3	0						
	6			3	2					0	0						

[1] OP = Former Outport Residents

SJ = Former St. John's Residents

residents to go other than St. John's. Only one of the leaders and one of the sample of the general population reported taking an evening out in Mount Pearl. It is evident, then, that the framework for living for most of our respondents must include St. John's.

Throughout this chapter there have been many indications that the leaders are much more highly integrated into Mount Pearl than are the sample of the general population. While the vast majority of the general population work in St. John's nine of the 16 leaders work in Mount Pearl itself. Most of the leaders have multiple club memberships whereas the great majority of the general population have no club memberships whatsoever. This is supported by the fact that a higher proportion of the leaders report attending P.T.A. meetings regularly, than do the general population; and also by the fact that a higher proportion of the leaders' children belong to groups, than do the general population's children. Thirteen of the 16 leaders report visiting regularly with friends and neighbours in the town as compared to only 17 of the 35 in our sample of the general population. Also, it would appear that the leaders do more visiting.

When the integration scale was examined the leaders scored significantly higher than did our sample of the general population. The main discriminating items were those relating to organizational participation, visiting and neighbourliness, and support of the town council. All of these reflect differences which were previously discussed in the analysis of open-ended questions. Finally, the community knowledge questions brought out highly significant differences

in community orientation between the leaders and sample of the
general population.

The community knowledge questions also found a significant
difference in community orientation between former outport and
former St. John's residents. A greater community orientation toward
Mount Pearl on the part of former outport residents parallels
previous indications that they are more integrated into Mount Pearl,
and more satisfied with it than are former St. John's residents.

In fact, all the major findings of this chapter have
parallels to those of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. After our analysis
of community identification we shall bring together our findings on
all three dimensions in a test of our theoretical framework, and a
discussion of whether Mount Pearl is, or is not, a community.

CHAPTER 6

COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION

Community identification is the third dimension on which

we shall compare the leaders and the general population, as well

as the two main sub-groups of the general population. The identification

questions were attitudinal in nature and probed the respondent's

feelings of community identification. In a "we - they" situation the

questions attempted to discover the "we" to which the individual

defined himself as belonging. As such the questions were concerned

with what the respondent thought of Mount Pearl as a community in

itself, whether the respondent had pride and concern for the town,

and whether the respondent felt himself and others to be a part of

the community of Mount Pearl.

Because so many of the population had formerly resided in

St. John's it was possible that they still identified with that city

as their community. Thus, it was necessary to include questions which

posed Mount Pearl in opposition to St. John's. Also, for those former

outport residents there was the possibility of their feeling that

they had moved to St. John's rather than a separate community outside

St. John's.

As with the dimensions of community satisfaction and

community integration, community identification was investigated by

means of both open-ended questions and an attitude scale. The

open-ended questions used as indices of identification with Mount Pearl

were:

     32.   (ii)   Do you think that people in Mount Pearl have a
                       feeling of belonging to a community?

     33.   (ii)   In general, do the people support and participate
                       in these clubs and organizations?

     35.   (i)   Do the people in Mount Pearl take much interest in
                       local politics?

     36.   Do St. John's politics have any effect on those in
                       Mount Pearl?

     37.   (i)   Would you rather live in St. John's than here?
                       Why not?

            (ii)   Is life in St. John's better, the same, or worse
                       than life in Mount Pearl?

         (iii)   What differences are there between life in Mount
                       Pearl and life in St. John's?

     38.   (i)   Do you think that Mount Pearl can be thought of as
                       a community distinct from St. John's?

Also, as previously mentioned the community knowledge questions may be indicative of community identification.

       The identification scale consisted of seven items designed by the present author. It was designed to measure the extent to which the respondent felt Mount Pearl to be a community in its own right. Did the respondent feel that it was dependent upon or independent of St. John's, or was it just another sub-division on the edge of St. John's? Finally, did the people of the town feel that it was a community? The items intended to measure this were:

     (1)   Our community leaders are not influenced by those in
          St. John's.

     (6)   Mount Pearl is really just a part of St. John's.

     (10)   There is just as much juvenile delinquency in Mount
          Pearl as elsewhere.

(15) Mount Pearl is not dependent upon St. John's.

(25) The people in Mount Pearl are a better type than those in St. John's.

(29) Mount Pearl should be incorporated as a part of St. John's.

(31) The people in Mount Pearl really have a feeling of belonging to a community.

Basically the open-ended questions and attitude scale were designed to discover whether the respondent had a cognizance of a "we – they" relationship in seeing Mount Pearl as an entity distinct from others. In particular, was it distinct from St. John's?

Analysis of Open-ended Questions

Feeling of Community:

"People from outside have the opinion that people from Mount Pearl are sort of a family and that they are left outside." This is how one of the leaders expressed his opinion on whether or not the people of Mount Pearl have a feeling of community. Twelve of the 16 leaders thought the people in the town to have the feeling of belonging to a community, while four felt it to be absent. To some of them this is made possible to a large extent by the fact of the town having its own Lions and Legion, schools and churches, and shopping facilities. As one leader said "I think now they do because their children are going to school here." Also for some it was the simple fact that everybody likes to identify with it.

> They have a sense of being Mount Pearlites, I would call them. There is a sort of community spirit in spite of the fact that we are sort of St. John's bedroom.

But two of the leaders felt the fact that they are a

St. John's bedroom to be a hindrance to their becoming a community.
As one said

> They don't appear to be community minded at all---it's
> just a place to come home and sleep and get up and go
> to work again. ----you see most of them work in St. John's
> ---one fella leaves it to the other--I'm working in
> St. John's.

The two others indicating a lack of the feeling of community thought
it to be more a factor of time; and because of it "there's no
established tradition." As one of these said

> In Mount Pearl we got people from every bay and
> settlement in the island of Newfoundland. Trying
> to get people feeling and thinking in the same way
> and doing things the same way--in ways other than
> they're use to, is difficult.

Concerning the feeling of belonging to a community one of
our sample of the general population described it as

> the same as the place you were born and raised--like
> in that kind of way.

In all, 26 of the sample thought that the people of Mount Pearl have
the feeling of belonging to a community. For 13 of these 26 it was
a matter of identifying with the community and taking pride in it.
As one of them expressed it

> I think the people I deal with in the club sort of
> [express] we're in Mount Pearl, St. John's is out
> there----a lot of people wouldn't want to belong
> to St. John's in regards to having the town taken
> over by the city council.

For six of these 26 the sense of community was expressed in the joint
actions taken by the people in the town, either in petitions or just
improving the town. Two of these referred to a case where

> some of them had water in their basement and they got
> a lawyer and got it straightened out.

Others referred to their looking after their property and joining organizations within the town.

Eight of the sample of the general population felt there to be no community spirit; and one could not say whether the people had a feeling of community. For four of those feeling there to be a lack of community spirit St. John's was the community of the people of Mount Pearl. As one of them said

> I wouldn't say that's so-----I think people more or
> less like to associate themselves with St. John's
> -----95 percent of the people work in St. John's.

Three of these four were former St. John's residents while one was a former outport resident. Also, another two of these eight felt the people to lack concern for their property and the town. One still identified with the community where he grew up (a small community in the immediate St. John's area); and one simply felt there to be a lack of community spirit without being able to state why. Overall three of these eight had an outport background, while four had a St. John's background and one came from the immediate St. John's area.

While community of origins does not appear to be a factor in whether the respondent thinks there to be a feeling of community among the people of the town, length of residence in the town might have some influence. Of the eight indicating the lack of such a feeling five had lived there four years, one had been there six years, and one eleven and one-half years. The mean length of residence of 3.5 and the median of 1.75 years are well below the mean of the sample (5.5 years) and the median (6.0 years).

Support of, and Participation in Clubs and Organizations:

All but two of the 16 leaders felt that the various clubs and organizations within the town were well supported, and participated in by the general population of the town. As one said

> There's no question about it---I think it's tremendous because if we put a project on, the response is just tremendous.

Other comments described them as doing about the average or as one said, "The same as anywhere I suppose----I don't think Mount Pearlers are in that regard standouts." The comments concerned financial campaigns enabling the clubs to run projects, and actual participation by the people of Mount Pearl. As one club leader said

> Our club has a sports day---the percentage of kids from Mount Pearl participating in that is greater than any percentage you could hope to get in a larger city.

Of the two feeling the clubs to be lacking support one felt that the people should be doing more because "sometimes it makes you feel as if you're beating your head against the wall"; and the other felt that "it's only a certain [small] percentage of the population included in these clubs."

In the sample of the general population 24 of the 35 felt the clubs and organizations to be well supported, while one did not, and the other 10 just did not know whether they were or not. Some of those indicating that they are well supported referred to the frequency with which representatives come to the door collecting for this and that. As one respondent said

> The number of people who come around looking for a donation---every night there's somebody.

Others referred to the work that the clubs were doing for the community or as one said

> Only for the clubs you wouldn't have the recreational facilities you do have. Only for them you wouldn't have nothing in here.

And still others referred to people in the clubs, as did one who said "I know _____ is at it and he's working day and night at it." The one negative response was by a respondent who felt that "you just have the chosen few, [and] the membership in the three clubs is down."

For those 10 who could not really say one way or the other, there does not appear to be any relationship between this and community of origin, with five having outport backgrounds, four having St. John's backgrounds, and one having grown up in the immediate St. John's area. Nor is there sufficient evidence to relate it to length of residence in the town. Although four had lived there two years or less, one had lived there 3 years, one 4 years, one 6 years, one 7 years, one 16 years, and one 19 years.

The one negative response was a former St. John's resident who had resided in the community just seven months.

Thus, it appears that generally both the leaders and the sample of the general population feel that the clubs in the town are well supported. However, there is a large proportion of the sample of the general population who are not at all familiar with the workings of these clubs.

Interest in Local Politics:

A concise criterion of a people's interest in politics would be "the percentage who turn out to vote on election day." Such

was the criterion given by many of the leaders in Mount Pearl.

Fourteen of the 16 leaders indicated that the people of Mount Pearl

do take a fairly high interest in town council politics. Of these

14 a total of nine considered the percentage voting each election

to indicate the interest. As one leader said,

> they are in the top 25 percent in Newfoundland
> for example if you find out how many people in
> Newfoundland vote in municipal elections.

Two others referred to the number of candidates running

in the last election or indicative of the interest. As one said,

"The last election there seemed to be quite a lot of interest in

running---17 candidates."

Only two of the 14 felt the interest to be an enduring

thing lasting beyond the excitement of election day. For one it was

the fact that

> They're paying taxes and they want to know
> what's being done for the tax dollar.

While for the other it was the fact that

> --it is a young town and a lot of people are
> trying to make something of it.

Of the two feeling that the people don't take much interest

in town council, for one it is the fact that "the vote is low"; while

for the other it was the fact that the interest was periodic, occurring

> perhaps every four years when you have an election
> [but] we have little public attendance at our council
> meetings.

However, one councillor was encouraged with public attendance because

"here lately there's more coming to council meetings----average of

five to six."

The sample of the general population differed greatly from the leaders on this issue. Only 19 felt that the people do take much interest in local politics, while 11 felt that they do not, and five did not feel that they could judge whether they do or not.

Once again the thing most frequently mentioned as indicating interest in local politics was the percentage of voters who turn out to vote at each election. This was mentioned nine times. The large numbers of candidates in the last election was mentioned twice, while a form of election fever was mentioned three times. Illustrative of the last of these was the comment that "They do a lot of shouting and roaring and canvassing when the elections come around."

Only four of those feeling there to be much interest in town council politics mentioned anything of a general nature, insomuch as it was not just an election by-product. One thought that "they do get a farily good attendance at their open meetings" although he had never been to one, while another had

> been pretty active in getting committees together
> for council meetings because we've had some common
> problems here along the drive.

The other two felt that there had been considerable "bellywacking back and forth to the council."

From those who feel that the people of the town are not very interested in local politics we have our only chance, thus far, to flavour the people's interest in politics at other than election time. In this respect some of the short term residents are most vocal. As a resident of just one month said, "It's something I've never heard anything about"; or as another resident of seven months put it,

> I would say no from what you listen around and
> what you read. From what I can gather from the
> people that live here they don't.

Another resident of 10 months said that

> You never hear mention of it---don't know if they
> do have an election or if it's just an appointment
> or what it is.

A resident of a year and a half felt that "politics is left out."

Even longer term residents indicated this, for as one resident of

nine years said

> --it's never mentioned in my place. If other people
> talk about it I don't know.

Other people felt interest to be lacking for various

reasons including the fact that council is a voluntary thing and as

such not many people have time to participate; the candidates do

not canvass very much; and just plain lack of concern.

Although we have talked about the impression of short

term residents it should be made clear that whether the respondent

felt the people to be interested in local politics does not appear

to be related to length of residence in the town. The median length

of residence of these 11 saying "No" was six years, the same as for

the sample as a whole. Although four had been there two years or

less we had one at five years, one at six years, two at 11 years,

one at 12 years, one at 19 years, and one at 20 years.

What it may be related to, however, is the background of

the respondent as either outport or urban. Of these 11, seven had

grown up in St. John's, one in Mount Pearl itself, one in the

immediate St. John's area, and only two in the outports. A chi

square test run on the outport and St. John's figures proves significant

at better than the .10 level of significance (see Table 37).

Of the five who couldn't say whether or not the people took much interest in local politics four had lived in the town for three years or less; and the other, although having lived there 11.5 years, worked on the coastal boats and as such was away from home half of his time.

A comparison of the sample of the general population and the leaders shows that a higher proportion of the leaders feel the people of the town to be interested in local politics (see Table 38). A chi square on this shows the difference to be significant at better than the .10 level of significance.

The Influence of St. John's Politics:

Much to the surprise of the author many (seven of the 16) of the leaders did feel the town of Mount Pearl to be affected by the political situation in St. John's. Three of the leaders saw the town being influenced by the city because "St. John's controls the town water supply." Two leaders saw the influence arising through the fact that the expectations of the people of Mount Pearl have a tendency to rise according to what they perceive in St. John's. For example, a lot of people in the town complain of the lack of sidewalks in the town while in the city every street seems to have sidewalks. One leader felt the people to probably be as much interested in St. John's as Mount Pearl because so many of them work in there; while another felt the mere proximity of the city to be a factor causing the town to be influenced by the city.

TABLE 37

THE SAMPLE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION AND INTEREST
IN TOWN COUNCIL POLITICS, BY COMMUNITY
OF ORIGINS

			Community of Origins		
	Outport	St. John's	Immediate St. John's	Mount Pearl	Other
Interest	10	6	2	–	1
No Interest	2	7	1	1	–
Not Know	3	2	–	–	–

Chi square for outport vs. urban = 3.7437

Chi square .10 = 2.71

Chi square .05 = 3.84

[1]Test performed on "Outport vs. Urban" and "Interest vs. No Interest."

TABLE 38

LEADERS AND SAMPLE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION
ON THE PEOPLE'S INTEREST IN
LOCAL POLITICS

	Leaders	General Population
Interested	14	19
Not Interested	2	11
Not Know	—	5

Chi square on "interested" or "not interested" = 3.01

Chi square .10 = 2.71

Chi square .05 = 3.84

The nine who felt that Mount Pearl was not influenced by St. John's politics basically expressed the view that the town is a separate political entity. As one of the leaders said

> We deal with the city of St. John's the same way
> we deal with the town of Grand Falls [a town some
> 260 miles away].

Only three of these nine expressed the view that the people of Mount Pearl "have a separate identity," and that this made them independent of St. John's.

In retrospect it does seem reasonable that this question did not bring out exceptionally strong identification with the town on the part of some of the leaders. As the people who handled the running of the town they were probably more aware of how much the neighbouring city might influence the political situation in the town. Such knowledge was possibly reflected in their responses to this issue.

In our sample of the general population only eight saw the Mount Pearl town council as being influenced by St. John's politics, while 17 felt it to be independent, and 10 could not answer the question.

Six of the eight thinking it to be affected by the St. John;s council saw the influence as being the type where "the council here sort of copy St. John's to a certain extent." Thus, one complained that "as the taxes rise in St. John's we follow here," or another felt that the town patterned its recreation program after the city's. Two felt that the mere proximity of the town to the city was enough to cause some influence. In fact one of these thought "the time is going to come when it's all going to be St. John's anyway." In all

three of the sample felt that the town would and/or should become part of St. John's, although one of these did not see the town council to be presently influenced by the St. John's political scene. This latter thought that they "shouldn't have a council" anyway.

Of the 17 feeling the Mount Pearl town council to be uninfluenced by the St. John's council, most felt it to be a separate body with its own identity. As one of them said "It's just a different town that's all. I don't think the people think of it otherwise." As such they couldn't "see anything directly" that would show such influence. However, three of these 17 indicated that the St. John's council "should play a bigger role." As one of these three said

> If they took an example from a down to earth mayor
> like mayor _____[in St. John's] I wouldn't be
> washed out today.

Thus, for three of these 17 the feeling that St. John's politics do not influence those in Mount Pearl, can not be taken as indicative of identification with the town in which they live.

For those feeling the town council to be influenced by the city, such a feeling would not appear to be related to length of residence in the town. The median length of residence for these eight was six years, the same as for the sample as a whole. Nor does feeling the town to be influenced by the city appear to be related to the background of the respondent as outport or St. John's (see Table 39).

The 10 who could not answer the question were fairly equally split as having outport and urban backgrounds; five had outport

TABLE 39

SEEING THE MOUNT PEARL TOWN COUNCIL AS BEING INFLUENCED BY
THE ST. JOHN'S COUNCIL, BY COMMUNITY OF ORIGINS
OF THE SAMPLE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION

	Community of Origins				
	Outports	St. John's	Immediate St. John's	Mount Pearl	Other
Influenced	3	3	2	–	–
Not Influenced	7	9	–	1	–
Not Know	5	3	1	–	1

backgrounds; three had previously lived all their life in St. John's; one in the immediate St. John's area; and one in urban England. Surprisingly enough there was no relationship to length of residence in the town. In fact the median length of residence of the group was 9 years, as opposed to a median of 6 years for the sample as a whole.

Preference of a Place to Live:

The leaders were almost unanimous in saying that they would rather live in Mount Pearl than in St. John's. Only one of the 16 did not state a preference for living in Mount Pearl and he thought "it's only the boundary line that makes the difference." The 15 who preferred living in Mount Pearl gave much the same reasons as they had for liking life in Mount Pearl. These included: suburban living; similarities to the outports; quiet; the friendliness of the people; its lack of city atmosphere, while at the same time being near enough to enjoy the advantages of city life; and the feeling of being part of the community. Thus, all 15 saw Mount Pearl as having things which St. John's did not have.

When we examine the sample of the general population we find once again that the overwhelming majority would not want to move into St. John's. Twenty-nine of the 35 stated a preference for Mount Pearl; while three could not state any preference because to them it was the same; one would have preferred St. John's; and one could not make a decision on the question.

For the 29 indicating a preference for Mount Pearl the

responses can be broken down into three rough categories: those
seeing Mount Pearl as being in some way better than St. John's (16);
those who do not perceive any difference but have just grown to
like the place (9); and those who feel that it is the same so they
might as well stay where they are (4). The responses in the first
of these categories resemble those to the question, "what do you
like about living in Mount Pearl? As such, the things mentioned
were: quietness; similarities to the outports; cleanliness;
wholesomeness; friendliness of the people; cheaper taxes; less
traffic; and a slower pace of life. For the nine who have grown to
like the place the typical response was "I guess I'm adjusted to
the place" or "I'm beginning to like it here." The four who preferred
Mount Pearl but felt it to be basically the same as St. John's varied
in their responses. One looked "at it like Mount Pearl is right in
St. John's. When people ask me where I live I say St. John's." For
two Mount Pearl was "just as convenient as St. John's"; and for the
final person it was cheaper.

Coupled with the three who could not make a choice because
it was the same, a total of seven felt it to be the same in Mount
Pearl as in St. John's. As one said, "As far as I'm concerned it
wouldn't make no difference to me." The one who said he would prefer
to live in St. John's was content with Mount Pearl but his family
"want to have a bigger home," of the type not available in Mount Pearl.

One of the sample had sold his house and was about to
move at the time of interviewing. Although his new house was in a
sub-division just within the city boundaries it was "not right in
the city itself" but rather was "more like a suburb." That is to say

moving from Mount Pearl to a sub-division in St. John's was not perceived as being any change in life for him.

Throughout these groups length of residence does not appear to be a factor in determining whether the respondent feels Mount Pearl to be better than St. John's, to be the same as St. John's, or feels that Mount Pearl has just grown on him. What may be a factor is whether the respondent has an outport or St. John's background (see Table 40). When they are divided on this basis a higher proportion of people with outport backgrounds feel Mount Pearl to be better than St. John's, than do those with St. John's backgrounds.

A related question to the one concerning a preference for Mount Pearl or St. John's was the one asking whether life in St. John's was better, the same or worse than life in Mount Pearl. When one compares the responses of the leaders on these two questions one is apt at first to feel despondent. On the preference question 15 of the 16 leaders preferred life in Mount Pearl to life in St. John's, and all of the 15 gave in their responses statements to the effect that Mount Pearl was in some way better than St. John's. Yet, when the question was asked directly, "Is life in St. John's better, the same or worse than life in Mount Pearl," only nine readily answered that it was worse. Six felt that it was about the same, and one even felt that it was better.

However, for those six who seemed somewhat inconsistent between the two questions there is a possible explanation. Characteristic responses of these six appear to be raised to a more general level and included such responses as

> Anybody there in the same type job is probably living
> at the same level I am.

TABLE 40

PREFERENCE FOR MOUNT PEARL OR ST. JOHN'S
BY COMMUNITY OF ORIGINS OF SAMPLE
OF THE GENERAL POPULATION[1]

| | Community of Origins | | | | |
	Outports	St. John's	Immediate St. John's	Mount Pearl	Other
Mount Pearl Better	9	6	1	–	–
Grown to Prefer Mount Pearl	2	5	–	1	1
The Same	3	3	1	–	–
St. John's Better	1	–	–	–	–
N =	15	14	2	1	1

[1] Excluded are one former St. John's resident who could not decide, and one former immediate St. John's resident who was in the process of moving.

Or

    Living conditions are about the same for people.

Or

    It's the same kind of life.

The responses indicate a more general view of life in St. John's rather than individual things such as it being noisy, or people being unfriendly.

    The responses of the nine feeling life to be worse in St. John's remained highly similar to their responses on the preference question and the satisfaction question concerning the things they like about living in Mount Pearl. Thus, we have responses such as

    We have the same facilities and yet we have the
    space.

And

    Any of the advantages of living in St. John's you
    have here, and any of the disadvantages like noise
    and traffic you don't have.

Generally then, the leaders remained fairly consistent in their responses to the similar questions.

    This same type of reversal also occurred with our sample of the general population in their responses to the two questions. Twenty-six felt life in St. John's to be roughly the same as life in Mount Pearl, six felt life in Mount Pearl to be better, two felt life in St. John's to be better, and one did not respond to the question.

    Those thinking it to be basically the same in St. John's as in Mount Pearl felt that "it's all on the same par," and that the

TABLE 41

THOSE WHO FEEL LIFE IN ST. JOHN'S TO BE BETTER,
THE SAME, OR WORSE THAN LIFE IN MOUNT
PEARL, BY COMMUNITY OF ORIGINS

| | Community of Origins[1] | | | | | |
	Outport	St. John's	Immediate St. John's	Mount Pearl	Other	Totals
Better	1	1	–	–	–	2
Same	10	11	3	1	1	26
Worse	3	3	–	–	–	6

[1] N = 34; one former outport resident did not respond to the question.

to be worse than life in Mount Pearl three had outport backgrounds, and three had St. John's backgrounds. They were also fairly evenly split in those feeling life in Mount Pearl to be the same as life in St. John's.

When the leaders and the sample of the general population are compared on whether they feel life in St. John's to be better, the same, or worse than life in Mount Pearl, a significantly higher proportion of the leaders feel it to be worse (see Table 42). In fact when the table is collapsed to two categories "the same or better," and "worse" the chi square proves significant at better than the .01 level of significance.

The responses to the question on what the differences are between life in Mount Pearl and life in St. John's were generally a repeat of the responses to the satisfaction questions, and those to earlier identification questions.

Is Mount Pearl Distinct From St. John's?

What are the things which could make Mount Pearl distinct from St. John's as a town in its own right? When asked if it was distinct 13 of the 16 leaders replied that it is. Of these 13 only 11 could give reasons for thinking it to be a distinct community. The most frequently mentioned was that of a degree of political autonomy. As one of the more assertive on this point said

> It's separate, on its own, an incorporated town---no ties or connections with the city of St. John's whatsoever.

While nine mentioned the political autonomy and/or the town having its own boundaries, only two mentioned it having its own institutions

TABLE 42

LEADERS AND SAMPLE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION WHO SEE
LIFE IN ST. JOHN'S AS BETTER, THE SAME,
OR WORSE THAN LIFE IN MOUNT PEARL

	Leaders	General Population
St. John's Better	1	2
The Same	6	26
St. John's Worse	9	6
Not Respond	–	1
N =	16	35

When collapsed to two categories; "the same or better," and "worse"

Chi square = 7.72

Chi square .01 = 6.64
Chi square .001 = 10.83

such as schools and churches, and shopping centers. A further two
mentioned the distinctiveness as being in the attitude of the people.
As one of these expressed it

> ---even if the St. John's council did control this
> I think there would be a distinct difference between
> this part of St. John's and any other part of St. John's.

Two of the three feeling that Mount Pearl was not a distinct
community cited Mount Pearl's dependence upon St. John's as their
reason for thinking so. As one said

> Most of the people here work in St. John's, the high
> school pupils here go to school in St. John's, it
> has the same school board---

The third saw Mount Pearl as "actually [being] a part of the
Metropolitan area of St. John's," thus making it a part of the city
itself.

In our sample of the general population 25 of the 35
felt Mount Pearl to be a community distinct from St. John's while 10
did not. Of these first 25 only 18 gave reasons for thinking it so.
Chief among these, as it was mentioned nine times, was that

> it is distinct [with] its own town council and
> boundaries.

But six of the general population felt that the people and/or their
sense of identity with the town made it distinct. As one said

> I think it's this compact small town bit. This
> atmosphere that you don't get in the city--people
> more friendly.

Or as another said

> People have their own identity----don't have anything
> to do with St. John's.

Another four felt Mount Pearl to be a distinct community in that it

was self-supporting. As one said

> We got everything here that we need apart that
> people got to work in town.

Six of the 10 feeling that Mount Pearl was not a distinct community from St. John's gave reasons for thinking so. The most frequently mentioned was that Mount Pearl is so dependent upon St. John's. As one of the three thinking this said

> --it's dependent on St. John's in so many ways;
> 99.9 percent of the people have work in St. John's
> ----[Also depends on] city waters, and sewer.

Two felt that the boundaries being so close, in fact coincident, militated against its being distinct. Or as one said

> ---if you had asked me that question five years ago
> I'd say "Yes," but now the St. John's boundary is
> right at the boundary of Mount Pearl.

Finally, one felt that the influence of the city upon the town is just too great for one to think of the town as being distinct.

It is noteworthy that 11 of the sample of the general population mentioned in their responses to this question that the town would and/or should become part of St. John's in the future. Yet on the question of its distinctiveness eight of these 11 considered it to be distinct. As one said

> I would say probably in 10 years it'll be all one
> anyway.

Of these 11 six had outport backgrounds and five had St. John's backgrounds.

For those 10 who do not feel Mount Pearl to be a distinct community from St. John's such a feeling does not appear to have any relationship to community of origin of the respondent (see Table 43).

TABLE 43

FEELING MOUNT PEARL TO BE A COMMUNITY DISTINCT FROM
ST. JOHN'S BY COMMUNITY OF ORIGINS

	Community of Origins					
	Outport	St. John's	Immediate St. John's	Mount Pearl	Other	Totals
Distinct	11	10	2	1	1	25
Not Distinct	4	5	1	–	–	10
N =	15	15	3	1	1	

However the median length of residence of the 10 is three and one-half years as opposed to six years for the sample of the general population as a whole. Further only one of the 10 had lived there for more than the median number of years of the sample as a whole. Thus, the feeling that Mount Pearl is not distinct from St. John's may be a function of the length of residence of the respondent.

Identification Scale

The identification scale was the shortest of the three scales used in this investigation and it consisted of just seven items. On this scale the leaders had a mean score of 3.30 and the sample of the general population had a mean score of 3.24; a difference which did not prove significant (see Table 44). In fact, a comparison of the mean response to each item by the leaders and the general population shows that the general population had a higher mean score on four of the seven items (see Table 45).

The item which produced the greatest difference, and one on which the leaders had the higher mean response, was Item 6,

Mount Pearl is really just a part of St. John's.

On this item the mean response of the leaders was 4.19 and of the general population was 3.40, indicating that the leaders disagreed more with this statement. This is complemented by their response to Item 29,

Mount Pearl should be incorporated as a part of
St. John's.

on which the leaders had a mean response of 4.25 and the general population had a mean response of 3.60, again indicating that the

TABLE 44

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON IDENTIFICATION SCALE BY
LEADERS AND SAMPLE OF THE
GENERAL POPULATION

Score	Leaders	General Population
5.00	–	1
4.80 – 4.99	–	–
4.60 – 4.79	–	1
4.40 – 4.59	–	1
4.20 – 4.39	1	3
4.00 – 4.19	2	3
3.80 – 3.89	–	2
3.60 – 3.79	2	1
3.40 – 3.59	2	4
3.20 – 3.39	2	2
3.00 – 3.19	3	5
2.80 – 2.99	1	1
2.60 – 2.79	1	1
2.40 – 2.59	1	3
2.20 – 2.39	1	1
2.00 – 2.19	–	4
1.80 – 1.99	–	–
1.60 – 1.79	–	1
1.40 – 1.59	–	1
N =	16	35

TABLE 45

MEAN RESPONSES OF LEADERS AND SAMPLE OF THE
GENERAL POPULATION PER ITEM ON
IDENTIFICATION SCALE

Item	Leaders	General Population	Difference
1	2.94	3.09	− 0.15
6	4.19	3.40	+ 0.79
10	2.81	3.11	− 0.30
15	1.69	2.34	− 0.65
25	3.38	3.14	+ 0.24
29	4.25	3.60	+ 0.65
31	3.88	4.12	− 0.24

leaders disagree more with this statement.

Three of the items on which the sample of the general population had the higher mean response suggest that the leaders did not let their identification with Mount Pearl overshadow their knowledge of the situation in the town. For example, on Item 15,

> Mount Pearl is not dependent upon St. John's

the leaders had a mean response of 1.69 compared to a mean response of 2.34 by the sample of the general population. Also, on Item 10,

> There is just as much juvenile delinquency in
> Mount Pearl as elsewhere

the leaders had a mean response of 2.81 compared to a mean response of 3.11 by the general population, indicating that the general population disagreed more with this statement. A similar phenomenon occurred on Item 1,

> Our community leaders are not influenced by those
> in St. John's.

On this item the leaders had a mean response of 2.94 compared to a mean response of 3.09 by the sample of the general population, indicating that the leaders agreed less with this statement than did the sample of the general population.

The responses of the leaders and general population are a reflection of their responses to the related open-ended questions. For example, on the open-ended question concerning the influence of St. John's politics on the Mount Pearl situation a higher proportion of the leaders than of the general population felt that such an influence does exist. It would seem, then, that while the leaders may identify more strongly with Mount Pearl than do the sample of the general population, they do not let their identification with the

town blot out what they thought to be the true situation--a situation which the general population may not have been as aware of.

When we examine the two main sub-groups of the general population we find that former St. John's residents have a mean identification score of 3.30 compared to a mean of 3.23 for former outport residents. This slight difference also proved to be insignificant. Given the complicating factors which were discussed above and the fact that there was a small number of items on the scale, such a difference is not surprising.

The scores of the leaders and sample of the general population on the identification scale were correlated with their scores on the two previous scales. The correlation coefficients for the satisfaction and identification scales were, for the leaders .4949 and for the general population .5277. A correlation coefficient of .2494 was obtained for the integration and identification scores of the leaders, and a correlation coefficient of .1579 was obtained for the integration and identification scores of the general population.

Conclusion and Implications

This chapter attempted to discover whether the leaders and general population of Mount Pearl identify with that town as their "community." The analysis has produced some findings which parallel those of the three previous chapters but it has also brought out some new points, as well as discovering some confounding variables.

As was the case with satisfaction and integration, the

leaders appear to identify more strongly with Mount Pearl than do the sample of the general population. This was clearly shown by the proportion of leaders who saw life in Mount Pearl as better than life in St. John's. On this issue the large majority of the general population saw life in the city and in the town as being comparable.

Also, the leaders generally felt more strongly than did the sample of the general population that the people of the town had an interest in local politics.

On the issue of interest in local politics we also found differences between the responses of former outport and former St. John's residents. A higher proportion of the former outport residents felt that the people of Mount Pearl take an interest in local politics. A similar finding appeared in reply to the question concerning whether the respondant preferred to live in Mount Pearl or in St. John's. Although the majority of both groups preferred Mount Pearl, a higher proportion of former outport residents named Mount Pearl as being somehow better than St. John's in their responses to the question.

When the leaders were questioned concerning the influence of St. John's politics on Mount Pearl politics a confounding variable became evident. A large proportion of the leaders felt that the Mount Pearl situation was indeed influenced by that in St. John's. This same response was also given to the related scale items. However, this seeming lack of identification may have been the result of the fact that they as leaders were aware of just how much Mount Pearl was dependent upon St. John's.

The length of residence of the respondent became evident as a factor in determining how he responded on several occasions throughout the chapter. It was a factor for those eight who did not feel that the people of Mount Pearl have a feeling of community. It was also a factor for those five who did not know whether the people of Mount Pearl take much interest in local politics. However, we must not let that distract from the fact that 11 of our sample of the general population did not feel the people of the town to take much interest in local politics, since their responses were not related to length of residence in the town. It is probably significant, though, that length of residence appeared to be an important factor among those 10 who did not feel Mount Pearl to be a community distinct from St. John's. Yet, even though the length of residence of the respondant was a factor in two of the issues examined in this chapter it was not a factor in the responses to a great majority of the issues.

For example, on the issue of the support of, and participation in, the clubs and organizations in the town 10 of the 35 in the sample of the general population could not answer the question. Further, their lack of such knowledge was not associated with length of residence in the town. The same was also true of those 10 who did not know whether St. John's politics influenced those in Mount Pearl.

This chapter has shown then: that the leaders do identify more strongly with Mount Pearl than do the sample of the general population; that there are also differences between former outport

and former St. John's residents in degree of identification with the town; and that a large proportion of the sample of the general population are not aware of what goes on in certain areas of life in Mount Pearl. The implications of these and previous findings will now be examined.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The leaders and sample of the general population have
been examined on the dimensions of community satisfaction, integration
into the community, and identification with the community. We shall
now review our findings in terms of our theoretical framework. The
main question is, of course, whether or not Mount Pearl is a
community.

Theoretical Framework:

Lindeman, Martindale, and Warren formed the basis for
the conception of community which we have advanced in this study.
Lindeman was the first to argue that traditional conceptions of
community were archaic with their emphases on geographical area,
economics, and government. For him the community was a dynamic
entity with its dynamics residing in the interests, wishes, and
purposes of individual human beings interacting with other human beings
in varieties of social groupings. A community defined implicitly

> in any process of social interaction which gives
> rise to a more intensive or more extensive attitude
> and practise of interdependence, cooperation,
> collaboration and unification. (1937:103)

The definition of community which Lindeman arrived at is that it is
an aggregation of individual beings living within numerous types of
groupings. (1937:104)

One of the few to follow up Lindeman's work was Martindale (1960) who was particularly influenced by his forerunner's ideas on the implicit elements in a definition of community—a definition concerning the process of social interaction and omitting any dependence upon locality. For Martindale "the essence of the community has always been found in its character as a set of institutions composing a total way of life." (1964:71)

Martindale also thought that the formation of groups is a necessity in order to have a community. As such these groupings center around three main problem solving areas of life: (1) mastery of nature; (2) socialization; and (3) social control. The community, then, is the integration of these groups into a total way of life.

The three interrelated processes through which Martindale saw the community forming were: (1) stabilization or the repetition of successful solutions to collective problems in various areas of social life; (2) consistency, a process which prevents conflicts between the solutions to problems in different areas of life; and (3) closure or the reaching of a working arrangement among the various institutions.

An important principle for the present analysis is Martindale's principle of completeness. As an ideal construct we stated that the community is a set or system of groups sufficient to solve all of the basic problems of ordinary ways of life.

When the community is not complete in itself there are produced "vertical" ties relating social units within the community to those outside it. Warren (1963) found that with "vertical" ties

binding the local community to the larger society forever increasing and strengthening it becomes more difficult to conceptualize the local unit as complete. Of particular importance for a suburban study is the fact that the institutions serving people, and the interests and behaviour patterns that people share more often than not extend beyond the political boundaries of the town. The community then must be considered as something other than political boundaries. It has to be considered as a "total framework of living." (1963:6)

Although Lindeman, Martindale, and Warren have greatly advanced our conceptualization of community in turning the focus toward the individual the present author argued that it must go still further. The theorists discussed so far have dealt mainly with the physical needs of the people who form the community, and have ignored needs such as the social and esthetic.

In reducing the community to the level of the individual we have argued that two people living next door to each other may nevertheless belong to two vastly different communities (see p. 197). That is, the effective community for each, the community which meets all of the needs of each individual are different although they reside in the same jurisdictional area. The sets of groupings carrying each of the individuals through a normal year and a normal life time may be almost completely different.

When we applied our definition of community to the suburban community we found there to be certain important variables determining whether the suburb is or is not a community. Included among these variables were: the type of suburb (dormitory or industrial); the size of the suburb; the age of the suburb; and the

facilities within it. It was concluded that the extent to which the suburb meets all the needs of the majority of its residents, and has achieved stabilization, consistency, and closure is the extent to which it approximates being a community.

The Findings:

The findings on all three of the major dimensions of community satisfaction, community integration and community identification were highly consistent with one another. In their responses to the satisfaction questions the leaders appeared to be more highly satisfied with life in Mount Pearl than did the sample of the general population. Also in their responses to the integration and identification questions the leaders appeared to be more highly integrated into Mount Pearl and identify with it more strongly. It was also evident that related to these the leaders had a greater community orientation [as was also indicated by the community knowledge questions] than did our sample of the general population.

The findings were also fairly consistent as the two main sub-groups of our sample of the general population were compared on each dimension. The former outport residents among the sample appeared to be more satisfied with life in the town than did former St. John's residents. While they did not appear to be any more highly integrated into the town they did identify with it more strongly than did the former St. John's residents. Further, using general community knowledge as an indicator of community orientation they appeared to be more oriented toward Mount Pearl than did former St. John's residents.

The fact that Mount Pearl may provide a more complete "framework of living" for former outport residents than for former St. John's residents was hinted at early in the study. In asking the sample of the general population who they considered to be leaders it was found that a higher proportion of former outport residents were able to name people whom they considered to be leaders. Also, when the leaders themselves were divided on the basis of their community of origins a significantly higher proportion of them had outport backgrounds in comparison to the proportion of the population comprised by former outport residents.

While the leaders and sample of the general population were found to differ significantly on all three dimensions they did not differ equally on all. The satisfaction and integration questions and scales found the greatest difference between the leaders and general population. The identification questions while finding significant differences between the leaders and general population on some of the open-ended questions did not consistently distinguish between the two groups. While some of the identification items distinguished between the leaders and the general population, the scale as a whole contained a confounding variable. Finally, the community knowledge question found there to be highly significant differences between the leaders and the sample of the general population in community orientation.

The two main sub-groups of our sample of the general population differed most consistently on the satisfaction dimension. Former outport residents were generally more satisfied with the

community as was indicated by both the open-ended questions and scale items. While they did not appear to differ on the integration questions and scales, they did differ on the identification dimension as several questions indicated that former outport residents identify more strongly with Mount Pearl than do former St. John's residents. Also, former outport residents scored significantly higher on the community knowledge questions than did former St. John's residents. Thus they would seem to have a greater community orientation toward Mount Pearl.

It is also noteworthy that for several issues in the identification questions there appeared to be a time factor involved on the part of those who did not identify strongly with the town. This was particularly important on the issues of whether the people have a feeling of community, and whether Mount Pearl can be thought of as a community distinct from St. John's. On both issues those indicating "No" had a much lower median length of residence than did the sample of the general population as a whole.

An important finding which has not been greatly enlarged upon is simply the importance which St. John's has in the lives of the majority of the respondants, and how it is very much simply an accepted part of their lives. Almost everyone appeared aware of just how much Mount Pearl is dependent upon St. John's because of its lack of an economic base. The shopping facilities within the town were generally considered as inadequate, yet no one was disturbed over this since anything you could want could be had in St. John's just a couple of minutes away. While the leaders were disturbed by

the town's lack of high school facilities most of the general
population were not aware of it; and those who were, were pleased
that they have school buses to take the children daily to St. John's.
Again, concerning the lack of recreational and entertainment facilities
for adults the general view was that you go to St. John's; and few
seemed to be disturbed by this. In short, St. John's is in many
respects an everyday part of the "framework of living" of the people
in Mount Pearl.

Some Recurring Areas of Differences:

The three dimensions of community satisfaction, community
integration, and community identification looked at basically the
same areas of life but from different points of view. Satisfaction
and identification were considered as attitudinal in nature, and
integration as behavioural. The areas looked at were: shopping,
education, organizational participation, town council, visiting and
neighbourliness, the people themselves, Mount Pearl's relationship
to St. John's, and generally those things liked and disliked about
life in Mount Pearl. Except for shopping something which both the
leaders and general population had to do mainly in St. John's
there tended to be differences between the leaders and sample of
the general population on these variables across the dimensions.

For example, the leaders expressed a much higher general
satisfaction with the town council than did our sample of the general
population. When looked at from the point of view of integration
the leaders also indicated that they support the town council to a
greater extent than do the general population. This was supplemented

by the fact that a much higher proportion of the leaders felt there
to be a general interest in local politics. It was further supported
by the fact that while most of the leaders knew the names of the
councillors, few of the general population did.

Parallel results were found on the knowledge of, and
participation in, the clubs and organizations within the town. While
most of the leaders had multi-memberships the great majority of the
general population had none whatsoever. On the identification
dimension we find that a large portion of the general population
are not familiar with the clubs and organizations within the town.
These findings were again supported by the community knowledge
questions on which a much greater proportion of the leaders were
familiar with the leaders of the local clubs.

It was also evident that the leaders think more highly
of the people of Mount Pearl than do the sample of the general
population. On a satisfaction question asking what the respondent
liked about living in Mount Pearl a high proportion of the leaders
mentioned the people of the town. Again when the respondents were
questioned about the people of the town the leaders seemed to show
the greater enthusiasm. This was also reflected in the integration
question concerning visiting as it became evident that a greater
proportion of the leaders visit with their friends and neighbours in
Mount Pearl, and that their visiting is more intensive.

It is also noteworthy that the leaders displayed a
community orientation on certain issues. For example, on the question
of the adequacy of the schools the great majority of them expressed
the need that their town had for such facilities. Also, on the

community knowledge questions used as indicators of community orientation the leaders scored significantly higher than did our sample of the general population.

To quote Sykes, the leaders as

> Local individuals---are in a certain sense truly members of the community. They live there, they work there, their goals and interests are intertwined with those of the community itself. (1951:382)

Although the leaders far outstrip the sample of the general population in these respects those constituting the sample can not all be placed in the one category. When we compare the former St. John's and former outport residents across dimensions we find some similarities to the comparison between the leaders and the sample of the general population as a whole.

Attitudes toward the town council once again proved to be a discriminating issue. The former outport residents displayed a generally more favourable attitude toward the town council than did the former St. John's residents. Also, on the identification question concerning interest in local politics a higher proportion of former outport residents felt there to be much interest in local politics. This would tend to be supported by the fact that former outport residents were also more familiar with the names of the councillors.

On the satisfaction question about the people of Mount Pearl, a higher proportion of former outport residents reacted favourably toward the people. When asked what they disliked about life in Mount Pearl a large proportion of former outport residents

could think of nothing that they disliked about living in the town. This would be supported by the fact that on the identification question concerning a preference for living in Mount Pearl or St. John's a higher proportion of former outport residents named something indicating Mount Pearl to be a better place to live than St. John's.

There is another trend that should be commented upon. On some of the issues there was a large proportion of the general population who were not familiar with the aspects of life in the town that were being touched upon. Such a phenomenon did not appear to be related to either length of residence or community of origins. This was particularly true on the issues of the clubs and organizations in Mount Pearl and a possible influence of St. John's politics upon those in Mount Pearl.

However, length of residence did appear to be a factor in determining the sample's responses to certain questions. Notable among these were that both those indicating that there was no feeling of community, and those feeling that Mount Pearl was not distinct from St. John's, had a much lower median length of residence than did the sample as a whole.

The Scales:

Generally each of the scales distinguished [although the identification scale did not do so significantly] between the leaders and sample of the general population. Also, within each scale itself there were differences between the leaders and general population in their mean responses to certain items. Such differences

were often reflections of corresponding differences in their
responses to the related open-ended questions.

Although the satisfaction and integration scales worked
well there were difficulties with the identification scale. On this
last scale the leaders scored lower than the general population on
four of the seven items. It was suggested that this may have been
due to the fact that the leaders through their leadership positions
were more aware of the dependence of Mount Pearl upon St. John's.

There were also trends pervading the three scales
similar to those noted in the responses to the open-ended questions.
For example, the more highly favourable attitude of the leaders
toward the town council was reflected in their responses to the
related satisfaction and integration scale items. Also their more
highly favourable attitude toward the town and the people in it
was reflected in the related satisfaction, integration, and
identification scale items.

While the scales distinguished significantly between the
leaders and sample of the general population as a whole, they did
not distinguish well between the two main sub-groups of our sample
of the general population.

The scores of the leaders and sample of the general
population on the three scales were correlated with one another.
The correlations showed that the scales did not measure the same
variable. For the leaders the satisfaction and integration scores
had a correlation of .4317; the satisfaction and identification
scores had a correlation of .4949; and the integration and identification

scores had a correlation of .2494. With the sample of the general
population the satisfaction and integration scores had a correlation
of .5973; the satisfaction and identification scores had a correlation
of .5277; and the integration and identification scales had a
correlation of only .1579. It would appear then that none of the
three dimensions are related. That is to say, a knowledge of one
of the dimensions does not give much predictive power as to either
of the other two.

The Community: Actual and Perceived

Our basic definition of community is that which meets
all of the needs of the individual--physical, social, and psychological.
As such the community provides the individual with a complete framework
of living. It is also a definition without concern for geographical
area. This has been illustrated in our previous argument that a
small isolated community, a band of wandering hunters, or the slum
of a large city may be considered a community. To ask what makes
either of these a community would prompt the reply that either is
capable of meeting all of the needs of the majority of its members
over a period of time. In order to decide whether or not any given
aggregation of people is a community we must first discover whether
they have a common framework of living. Secondly, if they do have
a common framework of living we must decide whether or not it is in
any way unique, or whether it is merely a sub part of a larger whole.
In our present situation the task is to decide whether or not that
particular aggregation of people living within those political-
jurisdictional boundaries designated as Mount Pearl constitute a community.

From Martindale we cited the principle of completeness, as well as the three community forming processes of stabilization, consistency, and closure. We earlier argued that in order for it to be considered a community these three processes must have taken place. Also, it was argued that Mount Pearl because it is a new town with a rapidly increasing population, with people coming from many different backgrounds, and with new groups and organizations springing up, can not yet be considered a community. And it was also argued that Mount Pearl because of its lack of an economic base and adequate facilities is highly dependent upon St. John's and, therefore, not capable of providing its residents with a complete framework of living.

The related data indicate that, considered in terms of Martindale's theory of community, Mount Pearl is not a community. It has previously been noted that the people of the town are aware of its lack of an economic base and adequate facilities; and that it is an accepted part of their framework of living that they shop in St. John's, work in St. John's, that their children go to school in St. John's, and that they go to St. John's for recreation and entertainment. It is St. John's that meets many of these needs, and the people are conscious of this.

Some of the respondents were also aware of the fact that Mount Pearl has not attained stability, consistency, or closure. It is not easy for stability to come about when the people have such varied backgrounds, or as one respondent said

> Trying to get people feeling and thinking in the
> same way and doing things the same way---in ways
> other than they're use to, is difficult.

Combined with the continuing rapid growth and its dependence upon St. John's it is difficult to consider Mount Pearl a community.

While it is quite evident that Mount Pearl is not capable of meeting all of the needs of the majority of its residents and therefore not a community when judged by Martindale's theory, it appears that generally the leaders of the town perceive it as being a community. Most of the data seem to indicate this as: a high proportion work within the town; they are more active socially within the town; and they have a high community orientation.

It would also seem that former outport residents perceive it as being more of a community than former St. John's residents. This was indicated by differences in community satisfaction and identification, and community orientation.

While the framework of living for the members of all three groups include both Mount Pearl and St. John's, Mount Pearl plays a greater part in the life of the leaders than in those of the main sub-groups of the general population. Also it plays a greater part in the framework of living of the former outport residents than it does in those of the former St. John's residents. For the sample of the general population as a whole it appears that St. John's is a much more extensive part of their framework of living. Thus, the composition of the frameworks of the three groups differ.

Such a fact can be handled by certain aspects of our theoretical framework for we have tried to extend the definition of community to the level of the individual. As such we have previously stated that two people living next door to one another may have vastly

different frameworks of living. The institutions and social groupings
carrying them through a normal year and normal life time may be almost
totally different. Such is clearly the case when the leaders and
sample of the general population are compared, and there is also a
difference between former outport and former St. John's residents.

These last few paragraphs have brought out an important
difference between the community as treated by Sociological theory
and the community as perceived by the individual. In particular,
while Mount Pearl can not be considered a community in terms of
traditional Sociological theory some of its residents perceive it as
a community. Continued research in this vein should attempt to find
and examine those variables accounting for the fact that while some
residents do perceive Mount Pearl as a community others do not.

APPENDIX

1.   Age of Husband:_____Yrs.
             Wife: _____Yrs.

2. (i)   No. of people living in house? _____
    (ii)   No. of children in house?   _____

3. (i)   Does interviewer: Live in main part of house _____
                         or in basement apartment   _____
    (ii)   How old is your house? _____ Yrs.
    (iii)   How many bedrooms does your house contain? _____
    (iv)   How many rooms does your house contain? _____
    (v)   Do you own or rent the house?
                              Own _____
                              Rent _____
    (vi)   (If own) Do you have a basement apartment?
                              Yes _____
                              No _____
         (If yes) What is the approximate rental value?$_____ per mo.
               Is the tenant a relative of you or your wife?
                              Yes _____
                              No _____
         (If yes) What relation is he? _____

4. (i)   What is your educational level? _____
         What is your wife's educational level? _____

5. (i)   Where do you work? Place _____
                      Name of Company _____
                      Job _____
                      Position _____
    (ii)   How long have you been working there? _____Yrs.
    (iii)   What is your approximate salary? _____
    (iv)   What special training have you had for present or past
         jobs? _____

6. (i)   Does your wife work? Yes ____
                        No _____
    (ii)   (If yes) (a) What is her job? _____
                  (b) What is her approximate salary? _____

7. (i)   Were you born in Newfoundland?
                    Yes _____
                    No _____
    (ii)   What is the name of the community in which you grew up?

                                  _____
    (iii) Approximately how many people lives in (name of community)
         at that time? _____

8. (i)   Are your parents still alive?
                 Both _____
                 Father only _____
                 Mother only _____
                 Neither _____

9.   What is your father's educational level? _____

10.   What was your father's job when you were growing up?

                                                               _____

11.   (If still living)
          What is his present job?_____

12.   Were you working before you left the community where you grew up?   Yes _____

                                         No _____

                                       N/A _____

          If Yes:

                  What was your job? _____

          If No: Why Not? _____
                                            _____

13.   How old were you when you left the community where you grew? _____ Yrs.

14.   Why did you leave the community where you grew up? _____
          _____

15. (i)   What organized activities such as town council, church or school boards, legion, etc. do you remember your parents belonging to or taking part in when you were growing up? What offices did they hold?

	Father		Mother	
	Activity	Office	Activity	Office
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____	_____	_____

  (ii)   Are they still active in organized community activities?

                                      Yes _____

                                      No _____

                                      N/A _____

          (If Yes)
          What activities are they still active in and what offices do they hold?

	Father		Mother	
	Activity	Office	Activity	Office
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____	_____	_____

16. (i)   Did you take part in any organized community activities before you left the community where you grew up?

Yes _____

No _____

N/A _____

(ii)   (If yes)

What community activities did you take part in? What offices did you hold?

Activity   Office

1._____

2._____

3._____

4._____

5._____

6._____

17.   Where else have you lived since leaving the community where you grew up? How long did you stay there and what was your job there?

Place   Time   Job

1._____

2._____

3._____

4._____

5._____

6._____

18.   How long have you lived in Mount Pearl? _____Yrs.

19.   Why did you move to Mount Pearl?

_____

_____

_____

20. (i)   Did you take a new job when you moved there

Yes _____

No _____

(ii)   (If Yes)

What was your previous job? _____

_____

(iii)   (If no)

What was your job?_____

_____

21. (i)   How many brothers and sisters do you have?

Brothers _____

Sisters _____

(ii)   Where are they living? What are their occupations?

Place   Occupations

1._____

2._____

3._____

4._____

5._____

6._____

22. (i) Does your family shop for groceries and other necessities in Mount Pearl?

All the time_____
Sometimes_____
Never _____

Comment: _____
_____

(ii) How would you describe shopping facilities in Mount Pearl?
_____
_____
_____
_____

23. (i) Do you belong to any community organizations or take part in any organized community activities?

Yes _____
No _____

(ii) (If yes)
What is your position in each? Length of membership?
Frequency of attendance? How often does each meet?

Mt. Pearl

Org.	Position	Time	Attendance	Meetings
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				

(iii) Do you belong to any clubs or organizations in St. John's?

Yes _____
No _____

(iv) (If yes)
What is your position in each? Length of membership?
Frequency of attendance? How often does each meet?

St. John's

Org.	Position	Time	Attendance	Meetings
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				

24. (i) Do you have any children attending school?

yes _____
No _____

(ii) (If yes)
Where do your children go to school? Age? Grade?

Name	Age	School	Grade
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			

(iii) Do you think the educational facilities in Mount Pearl are adequate?   Yes _____
                                                         No _____

(iv) Do you attend P.T.A. meetings? How often?
                                      Yes _____
                                      No _____
     Frequency _____

25. (i)   Do your children belong to any groups or clubs or take part in any organized activities?
                              Yes _____
                              No _____
                              N/A _____

    (ii) (If yes)
          What groups do they belong to, or organized activities do they take part in?
          _____
          _____

26. (i)   What is your religious denomination?
                    Husband_____   Wife _____
    (ii) Is there a church of your denomination in Mount Pearl?
          Husband: Yes _____   Wife: Yes _____
                    No _____   No _____
    (iii) (If yes)
          Do you attend the church in Mount Pearl?   Yes _____
                                                      No _____

27.   Is life here better, the same, or worse than in the community where you grew up?
                              Better _____
                              Same _____
                              Worse _____
          Comment _____
          _____
          _____

28. (i)   What are the things you like about living in Mount Pearl?
          _____
          _____
          _____

    (ii) Which is best? (Try to obtain rank order)
          _____
          _____
          _____

29. (i)   What are the things you dislike about living in Mount Pearl?
          _____
          _____

    (ii) Which is worst? (Try to obtain rank order)
          _____
          _____

30. (i)   Do you do much visiting with your friends and neighbours
           in Mount Pearl?   Yes _____
                                     No _____
           Comment: - _____
           _____

     (ii) Where do you go when you want to go out for the evening?
           _____
           _____

31. (i)   What are the people in Mount Pearl like?
           _____
           _____
           _____

     (ii) Do you think that the people in Mount Pearl have a feeling
           of belonging to a community?   Yes _____
                                                 No _____
           Comment: _____
           _____

32. (i)   What clubs and organizations are there in Mount Pearl?
           _____
           _____

     (ii) In general, do the people support and participate in these
           clubs and organizations?   Yes _____
                                            No _____
           Comments: _____
           _____

33. (i)   Do many people from Mount Pearl belong to clubs and
           organizations in St. John's.   Yes _____
                                                No _____
     (ii) Do people take part in organizations and activities in
           St. John's when the same organizations and activities are
           available in Mount Pearl?   Yes _____
                                            No _____
           Comment: _____
           _____

34. (i)   Do the people in Mount Pearl take much interest in local
           politics?   Yes _____
                             No _____
           Comment: _____
           _____

     (ii) How effective is the town council?
           _____
           _____
           _____

     (iii) What sort of things have they done for the people of Mount
           Pearl? _____
           _____
           _____

35.   Do St. John's politics have any effect on those in Mount
         Pearl?   Yes _____
                             No _____
         Comment: _____
         _____

36. (i)   Would you rather live in St. John's than here? Yes ____
                                                            No _____
            Why (not)?_____
            _____

     (ii)   Is life in St. John's better, the same or worse than life
            in Mount Pearl?   Better _____
                                    Same _____
                                    Worse _____
            Comment: _____
            _____

     (iii) What differences are there between life in Mount Pearl and
            life in St. John's? _____
            _____
            _____

37. (i)   Do you think that Mount Pearl can be thought of as a
            community distinct from St. John's?   Yes _____
                                                   No _____
            Comment: _____
            _____

38. (i)   How many schools are there in Mount Pearl? What are their
            names?   No.   _____
                            Names: _____
     (ii)   How many churches are there in Mount Pearl? What are their
            Names?   No. _____
                            Names: _____
     (iii) In what year did Mount Pearl elect its first town council?
                                                            _____
     (iv)   Who is the present mayor of Mount Pearl? _____
     (v)   Who are the other town councillors? _____
            _____

     (vi)   Who is the leader of the Lions Club? _____
     (vii) Who leads the local branch of the Canadian Legion?
                                                        _____
     (viii) What is the approximate population of Mount Pearl?
                                                        _____
39.   What do you see in the future for Mount Pearl?
         (Probe for things like "growth" and "incorporation")
         _____
         _____
         _____

40.   Who are the people you consider to be community leaders?
         _____
         _____
         _____

		SA A U D SD
1.	Our community leaders are not influenced by those in St. John's	5 4 3 2 1
2.	It is difficult for the people living here to get together on anything.	1 2 3 4 5
3.	I take part in local activities (eg. the minor baseball league).	5 4 3 2 1
4.	No one living here seems to care how the community looks.	1 2 3 4 5
5.	No one here need lack for things to do.	5 4 3 2 1
6.	Mount Pearl is really just a part of St. John's.	1 2 3 4 5
7.	With few exceptions the leaders are capable and hard working.	5 4 3 2 1
8.	There are not many families you would care to marry into.	1 2 3 4 5
9.	I know few of the other people well on my street.	1 2 3 4 5
10.	There is just as much juvenile delinquency in Mount Pearl as elsewhere.	1 2 3 4 5
11.	I belong to a lot of groups in Mount Pearl.	5 4 3 2 1
12.	I would rather live in St. John's than Mount Pearl.	1 2 3 4 5
13.	I prefer to have my children go to school in St. John's.	1 2 3 4 5
14.	Almost everyone here is polite and courteous.	5 4 3 2 1
15.	Mount Pearl is not dependent upon St. John's.	5 4 3 2 1
16.	The community is not located in a desirable place.	1 2 3 4 5
17.	One can buy things at a reasonable price in Mount Pearl.	5 4 3 2 1
18.	I have few friends in Mount Pearl.	1 2 3 4 5
19.	The future of the community looks bright.	5 4 3 2 1
20.	The people of Mount Pearl have to do without a good many conveniences.	1 2 3 4 5

		SA A U D SD
21.	Everyone living in Mount Pearl helps to decide how things should be run.	5 4 3 2 1
22.	Quite a number of residents from here have really amounted to something.	5 4 3 2 1
23.	The community has to put up with poor school facilities.	1 2 3 4 5
24.	I don't feel as if Mount Pearl were a real community.	1 2 3 4 5
25.	The people in Mount Pearl are a better type than those in St. John's.	5 4 3 2 1
26.	A person has to leave town in order to have a good time.	1 2 3 4 5
27.	It will never seem like home to me.	1 2 3 4 5
28.	I seldom go out for a night on the town in Mount Pearl.	1 2 3 4 5
29.	Mount Pearl should be incorporated as a part of St. John's.	1 2 3 4 5
30.	Real friends are hard to find in Mount Pearl.	1 2 3 4 5
31.	The people in Mount Pearl really have a feeling of belonging to a community.	5 4 3 2 1
32.	I support the town council in its efforts to benefit the community.	5 4 3 2 1
33.	Not much can be said in favor of a place this size.	1 2 3 4 5
34.	I have little association with groups in St. John's.	5 4 3 2 1
35.	The town is seldom troubled with noise and disorder.	5 4 3 2 1
36.	I usually vote in town council elections.	5 4 3 2 1
37.	I attend Mount Pearl churches rather than those in St. John's.	5 4 3 2 1
38.	Many people really enjoy living in the community.	5 4 3 2 1
39.	There is a strong sense of neighbourliness in the community.	5 4 3 2 1

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