

Winter 1997

# A place in town: Women producing cultural stratification

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**A PLACE IN TOWN:  
WOMEN PRODUCING CULTURAL STRATIFICATION**

**BY**

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B.S., Pennsylvania State University, 1991  
M.A., University of New Hampshire, 1992**

**DISSERTATION**

**Submitted to the University of New Hampshire  
In Partial Fulfillment of  
The Requirements for the Degree of**

**Doctor in Philosophy**

**In**

**Sociology**

**December, 1997**

**UMI Number: 9819686**

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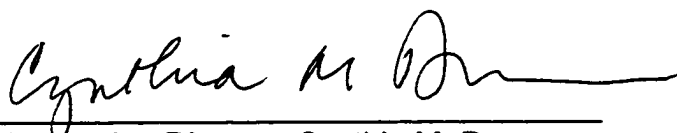
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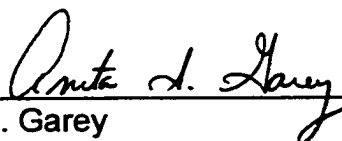
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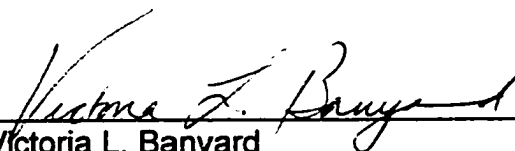
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## ABSTRACT

### A PLACE IN TOWN: WOMEN PRODUCING CULTURAL STRATIFICATION

by

Carrie L. Yodanis  
University of New Hampshire, December, 1997

This study examines how women in a working class, fishing community select and present cultural orientations to distinguish themselves from other women and create stratification. Based on data gathered through eight months of participant observation and 44 in-depth interviews, the research shows that local women choose and then reinforce social identities that reflect the norms, values, lifestyles of either the working class town, the wealthy summer colony, or people from outside the community. They present their cultural orientations through their work ethics, leisure activities, consumption practices, and family values and expectations. By producing these identities, women create and establish a place within three distinct cultural groups that reflect the American class structure. Relying on the theoretical work of Weber, Bourdieu, Goffman, and Blumer, this study shows that cultural aspects of stratification are not merely determined by structural position, but are continually produced and reproduced through daily interaction. Women play a unique role in this process as a result of their social roles in the family, community, and work.

## INTRODUCTION

Social stratification is most often defined as unequal access to measurable, objective resources – occupational and educational attainment, income, and wealth – which results in unequal class position and power (Marx, 1978 [1848]; Dahrendorf, 1959; Wright, 1984). Yet, stratification also occurs in the realm of culture – values, norms, lifestyles, morals and worldviews. Culture is a basis for unequal social status (Weber, 1946 [1922]; Bourdieu, 1987). Individuals are ranked as superior or inferior to others based on their values, norms, lifestyles, and worldviews.

Since Weber's work, there has been growing attention to cultural aspects of stratification. Theorists and researchers examine the significance of tastes in art, leisure activities, and socialization of children on the development and maintenance of inequality (Veblen, 1973; Bourdieu, 1984; Kohn, 1990). While emphasizing the cultural, these theories and studies continue to be rooted in the structural and economic. Inequality in values, lifestyles, and norms is an outcome of unequal access to income, wealth, prestige, and education. Cultural stratification often mirrors structural, economic stratification (Kohn, 1969; Veblen, 1973; Bourdieu, 1984).

In recent years, however, symbolic interactionists have built on Blumer's (1969) work and argued for the role of agency in social stratification. Social

inequality, they find, is created and recreated through daily patterned, social interactions (West and Fenstermaker, 1995). For example, in her study of the relationship between domestic workers and their employers, Rollins (1985) found that differences in power, prestige, and status are not only an outcome of unequal structural position but these women create inequalities through the ways they interaction each other. Similarly, by applying this perspective to the role of culture in stratification, inequality based on lifestyles, values, world views, and norms are explained as not only outcomes of structural position but continually produced and reproduced through social interaction.

Anderson, in his 1976 study of black men in an inner city liquor store, demonstrates how cultural distinctions and inequality based on these differences are created through the interaction between men. By presenting certain values, worldviews, norms, and attitudes in daily conversation and behaviors and selectively associating with, deferring to, and rejecting others based on their cultural orientations, a system of stratification based on cultural differences emerges within the setting of the liquor store.

Rollins is one of the few researchers to examine the role of women in stratification. Most, like Anderson, do not include women as the focus of their research and theories. As a result, women have never "fit" accurately into traditional definitions of social stratification. Men's socioeconomic status, occupation and education, has traditionally been the basis for describing and explaining systems of stratification. Women's social positions have been



defined in terms of their relationships with men - the socioeconomic status of their fathers and husbands. Although women's educational and occupational attainment are increasingly being added to measures to social class, over 40 percent of women in the United States in the 1990's still do not work in the formal labor market. As a result, they continue to be excluded from structural definitions of social class and inequality.

In a recent theoretical piece, Collins (1992) suggests that women may belong more in the realm of cultural stratification than socioeconomic stratification. He argues that, "It is the production and consumption of symbols of status that give women virtually all of their autonomous success. Women live subjectively – and in terms of their successes, objectively as well – much more in the realm of status than in the realm of class (pg. 228)." Through their roles and behaviors in the family and work, Collins (1992) argues, women create cultural images, objects, meaning, and identities. Yet, empirical evidence of how and why women act as agents in the creation of cultural difference and inequality is lacking. How do women, through their micro-level interaction, create cultural stratification?

In June, 1996, I came to Sandy Haven, a rural coastal town in Maine. My objective was to study the changing role of fishermen's wives in work, family, and community. On my first day of field work, I bought the local paper and went to the Coffee Shop, a coffee and ice cream shop located in the center of town. Over the next five months, I and nine other women, went to the Coffee Shop frequently and

often daily for breakfast, coffee, and conversation. The theoretical questions I raise in this study emerged during these mornings as I observed social interaction between the women in this public spot.

To me and the tourists who passed through the shop, the Coffee Shop first appears to be a friendly spot for like-minded local women to gather. Women come together each morning to share stories, troubles, and laughs. The manager described the gathering spot as “Joe's Bar for women”. After becoming a regular myself, however, I began to notice patterns in the interaction between women. The nine women do not all socialize and share stories, troubles, and laughs together. Rather, certain women present only certain troubles and stories to particular women. I came to realize that the women segregate themselves into three groups through their seating arrangements. Each group is quite distinct. They hold different topics of conversation and behave in unique ways. The interaction between the groups of women is characterized by patterned means of demonstrating association or avoidance.

The first group consists of Nancy, Jenn, and Holly. Nancy and Jenn are the first to arrive when the Coffee Shop opens at 8:00. Holly is often there working or visiting on her way to another job. They sit at their ‘regular stools’ at the counter and people often make jokes about how their names should be put on the stools. Yet, they are there for less time than the other women. They are always gone by 9:30. Their conversations are about family, pets, or neighbors. However, the overwhelming focus of discussion is work - what work was done

the day before, what work needs to be done today, how much work husbands do in the home, what is the work ethic of young people, how they need to leave in order to get work done.

A second group, Gigi, Jean, and Helen, arrive at approximately 9:15 and sit together at a table in the middle of the Coffee Shop. They rarely, if ever, talk about paid work. Their conversations include discussions of musical performances or plays being performed in the area, Europe, and family values. They are involved in community work and complain about the lack of community involvement in town. This group arrives the latest and leaves the latest, staying until after 10:00 but no later than 11:00.

Finally, Amy, Dorothy, and Tricia, who sit at the far back table, make up a third group. They get together less regularly than the other women, but are in the Coffee Shop at least a few days each week. They talk about the school board, town politics, and national politics. They discuss racism, gay rights, sexism, and herbal therapy. They frequently go away for weekends with their husbands and talk openly about how they do not like to work.

As I spent more time in the Coffee Shop, I became interested in these differences. I sought to examine how the women presented themselves and interacted with others and the consequences of these interactions for the women and the community. The cultural differences between women in Sandy Haven are partly explained by structural differences in educational attainment and parental occupational status and expectations. Yet, by observing daily

interactions between women and analyzing semi-structured, in-depth interviews with women in the community, I found that cultural differences were not simply determined by structural position. Rather, daily interactions and presentations of self appeared to be important in the process of creating cultural distinctions and stratification. Are the women who frequent the Coffee Shop simply participating in a leisure activity or are they creating cultural stratification in this public setting? Are the women reproducing differences in lifestyles, behaviors, and values, as well as, negotiating prestige and status relative to other women through their daily, patterned interaction as the men in Anderson's study did? This study examines women's daily interactions and presentation of cultural orientations.

Unlike Anderson's study, however, I do not limit my analysis to a public space. Rather, I attempt to connect women's production of cultural stratification to both the structure of the larger community and larger society. Through participant observation and in-depth interviews in the larger community of Sandy Haven, this study examines how women use daily interaction and self presentation to define themselves and find a social position in relation to the American class structure.

Cultural reference groups have a significant role in this process. The local women of Sandy Haven are themselves in relatively similar structural positions – most hold lower level service or manual jobs and have not attained formal higher education. There is a lot less socioeconomic diversity within the rural community than there is in the United States as a whole. Associated with this economic

structure is a value for hard work, self reliance, and strong ties with family and friends. Nonetheless, extremes in American social stratification are present in the town and impact the relationships between the “local” residents. There are people from outside the fishing community who have moved to Sandy Haven representing different positions within the American class structure and the diverse cultural orientations - behaviors, values, and lifestyles – which correspond with these positions. Within Sandy Haven, there is a exclusive summer colony representing great wealth, social mobility, leisure lifestyle, and prestige and power. There is also a Naval base and “Back-to-the-Landers” who introduce the social change, diversity, and progressive, cosmopolitan lifestyles of highly educated, “middle class” professionals. This study investigates the ways in which the local women in Sandy Haven either emulate or reject the behaviors, values, and lifestyles represented by the various social class positions found in larger society and represented by populations from away which come to Sandy Haven. These largely white, working class women seek to create distinctions among themselves that reflect a class structure similar to that found in larger American society and work to negotiate a position within that structure.

In the next two chapters, I outline the theoretical frameworks, previous research, and methodology which guide the study. In the fourth chapter, I describe the outside groups that come to the local community and how these reference groups shape the cultural social identities of women. In chapters five, six, and seven, I explain how women use their selection and presentation of paid and

unpaid work, leisure time, activities, and consumption practices, and family values and expectations to create distinct cultural identity and status within the community. In the conclusion, I explain why women act as agents in the production of cultural stratification and conclude that these efforts are rooted not only in women's struggles to define themselves but also reflect their desires to define the culture of the town and find a position within the American social class system.

## CHAPTER 1

### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

#### Culture and Stratification

Culture is comprised of the “subjective” part of social life – the rules and expectations which guide behaviors, ideas of what is appropriate or inappropriate behavior, common understanding of how life should be, and shared understanding of what interaction means. Culture includes “common images of the way of life appropriate for ‘people like us’” (Bourdieu, 1984). It guides how we think, behave daily in work, family or leisure activities, live our lives, interact with others. Culture is a guide to appropriate values (Kohn, 1980), actions (Swidler, 1986), morals (Lamont, 1992), and lifestyles (Bourdieu, 1984).

Culture, like socioeconomic factors, serves as the basis for stratification. Individuals can be ranked on a hierarchy and awarded status according to their cultural orientations, just as individuals can be placed on a hierarchy according to their access to education, income, wealth, power, and life chances. Values, lifestyles, morals, and world views can be not only different but unequal. “Cultural stratification” is the term I use to refer to unequal status and prestige based on differences in values, morals, lifestyles, and world views.

Beginning with Weber, theorists and researchers have sought to incorporate culture into our understanding of social stratification. Weber (1946

[1922]) argued that a purely structural, socioeconomic understanding of class, as proposed by Marx (1978 [1848]), was inadequate. Rather, there are status groups, or shared cultural positions in addition to economic and social classes. Status groups are communities of individuals sharing lifestyles, distinguished from each other based largely on consumption practices. Honor and privilege are disproportionately conferred on status groups resulting in cultural stratification. As Weber (1946 [1922]) summarizes, "classes are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas status groups are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special styles of life (pg.427)."

A number of theorists followed Weber's lead and continued to examine the role of culture in social stratification. Veblen (1973) added to Weber's explanation of the importance of consumption in stratification by arguing that making consumption conspicuous is essential to establishing the stratification system and one's place in it. Possessions of expensive cultural artifacts and symbols and extensive leisure are symbols of high status and high worth. The wealthiest set, and constantly raise, the standards of consumption, and thus determine the criteria for membership into the highest strata. All other classes strive, with greater or less success, to emulate this standard.

Bourdieu (1984) also saw the importance of consumption of cultural artifacts, such as art, dress, and food, in establishing a system of stratification. Culture, he argues, is a source of capital, similar to economic capital. However,



he argues that it is not just the displays of material possessions but the possession of “tastes” - values, knowledge, and norms - accompanying the use of cultural symbols that is important for gaining cultural status. Cultural capital is acquired through gaining knowledge of and appreciation for “high culture” styles and symbols. Individuals are then hierarchically ranked based on their access to cultural capital. The greater one's cultural capital, or the greater access one has to high culture, the higher socioeconomic status one can acquire or maintain.

Kohn (1969) continues to develop the importance of cultural values and norms in stratification. Specifically, he examines values surrounding work and action. Parents, Kohn found, have divergent expectations for their children, depending on the work they do and often, their class position. The attributes that parents teach and encourage among their children range from self-direction to conformity. The transmission of these values prepares children for different occupational positions, such as wage earner, entrepreneur, or manager, and in turn, different positions within stratification systems.

Swidler (1986) integrates and advances theories of the importance of culture in stratification. She argues that knowledge of cultural symbols, values acquired from parents, and everyday experiences fill each individual's “tool kit” or world views. From these cultural repertoires, individuals develop strategies for behavior. According to Swidler, culture is not limited to inequality in values or consumption of cultural goods. Rather, culture is also about action, daily practices and behaviors which are developed out of one's tool kit. These actions

ensure status reproduction across generations and enable or constrain social mobility.

Although these theorists incorporate culture into systems of stratification, they maintain that cultural stratification is embedded in structural economic position. They are based on the assumption that culture emerges from socioeconomic position and in turn, reinforces socioeconomic position. In other words, culture is the means through which the class structure is reproduced. According to Veblen, it is wealth and income that make consumption and leisure possible and it is different consumption and leisure practices which maintains the unequal distribution of wealth and income. According to Bourdieu, unequal accumulation of cultural capital emerges from unequal structural access to education and family socialization. Knowledge acquired through educational and family experiences provides one with cultural capital. Access to cultural capital, in turn, provides one with access to structural socioeconomic positions. According to Kohn, parents acquire their values through their work. Parents learn and appreciate certain values as a result of their position in the occupational structure. As they transmit these values to their children, they prepare their children for occupational positions similar to theirs. Thus, through the avenue of culture, structural class position is reproduced from generation to generation.

And indeed, ranking of values, morals, norms, and lifestyles is often “determined” by and in turn, reinforces socioeconomic stratification. In other

words, cultural stratification often “mirrors” socioeconomic stratification (Turner, 1991). The culture shared by the wealthiest, more prestigious, and powerful is usually given the highest status. Bourdieu (1987) argues that this often results from the fact that those at the top of the socioeconomic hierarchy are in a position to establish their values, norms, lifestyles, and daily behaviors as dominant. On the other hand, the culture of those lacking access to socioeconomic status is viewed as deficient relative to the dominant culture. For example, values, lifestyles, norms, morals, and daily behaviors of the poor, while often a rational reaction to living in structural conditions of poverty (Leibow, 1967; Anderson, 1991), are viewed in terms of the dominant culture as unacceptable and “pathological” (Lewis, 1966; Moynihan, 1965). Thus, the relationship between socioeconomic and cultural stratification is often strong and important for reinforcing systems of stratification.

However, the relationship between structure and culture is more than simply pure determinism. Empirical evidence shows that cultural orientations are not always a simple reflection of structural, economic position. For instance, in “Class, Status, and Power”, Weber (1946 [1922]) argued that class and status group position usually vary together. Logically, access to socioeconomic resources is often necessary to afford the consumption practices characteristics of the status group lifestyles. However, he cites a number of observable exceptions to this general relationship, such as the student and clergy person. Even though these individuals do not have privileged class position they have

status honor. Similarly, in an empirical test of his theory of distinction, Bourdieu (1984) found a present, yet weak statistical relationship between measures of socioeconomic class, including occupational status, and measures of lifestyle. For example, professors may have low economic capital but appreciation for and knowledge of “high” cultural and business professionals may have high economic capital but not corresponding “high tastes” (Bourdieu, 1984; Brubaker, 1985).

More recently, other empirical evidence, relying on a variety of research methods and measures of culture, also raises questions about the strong link between the cultural and structural position. Davis’ (1982) used nationally representative survey data from the General Social Survey to test the relationship between socioeconomic and cultural variables. Specifically, he investigated correlations between father’s occupation, respondents’ occupation and education, and values, norms, and behaviors, such as work ethic, leisure activities, political stands, and family values. He did not find significant relationships between these variables and concluded that structural position can not fully explain variation in culture – values, norms, daily behaviors, and lifestyles. This leads him to further conclude that future social research should move away from emphasizing occupational structure to focusing more on the cultural.

Using in-depth interviews, Lamont (1992) also did not find a correlation between socioeconomic position and cultural orientations. She found that

among white, upper class men there was substantial variation in cultural values. Some men value and exhibit moral character, including work ethic, honesty, personal integrity, and consideration of others, above all else. Other men placed the greatest value on socioeconomic characteristics, such as wealth, power, and occupational success. Still other men valued education, intelligence, manners, tastes, and knowledge of high culture, most highly. All of the men used cultural orientation to form boundaries and thereby distinguish themselves from men of other classes. Yet, although they shared a socioeconomic class position, they varied greatly in cultural orientations.

Using ethnographic research, Halle (1984, 1993) found further support for the possibility that the cultural is not necessarily rooted in structural positions. Halle, in his 1984 study of working class men, did not find a correspondence between structural position and cultural identity. He studied men who held high-paying union factory jobs. He found that within the workplace the men identified themselves as “working men” as a result of the devotion to their work and the union and in opposition to big business and white collar workers. However, these men did not identify themselves as working class outside of the work place. The reason, Halle concluded, was that these men afforded lifestyles, possessions, leisure interests and activities that they did not define as working class. Thus, the at-home cultural identity of these men did not correspond with their at-work class identity.

In his 1993 study, Halle focused on another component of culture, tastes. By entering and observing the décor of homes of varying socioeconomic class, Halle examined the relationship between tastes in art and social class. He found a weak relationship between the cultural and the structural. He observed similar styles of art across social class and concludes that rather than emerging from structural socioeconomic position, displays of art in the home are used to present cultural values. Exhibiting family photographs enables the presentation of the importance and strength of family relations. Displaying “primitive art” expresses acceptance of diverse cultures and racial and ethnic minorities. Halle's findings show that individuals have motives for cultural presentations which are independent of structural position. Distinctions in cultural orientations are apparently more complicated than mere structurally determined explanations would suggest.

Bourdieu (1987) tries to explain these complexities and in doing so, introduces the role of agency and social identity in explanation of cultural stratification. According to Bourdieu, differentiation and stratification between individuals forms most readily and precisely when there is unequal access to capital. In circumstances of relative equality in capital accumulation, he theorized, individuals use other methods for gaining differentiation and status. He writes, “This region of the social universe provided the symbolic interactionists, especially Goffman, with a field uniquely suited to the observation of the various forms of presentation of self through which agents strive to

construct their social identity (Bourdieu, 1987: 12).” In sum, he argues that stratification is not only rooted in structure, but human agency, as well.

This argument is an extension of Bourdieu’s work in bridging the dichotomy between structure and agency. In his discussion of “structuring structures” and “structured structures”, he points to the need to examine the constant interplay between individual action and social structures in the determination of both individual action and social structure. Society, including both cultural aspects (norms, values, symbols) and structural aspects (social institutions, systems of access to resources) does not exist as a “thing” and action is not a determined outcome of society. Rather, structure and culture shape action and action, in turn, is used to shape society. Or, as Abrams (1982), recalling Marx, explains, “People make their own history – but only under definite circumstances and conditions; we act through a world of rules which our action creates, breaks, and renews – we are creatures of rules, the rules are our creations: we make our own world...(pg. xiv).”

Bourdieu, like E.P. Thompson, applied this perspective to the understanding of social class. Thompson’s (1963) cultural historical approach to class holds that class is not a structure or even a category. Rather, class is rooted in social identity, or class consciousness, which forms through relationships with individuals from other class positions. He explains, “class happens when some men (sic), as a result of their common experiences (inherited and shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as

between themselves, and as against other men (sic) whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs." Bourdieu relies on a similar argument in the development of his concept of habitus. He defines habitus as shared disposition toward cultural symbols, lifestyles, values, and daily practices which are formed as a result of one's structural position within systems of socioeconomic stratification. The social position of one's family of origin and access to formal education form the habitus. Individuals share a common structural position and gain like knowledge and values from their family and education - they share similar habitus. When individuals are in unequal structural positions and thus acquire distinct values, appreciation for culture, and understandings of the social world, they have different habitus. Habitus, as an unconscious world view, guides and shapes future experiences, perceptions, and decisions. As individuals act in accordance with their unique habitus they can either reproduce or slowly adjust the social structure and their social position with the structure.

A more recent line of thinking in social constructionism furthers the importance of agency in the creation of stratification. Rather than focusing on the constant interplay between structure and action, symbolic interactionists emphasize how structure is constantly created through social interaction. Building on Blumer's (1969) work, they view social structure as never existing independent of the actors who comprise that structure. Society is constantly



produced and reproduced through daily interaction. Culture, particularly dominant values and norms, plays an important role in shaping this interaction.

West, with colleagues Zimmerman (1987) and Fenstermaker (1995), argues that social stratification is constructed through interaction. Inequalities based on gender, race, class, or sexual orientation, they theorize, are not structured, immutable social positions, but statuses produced and reproduced over time through interaction. Culture, including norms and values, guides these interactions, which then, in turn, create structures. West and Zimmerman (1987), concentrating on the construction of gender inequality, argue that having unequal status is “not simply an aspect of what one is, but, more fundamentally, it is something that one does, and does recurrently, in interaction with others (p. 140).” Norms and expectations guiding daily behavior, such as mating practices or acting “ladylike” or “macho”, create and continually reinforce gender inequality. When women’s actions are meek and deferential, men’s actions are bold and abrasive, when women marry men who are older, make more money, and are physically larger and men marry women who are younger and smaller, gender inequality is continually reproduced. It is these “gendered” interactions which are responsible for the production and reproduction of sexism.

West and Fenstermaker (1995) expand this theoretical argument to include the construction of difference, based not only on gender but race and class as well. They argue that all forms of inequality are produced and reproduced through daily, often taken for granted, patterned, rules for interaction.

When white police officers pull over the cars of Black men unprovoked, when guidance counselors steer Latino students away from college preparatory courses, when poor women are treated as psychologically deficient in the legal system, racial and class inequality are produced and reproduced. The dominant cultural norms and values that guide these interactions and the frequency of these interactions bestow a sense of naturalness on the gender, racial, and class inequality that emerges. The action, which is at the core of the production of these systems of stratification, becomes invisible. Social constructionism illuminates the role of agency, as it forms structure, in the development and maintenance of social stratification.

Empirical studies provide examples of how interaction is used in the creation of stratification. Rollins (1985) examined how racial and class inequality is produced and reproduced through daily interaction by examining the relationship between domestic workers and their employers. While there are obvious socioeconomic differences and often, racial differences between the two groups of women, Rollins argues that it is the patterns of interactions between the women that is important for understanding the unequal relationship. For example, Rollins found that the relationships between the women often involved maternalistic treatment by employers and deferential treatment by domestic workers. It is these patterns of interaction which produce and reproduce inequality between the women. When employers call domestic workers "girls" and use their first names while workers call employers "Mrs.", inequality between

the women is continually maintained. When employers treat domestic workers as if they are invisible or give unreciprocated gifts, they secure their superordinate position. When domestic workers keep spatial distance such as eating separately from employers, their subordinate position is reinforced.

Rollins concludes, "The conscious and unconscious minds of interrelating people and their interpretations of the meanings of the forms of interrelating also have the power to generate and perpetuate ideas of inequality." The racial and class inequality between the women is not merely structural but involves agency and constant reproduction through patterned social interaction.

Anderson (1976) also studied how social interaction is the basis for inequality, by focusing on cultural stratification. Observing Black, lower-class men at an inner city liquor store, he analyzed how cultural differences are presented and used in the creation of a micro-system of stratification within the liquor store. He found that the men segregated themselves into three groups and that each of the groups, although situated in similar structural positions, were culturally distinct. They hold and exhibit different values, norms, lifestyles, and daily behaviors. For example, "Regulars" value and perform hard work and maintain steady employment, good citizenship and strong families. They make apologies for frequenting the liquor store, but stress that they only do so during their leisure time and vacations from work. On the other hand, "Hoodlums" value toughness and fast, big money. They are involved in stealing, gambling, hustling in order to make a lot of money "by any other means than a steady job (pg. 38)."

They are involved in fights and numerous, fleeting relationships with women. They spend long hours at the liquor store with no apology. Finally, "Wineheads" spend long hours at the liquor store and beg for money to purchase alcohol. They either work sporadically or not at all. They are always broke and live in the present not worrying about future financial needs. They value certain types of alcohol and drinking patterns. It is these cultural distinctions, Anderson argues, which serve as the basis for status between groups. Cultural differences guide and shape behavior and interaction between the men. Patterns of interaction within and between the groups create a system of stratification within the setting of the store. Therefore, as these empirical studies show, to argue that cultural stratification is determined by economic stratification is to have an incomplete understanding of the social world. Agency and interaction are essential to production and maintenance of stratification.

### Symbolic Interactionism and Stratification

Social identity is the social definition we have of ourselves, our understanding of who we are in relation to others. These definitions are created over time through social interaction and continual comparison with others. It is through contact with real individuals or in relation to generalized others by which one secures a definition of self, or identity. Through constant comparison to others, one gets a sense of being the same as or different than others. As people react to us during social interaction, we continually confirm or adjust our

social identity. Social identity, our definitions of ourselves, are constantly being formed and reformed through social interaction (Mead, 1934).

In this study, I use the term cultural identity to refer to a particular aspect of social identity - how we define ourselves with regard to the norms, lifestyles, values, and world views to which we subscribe. It comprises those aspects of culture which are important to how we define ourselves and how others define us.

Anderson (1976) discusses how the cultural distinctions between the "regulars", "hoodlums", and "wineheads" are important to the way the men in the liquor store define themselves and each other. These definitions are created through daily interaction. As men act in accordance with certain cultural orientations and in opposition to others, they acquire cultural social identities. Men acquire the label of "regular" by acting in accordance with the values of hard work and strong families and rejecting the cultural values displayed by other men. Men define themselves and are defined by others as "hoodlums" when they fight, gamble, and hustle and do not maintain steady employment or families. Men label other men "wineheads" when they are seen begging for money in order to purchase more alcohol. The importance of culture as the basis for identity is apparent among men who acquire new cultural identities when they take on new norms, values, lifestyles, and daily behaviors. For example, "wineheads" were often previously regulars and hoodlums whose identity changed with they gave up steady employment and families or big

money as a result of increasing age or excessive drinking. A married man was in danger of losing his cultural identity as a “regular” when he had an affair and began to display weakening family values. A “winehead” sought identity as a “regular” after securing a steady job and pay check. The formation of cultural identity is, thus, important for distinguishing oneself in terms of one’s values, norms, lifestyles, and daily behaviors.

Developing cultural identity is also important for securing a position within systems of cultural stratification. Based on identity, one gains a distinct status - a social position as superior or inferior to others.

Anderson found cultural stratification among the “regulars”, “hoodlums”, and “wineheads”. All the men in the liquor store are not equal. Rather, there is a ranking of men based on their cultural orientations. “Regulars” have the highest status. They feel and act superior to the other groups. These comparisons and interactions, in turn, produce and reproduce their higher status. Anderson gives the following example:

Honey, a winehead, and Clay, a hoodlum, put up their cups for drinks. But Otis, a regular [who was buying the round of drinks], immediately refused them snapping, “Hey, what do you think you are doing? Ain’t no wineheads drinking off of me” – thereby putting the men back in the places he considered them to have (pg. 114).

The “wineheads” have the lowest status. They recognize and act in accordance with their inferior position. Through displays of deference to the other groups, the wineheads reinforce their lower status. Anderson explains their actions:

Even when they know what treatment is in store for them, most wineheads seem to accept what the regulars mete out. In fact, through their actions, they often actively support the others' views of them as subordinate... They tend to pay for association with regulars by becoming "their wineheads."...Describing [a section of the city] as "rough" and "low-life", T.J. [a regular] said, 'Yeah, most of the studs up in there are worse off than our wineheads.' No one disagreed with this assessment, not even the few wineheads present (pg. 121-22).

The previous examples of mobility between the groups also illustrate the presence of cultural stratification. The "regular" who was having an affair and acting like the lower status men began to experience rejection by the other "regulars". The "winehead", who found steady employment, began to reject the other "wineheads" when he gained acceptance by the "regulars". Thus, through daily interaction, not only cultural identity, but cultural status is produced. Having different values, norms, and lifestyles not only distinguishes individuals, but also ranks them.

Identification and emulation of cultural symbols, presentation of self, and boundary creation are three interconnected components of social interaction which are used in combination to produce cultural social identity and status. Identifying with and positioning oneself in reference to representatives, or symbols, of cultural status is important for the creation of cultural identity. Populations or communities of individuals serve as cultural symbols when they represent and provide information on the possible range of values, behaviors, and lifestyle available to individuals. It is by observing, identifying with, and then emulating these symbols and the cultural orientations they represent that

individuals develop a social identity and status based on values, lifestyles, and norms. John Hewitt (1997) explains this process:

**“Social identity refers to a sense of self that is built up over time as the person participates in social life and identifies with others. Its frame of reference is not the immediate situation and its role, but rather a community, the set of real or imaginary others with whom the person feels a sense of similarity and common purpose. To have a social identity is to identify with some set of people with whom one feels an affinity, in whose company one feels comfortable, and whose ideas and beliefs are similar to one’s own. One feels real and whole as a person in relation to this community, and one also has a place in the larger society as a result of one’s membership and identification with it (p.92).”**

Thus, by taking notice of and reacting to the cultural orientations represented by various communities, individuals fill their “tool kits” with knowledge and examples of values, lifestyles, and norms (Swidler, 1986). They are then able to use these tools in constructing their cultural social identities and status.

Anderson notes that the cultural identities and corresponding status used by the men in the creation of cultural stratification do not occur only within the liquor store. Rather, the men reference cultural symbols outside of the liquor store in the creation of identity and status. For example, the cultural identity and status of “regulars” emerges from acceptance of dominant, middle-class American values regarding work and family. These men accept these values as their own. Their values, norms, and lifestyles “arise from the nature of their experiences with various formal institutions of the larger society and the way they are ready to define and interpret such experiences. On the whole, their



experiences have been relatively nonalienating and nonstigmatizing compared with those of members of the winehead and hoodlum categories (p.70).” As a result, they identify with and emulate the dominant American cultural values and norms. On the other hand, “hoodlums...most admire the militant black, the pimp, the successful hoodlum, and the ‘big-time’ gangster, or anyone who ‘gets over’ the barriers they see as placed by the larger social system (pg. 70).” Thus, hoodlums reject the dominant American culture for alternative norms and values which they see to be more achievable and relevant to their lives and experiences. They identify with and emulate the communities of individuals who represent these alternative cultures. As a result of their experiences and interpretations of representations of culture, these men have distinct “tool kits” which guide their cultural orientations and actions.

Through presentation of self, one is able to display similarity or differences with the cultural symbols and acceptance or rejection of the values, behaviors, and lifestyles the symbols represent. As Goffman (1959) emphasized, during interaction individuals or groups are constantly working to manage the impressions that others have of them. The process of management involves presenting themselves to others in an intentional way. They present those qualities that they want others to use in defining them and hide those qualities which they don't want to be part of others' definition of them. Social interaction becomes a performance used to control identity. It is a means through which others' perceptions and thus, self definition, can be managed (Goffman, 1959).

Within the setting of the liquor store, presentation of self is essential to the securing of identity and status as a “regular”, “hoodlum”, or “winehead”. Verbal communication is the most obvious form of presentation. Regulars talk about work, honor service in the military, and their children. Hoodlums share stories of fights, successful hustles, and past brushes with the law. Presentations of self are also made through actions. Regulars spend less time hanging out at the liquor store than wineheads who are there from morning until night. Regulars have clean and orderly appearance compared to the wineheads. Anderson explains:

...People usually present more than enough evidence to back up their accounts....It is not uncommon for people to present crumpled old check stubs as proof of employment or to show pictures of their close relatives when family loyalties become an issue....A hoodlum might come up and announce that he just spent the night in jail, showing no compunction of stigma and expecting approval and interest. And a winehead might impress his drinking buddies, or even other group members, by winking at them and producing “the iron” (money) he begged off passersby (p. 211).

It is through these presentations of self that the men are able to display to others the cultural orientations to which they subscribe and thus, gain desired cultural identities and status within the liquor store.

Boundaries, created through interaction, result in further alignment with cultural symbols and presentations of self and thus, production of cultural identity and status (Goffman, 1959; Lamont and Fournier, 1992). Michele Lamont (1992) defines symbolic boundaries as, “conceptual distinctions that we make to categorize objects, people, practices (p. 9).” They are the verbal, physical, and

mental symbols use to indicate similarity or differentiation from others. By associating with those individuals who represent certain cultural symbols, one is able to present that cultural orientation as part of their social identity. By excluding those who represent “undesirable” cultural traits, one is further able to present a particular cultural social identity. Through this process, the creation of boundaries is important for the production and presentation of social identity. As Cythnia Fuchs Epstein (1992) explains, “For individuals, boundaries define who they are. They set the parameters of what Markus and Nurius (1986) call the ‘possible selves’ that determine motivation, decision making, and behavior in the day-to-day and long-term aspects of our lives...Some of the reasons that people become invested in boundaries are because their sense of self, their security, their dignity, all are tied to particular boundary distinctions (pg. 237).” Thus, our associations and ties with others, presented through the creation of boundaries, is important for controlling how others define us and how we define ourselves.

As Lamont (1992) explains, however, boundaries involve more than the creation of social identity. They are often the first and necessary step in turning difference into inequality. Through selective association and rejection of individuals, boundaries enable groups to not only distinguish themselves from others but also to gain status and position relative to others.

Anderson (1976) found that boundaries displaying selective association and group membership were essential to the formation and recognition of cultural identity and status. He writes, “subgroups emerge as the men attempt

to take sides and identify with one or another 'kind of person' against certain others'...Group members move to associate with others in the group who will allow them to hold a certain view of themselves. In so doing, they help create the various core status groupings (p. 51)." By producing three distinct groups, gaining membership to one, and rejecting affiliation with the other groups, the men are able to further present their values, norms, and lifestyles and thus, secure their cultural identity and status. The importance of boundaries in the creation of cultural stratification is apparent throughout the liquor store:

The regulars observe degrees of association in their relations with others of their group. Through their selective associations, they can affirm themselves to some degree as models of the "decency" they associate with both the wider society and their own social order at the liquor store. Aside from the 'regular' ways of behaving – telling stories about experiences in the social world beyond the liquor store, carrying out one's civic responsibilities, staying clear of jail, and avoiding violent confrontations on the street – one also strengthens his claim to regularism by associating closely with others who are successfully meeting the stands of decency. By following the selective associations that occur, we can trace out a kind of chart of the social hierarchy at the liquor store (p. 76).

Thus, through a combination of identification and emulation of cultural symbols, presentation of self, and boundary formation, the men at Anderson's liquor store create cultural identity and stratification. This study takes the work of Anderson and applies it to women's lives and life outside of a particular public setting. Within the setting of a rural community, this study investigates how women, through daily interaction and presentation of self, continually create a cultural system of stratification resembling the American class structure.

### Women as Cultural Identity and Status Producers

Anderson (1976) focuses on the process through which men produce cultural identity, status, and stratification through interaction in a liquor store. Randall Collins (1992) poses the theoretical idea that women, as a result of their structural position, are uniquely suited for producing cultural identity, status, and stratification for themselves and their families. It is women, he argues, who are primarily responsible for turning socioeconomic status into cultural status. They “perform the Weberian task of transforming class into status group membership (Collins, 1992).” While men dominate the top structural class positions, women secure social status through their efforts in the cultural production realm of stratification. Collins (1992) writes, “It is the production and consumption of symbols of status that give women virtually all of their autonomous success. Women live subjectively – and in terms of their successes, objectively as well – much more in the realm of status than in the realm of class (Collins, 1992: 228).”

The establishment of a family class identity and status has largely been based on male family members. Father’s or husband’s socioeconomic status, occupation and education, have traditionally been the basis for which all members of the family are identified (Goldthorpe, 1983; Sorensen, 1994). The problems with this means of defining the class position of families have long been acknowledged. As more women enter the labor force, how does their educational and occupational status impact the social class position and identity

of the family (Szelenyi, 1994)? When husband and wife have unequal educational and occupational status, how is the social class of the family defined (Wright, 1989)? Is it correct to view class and gender as separate issues? How can we assume that class is gender neutral when definitions of class are dominated by men's experiences (Acker, 1980)?

Many theorists and researchers have attempted to correct these problems. The solutions mainly involve including women in the definition of socioeconomic class position. The "joint classification models" seek to add women's work, income, and education to male based measures and analyses of family social class position. For example, Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf (1980) improved Blau and Duncan's (1967) model of occupational attainment by incorporating not only social psychological variables, such as mental ability, teacher and parental encouragement, and aspirations, but also by adding women to the social class measures. Where Blau and Duncan (1967) considered the effects of father's occupation and education on respondents' educational and occupational attainment, Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf (1980) consider both the effects of father and mother's education and occupation on respondents' occupational and educational attainment.

Other researchers seek not just to add women but to determine the relative effect of men's and women's class position on the family social class. Erikson (1984) argues that rather than adding women's education and occupation to men's to determine the family's social class, the dominant class

position, regardless of gender, should be the basis of the defining the class position of a family. Wright (1989) argues that there are two class structures, one direct, based on an individual's own job and resources, and one mediated, based on access to resources acquired through social networks and relations to family and state. Both need to be considered in determining the class position of the family and its individual members.

As feminist epistemology continually notes, simply adding women to androcentric theories and research models leads to inaccurate and incomplete understandings of women in the social world (Harding, 1994). Rather, women need to be understood through the development of theories and research which are centered on their lives and experiences. Marxist feminist theories introduce traditional women's work to the analysis of social class. The basis of these theories is that women's household work, although not part of the formal labor market, is productive work benefiting capitalism. Through their household work, women hold the role of primary consumers, socialize the next generation of docile workers, free men for total commitment to the labor force, and serve as a reserve labor force (Hartmann, 1981; May, 1987). Thus, women's unpaid work needs to be considered in the understanding of a class system and the social class position of the family.

Another solution to the 'woman problem' in stratification research seeks to move the unit of analysis in measures of social class from the family to the individual (Crompton and Mann, 1986; Acker, 1973). The class position of

women and men, it is argued, should be determined based on their socioeconomic position independent of each other. While this solution allows for the inclusion of women in the class structure and the analysis of women's class interests independent of their husbands, it eliminates the possibility of analyzing the effects of access to pooled resources within families on women's class status (Sorensen, 1994). As Wright (1989) notes, "A typist married to a lawyer is likely to have a very different lifestyle, with very different economic and political interests, from that of a typist married to a factory worker (pg. 36)." In sum, debates of the place of women in the socioeconomic definition of the family have continued unresolved for decades.

Collins' (1992) theoretical argument contains intriguing ideas important for advancing the discussion of women's role in the development of a class system. Rather than limiting theories and research to attempts to fit women into socioeconomic measures of class, Collins suggests that women may play a consequential, and often overlooked, role as producers of cultural identity and stratification. Yet, Collins' argument remains speculative, without solid empirical evidence.

There are some studies, particularly of upper class women, which provide support for Collins ideas. As central components of social life, as well as, stratification, work, family, and leisure emerge from these studies as the different arenas in which women create cultural identity and stratification. For example, in Ostrander's (1984) study of thirty-six upper class women, she concluded that



women's efforts at reproducing a cultural identity as members of the upper class culture became an essential aspect of their roles as mothers, wives, community volunteers, and club members. Their actions in the family, work, and leisure involve, among other things, producing and maintaining their family's cultural status. Values, norms, lifestyles, and daily behaviors essential to the production of cultural identity and stratification are presented in these three domains of everyday life.

Work. Work is unquestionably at the core of social identity and status within systems of stratification. Occupational status is the primary means through which we define ourselves and others, such as she is a doctor or I am an electrician (Marx, 1964 [1894]; Bourdieu, 1985). What we do for work is essential to how we identify ourselves, how others identify us, and how we identify others. In turn, what we do for work becomes essential to how we are ranked in a system of stratification. Structurally, occupational position provides access to income, wealth, and power. Culturally, occupational position provides prestige and status. Through our work, we develop a definition of who we are and where we are ranked in the relation to others.

Women's paid and unpaid work within and outside the home, while conducted for many reasons including income, satisfaction, and obligation, also involves the creation of cultural identity and status. Much of the paid work traditionally conducted by American women occurs in the realm of culture. In a number of jobs, such as receptionist and waitress, women are in charge of

controlling cultural presentation in the front stage (Goffman, 1959; Collins, 1992). They wear certain clothes, use certain language, and behave in a certain way in order to present a certain cultural image. In these presentations, women create a cultural identity for a boss or business.

In other jobs, women conduct work which is important for enabling others to develop a cultural definition of self. As artists and business owners specializing in selling cultural objects, such as art and clothing, women create and distribute cultural symbols which are used by others to present particular cultural orientations and statuses (Collins, 1992). As wedding coordinators, etiquette and advice experts, and teachers, women provide instruction in how to use culture for the production of a desired social identity. As hair stylists, aerobic instructors, weight loss experts, Avon and Mary Kay sales representatives, and fashion models, women “manufacturer physical demeanor” and assist in the transformation of cultural symbols into cultural based self-presentations (Collins, 1992).

Women’s unpaid work in volunteer organizations is also important in the production of differentiation and inequality based on values, norms, and lifestyles. Unlike men whose voluntary work often centers on gaining socioeconomic positions, women’s voluntary work tends to focus on cultural production. They are more likely to serve in organizations focusing on civic and youth related goals than professional and business-related ends (McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1982). Through unpaid work in service and charity

organizations, women can reinforce the socioeconomic position established through their husband's work. Charity work both justifies and reinforces an upper class position. If one uses their wealth to "do good", then having more than others is not wrong. On the other hand, the very nature of the charity work reproduces inequality. Unreciprocated gift giving, the power and influence of holding decision-making positions in nonprofit organization, and the exclusive networks which form through volunteer work necessarily reproduce inequality (Daniels, 1987). As Ostrander (1984) writes, "This is the importance of the volunteer work done by upper class women to the class structure. It upholds the upper class: it legitimizes the class; it deflects challenges to its power; it constructs a class network that is inaccessible to people from other classes (pg. 139)."

In addition to securing socioeconomic status, women also present cultural orientations and create cultural identities for themselves and their family members through volunteer work. Women's work for the debutante season, Boy and Girl Scouts, PTA and other school organizations, or Junior League involves making sure children are learning the appropriate cultural orientations and presenting the appropriate behaviors, values, and lifestyles (Daniels, 1987). This cultural producing work ensures the reproduction of identification with certain values, lifestyles, and cultural statuses from generation to generation. As Daniels concludes from her study of upper-class women, volunteer work involves the "preparation of a new generation of the elite. Private schools and dancing

classes provide some of the social skills required in elite circles, as well as meeting the right sort of people. Cotillions and debutante parties are signals to the elite circles that the participating young men and women are ready to accept some of the social responsibilities (pg. 224).” Domhoff (1984) and Ostrander’s (1984) studies of the upper classes confirm these findings. Work in volunteer organizations is essential to producing and reproducing class identity and status among all class, not only the upper class. Rather, as Daniels suggests, “both upper-class and middle-class families depend upon the community work of women to place the family in the appropriate class context (pg. 230).”

Family. Like work, social positions and social identities are highly influenced by family. Family relations provide structural access to shared resources and affiliation with cultural status. Family ties also provide affiliation with good and bad reputations acquired through family ties. For example, to be a Kennedy provides one with a privileged structural position, high cultural status, and reputation for social awareness and, in some circles, even philandering.

Previous research suggests that women play the primary role of producing and managing cultural identity and status within the family and the home. At the most basic level, women are primarily responsible for maintaining the family ties, or social capital, through which values, lifestyles, and statuses are transmitted (Bourdieu, 1984; di Leonardo, 1987). The kin work which women perform includes the work of maintaining relationships between immediate and extended family. By sending holiday and birthday cards, writing letters, making

phone calls, arranging gatherings and visits, women maintain those family ties which are essential to both access to resources and cultural identity and status.

In addition to kin work, years of research confirm that women are also predominantly responsible for cleaning and furnishing the home, preparing and serving the meals, caring for and socializing children (Berk and Berk, 1987; Hochschild, 1989). This work also involves the production and transmission of “desirable” values, lifestyles, morals, and norms within the family. First, women conduct a presentation of “family” through managing the appearance of the house (Collins, 1992). As stated earlier, David Halle (1993) found that art displayed within the home serves as a presentation of cultural values. The image for the family represented by the design and decor of the home is largely the work of women (Madigan and Munro, 1996). Women’s primary role in developing the image of the home is reflected in the popularity of Martha Stewart, the giving of home gifts at bridal showers, and the endurance of home decorating parties as a social function for women.

Women also present values, morals, and lifestyles and reinforce cultural status through their preparation of food and serving of meals. As anthropologists have long argued, food is a highly significant cultural symbol. What, where, and how one eats carry important meanings whether in the context of ritual celebrations such as weddings or as daily practices (Douglas, 1984). Food and diet serve as diverse symbols of culture. It represents lifestyles and social status (Veblen, 1934; Bourdieu, 1984). For example, eating caviar represents high

status while eating Kraft macaroni and cheese represents quite a different status. Food and diet also represent values and personal character (Gusfield, 1992). For example, being a vegetarian and eating organic and health food symbolizes liberal political orientation. It is women who are predominantly responsible for preparing, serving, and controlling the intake of food in families. Thus, women control the cultural presentation that is expressed through diet (DeVault, 1987; Mennell, Murcott, and Otterloo, 1992).

Finally, women shape and maintain the cultural identities and status within the family through caring for and socializing family members. Children learn culture, including language, symbols, and norms through the process of socialization (Hewitt, 1997). Women are primarily responsible for the caring and socializing of children (Berk and Berk, 1987). Mothers teach children the behaviors and values which are appropriate for "people like us". They instruct their children to possess certain personal qualities, seek certain amounts of education or certain types of occupations, and value certain lifestyles (Kohn, 1959; Daniels, 1987). This teaching of culture is essential for perpetuating cultural identity and status from generation to generation. For example, Ostrander (1984) found that the women she studied define their role as mother as centered around socializing their children to take on the identity and status of the upper class. They guide their children to the class-appropriate educational and occupational attainment, mate selection, social networks, and leisure activities. Upper-class mothers, Ostrander argues, "want their children to have

what they had themselves; to repeat their experiences...there is an obvious link between the personal and the social – what is necessary for their children's individual happiness and what is objectively necessary for the perpetuation of the class (p. 95-6).” In this way, mothers pass on cultural capital and reinforce the social identity and status of family.

Women also have the responsibility of managing the both structural and cultural status of husbands. As Ostrander (1984) explains, “By supporting their husbands as individuals, upper-class women indirectly support and uphold the class structure (pg. 68).” Women's household work supports both the economic and cultural aspects of stratification. When women conduct household and family work, men are free to pursue and maintain economic success. By serving as hostesses for business social functions, women present an appropriate cultural identity for their husbands. By filling the role as consumers for the family, women convert income into cultural objects (Veblen, 1931; Hartmann, 1981). They are responsible for the purchasing and presentation of many of the symbols of culture presented by family members. Take the example of clothing. Women suggest, purchase, launder, and iron clothing for both men and children in the family. Through this work, women control the public presentation and thus, cultural identity and status of family members.

Leisure. Finally, leisure time - interests and activities, membership to social organizations and networks, traditions and celebrations – are important for cultural aspects of social status and self-definitions. Wearing and Wearing

(1988) write, "Leisure has a purpose to do with the expression, diversion, and development of the self (pg. 115)" and Green, Hebron, and Woodward (1990) explain, "leisure must also be seen as an area of life where [class, race, gender, age, and sexual orientation] divisions are negotiated, redefined, and reproduced (pg. 29)." Listening to country music or classical music (Peterson and Simkus, 1992), attending the opera or playing bingo (Bourdieu, 1987), belonging to a country club or a bowling league (Domhoff, 1983; Ostrander, 1985) are cultural criteria used when we define and rank ourselves and others.

Women use leisure time to not only have fun, but to present and secure an identity and social position based on values and lifestyles. Veblen (1974) argued that women produce and reproduce elite cultural statuses by conspicuously presenting lifestyles of leisure. Male family members work to gain the income and wealth and women present the class status and cultural identity of the family as upper class by having extensive non-work time full of non-productive activities. Recent studies, however, have questioned Veblen's conclusion that women engage in extensive non-productive time.

Leisure studies show that most women, even the wealthiest, actually do not have lifestyles of leisure, as Veblen concluded. Rather, women have significant constraints on their leisure time (Hochschild, 1989; Deem, 1986; Hunter and Whitson, 1991).

As a result of their family responsibilities, women's leisure time often becomes work time. Women are more likely than men to spend their leisure time



on culture producing activities, such as making crafts, cooking, or volunteering in the community (Shelton, 1992; Henderson, 1989). Women also have the primary job of organizing and preparing leisure activities for children and husbands (Deem, 1986; Bella, 1989). They make sure children attend dance lessons, music lessons, and ball games. They facilitate husband's leisure by reducing their domestic responsibilities and organizing social events. They are primarily responsible for planning and running family holidays, traditions, and celebrations (Bella, 1989; di Leonardo, 1987). They host, prepare the food, and purchase the gifts for the celebration. These activities transmit cultural capital and involve presentations of self essential to securing a self-definition and status within a system of cultural stratification (Bourdieu, 1987). Thus, for women, leisure, as well as work and family, appears to be an extension of their efforts to create a cultural social identity and status.

### Creating Cultural Stratification

The Coffee Shop is a great setting in which to further explore questions of cultural stratification, especially the role of women and symbolic interaction in the creation of the stratification. Within this unique public setting dominated by women, women's daily, patterned interactions of association and avoidance and use of culture in their presentations of self can be observed. Questions regarding the extent to which cultural stratification is created through interaction, rather than purely determined by structural position, can be answered. What is

happening at the Coffee Shop? How can the daily, patterned interactions be explained? By applying theories of stratification developed by Weber and Bourdieu and symbolic interactionist theories of Blumer and Goffman to the setting of the Coffee Shop, it appears that women may be producing cultural identities and statuses through their daily presentation of self, interactions, and boundary formation. They appear to be acting as agents in the creation of cultural stratification. In this study, I examine if, how, and why women are agents in the creation of cultural identity, status, and stratification not only within the public setting of the Coffee Shop, but also throughout the community of Sandy Haven.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I discuss the research methods used to develop and answer my research questions:

*How and why do women act as agents in the creation of cultural identity, status, and stratification?*

*What is the result of the cultural stratification for the women and the community?*

As shown in the previous chapter, these questions emerge from theoretical and empirical work on social stratification and social psychology. The methodology used to answer the questions is also guided by previous research in these fields. Relevant research methodologies are apparent by examining the more specific questions encompassed under these broader questions. These narrower questions of inequality and interactionism guide the type, topics, and means of collecting data.

***What cultural symbols of values, lifestyles, and norms are important in the creation of identity and status?***

- *How do women use these symbols when filling their cultural “tool kits” with the possibilities for identities?*

***How do women present themselves to others?***

- *What values, norms, and practices do they share with others during daily interactions? Which do they hide? Why?*

***How do women use boundaries in the creation of identities and status?***

- *With whom do women associate? Whom do they distance themselves from? Why?*

***How do women create cultural identity and status within the arenas of work, family, and leisure?***

- *What work do women do?*
- *What type of work do they avoid? Why?*
- *How do they talk about and present their work in daily interactions?*
- *What expectations do women have for their children?*
- *What values did the women try to instill in their children? Why?*
- *How do they present their families, including the work that their husbands and the accomplishments of their children?*
- *In what hobbies, activities, and social activities do women engage?*
- *How much leisure time do they have? Where do they go? Who do they spend time with? Why?*
- *How do they present their leisure time and activities? Why?*

***Why do women engage in the production of cultural identity, status, and stratification?***

- *What are the symbolic and instrumental rewards for women?*
- *What are the consequences for the community?*

By gathering data to answer these questions, I am able to answer the broader research questions and thereby, concurrently contribute to the fields of social stratification and social psychology.

**Research Population**

Researchers who have conducted studies similar to this and important to the development of these research questions have relied on a wide range of research populations. Ostrander (1984) studied the importance of cultural identity and status in the lives and roles of upper class women by using a

snowball sample of 36 women who share a structural class position. Anderson (1976) studied the creation of cultural identity, status, and stratification through micro-social interaction by focusing on the men who frequent one particular public gathering spot. Rollins (1987) studied the importance of social interaction in the production of structural class and racial inequality by studying women with different relations to the same service occupation, domestic work. She recruited subjects using public advertisements and snowball sampling.

My research questions emerged from and were best answered by focusing on women living within one rural community. While not a comprehensive community study, my study used the borders of one community, Sandy Haven, to understand women's role in creating cultural identity and stratification. The women of Sandy Haven, a rural fishing community on the coast of Maine with a year-round permanent population of approximately 500, are a pertinent research population on which to base the answers to my research questions. As Duncan (1992) explains:

In rural communities, we often find a kind of 'micro social system" with actors of all the relevant social strata and organizations represented...the sources and effects of power are visible in everyday interaction. The whole class system may be represented within the boundaries of a coherent place, and people have a tangible sense of the stratification system...sociologists can see who gets what and how, who controls resources and opportunities, how people make decisions and treat one another (p.105).

Since I studied women within one rural community, my subjects know each other. They know the diverse groups and women that make up the town. They share experiences with and knowledge of the social structures, networks, and

cultures which comprise the community. They know who does what and with whom. They know who has and does not have power, wealth, and status. They know who subscribes to which values, norms, and lifestyles.

Given the small size of the community, it is possible to comprehensively understand and compare the daily lives of the local women. Social institutions, including political systems, economy, and community organizations, are relatively uncomplicated. It is, therefore, possible to understand how these institutions operate and which women participate in which institutions. Limited options for income, social ties, and public gathering spaces within the community makes it possible to obtain a thorough understanding of the daily lives of the women. Finite choices also allow for controlled comparisons between the women in terms of their work, family, and leisure activities.

The benefits of using communities as research populations to study stratification and culture is evident in a long history of classical community studies. Eminent theories and empirical studies of social class, poverty, and race relations have all resulted from studies of communities (Warner, 1958; Lynd and Lynd, 1929; 1937; Vidich and Bensman, 1968; Dollard, 1937; Duncan, 1992; forthcoming).

#### Data collection

I gathered information for answering my research questions from the women in Sandy Haven using two interconnected, complementary methods of ethnographic research: participant observation and in-depth, semi-structured interviews.

These methods are commonly utilized in studies of social stratification and symbolic interactionism. Ostrander (1984) studied upper class women using in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Using a snowball sampling technique, she gathered a sample of women with whom she conducted a detailed interview focusing on their roles as mothers, wives, community volunteers, and club members. This method allowed for systematic comparisons between the women who share a class position. Ostrander was able to examine patterns between the cases of women and draw conclusions about the meaning that class position has on the role of women of the upper class. Anderson (1976), on the other hand, relied solely on participant observation within the setting of a liquor store. While drinking and "hanging out" at the liquor store, Anderson observed and recorded the behavior and interactions of the men in order to understand how they were agents in the creation of cultural stratification.

While these methodologies individually were adequate to answer the questions raised by Ostrander and Anderson, my research questions called for a combination of the two methods. I had to not only learn about each woman in detail, but I also needed to observe their patterns of interaction. A number of empirical studies, including the more recent studies of stratification conducted by Elijah Anderson (1991) and David Halle (1992), combine the strengths of both of these methods. Rollins' (1987) methodology, which also combines these two methods, provides a good illustration of the methods utilized in this study. She examined the relationship between interaction and inequality among African

American female domestic workers and white, female employers using both participant observation and in-depth interviews.

### Participant Observation

Participant observation involves gathering data about social interaction through observation while one is also a participant in that interaction. Lofland and Lofland (1984) define the method as, "the process in which an investigator establishes and sustains a many-sided and relatively long-term relationship with a human association in its natural setting for the purpose of developing a scientific understanding of that association (pg. 12)." The researcher becomes part of the social phenomena in order to learn about the phenomena.

Rollins (1987) relies on participant observation in combination with her in-depth, semi-structured interviews. She studies the micro-level relationship between domestic workers and employers by working as a domestic worker. She responded to newspapers advertisements and was hired to clean the homes of ten different unknowing employers in the Boston area. One job she held for only a day before being fired, two she held for six months. While cleaning the homes of women, she covertly recorded data about their social interactions. Thus, through this method, she learned about the daily interactions between domestic workers and employers through first hand observations. For example, she experienced how employers treat domestic workers as if they were invisible. She wrote the following field note,

About a half hour after [her employer] left, I noticed the house getting cooler. The temperature continued to drop to, I would guess, 50-55



degrees – not comfortable even with my activity. I realized that they had turned the heat down as if there were no one there! (pg. 208).

Thus, by participating in the social interaction she sought to understand, she directly learned about the interaction which reinforces inequality between the women. Such data was an essential supplement to the interview data gathered from the perspectives of employers and employees.

I conducted participant observation on two levels – in the community and in a specific public setting within the community.

Participating in and observing the community. The community level component of my field work involved participating in the daily life of the town. By taking the role as a temporary resident of Sandy Haven, I learned both what it is like to be a woman living in Sandy Haven and how women participate in the social life of the community. I lived in Sandy Haven for almost eight months, from June through October, 1996 and then from June through August, 1997. I rented a room above the Diner, a local restaurant. I attended meetings of the local town government. I ate and socialized in the local restaurants. I attended public suppers, community sponsored events, and community festivals. I worked as a waitress at a local restaurant. I volunteered at the local grammar school for the community summer program. In other words, I worked, played, and lived as much like a resident of Sandy Haven as possible. Through this method, I gained knowledge of the values, norms, attitudes, and daily behaviors common to residents of the town. I was invited into some social networks and excluded

from others. I was both a recipient and subject of gossip. I experienced what it was like to hold one of the jobs available to local women.

Through my participation in the community, I also grew to know the women in the town. Some women I only talked with once or twice, while others I talked with daily. Some women I saw only in passing, while others asked me to dinner, movies, or shopping trips. Through observing the daily lives of and holding informal conversations with the women in Sandy Haven, I acquired information which helped to guide and greatly supplemented my interviews. I observed which women participated in which parts of social life. Who went to which restaurants? Who attended which political meetings, organizations, or community events? I also observed social interaction and networks. Who was friendly with whom and who avoided who? These observations were particularly important for supplementing the interview data. For example, in many interviews, local women described the relationships between women in the town as very close-knit, 'everyone gets along'. While this is often the case, especially in times of crisis and trouble, participating in and observing the social networks of women often revealed very selective association and avoidance between women.

Participating in and observing a public setting. In addition to studying the social lives and interaction of women on the community level, I was fortunate to stumble across a micro-setting of the community in which I could observe the patterned, daily interaction of a subset of women from the community. Data gathered in this setting provided initial hints at the system of stratification

occurring in the community and thus, formed the foundation of my research questions and in-depth interviews. I was also able to gather micro level data on the ways in which women act as agents in the creation of the system.

These observations occurred in one public space in the town, the Coffee Shop. This coffee shop, ice cream parlor is a gathering spot for women in town. Nearly every morning from 8:00 until 10:30, I joined nine other women at the Coffee Shop. The coffee shop was an excellent setting in which to observe interaction because of the diversity of women who frequented the shop. Representatives from all social networks, types of work, leisure interests, social and political orientations, and groups within the community came to the shop. The Coffee Shop served as a sort of micro-setting of the community.

When I came to the coffee shop each morning, I listened for what women discuss, how they talk about themselves, others, and life in Sandy Haven. I heard what information they shared openly and daily and what information they kept out of conversation. I watched how women acted within the public space. I observed how they treat others - what they said and how they behaved toward them. I saw which women share social networks, who sits and talks with whom and who avoids whom.

I recorded data gathered through participant observation in field notes. I recorded information as soon after the observation or discussion as possible by tape-recording or jotting notes. I wrote up these notes and information in the research diary I kept every day while in the field. While there is the possibility of

inaccuracies using this method, the steps I took in recording data assured that the information would be as accurate as possible.

The information I learned from these observation formed the foundation and guidelines for my study. In this setting, I was introduced to the system of stratification between women in Sandy Haven. I watched the daily patterns in interaction which persisted over time. The interactions I was observing were not rare, insignificant actions, but were daily, reoccurring, purposeful acts by women. The actions resulted in substantial divisions between the women who gathered in this public spot. The differences between women were largely based on cultural orientations toward work, family, leisure and consumption. Women displayed these aspects of their lives, through conversation and actions, in distinct and purposeful ways and acted towards others so as to reinforce these distinctions. I sought to understand how and why women acted in these ways and if these patterns persisted outside of the Coffee Shop, in the wider community.

Therefore, observing and analyzing this micro-setting of the community provided information upon which to develop research questions and conduct further study of how women produce cultural stratification. The information gathered through participant observation alone was not adequate for answering my research questions. I needed to understand the extent to which the patterns of social interaction I was observing in the public setting of the Coffee Shop occurred throughout the larger community. As a result, I needed to acquire thorough information about the lives of Sandy Haven women which could be systematically analyzed for data patterns. I, therefore, conducted in-depth, semi-

structured interviews. The data acquired through participant observation became the basis for the interviews, including sampling techniques and development of the interview guide.

### Interviews

The interviews were in-depth and semi-structured. In-depth interviews are designed to enable a researcher to learn intensively about a number aspects of subjects' lives. Semi-structured are essentially "guided conversations" (Lofland and Lofland, 1984). There is a previously determined set of questions to ask, yet the researcher is free to ask additional, probing questions to elicit more information on a certain topic and the subjects are free to interject additional information when desired. Using this method of interviewing, rather than a more structured survey style, I was able to learn about the respondents in detail, including aspects of their lives not previously considered, rather than only gather answers to predetermined questions.

This approach was used by Rollins (1987) when she conducted in-depth interviews with twenty domestic workers and twenty employers. Although she developed a guide of questions to keep the interviews "focused", she was flexible in following the guide, using it more to "prod discussion than to direct it." Through this method, she was able to gathered extensive information about predetermined issues related to the domestic work setting and employer-employee relationships, as well as, "encourage the emergence of unanticipated issues" (pg. 10).

The use of interviewing also readily allows for systematic data analysis. By gathering similar data from a number of cases, comparisons in the cases can be made and patterns in the data can be tested (Huberman and Miles, 1994). By comparing the interview data gathered from employers and employees, Rollins (1987) was able to test for common responses among employers and employees and find patterns in the descriptions of domestic work relationships. For example, she found patterns in why women select domestic work. Younger domestic workers, she found, are more likely to choose domestic work than older workers. They select domestic work not simply because of lack of alternatives but for the flexible hours and convenience in child care it provides. She also found patterns in employers' selection of domestic workers. The white women employers chose employees not only based on their skills and performance but also on their personality. Employers often wanted a friend or emotional care giver as much as a household cleaner. Thus, in-depth, semi-structured interviews are important for both acquiring rich data and enabling precise analysis of the data.

The Guide. The main topics covered in my interview guide include: family history, current family, work, leisure social and political values, and general information about life in Sandy Haven (See Appendix A: Interview Guide). These are the issues which emerged as important from participant observation. During each interview, I asked women about their choices to participate or not participate in a variety of paid, community, or political work. I asked them about their experiences growing up in their families and being a child in Sandy Haven.

I asked what their parents did for work and for fun, and what they had expected from them as children. I asked about their current families. I learned about their husbands, including what they do for work and for fun and about their children, including where they live, what they do for work, and how far they went in school. I asked them about the expectation and hopes they had for their children and the values they tried to instill in them. I learned where women stood on political and social issues or if they did not have strong opinions. I gathered information on their leisure activities – where they go, who they go with, their hobbies and interests. I asked them to draw a social network diagram indicating and describing the people with whom they were close, both in town and in other places, people whom they could count on and turn to. I asked women to discuss their relations with and opinions about populations who are different from long term, year round residents of Sandy Haven. I learned about their experiences with being away and views on life outside of Sandy Haven. I asked them to generally describe the social relations and daily life in Sandy Haven.

As explained earlier, to keep the interviews conversational and gather information that might not have been generated by the questions on the interview guide, I was flexible in following the guide. I let the women talk about the topics they found most interesting and knew the most about. The difference in significance that women gave each of the topics provides important data itself. For example, some women were very interested in talking about their political opinions, while others didn't have strong opinions. Other women were very interested in talking about their paid work, while others talked more about their

unpaid, community work. Thus, by allowing women to guide the interview to some extent, I learned which aspects of daily life and culture were most important to the women.

The interviews ranged in length from 45 minutes to over 3 hours, but most lasted about 1 1/2 hours. All interviews were tape-recorded with permission from the women. I interviewed women in their homes or at local restaurants, depending on where they felt most comfortable. I conducted one interview at the library and one while the woman was cooking in the kitchen of a local restaurant.

Sampling. I conducted a total of 44 interviews with women from the community. Purposeful and snowballing techniques provided the most appropriate sample to address my research questions. Using these methods, I was able to locate and learn from women who participate in and know about the community, yet who are culturally diverse in terms of behaviors, values, and lifestyles.

Purposeful sampling involves "selecting information rich cases for study in depth. Information rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the study (Patton, 1990)." As stated earlier, the central issues to investigate emerged from participant observation. The purposeful sampling technique was similarly guided by information learned through observations in the town and Coffee Shop. Work emerged as an essential, as well as discernable, distinction between women in Sandy Haven. Therefore, in my sampling, I primarily aimed to ensure diversity in paid and unpaid work. First, I selected women based on paid work. I



interviewed women who own a business in town, own a business with their husband, teach school, hold management positions, do service work including nursing, cleaning houses, waiting tables, commute to a job out-of-town, do seasonal work or factory work, and do not work for pay. Second, I chose women based on their unpaid work using a list of women who hold local government offices, work at the library, and are members of the women's club, historical society, and recreation community. Diversity in leisure activities had some role in the purposeful sampling because leisure also emerged during participant observation as an important issues in cultural stratification. I talked with women who are members of a social coffee group, attend local operas, and frequent the Diner, a local restaurant.

Snowball sampling "identifies cases of interest from people who know people who know what cases are information-rich, that is, good examples for the study, good interview subjects (Patton, 1990)." Using this technique, I asked women I interviewed if I could talk with their friends, family members, or other women that they mentioned in the course of the interview. I used this technique for two reasons. First, I learned about and interview women who other respondents thought would be a rich source of information, including those women who were well known in the community and were referred to frequently by others. Second, I gathered data from a number of women who share a common social network. Through this method, I learned more about which women share networks and why.

Qualitative researchers advise that feelings of “saturation” are good indicators of an appropriate sample size. In other words, when no new information is acquired through additional interviews, it is safe to cease interviewing. I felt confident that I had gathered an adequate amount of data when I began to have feelings of saturation. I interviewed nearly all of the women I had contact with during my eight months of field work and residents of Sandy Haven began to make comments such as “I think you have talked to just about everyone in town” and “Is there anyone you haven’t talked to?”

The final sample of women ranges in age from 20 to 84 years old. The age distribution is fairly normal and incorporates different generations of women into the analysis. Most of the women are currently married. Two women are in a cohabiting relationship and one woman is in a long-term, non-cohabiting relationship. Two women are divorced and six are widowed. All but four, are mothers. My sample is based on “local” Sandy Haven women. All of the women I included in my sample had long-term “roots” in the community. They have all either grown up in the town, married into the town, have family ties in the community, or have spent a substantial portion of their lives living in Sandy Haven. All but seven of the women currently live within the town limits of Sandy Haven. The seven women who are not officially residents of Sandy Haven often live just over the town line and are included in the study because they work, socialize, and have previously lived in Sandy Haven. I did not include any “non-local” women, either military personnel or summer residents, in my sample. However, I did talk with some of these women informally.

While not part of my systematic data analysis, there are a number of additional interviews that greatly enhanced my knowledge of Sandy Haven. In addition to the interviews with women, I interviewed sixteen fishermen and local government officeholders from Sandy Haven and fourteen fishermen and twelve fishermen's wives from a neighboring community. Their stories of growing up in or near Sandy Haven, opinions of community functioning, and observations of community change contributed to my comprehensive understanding of the community.

Data Analysis. As stated earlier, the benefit of in-depth interviews is that they allow for systematic data analysis across cases. Huberman and Miles (1994) provide a frame work upon which I based the management and analysis of my interview data. According to Huberman and Miles (1994) analysis of the interviews required three steps: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. All three steps were aided using Lotus Notes, a database-handling software adapted for qualitative data analysis.

The taped interviews were transcribed verbatim and entered into the software. I reduced the data provided in each interview to a manageable size by dividing each interview into approximately twenty five records, or sections. I then summarized each record using nine lines of text, often retaining exact quotes from the interview. These interview summaries facilitate locating quotes and information from the original, complete interview.

For additional data reduction, each interview was accompanied by a code sheet. I summarized each interview in the cover sheet using both code words and descriptive text (See Appendix B: Sample Cover Sheet). I used code words to summarize “objective” information such as age, educational attainment, occupation, and network size. For more complex categories such as work ethic and expectations for children, I used nine-lines of descriptive text to summarize the data. This method of coding, unlike using code words or line by line descriptions, avoids “text extracts” and allows for the analysis of the data in the context of the interview. Thus, data fragmentation is reduced and the richness of qualitative research is not lost in the process of analysis (Dey, 1995).

I then displayed the data summarized in the cover sheets in arrays of data. Lotus Notes allows the creation of views of data fields (See Appendix C: View of Work Type). By selecting various combinations of code words and descriptive text for a view, it is possible to compare all cases, in condensed form, by selected criteria as Huberman and Miles (1994) recommend. Through these comparisons, patterns in the data can be observed. For example, by selecting and displaying each respondent's paid work, community work, and political work within a view, I was able to compare which women perform and avoid which types of work and if there is a pattern in the types of work that women do.

I analyzed the data, continually reaching, altering, and verify conclusions, by creating and testing for patterns in the displays of data (Huberman and Miles, 1994). Analytic induction, or the constant comparative method, involves making comparisons of the similarities and differences in the data. When data for all

cases are presented in a variety of views, I made systematic comparisons across the cases. As patterns in the data emerge, I was able to develop conceptual categories, or analytic frames. I continually tested the patterns and categories I was observing. As conceptual categories emerged, I created additional data views and tested more patterns. As patterns in the data continue to confirm the emerging conceptual categories, I reached and verified my conclusions. When patterns in the data do not support conceptual categories, I made adjustments in my categories and conducted additional data analysis to confirm the emerging conclusions (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Ragin, 1994).

After initial conceptual categories were developed and verified, I conducted additional data analysis by grouping cases according to these categories and investigating patterns across groups of cases. For example in the View of Work Type, I sorted the women based on the categories of cultural identification, including "Outside-identified", "Point-identified", and "Town-identity". Through this process, I was able to test for correlations or patterns between emerging categories. In this case, I was able to see that there is pattern in work orientations which corresponds with women's cultural identification.

By combining the two complementary, methodological approaches of in-depth interviews and participant observation, I am able to gain answers to my research questions. Like the research questions, my methodology is guided by theoretical and empirical frameworks. The result is a strong connection between theory and methods, a combination essential for reaching solid conclusions.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE TOWN, THE PEOPLE, AND THE CULTURAL GROUPS

Through my eight months of field work and archival research, I learned about the town of Sandy Haven. This community is characterized by a natural beauty and quiet way of life of an isolated, rural setting, social institutions founded on the value of self-reliance, and a small web of long term, familiar social ties. In addition to the 500 year-round, permanent “local” residents of Sandy Haven, there are a diverse groups of people who come to the town bringing extremes in socioeconomic status and racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity which is otherwise not found in the small, rural town. These diverse residents who comprise the town have the greatest influence in structuring the town as it is today. One of my primary research interests involved investigating how these groups of people influence each other and what the effects of these interactions are for the town of Sandy Haven. I present these findings in this chapter.

#### The Town

The 14.4 square miles of rural Sandy Haven are located eight miles off the highway on the rocky coast of Downeast Maine. The center of town is only a half mile long, yet contains most everything a resident could need. There is a two pump and two bay gas station and garage, a small post office, a branch of a

regional bank, a grocery store which is only slightly larger and has only slightly more selection than a convenience store, and a five and dime store which sells knick-knack souvenirs, sewing supplies, health and beauty care products, and unfashionable casual and work clothes. A large white Baptist church, a Masonic hall, the local grammar school, the town hall, the fire station, a historic hall, and town wharf also are in the town center. The museum of local history is housed in the old grammar school and the local library is housed in a renovated church. The three restaurants in town include the casual Diner, the upscale Diningroom, and the old fashioned ice-cream parlor Coffee Shop. A number of other small local service businesses can also be found scattered throughout the center of town. The lobster coop, two craft and art shops, a hair salon, a boat building business, a well drilling company, a bed and breakfast, a real estate company, a construction company, and video rental and pizza shop can all be found within the half mile.

Houses are dispersed between the businesses in the center of town. The homes are assorted and uniquely arranged. Double wide trailers sit on lots next to beautifully renovated homes. Yards full of old cars and junk sit next to meticulously manicured lawns. Eclectic neighborhoods are characteristic of Downeast Maine. A woman who worked as a realtor told a story of selling a home in Sandy Haven to a well-known artist:

I showed him one house which was right beside a trailer and he said, "You know what I am looking for. I want real, authentic Downeast." I said, "This is real, authentic Downeast - a trailer right beside a big house"

Sandy Haven became an independent town in 1895. Prior to that time, it was part of Goosetown, a larger town which today covers 46 square miles and has a population of approximately 2000. In 1894, residents of Sandy Haven argued that their tax contribution did not match their allotment of improvement money or their voting influence in town elections and petitioned for independence from Goosetown. In February, 1895, the State of Maine endorsed Sandy Haven as an independent town (Smallidge, 1994; town reports).

For the "locals", those residents who were born and whose families have lived in Sandy Haven for generations, not much has changed over the 102 year history of the town. Older residents notice small shifts in the town. They attribute these subtle changes to technological advancement - cars, television, and computers - which increasingly connect rural Sandy Haven to the outside world. "Locals" argue that children in Sandy Haven are more knowledgeable, materialistic, and disrespectful today. They also notice more vandalism and crime by children. They worry that childhoods are not as fulfilling as children stay inside to watch TV and play computer games, rather than making their own fun with other children outside. Not just children, but all residents, they argue, are not as close as they once were because socializing occurs more and more outside of Sandy Haven. As cars became more affordable and reliable, people are increasingly able to travel out of town for a meal, shopping, and a night out. The ability to travel outside of town resulted in the increased need to leave town. Local inns, restaurants, stores, and movies have all went out of business as



residents increasingly traveled 45 minutes to the Days Inn, Burger King, Walmart, and theatre complexes in Elmwood, the nearest large town.

Yet these changes are less extreme than in other parts of America. The same residents who talk of these changes say that there are few places left in America where people know and care about their neighbors like they do in Sandy Haven. All of the approximately 500 year round, permanent "local" residents of Sandy Haven know each other. Although they do not always get along, they are "there for each other" in times of need. Residents pull together to raise money through public suppers and collection cans whenever a family has fallen on hard times due to injury or death of a member. Nearly every resident can share a story about the time when everyone in the town helped them during hard times. A woman shared this example,

When my father passed away... when we came home from the hospital, it was like 4:00 in the afternoon and I had stopped at the store because I was working there and let them know I wasn't going to be in work for a few days because my father had died. I didn't even have to pick up the phone to call anybody. That was it. I hadn't been home 10 minutes and people started calling. People started coming. People didn't stop calling and didn't stop coming until like 10:00 that night. Then they started up again like 7:00 the next morning, bringing food, money and sympathy cards to help for the funeral arrangements. People would come right in and just go right to the sink and start doing dishes. Or can I get you any coffee, or here, how about some cupcakes. That's the way this town is. My brother was living out of state at the time and he said I can't believe the people that have come here. I can't believe the people that have called. I can't believe the food they've brought in. I'm saying, "This is Sandy Haven. You grew up here. You should know this is the way it is." We know almost everybody in this town...God forbid, if my house burned down and we lost everything, I know somebody would have a benefit supper at Masonic hall to help us get money.

"Locals" also describe Sandy Haven as one of the few safe communities left in America. Crime rates are quite low. Property crime is rare and violent crime is almost nonexistent. Residents walk down the street alone at night without fear, leave the keys in their cars, and leave their houses unlocked.

Residents say that the relationships between locals and the safety of the town still continues to make Sandy Haven one of the best places in America to raise children. A woman with a handicapped son explains why she would never raise him anywhere else:

If he went out on his bicycle, I don't really have to worry about him being hurt by anyone...he can go out in the morning on his bicycle and not come home until 12:00 and I never worry about him...he was riding a bike one day and cut in front of a car and almost got hit. Well, this person called me and said, "You better to speak to him, he cut in front of me." I was glad they called. If you live in a city no one would bother to call you.

While Sandy Haven has not been free from social change, both good and bad, the "local" residents perceived as the traditional American community associated with years past.

Certain values go along with this traditional community, including self-reliance and independence. Even the community social institutions of Sandy Haven are based on self-reliance of local residents. The residents of Sandy Haven retain ownership and control of their own system of local government, tax system, fire department, grammar school and school board, sewer system, library, and social clubs. The importance of local community control is apparent in the recent processes of purchasing the water company and returning to independent control of the police department. The company was owned and

poorly managed by an absentee owner. The brown-tint and the low pressure to the water incited a number of locals to argue that the residents of Sandy Haven could better and more cheaply operate the water company. So, they formed a committee, began legal proceeding to purchase the company, petitioned for tax money to cover the cost of the purchase, and applied for grants to cover the costs of improving the water system. After years of work, Sandy Haven now also owns and operates their own water company.

A similar process occurred with the police department. In the past, Sandy Haven had their own police department. To reduce expenses and increase service, Sandy Haven decided to share police coverage with the larger neighboring town. Recently, however, disputes have occurred between the towns regarding the percentage of the police department budget each town should pay. The bill submitted to Sandy Haven for their share of the police coverage was inconsistent and uneven. Rather, than continuing to fight with the town over the costs, Sandy Haven just voted in the annual town meeting to restart their own police department. The additional annual cost of \$36,000, they argue, is worth the ability to control their own institutions.

The economy of the town similarly is based on self-reliance. Sources of income in Sandy Haven are seasonal, uncertain, and limited leaving residents to be creative in finding work and starting new businesses, mastering a number of different skills and combining a number of different jobs throughout the year.

They have to always plan ahead to make ends meet whether for the off-season each year or for retirement during later years.

The sea forms the foundation of the economic structure. Fishing, predominately lobsterfishing, but also groundfish, urchins, shrimp, and scallops, has been the backbone of the local economy. Many residents gain their income directly through fishing, either owning and operating a boat or working for someone who does. Other residents earn their income from fishing related work. Fish processing plants, located in neighboring towns, have historically provided work for many of the women. The hardware store, boat building business, and seafood restaurants rely on fish and the fishermen for success.

Tourism in Sandy Haven, and the related retail businesses and service industries, are based on fishing. The image of a fishing community, complete with lobstermen with Maine accents, traps on docks, and boats in the harbor, brings vacationers to the area. From June through September, vacationers come to Sandy Haven for the day, week, or entire summer season. The extent to which retail stores depend on fishing related tourism is apparent from the lobster T-shirts and imitation buoy souvenirs for sale in the 5 and 10. Most businesses depend on the summer tourist season. Two of the three restaurants in town are only open during the summer. The gas station and garage, the hair salon, and the bed and breakfast do the vast majority of their business during the summer months. The tourists also create jobs. Housekeeping, gardening,

babysitting, and cooking are just a few of the services the vacationers want and the local residents provide.

Both fishing and the accompanying tourist industry peak in the summer months. The residents work long hours in the summer and make most of their income for the year during those months. The winter months require scrimping financially and saving oneself from boredom. As one young fisherman explains:

I will tell you in the middle of February when it's 20 below and you haven't been out [fishing] in 15 days, the payments start coming hard and boredom just about kills.

Dependence on nature makes the economy variable and unpredictable.

The success of fishing changes with the weather conditions and the cyclical changes in a natural resource. If the wind blows, fishermen do not get out to fish for days at a time. If the lobster stock is waning, catches and incomes are low. The success of tourism also changes with the weather. If the summer months are rainy and cold, vacations are cancelled or cut short.

Non-fishing, non-tourist based sources of income in Sandy Haven are limited. There are no industries or firms in Sandy Haven to provide jobs. The businesses in town are all small, most employing fewer than eight employees. Given the rural setting of Sandy Haven, located eight miles off the highway and a forty-minute drive from the nearest large town, alternative sources of income require a long commute and are still limited. As a result, self-employment is very common. Residents often try to find a niche in the local economy in which to start a small business in construction, painting, arts and crafts, or other service.

The economic structure of the community results in limited socioeconomic stratification among the "locals". There are not extreme variations in occupational prestige, power, and income. With an economic base in fishing and tourism, most jobs require physical or lower-level service work. All residents face seasonal fluctuations and unpredictability in income. The relative socioeconomic homogeneity is described by the residents of Sandy Haven and confirmed by official statistics:

"We don't have a lot of diversity here, we have a little bit, a little of ethnic diversity, a little bit of economic diversity and a little bit of job diversity, but really not very much of any of it."

"Most of your people in town are pretty middle class, low middle class actually. A good part of them. There isn't much here for them. There isn't any big paying jobs here."

"In town, they are all basically on the same level."

Official statistics support these observations. The median household income is \$19,712 and there is not much variation in income. The poverty rate of nine percent is well below the national average of 14.5 percent. Only four percent of families report an income over \$50,000 and no families report an income over \$75,000. Nationally, 19.4 percent of families earn over \$50,000 and 15.5 percent earn over \$75,000. Thirty-five percent of employed persons have blue-collar jobs, 45 percent of people hold lower white collar, service jobs, while only 20 percent hold upper-white collar jobs (many of whom are military personnel). Over 90 percent of residents have graduated from high school, compared to the national rate of 81 percent. Yet, only 11 percent have

graduated from college (again many of whom are military personnel), compared to the national rate of 22 percent. Sandy Haven has little socioeconomic variation and substantially less diversity than in the United States as a whole.

There is also racial and ethnic homogeneity among the locals of Sandy Haven. Ninety-six percent of the residents are white. Eighty percent of residents report their ethnicity as western European and an additional seven percent report a Canadian or American ethnicity. Only four percent of residents are of Eastern European decent, 2.7 percent are Black, .4 percent are American Indian, .6 percent are Asian, and 1.5 percent are Latino.

Sandy Haven, however, is not without diversity. Populations "from away" come to Sandy Haven bringing the diversity which is foreign to the locals of the town.

#### People "From Away"

If you were not born and raised in Sandy Haven or married someone who was, you are "from away". People "from away" have come to Sandy Haven, bringing diversity and influencing the social life of the town since its formation in 1895. A summer colony of wealthy out-of-staters exists on one side of town. A Navy base sits on the other side of town. People have moved to the town from other parts of the country to share in the lifestyle and get "back-to-the-land". These groups bringing unique socioeconomic standing, lifestyles, behaviors, and values to the town.

### Summer Colony

Beginning in the 1700's, wealthy families from Philadelphia came to Sandy Haven and built summer "cottages". Today there are approximately 45 cottages in the summer colony known as the Stony Point. The "cottages" are awe-inspiring mansions, some three stories high with twelve bedrooms and five baths, huge porches, and fantastic ocean front views. The lawns are meticulously landscaped and exquisite flower beds decorate the houses.

The existence of Stony Point introduces inequality in wealth, prestige, and power to Sandy Haven which would otherwise not be present. The residents of Stony Point have a standard of living far higher than any year round resident of Sandy Haven. Mr. Rudolph, the most prominent resident of the Stony Point, is worth 150-200 million dollars and listed as one of Fortune 500's wealthiest people in America. This is far from the \$19,712 median household income for year round Sandy Haven residents. Still, older residents say the "new money" of today is not even near the wealth of the "old money" held by prior generations. The presence of Stony Point has brought socioeconomic inequality, and accompanying diverse lifestyles, values, and norms, to Sandy Haven throughout the history of the community.

The elite, leisurely, glamorous lifestyle of Stony Point is visible to the "locals" but remains exclusive and largely separate from the town. The summer people live on the Stony Point about a mile outside of town. Previous generations of summer residents, or "old money", never came down to eat in the



restaurants or interact with the local town residents. They stayed on Stony Point, eating, residing, socializing together, enjoying leisure in their own casino, golf course, inn, pool, yacht club, and tennis courts. Today, there is greater interaction between the two groups. The “new money” summer people are more likely to eat in the restaurants, ride on lobstermen’s boats, volunteer at the library, and invite locals to their cocktail parties. However, the boundaries between Stony Point and the town have not disappeared.

Residents of the summer colony pay for membership into the Stony Point Association, which provides access to leisure and social facilities that are not available to the town residents. The private yacht club serves as a center of social life. Daily luncheons and celebrations and bi-weekly sail boat races are held at the Stony Point club. Residents of the town may enter their sail boats in the twice weekly races, but they are not permitted to sail. Instead, they must find members of the yacht club who are not sailing their own boats, often children, to sail for them. The golf course and the pool are open to local residents, but only at specified times. For example, town residents are only able to use the pool from 7-8AM and after 6PM. In the evenings, regardless of the weather, town children pack the pool, while it stays mostly empty during the day. One woman’s observations at a town celebration show the ambivalence of the increased yet still strained contact between Stony Point and the “locals” of the town:

I don't think there's a whole lot of intermingling going on. Here's a good example. Mr. Rudolph did the Centennial celebration last year, and he very generously put on this great picnic. They catered it and they had fireworks. It was just wonderful. I noticed this, we were all sitting down in

the field in our chairs and such watching the fireworks, and all the people from Stony Point were up on the knoll, separate from us, watching it. They had donated all their money and time, which was wonderful, I appreciate it, but still they were separate from the townspeople. You just noticed things like that.

The most dramatic boundary between Stony Point and “outsiders” is the buy-back policy that Mr. Rudolph includes in the contract for houses on Stony Point. When summer residents want to sell their house, ownership of the house first goes to Mr. Rudolph. He, in turn, decides to whom to sell the house. This clause guarantees that he has control over who becomes a resident of Stony Point, regardless of their financial status.

Mr. Rudolph has influence and power not only over Stony Point but also much of the town. He currently owns one of the three local restaurants, the only grocery store, the local medical clinic, and a number of the residents' homes. In the past, he owned the only gas station and garage in town and was on the board of the local bank. He hires “presentable”, college-bound kids to work at the pool and pays them high wages in order to assist them in their educational expenses. He writes annual checks to elderly residents going through financial difficulty. He has given cars to residents. Today, he continues to be one of the largest employers of local residents. As a result, he controls the income, insurance benefits, and retirement pensions of an estimated 40 to 50 Sandy Haven residents.

One woman explains the powerful, paternalistic role that Mr. Rudolph has in the lives of her family. She and her husband decided to moved back to Sandy

Haven when her husband's childhood home was for sale. They contacted Mr. Rudolph finding work. He hired her husband as a gardener and called her within a few months to hire her as manager of the local store he recently purchased. With jobs, they were ready to purchase the house and move back to Sandy Haven. When they called the realtor, they were told that Mr. Rudolph had bought the house. He said that he did it to assist them while they were selling their current home. Almost a decade later, they still do not own their house although they are currently working out arrangements to buy it. The woman explained the vulnerable position her dependence puts her in:

In the beginning I used to be really worried. Like on a daily basis, what if he dies... What are we going to do. Now I think we will be okay if he dies, we will have to struggle for a while, but will be able to get our feet back out under us.

While Mr. Rudolph tells them not to worry, he has not informed them about the arrangements he has made in case of his death. The woman explains, "I figure that some how there must be a provision for this to continue or something. I just have to have faith in that because I trust him." While an extreme case, this family is just one of a number of families who are financially dependent on the summer colony.

Many of the residents of Stony Point hire local residents to work for them. Services conducted by locals on Stony Point include, but are not limited to, preparing homes prior to the summer season and closing them for the winter, housekeeping during the summer, gardening, construction, laundry, cooking in private homes and at the yacht club, babysitting, chauffeuring, maintaining cars

and boats, hosting cocktail parties, running lobster bakes, managing the swimming pool, lifeguarding, managing and caretaking the golf course. Local residents continue to provide additional services in town. Stony Point residents comprise much of the clientele of local businesses. "Locals" working at the hair salon, restaurants, construction company, art and craft stores, and garage, therefore, are often working for the summer residents. Whether on the Point or in town, the relationships between the summer residents and the locals is often one of employer-employee status.

While there is socioeconomic equality between "local" residents of Sandy Haven, Stony Point holds greater prestige, wealth, and power over the "locals". The existence of the summer colony introduces socioeconomic diversity and an elite lifestyle and culture to an otherwise relatively economically homogeneous community.

### The Navy

A base of the United States Navy exists on the other side of town, opposite of Stony Point. The naval base covers 23 acres of land in Sandy Haven. Established in 1935, the naval base brings a military population of over 1,000, including 353 naval personnel and their families, to the area.

The presence of the military introduces further economic diversity and most significantly, racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity. Members of the military originate from and have lived all over the country and throughout the world before being stationed in Sandy Haven. They come from diverse backgrounds

and have knowledge of diverse cultures. Their tour of duty in Sandy Haven lasts for only three years at the end of which they move on, although some personnel do return to visit or to retire later in life. Naval personnel can fill military jobs and professions, which provide a status and prestige not available to the "local", civilian residents of Sandy Haven. As a result, the military community is responsible for most of the economic, educational, racial and ethnic diversity represented in the official statistics. Naval personnel comprise much of the 20 percent of the population who hold upper-level white-collar jobs and 11 percent of the population who have college degrees. They account for nearly all of the racial and ethnic diversity, comprising the 2.7 percent of population who are Black, .6 percent who are Asian, and 1.5 percent who are Latino. They, like the summer colony, bring diversity from outside Sandy Haven into the otherwise homogeneous community.

Also like the summer colony, Navy personnel are largely segregated from, yet have influence on, the residents of Sandy Haven. Much of the housing, services, and institutions used by the Navy families are on the military base, which is located about two miles outside the center of town. On the base, military personnel shop at the commissary, eat in the restaurants, exercise in the gym, attend the church, put their children in the day care center, and socialize in the clubs. Local town residents are not admitted on to base. The rare exceptions to this practice include Sunday mass at the Catholic church and an occasional social function at the base club. There are eighty-four off-base housing units

located in town. This housing, however, does not generally result in greater contact between the military personnel and the town. The housing units are built together in clusters separate from the rest of the town and the residents of these housing units continue to use the base services.

As with the summer colony, there is some interaction between the Naval personnel and the residents of Sandy Haven. They occasionally eat in the town restaurants, hold jobs in town, and participate in the annual town festival. The greatest interaction between the town and the Navy occurs as a result of the local grammar school. The children of Naval personnel make up 58 percent of the student enrollment. Last year, the military, in collaboration with the town, was awarded a three year grant for recreational programs and computer facilities for the grammar school. This has led to a steady, yet still weak, relationship between the Navy and Sandy Haven.

The military base, like Stony Point, is a source of employment for the local residents. There are 106 full time and 29 part time employees in the civilian work force. Although some of these are filled by resident of Sandy Haven, most are held by retired military personnel and residents of neighboring communities. Civilian jobs include work in the base fire department, maintenance and mechanics departments. These jobs are good for the area because they offer high pay, year round work, and good benefits.

The degree of economic influence the Navy base has on the town is uncertain and debatable. There has been recent discussion of the possibility of

the base closing by the year 2000 as a result of cuts in military spending. A committee of residents from Sandy Haven, the neighboring community, and the Navy has formed to predict the effects of a base closing on the town and to take proactive steps to prepare for the change. Opinions on the consequences of a closing vary greatly. Some argue that the economic effect would be devastating. They say that the civilian jobs available on base provide some of the highest pay, best benefits, and most consistent work in the area. Many families are able to stay in the area, they argue, solely because of these jobs. Some business owners also report military personnel to be among their best customers.

Others believe that the economic impact would not be so great. Most of the civilian jobs, they argue, are held by non-residents of Sandy Haven, including retired military personnel or people from neighboring communities. Local business would not feel a great impact because the Naval personnel spend much of their money in the base stores and restaurants. Furthermore, unlike the summer colony, the Navy community does not provide a tax base for the town. Military personnel are exempt from paying income tax or car excise tax to the town. Rather than the economic impact on the town, these residents are concerned about the subsequent use of the military housing and base land and the viability of maintaining the local grammar school with a 58 percent reduction in student enrollment. Regardless of the level of their economic contribution to the town, the Navy unarguably introduces diversity, racial, cultural, and socioeconomic, to the homogeneous community of Sandy Haven.

### "Back to the Landers"

Finally, the "Back-to-the-Landers" or "hippies" are another population which has moved to Sandy Haven and make up a unique group of year round, permanent residents. These residents moved to Maine during the 1960's and 1970's in order to leave behind what they considered materialistic values of urban America and share in the rural way of life. Men and women left their jobs, homes, and lifestyles to come to a place that they perceived as unmaterialistic, noncompetitive, slow-paced, and preserved in its natural beauty. One woman explains why she and her family gave up jobs and a home in the Midwest to move to Sandy Haven:

My husband and I, we had a little bit of that old, being sixties children, kind of that older pioneer feeling, we cleared our own land and built our own house, wanted to raise our children in a real old-fashioned, traditional way.

While the "Back to the Landers" do not bring extensive racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic diversity to Sandy Haven, they do bring cultural diversity in lifestyle and values. These residents come from a variety of backgrounds, and have lived many different places and among different lifestyles. They hold values and attitudes that are unique in this traditional fishing community, such as an interest in social change, social justice, and social equality for people and even animals. Thus, like the military population and the summer colony, they bring diversity from the world outside of Sandy Haven into the town.

The impact of this migration to Sandy Haven is represented by census data. Between 1960 and 1970, population of town grew by 36 percent. Between



1970 and 1980, growth in the town slowed and there was a 9 percent increase in the population. After 1980, in-migration slowed every further so that there was only a 3 percent increase in population between 1980 and 1990. While some of this growth can be attributed to the expansion of the military base, these statistics still represent the impact of in-migration of people seeking to get “back to the land”. Today, young people continue to move to the area for a change in lifestyle, although not on such a large scale as in the 1960’s.

Many of the people who came to Sandy Haven and neighboring towns during this period remain today. They fish, work in restaurants, and teach in the local schools. They are involved in the Chamber of Commerce, churches, and other community organizations. In general, they are much more integrated into the town than the Navy or summer colony. Yet, they are still labeled “hippie”, especially those who continue to dress and appear in styles of the Sixties, run businesses such as organic farms, or go to country fairs featuring camping out, herbs, and organic food.

Like the summer colony and military community, “Back-to-the-Landers” bring diversity to Sandy Haven. The diversity they contribute, however, is in values and lifestyles, rather than socioeconomic or racial or ethnic differences.

In sum, Sandy Haven is not just a homogeneous fishing community, an elite summer vacation spot, an retreat for alternative lifestyles, or a Naval community. Rather, it is a combination of all of these. One resident describes the relationship between these groups:

If you have ever been in Jerusalem... it's a city that's divided into quarters and you have to pass through checkpoints to get to different parts of the city and it's totally arbitrary, because it's one small city, at least the old part of the city. But there's the Jewish quarter, the Christian quarter and the Muslim quarter, and the Armenian quarter.... to see these four cultures living side by side, but yet and so interdependent and interconnected, but yet completely separate, that's just a model for what I see here. The Summer colony quarter, the Navy Quarter, the Local Born Here quarter and the From Away quarter. We are all here trying to live together.

Yet, these groups do not just live side by side. Populations “from away” impact and influence the community of Sandy Haven and the relationship between “local” residents. The diversity which populations “from away” bring to the town of Sandy Haven enable and encourage diversity in cultural identity and status in a socioeconomically and racially homogeneous rural community. The rest of this chapter analyzes the relationships between these groups.

### Identities and Groups

On my first day of field work, I was asked by a local man if I had been to the summer colony. I quickly became aware of the presence of the Navy personnel and “hippies” because they, as well as the summer residents, were frequently topics of interest, conversation, gossip, and jokes among the local residents. A number of magazine and newspaper articles about the town noted the interrelations between the summer colony, the Navy, and the “locals” as making Sandy Haven a unique place to visit. A number of residents explained to me that Sandy Haven would be a perfect town for a sociological study because of the diverse groups who comprise the town. I became interested in

investigating the relationships between these groups and the effects of these relations on the town of Sandy Haven and the lives of the “local” residents.

As discussed above, the summer colony and the Navy have a significant economic effect on the town. A number of residents of Sandy Haven depend on these populations for work and income and the whole town benefits from the tax base of Stony Point. My analysis of interviews and field research shows, however, that the impact of Stony Point and populations from the outside on Sandy Haven is more than economic.

Each group of residents – the “locals” of Sandy Haven, the summer colony, people “from away” – represents both a structural socioeconomic position in the American class system and distinct cultural orientations associated with these class positions. The “locals” of Sandy Haven, as a result of the economic structure of the town described above, share a similar structural class position. Given the predominance of blue-collar and lower level-service jobs and seasonal nature of work, most residents of the town tend to fall within the upper working or lower-middle classes of the American class structure. They share a class position with the families in Lillian Rubin (1976; 1994) and David Halle's (1984) studies of working class families. They grew up in lower-working class families, struggling to make it financially. While 90 percent of residents have a high school education, few have attained higher education. The men hold blue collar jobs and the women work for pay in lower-level services jobs.

The summer residents of Stony Point serve as representatives of a very different class position. They are members of the elite upper class Susan Ostrander (1985) and William Domhoff (1985) study. They come from families who “own the major share of corporate and personal wealth, and exercise dominant power in economic and political affairs (Ostrander, 1984: 12).” The women graduated from prestigious colleges and hold influential volunteer positions. The men are “presidents or chairmen or boards.... presidents of old family firms...or physicians (Ostrander, 1984: 13).” From the start of the colony at the turn of the century, the summer residents have served as a symbol of extreme wealth and power. The Navy and the “Back to the Landers” are from yet another social class. In relation to the American class structure, they seem to represent a “new middle class” of highly educated, professionals and technically trained managers who hold liberal social and political values (Brint, 1984). They, particularly the military personnel, have greater educational attainment and have access to professional jobs in the military which are not available to civilian “locals”.

More than representing distinct class positions, however, my interviews and field work in the town reveal that the summer colony, populations from away, and the traditional rural community also represent distinct cultures - values, behaviors, and lifestyles – to the local Sandy Haven women. The town of Sandy Haven represents the values of a blue-collar community, including a dedication to tradition, close-knit social ties, extended family, and hard, physical work.

Stony Point represents a glamorous and leisurely lifestyle filled with high status and high culture that comes with wealth and power. Life outside of Sandy Haven, as embodied by the Navy and the 'Back to the Landers', represents social change, cosmopolitan lifestyle, progressive values, and association with diverse people and cultures.

The year round, permanent "local" women of Sandy Haven relate to these cultural symbols in unique ways. As discussed before, the Navy, "hippies", life outside of Sandy Haven, and the summer colony are often topics of conversation among local women. When they share gossip, jokes, and stories, the women in Sandy Haven express their attitudes and perceptions of the diverse populations. During the semi-structured, in-depth interviews, I asked each woman to discuss their relationship and attitudes toward the Navy and the summer colony, and experiences outside of the town. In addition to answers to direct questions, however, women also frequently discussed these groups on their own accord and without prompting. From my participant observation and in-depth interviews, it became apparent that local women either see themselves as alike or different from the town, the summer colony, or life outside of Sandy Haven. Three distinct categories of cultural identities among "local" women emerged based on these self comparisons. The local women are Town-identified, Point-identified, or Outside-identified. Table 1 divides the sample into these categories of cultural identities.

TABLE 1: Age, Work, and Education of the Sample

## TOWN-IDENTIFIED WOMEN:

| Age | Education               | Paid work                   | Past Work                    | Partner's Educ.  | Partner's Work                | Father's Work            | Mother's Work            |
|-----|-------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 73  | High School             | Housekeeping, Cook          | Waitress, Babysitter         | High School      | Janitor                       | Farmer                   | Midwife, nurse           |
| 46  | Technical               | Nursing Assistant           | Waitress, Cook               | High School      | Own construction business     | Maintenance, Mill worker | Nurse, Post office       |
| 20  | Some College, Technical | Nursing Assist, Housekeeper | Babysitter, Retail           | High School      | Boat builder, fisherman       | Own garage, Mechanic     | Own small restaurant     |
| 33  | High School             | Cook                        | Sales, Waitress              | High School      | Civil Servant                 | Fisherman, construction  | Housekeeper, Factory     |
| 27  | High School             | Waitress                    | Secretary, Bookkeeper        | High School      | Fisherman                     |                          |                          |
| 25  | Technical               | Waitress                    | Receptionist, Bookkeeper     | High School      | Fisherman                     | Fisherman                | Waitress                 |
| 49  | Technical               | Family sales business       | Fishing, Bookkeeper          | Some High School | Fisherman, Own sales business | Truck driver             | Nurse's Assistant        |
| 40  | Some High School        | Factory                     | Family retail business       | High School      | Construction                  | Own retail store         | Own retail store         |
| 47  | High School             | Own restaurant              | Manager, Cook                |                  |                               | Farmer                   | None                     |
| 62  | High School             | Own restaurant              |                              | High School      | Construction                  | Fisherman                | Factory                  |
| 81  | High School             | Housekeeper                 | Family Retail Business       | High School      | Military, Family business     | Farmer                   | Farmer                   |
| 34  | Some College            | Own service business        | Waitress                     |                  | Fisherman                     | Fisherman                | None                     |
| 64  | High School             | Retail                      | Housekeeper, Family business | Technical        | Civil Servant, Gardener       | Gardener, Construction   | Teacher, Principal       |
| 58  | High School             | Cook                        | Receptionist                 | High School      | Policeman                     | Construction             | Teacher                  |
| 38  | High School             | Teacher's Aide, Waitress    | Housekeeper, Retail          | High School      | Fisherman, Maintenance        | Gardener, Civil Servant  | Housekeeper, factory     |
| 43  | High School             | Family retail business      | Cook, Housekeeper            | Technical        | Own construction business     | Mill worker, Caretaker   | Housekeeper, Mill worker |
| 64  | High School             | Housekeeper                 | Babysitter                   | High School      | Construction                  | Fisherman                | Factory worker           |
| 33  | Technical               | Own informal sales business |                              | High School      | Fisherman                     | Military                 | Factory, Retail          |

TABLE 1. continued

OUTSIDE-IDENTIFIED WOMEN:

| Age | Education    | Paid work                   | Past Work                         | Partner's Educ.  | Partner's Work             | Father's Work                   | Mother's Work        |
|-----|--------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| 26  | College      | Family business             | Manager                           | College          | Family business            | Civil Servant                   | Family business      |
| 38  | College      | Manager – small shop        | Clerk, Own retail business        | High School      | Gardener                   | Manager                         | None                 |
| 67  | Graduate     | Local newspaper writer      | Cab driver, Waitress, Housekeeper |                  |                            | Gardening, construction         | Teacher, laundry     |
| 45  | High School  | Babysitter                  | Factory, Retail store             | High School      | Civil Servant              | Civil servant, Construction     | Housekeeper          |
| 41  | Technical    | Secretary                   | Secretary                         | Technical        | Own retail business        | Gardening, Caretaker            | Cook, Manager        |
| 72  | Some College | Bank teller, Manager        | Bookkeeper                        | Technical        | Mechanic, Civil Servant    | Bookkeeper, own retail business | Own retail business  |
| 47  | Some College | Retail, Substitute teaching | Waitress, Retail, Sales           | Some Technical   | Fisherman                  | Civil servant, Caretaker        | Housekeeper, Cook    |
| 45  | High School  | Hostess                     | Housekeeper, Teacher's Aide       | High School      | Civil Servant              | Farmer                          | None                 |
| 43  | High School  | Waitress                    | Family retail business            | High School      | Own business, construction | Fisherman, Own garage           | None, Nurse          |
| 33  | Technical    | Own service business        | Waitress, Cashier                 | Some High School | Fisherman                  | Factory                         | Factory, Housekeeper |

Table 1. continued

| POINT-IDENTIFIED WOMEN: |              |                           |                              |                  |                          |                                  |                     |
|-------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Age                     | Education    | Paid Work                 | Past Work                    | Partner's Educ.  | Partner's Work           | Father's Work                    | Mother's Work       |
| 55                      | Technical    | Nurse's Assistant         | Retail manager               | Technical        | Military                 | Electrician, Own repair business | Teacher             |
| 53                      | College      | Local Newspaper editor    | Bank teller                  | College          | Construction             | Engineer                         | Teacher             |
| 49                      | High School  | None                      | Cook, Housekeeper            | Some College     | Military, civil servant  | Laborer, fisherman               | None                |
| 84                      | Technical    | Family store              | Secretary                    | College          | Engineer, Repairs        | Own retail store, Post master    | Own retail business |
| 56                      | High School  | Own retail store          | Factory                      | Technical        | Military, Civil servant  | Gardening, construction          | None                |
| 68                      | Some College | Teacher                   | Housekeeper, Factory         | High School      | Family business          | Seaman                           | Teacher             |
| 39                      | College      | Teacher                   | Waitress                     | High School      | Civil Servant            | Fisherman, Plumber               | Post Office         |
| 78                      | Technical    | Family store              | Family store                 |                  |                          | Family retail store, Post master | Family retail store |
| 56                      | College      | Receptionist, Housekeeper | Bookkeeper, Secretary        | Some College     | Mechanic                 | Teacher                          | None                |
| 71                      | High School  | Post master               | Factory, Laundry             | High School      | Plumber, Caretaker       | Civil Servant, Military          | None                |
| 51                      | High School  | Sales                     | Town office                  | Technical        | Construction             | Civil Servant                    | None                |
| 50                      | College      | Teacher                   | Clerk, Waitress, Fishing     | Some High School | Fisherman                | Bookkeeping, own business        | Secretary           |
| 60                      | High School  | Bookkeeper                | Factory                      | High School      | Construction business    | Mason, Railroad                  | Factory             |
| 55                      | Some College | Bookkeeper                | Restaurant manager, Waitress | High School      | Service, repair business | Railroad                         | None                |
| 34                      | High School  | Own service business      | Housekeeper, Clerk           | Technical        | Fisherman                | Fisherman, Own retail store      | Cashier             |
| 73                      | College      | Substitute teacher        | Hospital worker              | Graduate         | Professor                | Manager                          | None                |



These categories are not mutually exclusive, however, just as is often the case in the social world. As Giddens (1973) defines social class and Rich (1980) defines sexuality, using arbitrary criteria for categorizing individuals is an inaccurate means of understanding the complex social world. Rather, individuals move between social categories creating more of a continuum than clearly defined types.

In Sandy Haven, women tend to lean toward one cultural identity and away from the others. Many local women clearly align themselves with one identity. Other local women bridge two identities, accepting and negotiating between two. The shaded areas in Table 1 note the women who align themselves between two identities. The cultural identities, which emerged in this research, are cases or categories which have a reality in the town independent of the particular women who form them at any given time.

The "local" women in Sandy Haven know and recognize these groups. They use the groups as guides for finding their place within the town and the larger American stratification system. This study focuses on three distinct groups of women. I do this because these are the three cultural groups which "local" women create and I am seeking to investigate how it is that women, through their interactions, create these groups and then negotiate a position within the groups. For example, the women who make up the "Point-identified" group may change slightly based on cultural orientations toward work, family, or leisure. Still, I present these three groups because they describe the distinct

mechanisms women use to connect themselves with particular cultures and social positions.

### Point-identified Women

One group of cultural identity involves identification with the class position and culture of residents of Stony Point and a rejection of the town of Sandy Haven.

The women who use Stony Point as a frame of reference admire the values and lifestyles of the summer residents, see the presence of Stony Point as improving Sandy Haven, and seek to be aligned with the culture the Point represents.

They do not necessarily want to be residents of the summer colony but they want to connect themselves to the culture the summer colony represents.

Point-identified women regard the residents of the summer colony with the highest admiration. One woman says that throughout her life, "I loved the people in Stony Point." They view the summer residents as caring, honorable, and valuable to the town. Furthermore, they see the residents of Stony Point as true residents of Sandy Haven and as dedicated to the town as the "locals" are. One woman who has lived in Sandy Haven all of her life, explains that the summer residents are as much residents of the town as she is:

I find the Stony Point community on a whole a part of our community, even though they are separate in where they live... most of them have probably further roots than I do in owning a piece of what Sandy Haven is.

The summer people, according to Point-identified women, themselves feel as though they belong to Sandy Haven. The town is home to the people of the

Point. Summer residents, they explain, care very much about the town and the people, and can not wait to return each summer. A woman, whose family owned an ice cream shop in town, explains why Mr. Rudolph bought the store:

[Mr. Rudolph] grew up here, he was born here, so he had a lot of feeling for it....He just happened to be back in May and we had just put it on the market ....[Mrs. Rudolph] sat on the stoop and said, gee it would be too bad for the children not to have a place to come and get an ice cream cone. She just made that remark. That was in the morning, maybe late morning....A couple of hours later they came back and said we will be buying the store. So [Mr. Rudolph] said, that's the most costly ice cream I have ever had.

Thus, according to this woman, Mr. Rudolph bought the shop out of love and concern for the town and the residents. Furthermore, she stresses that Mr. Rudolph, like the other locals, was born and raised in Sandy Haven. Point-identified women see the resident of Stony Point as another type of locals.

Furthermore, according to Point-identified women, the summer residents have made the town what it is today. The town would be very bad off, they argue, had it not been for the existence of the summer colony. They view the high socioeconomic status and wealthy, glamorous lifestyle of the Stony Point as beneficial to the town. The presence of a refined and well-bred culture raises the standards and image of the town. The beautiful homes and well-manicured yards on the Point makes Sandy Haven a finer place to live.

Point-identified women also state that the summer residents improve the town by using their wealth and power for generous and kind acts. As one woman explains, "[Mr. Rudolph] is really a super nice person, he is very generous with the people in town.... [there are] a lot of things he does that

people don't know about." The Point-identified women view the "many" benevolent acts of the residents of Stony Point, including donating money to town causes, providing jobs and financial assistance for residents, purchasing and maintaining businesses in town, and allowing access to their pool and golf course, as a significant improvement of the community and its residents. Without the summer residents, they state, many children would not go to college or have a pool to swim in. Many men and women would not have jobs, retirement, or health benefits. The town would not be able to maintain many of its own businesses.

The Point-identified women describe their relationships with the summer residents as friendly, yet still not close because of unequal status. One woman describes the summer residents as, "very good friends", but then adds, "Definitely the social level is noted and I know my place." Another woman, when asked if she was close to the residents of Sandy Haven growing up, responded, "Oh, very. Very, as far as catering to them, don't forget that." Thus, while Point-identified women admire the summer residents and feel close with them, they realize that they do not share their status.

Nevertheless, Point-identified women relate to the culture they represent. They view themselves as living lifestyles and holding cultural orientations which are more similar to those on Stony Point than those in the local culture of Sandy Haven. While they enjoy many aspects of life in Sandy Haven, such as the natural beauty and slow pace, they have difficulty partaking in the culture of the

locals. They often get embarrassed by the “unpolished manners” and “unkempt” houses and lawns of the “locals”. They get frustrated when the efforts and generosity of the Stony Point residents are not recognized. They do not see themselves as sharing the culture of the town and describe themselves as “different from the locals”. Instead, they identify themselves with the culture of Stony Point and in opposition to the culture of the Sandy Haven. They find the behaviors and lifestyles that the summer colony represents as “refreshing” and important for changing the town into a culture they would prefer.

#### Outside-identified Women

A second type of cultural group embraced by some “local” Sandy Haven women involves identification with the culture represented by life outside of Sandy Haven and in opposition to the culture of the town. Women who use cultures outside of Sandy Haven as their frame of reference view the social change, diversity, and disparate values and lifestyles represented by life outside of the small town as positive, exciting, and beneficial for the town. They see themselves as sharing in the accepting, progressive, and change-oriented culture of “away”.

Therefore, Outside-identified women are pleased about the presence of people “from away” in Sandy Haven, including the Navy and the “Back-to-the-Landers”. They believe that the diversity in race, class, experiences, values, and lifestyles that are brought to Sandy Haven through the Navy and populations from away are indispensable to the homogeneous small town. As one woman

wrote in a letter to the town report regarding the potential closure of the military base:

...This peninsula is a relatively closed community, made up primarily of similarly socioeconomically based Caucasian families. What little ethnic diversity we have comes almost solely from the families based here in the military. It would certainly be unfortunate to lose what little ethnic, economic, educational, and employment diversity the base provides us.

Women in this group view the diversity of away as an "asset" to Sandy Haven and as needing to be a greater part of the community. Cultural diversity in background, lifestyles, experiences, and attitudes, Outside-identified women argue, will improve an otherwise "backwards and close-minded" town.

In contrast to the Point-identified women, Outside-identified women do not relate to the status, wealth, and power of the summer colony. They do not have negative feelings toward the summer residents, yet they see Stony Point as representing inequality. They believe that the summer residents, indeed, have been very generous with the town. However, they also feel that their higher socioeconomic status leads to exploitative and oppressive relations with the town.

Like the Point-identified women, Outside-identified women do not have a strong identification with the culture of Sandy Haven. Their incompatibility with the culture of the town has different roots, however. They see the behaviors, lifestyles, and values traditional to the town as "backwards, conservative, and small". They get frustrated by the resistance to change in Sandy Haven and are annoyed by the "close-minded, ignorance" of the locals. They do not identify

themselves with the prevailing culture of the community as a result. As an

Outside-Identified woman explains:

The thing about being here, I hear a lot of things, flabbergasted that people will speak as freely about things that I felt were all over with a long time ago. I am always surprised when people would talk and use, either politically incorrect terms or just not give a darn about what they are saying about a racial group, or an economic group. I think we are really conservative here... [They think] people who are Back-to-the-Landers are just real weird...I have a group of friends here that think like me, that are more open minded and believe that we are all here equally, and that tolerance is a real big thing, and not just tolerance, but acceptance.

Outside-identified women are clear in explaining that the reason why the other "locals" are not progressive in their attitudes and values is that they have not had adequate exposure to life away. It is connecting with life outside of Sandy Haven, they argue, which is important for becoming a "whole person". One woman, who actually has only lived away from Sandy Haven for three years of her life, says,

...People that live their whole lives here and never live anywhere else and are not exposed to things. That's why they are so narrow-minded because they haven't been exposed.

Thus, this group of local women define themselves in terms of the acceptance of diversity and social change occurring outside of Sandy Haven and in opposition to the local culture. Most of the Outside-identified women enjoy living in Sandy Haven, yet they see themselves as having cultural orientations which are bigger than the small town. They see the groups "from away" that come to Sandy Haven as important for changing the town with which they have difficulty relating.

### Town-identified Women

The third cultural group among local Sandy Haven women involves identification with the provincial town of Sandy Haven. Women who use the town of Sandy Haven as their frame of reference love the small community. They seek and are proud of a self-definition as “native” Sandy Haveners. They view it as the only place to live and see the traditional values and lifestyle of the town as superior to those in the rest of America. While the summer colony and Outside-identified women seek to change Sandy Haven, Town-identified women want the town to remain as it has always been. They see the homogeneity of Sandy Haven as a strength. The “locals” grew up and live together. They all know and understand each other. That is what makes Sandy Haven the community that it is today. One woman explains why she would never live anywhere else but Sandy Haven:

I like the area. Everything is right here. If somebody couldn't leave town, they've got everything right in this town... I knew everybody. I grew up here. My mother lived here. My father lived here. My brothers lived here. All my friends lived here. So, I just didn't want to leave....I just love this town and the people here.

On the other hand, they do not see the socioeconomic, racial, or cultural diversity brought to the community by populations “from away” as a strength of the community. Rather, they view cultural diversity as something that the community must fight against in order to remain strong and unchanging. Therefore, the Town-identified women identify with the town and in opposition to the summer colony and life away.



In sharp contrast to the Point-identified women, Town-identified women predominately depict the summer residents in negative, often harsh terms. They say that they do not know the residents of Stony Point and have “no interest in getting to know them”. The residents of Stony Point, they say, “have never been and will never be part of the town”. Their socioeconomic position and accompanying lifestyle, experiences, and values make it “impossible for them to fit in or relate to the locals”. One woman explains:

[The summer people] are just different, they just don't fit in around here, most of them...there is one woman that comes in and sits in the store and she will sit there and complain about things like, her husband last night left a blanket on the sofa and he didn't fold it, it's like if that's all you have to worry about. That's the thing, they just have different ways about them because they have always had everything. I think they have never had to struggle or anything. They are just really different, I don't know how to explain it. That really boggled my mind that day. There was two women sitting in there talking about it and one of them was saying, oh you know what my husband did and he didn't put his glass in the dishwasher, he will leave them in the sink and he won't put them in the dishwasher. It's just amazing the stuff they talk about and then the stuff that other people talk about. That's the last thing on most people's mind...It's kind of sickening, actually.

The presence of the summer colony is regarded as a detriment, rather than an asset, to the town. Unlike the Point-identified women, they do not view the summer people as generous and helpful, but as exploitative and contemptible. Town-identified women do not want and do not seek the financial donations and assistance to the town that the summer residents give. They agree that Sandy Haven has benefited from the tax base of the summer colony, but that is basically all the good they do for the town.

Rather than describing the summer residents as generous and kind, Town-identified women emphasize their rude, arrogant, and odd behaviors. They can share numerous examples of occasions when their interactions with the summer residents resulted in unfair and abusive treatment. These interactions happen while working in their homes, in the grocery store, and in local restaurants. A woman describes what she observes in a restaurant:

[The summer people] expect you to wait on them and supply everything they want regardless of how many other people there are in the restaurant. And get real uppity about it if it's not provided for them.

Town-identified women also do not view life away from Sandy Haven positively. Rather than seeing the social change occurring outside of the town as exciting and enriching, this group of women view it as dangerous, scary, and strange. They focus on and emphasize media reports on crime and dangers that exist in the world outside of their town. They do not want to be a part of that world. They enjoy the safety and consistent lifestyle of the town. They prefer to keep Sandy Haven separate from that change.

Town-identified view the diversity in background, culture, and lifestyles that people "from away" bring to the town as strange and negative. It is very common to hear Town-identified women explaining the odd behavior of someone as a result of their "being from away". This expression implies that because of their different culture, they do not fit into life in Sandy Haven.

Town-identified women also express these feeling about the Navy and "Back to the Land" populations. Town-identified women see these groups, not

as strengthening the town, but as holding values and lifestyles which are at odds with their way of life. A woman who grew up in town explains the different relationship she had with the Navy as compared to the "locals".

You had Sandy Haven people and Navy people...they just weren't considered from Sandy Haven. They were Navy. I mean if people asked where they're from, you wouldn't even say Sandy Haven you'd just say they're Navy...they were just different.... they were like a friend, but they were never really like someone that knew from the time you born, and that you went out and did things with. I mean you'd say hi to them and you like maybe talked to them on the phone, but it wasn't like someone that you'd invite over to your house and so it's just different.

Another woman, who came to Sandy Haven as part of the Back-to-the-Land movement in the 1970's describes the local perception of hippies:

If you wear long skirts, you are a hippie and if you have a backpack, you are a hippie... if you are a vegetarian...straight hippie, this is the thinking. But there's an association with the hippie line with the tree hugger and that gets into a whole area that diverges from the local thing... That whole association is another label that I think people from away get stuck with, "you don't have any common sense". We are perceived as being blindered issue people.

Thus, the diversity of the Navy community and "hippies" is viewed by Town-identified women as "odd" and "incompatible" with life in Sandy Haven rather than a strength for the community. The cultural diversity brought to the town through the summer colony and people "from away", while perceived as improving town by some local women, is seen as a threat to the culture of the town by others. Town-identified women construct an identify as like the local culture of Sandy Haven and in opposition to the cultures represented by the summer colony and life outside of Sandy Haven.

### Cultural Differences Among Local Women

The different cultural identifications of local women toward populations “from away” is more than opinion. These findings reveal more than just that some women like and some women dislike the summer colony or that some women hold grudges against the town or the Navy community. Rather, analysis of the data reveals that women’s identification with the summer colony, life outside of Sandy Haven, or the town corresponds with their own lifestyles, values, world views, and norms. Local women, I found, not only identify with different cultures, they work to emulate these cultures. The way local women perceive and associate with the town, the summer colony, or life outside of Sandy Haven is related to how they, themselves, think, act, and live their lives. They acquire selective “cultural tools” provided by these populations and use them as they develop their cultural repertoires. Because there is variation among local women in identification with the populations, there is an accompanying variation in cultural orientations. In other words, women use the diversity that populations “from away” bring to the town to create cultural diversity among local women.

Table 2 summarizes the distinct cultural orientations chosen and presented by women in Sandy Haven. Work, family, leisure and consumption are the arenas in which women create cultural distinctions and stratification. It is within these aspects of everyday life that women in Sandy Haven present and

produce distinct identities based on their values, norms, and lifestyles and establish cultural status relative to other local women. The work they do, the hobbies and fun they have, and values they teach their children all reflect back on the women themselves, building their self-definitions and social positions. By selectively accepting and rejecting approaches to work, leisure, and family, the local women of Sandy Haven act to create cultural distinctions which reinforce and enhance the socioeconomic inequality between them.

**TABLE 2: Identities and Orientations toward Work, Leisure and Consumption, and Family**

| <u>Town-Identified</u>   | <u>Point-Identified</u>  | <u>Outside-Identified</u>   |
|--|--|---|
| <p><u>WORK:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Physical work</li> <li>• No community work</li> <li>• No political work</li> </ul> <p><u>LEISURE AND CONSUMPTION:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Functional appearance, homes, and cars</li> <li>• Socialize at the Diner</li> <li>• Gossip</li> <li>• Social ties with family and "locals"</li> </ul> <p><u>FAMILY:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community as family</li> <li>• Strong families</li> <li>• Encourage children to stay</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community work</li> <li>• "Professional" work</li> <li>• No political work</li> </ul><br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Well-cared for appearance and homes</li> <li>• Eat at the upscale Dining Room</li> <li>• "High" culture and travel</li> <li>• Social ties with the summer colony</li> </ul><br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encourage social mobility for children</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political Work</li> <li>• No community work</li> </ul><br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unusual appearance</li> <li>• Travel outside of town</li> <li>• New-age and natural hobbies</li> <li>• Social ties outside of town</li> </ul><br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Egalitarian marriages</li> <li>• Encourage travel and personal growth for children</li> </ul> |

Point-identified women tend to value and orient themselves toward volunteer work in the community and the limited white-collar service jobs available in the area. They have no desire to do physical work. They enjoy high cultural activities, such as going to local operas, organizing local plays and lectures, or dining at the “finer” restaurant in town. They are proud of examples of social mobility within their families and want their children to go to college in order to secure good jobs and be socially mobile.

For example, Paula describes the volunteer work she currently does for three organizations in town as her “job”. She was a founder of the one organization and has held offices in a number of others. She is frustrated that more people are not willing to belong to the volunteer organizations which are so important for maintaining the community. She has no interest in town politics and stays away from town meetings. She does not work for pay and has no interest in any of the “menial” jobs which are available for women in Sandy Haven. She is very proud of and brags about her son who graduated from law school and her nephew who is excelling in theatre at an elite private college. During leisure time, she does not come to the local diner because of what she perceives as “offensive” conversation among the locals who frequent there. She prefers to entertain at her home or go the dinner and shopping in the neighboring town.

In contrast, Outside-identified women value and orient themselves toward political work in the community. They are outspoken about political issues and

freely share their liberal views on social issues. They participate in volunteer work only when organizations have progressive goals. They do not have a strong ethic for either professional or physical work. During leisure time, they enjoy traveling to cities, country fairs, or other small towns. They are interested in herbs, herbal therapy, and crafts. They want their children to go to college and leave Sandy Haven – more for the opportunity to experience diverse lifestyles and grow as an individual than as a means to achieve social mobility.

For example, Amy works for pay part time and sporadically. One of her summer jobs was at a local herbal shop. She does volunteer at the library and is working longer hours to keep the library open so residents can have greater internet access. She has no interest, however, in joining women's community organizations because she regards its members as too conservative. She is involved in a number of local government committees and is very outspoken about being a democrat and supporting equal rights for all people. She is very proud of her daughter who has graduated from college and has moved to a large city and is worldly and liberal in her attitudes and values. During leisure time, she and her husband take weekend trips to bed and breakfasts, fairs, Portland, and herbal farms. She has a real interest and hobby in herbs, including making potpourri, growing and purchasing herbs, and learning about medicinal uses of herbs.

Town-identified women value and orient themselves toward physical work and are not interested in community or political volunteer work. They leave little

time for leisure, preferring to do household and yard work when not working for income. During leisure time, they stay at home, watching TV or socialize with other “locals” at a diner in town. They stress the strength of extended family in Sandy Haven and want their family to be a part of that tradition. Instilling a work ethic of hard, physical work in their children is important for ensuring that future generations of families will be able to remain in the town.

For example, Colleen works as a cook at a local Diner. She has held a number of different jobs in Sandy Haven, often more than one at a time. She is proud that she has a reputation as a “hard worker”. She hopes that her son is also a hard worker and says at the age of four, he already is. If he is a hard worker, he will be able find work in Sandy Haven and will not have to leave the area. She is not involved and has never had any interest in joining community organizations or being active in politics. She has no strong political views. During what she says is limited leisure time, she works in the yard.

These distinctions in values, behaviors, norms, and lifestyles among local women correspond to their identification with the cultures represented by the different populations in town. Women in Sandy Haven connect with different cultures, and class positions, by presenting themselves as holding similar values, norms, moral, and lifestyles in the arenas of work, family, leisure, and consumption.



### Explaining Cultural Differences

Most often, difference in cultural social identities and status are explained as an outcome of different access to education, income, and occupational status. Table 1 shows that there are differences in occupational and educational attainment between the groups of Sandy Haven women. Those who are classified as Point-identified and Outside-identified tend to have more education than women who are Town-identified. Point and Outside-identified women also tend to hold higher status white-collar jobs than the Town-identified women, who more often hold manual jobs. A similar difference in occupational status exists for their mothers. The mothers of Point-identified women tend to work as teachers or not work for pay, whereas, the mothers of Town-identified women tend to hold manual jobs. The variations in culture presented in Table 2 are rooted in structural differences.

It is also important to consider the possibility that age, another variable in my sample, may account for the variation in cultural identification. As Table 1, shows, however, differences in cultural identities do not appear to be result of a cohort effect. Instead, each group contains women of diverse ages. Town-identified women range in age from 20 to 81. Point-identified women range in age from 34-84. Outside-identified women range in age from 26-72.

Although economic status corresponds with the cultural identities, the educational and occupational differences between women in Sandy Haven are not substantial compared to the larger American system of stratification. In fact,

in a national study, most of the women in the sample would be categorized within one structural position in the American class structure. For example, the women discussed earlier, Colleen, Amy, and Paula, all grew up in Sandy Haven in working class families. Amy, an Outside-identified woman, describes her family as “not financially secure” for most of her childhood. Her father worked as a caretaker for the summer colony and as a civil servant on the base. Her mother, who married at sixteen, cleaned and cooked for the summer residents. Colleen’s, a Town-identified woman, mother worked in the kitchens of local restaurants and at the fish processing plant. Her father earned income doing carpentry, mechanic work, fishing, and farm work. They made ends meet by growing much of their own food on their farm. Paula, a Point-identified woman, describes her family as “not having a lot...money was scarce.” Her father was a general laborer and caretaker for the summer colony. Her mother stayed home to raise a large family and helped her father shuck clams at night for extra income.

Their husbands hold similar socioeconomic positions. None of their husbands has gone to college. All three of their husbands served as enlisted personnel in the military. Today, Colleen and Paula’s husbands hold civil service jobs on the Naval base. Amy’s husband is a fisherman.

The women, themselves, also hold similar structural positions as a result of their educational and work backgrounds. Although Amy went to college for one year, none of the three women has a college degree. Paula has cleaned

houses and cooked for the summer colony and has cooked in her sister's restaurant. Colleen worked at the fish processing plant, cooked and waited tables at local restaurants, and sold real estate and local arts and crafts. Amy worked as a waitress in the summer colony and in town. For a time, she sold real estate, as well as, household and beauty products. Thus, Paula, Amy, and Colleen are culturally distinct although they share a fairly similar socioeconomic position.

Differences in socioeconomic position between sample of women are minimal. Variation in educational attainment between women is not substantial. Only one woman received a master's degree. No women have a professional degree or graduate degree beyond a master's. Only seven graduated from college. Although one woman did not graduate from high school, she attended almost through her senior year. Thus, the majority of the women graduated from high school, went to technical school, or began, but did not complete, college.

There is also limited variation in work status, work histories, and income of the women. The jobs available to women include blue-collar manual work, such as fish processing, pink-collar service work, such as waitressing, or lower-level - collar work, such as book keeping. These jobs are of comparable prestige and status. The most prestigious jobs held by women are not highly prestigious according to occupational status ranking system. For example, the most prestigious occupational positions are those held by two women who are elementary school teachers, two women who work on the local newspaper, and

one woman who is a salesperson for the local fish plant. There is, therefore, a restricted range of prestige available to women from their jobs.

In addition to providing limited range in prestige, the jobs provide limited diversity in income. The incomes earned from women's blue-collar, pink-collar, or white-collar jobs are comparable. Teachers earn approximately \$25,000 a year. Cannery workers at the fish processing plant earn \$250-\$500 a week or up to \$26,000 a year. Waitresses earn over \$100 in a seven hour shift or approximately \$26,000 a year. White collar, lower level service jobs, such as bank teller and retail clerk, tend to pay just over minimum wage and result in the lowest annual income. Thus, the variation in income available to women is limited and does not tend to correspond with the prestige of the job.

Work histories further reveal the similarity in status between the jobs. Women who now hold white-collar jobs have held manual labor jobs in the past, including work in the fish and blueberry processing plants and housecleaning and laundry for the summer residents. On the other hand, women who now hold physical labor jobs have held white-collar jobs in the past. They have sold local art and real estate. They have worked as secretaries, bank tellers, and postal clerks. Thus, over the course of their work lives, women can readily move between the different types of available jobs in Sandy Haven because they have of similar status and educational requirements.

Male partners also do not vary substantially variation in their work, income, prestige, and educational attainment. The narrow range of occupations

include fishing, construction, gardening, civil service work on the Navy base, retired military, and service repairs and maintenance. A number of men own businesses, which is common for rural areas with limited sources of employment. In fact, most fishermen and many construction workers are self-employed. There is variation in the types of businesses the men own, ranging from construction and boat building to retail and insurance. Yet all of them remain small businesses with few employees. The majority of male partners have a high school and technical school education. College and graduate degrees are rare. Only one husband has a graduate degree and only three have college degrees. Professional degrees, such as law school, medical schools, or MBAs, are non-existent. Only four men have not graduated from high school.

Within this small town, however, even small or rare differences in educational attainment and occupational status may have significant effects on the prestige and life chances of women in the town. And indeed, the variation in cultural orientation corresponds with these small, yet significant, differences in socioeconomic position.

The emphasis of this study, however, is not to examine the relationship between structural and cultural stratification. Rather, this study investigates how through interaction and presentation of themselves, women use culture to strengthen and enhance minimal class differences between themselves and others. The next three chapters explain how women use work, leisure and consumption, and family values and orientations represented by the different

populations in Sandy Haven to produce a system of cultural stratification and to find a place both within the social structure of the town and larger society.

## CHAPTER 4

### WORK

Women select paid and unpaid work for a number of reasons, including income, personal fulfillment and security, and compatibility with family responsibilities (Gerson, 1985; England, 1984). Another reason for selecting various types of work emerged from my interviews. I found that women's choice in work is also related to the production of cultural identity and status. By selecting and emphasizing one type of work over another, women can secure a particular self-definition and social position. Women produce identities as aligned with or opposed to the cultures represented by the summer colony, life away from Sandy Haven, or the town through their presentations of work orientations. They, in turn, negotiate status relative to other women based on these work orientations.

Three categories of work, corresponding with identification with cultural symbols, emerge from the data. Women's presentation of work orientations lean toward one of the three types and away from the other types. Point-identified women choose and present an orientation toward community and "professional" work. By doing so, they align themselves with the summer residents and their elite lifestyle. Outside-identified women choose and present an orientation toward political work. Through this work, they present progressive, social

change-orientated values symbolized by life outside of the rural community. Town-identified women choose and present a physical work orientation. This work selection enables them to display their identification with the community and in opposition to the summer colony and groups from away. In this chapter, I will demonstrate how women select and display different types of work in an effort to produce different cultural identities and statuses.

### Physical Work: Identifying with the Town

The women who use the traditional culture of Sandy Haven as their frame of reference tend to perform and value physical work over other types of paid and unpaid work. Town-identified women orient themselves toward physical work in order align themselves with the traditional values of Sandy Haven and in opposition to the summer colony. Through physical work, Town-identified women can share in the traditional values of Sandy Haven and present these values through their work. In this way, they define themselves and are defined by others as strong and loyal citizens of Sandy Haven. Town-identified women, on the other hand, are not involved in and do not have interest in conducting unpaid community work or political work. They do not want to belong to community organizations or hold political office. They do not participate in this work, I argue, because to do so would detract from the images and associations they are attempting to produce and wish to present in the community.



## Types of Physical Work

Most work opportunities available in Sandy Haven are physical, manual jobs. Men work in fishing, construction, gardening, and care taking. For women, the jobs are different, but equally demanding physically

Housekeeping on the summer colony is plentiful and, although seasonal, it involves consistent work. The summer residents hire local women to open their summer homes in the spring to prepare for their arrival, clean their homes each week during the summer, close their homes in the fall, cook meals, serve at their dinner and cocktail parties, baby-sit their children, and do their laundry.

Most women in town have done this work at some point in their life. One woman has worked for the same family for 48 years. The pay is moderate and the work is tiring but the job is available every summer.

Waiting tables and cooking in local restaurants is another job available to women in town. In the past, there were other restaurants in Sandy Haven, but today the Diner and the Diningroom remain as the main places to eat. The Diner most clearly involves physical work. Cooks at the Diner fry seafood and prepare seafood rolls and burgers in the hot, crowded kitchen. The servers, mostly mothers between the ages of 26 and 50, wear white T-shirts, any form of black bottom, and a two-pocket, black apron with "The Diner" stitched on the front. There are usually only two servers on for each shift, so each server covers about ten tables at time. Lunches and weekend dinners are often described as "rushes" with tables of people waiting for service and lines of people waiting for

tables. Waitresses can make as much as \$100 to \$200 a shift in tips during the summer season. The atmosphere is often crowded and rushed, but loud, fun, and friendly.

Work at the Diningroom, the other seafood restaurant, in town is quite different and the work there is not quite as physical. The food, atmosphere, and service of the Diningroom is more elegant and upscale than the Diner. The servers wear white button-down shirts, black ties, and black slacks. Each server is assigned six tables and the pace is slow and relaxing. The atmosphere is much more formal than that of the Diner.

Almost all women ages 50 and older have worked at the local fish processing plant, as did their mothers. Some women only lasted a day or two, while others have worked at the plant for nearly 50 years. As one woman explained, work at the processing plant is “tedious and boring.” Before mechanization of the plant approximately 20 years ago, 120 women stood around the processing table, cutting fish and their fingers with scissors, packing fish into cans, moving as fast as they could in order to make a good piece work rate. Company-owned busses went around to the local towns and picked up the women for their shift. They worked long hours during the height of the fishing season. It is not uncommon to hear women describe incredibly long work days, “we started at 6:00 in the morning and we went until 10:00 at night. They said we need to finish these fish. We went home for half an hour, had supper, came back and worked until 3:00”. They also had to be ready to arrive at the plant when an off-schedule shipment of fish arrived. The factory whistle would blow,

women would contact each other by phone and by hanging blankets out the window for those women who did not have phones. Since mechanization of the plant, only 20 women work to pack the fish and seal the cans. The work is now less dangerous since machines, rather than women with scissors, cut the fish and new safety regulations have been implemented. Hours are shorter, but women still work over 40 hours a week if doing double shifts. Pay is quite good for the area, ranging from \$250 to \$500 a week depending if pay is hourly in the sealing room or piece work in processing. Particularly unusual to the area, the employees receive health insurance and 401K plans. Yet, the work remains physically demanding and dirty.

Work as a nurse's aide is a more recent, but growing job for women in Sandy Haven. The growing retirement community in Downeast Maine has resulted in the growth of this field. After completing a six week course, women are certified as a nursing assistant, CNA. With this certification, women are qualified to work in hospitals, nursing homes, or in private homes. Most women in the area chose private care. It provides the flexibility and autonomy which is a valued quality in jobs. The pay is good, health benefits are often available if you work through an agency, and the job opportunities are good. Often, however, the work requires long commutes and is physically demanding involving lifting and assisting older or disabled men and women.

There are a number of additional sources of income. Blueberry raking is seasonal work. When the blueberries are ripe, there is always a need for pickers. The work is very demanding physically and rakers earn about \$3.50 a

bucket. Traditionally, boys and girls make money for school clothes by raking blueberries. Wreath-making provides seasonal income for many women. Gathering material from the woods, women make wreaths to sell before the holidays in order to make extra Christmas money. There are also a number of other factories in the area. At different points in time, there have been other fish processing plants. The neighboring towns have a blueberry factory and an electronics assembly plant. The work in these factories is similar to in the fish processing plant described above. Pay can be good, but the work is long, tedious, physically demanding, and dirty.

#### Physical Work Ethic in Sandy Haven

Pervading norms in Sandy Haven prescribe that performing physical work, not just earning a paycheck, is important for building individual and community character. The Town-identified women express and pass on the physical work ethic which has historically been important in Sandy Haven. They believe that a strong work ethic makes a strong person and thus, a strong town. Being a good person and citizen of Sandy Haven becomes synonymous with being a hard worker. It is quite common to hear residents say, "He is a good person, he is a hard worker". While there are not many high paying jobs in the area, there are always some seasonal, physical jobs to perform. Local values stress that if one is not "afraid" of hard work, one can always find some way to make a living.

An orientation toward physical work is particularly important to Town-identified women because it literally enables them to remain residents of Sandy

Haven. Given the limited jobs in the area and the emphasis of these jobs on physical and service work, a physical work ethic is often essential for being able to remain a resident of the town. If one is unwilling to accept the physical jobs in town, the probability is greater that they will need to leave the area to find work. This is found among the younger residents who have college educations. These young people are unable to return to Sandy Haven whether or not they want to because there is not work available which matches their educational attainment.

A strong physical work ethic is also essential for being accepted as a citizen of the town. As a result of norms emphasizing hard work, there is no tolerance for people who do not work, including the unemployed and recipients of public assistance. Residents who do not work hard are labeled as lazy, shiftless, and are essentially rejected from the town. They become the target of gossip, jokes, and disgust. One woman, from "away", explains the work ethic that she learned about when coming to the town:

I have proved myself and having lived here and not taking anything, God help me if I ever had to go on welfare of any kind or something... you work, you give, you support, you don't take from because that's really looked down on, really looked down upon. Mostly because, an older gentleman once said to me, you would be hard pressed to starve in Maine. Because most of the people lived through depression and all that, they know you can always fish or get clams or mussels, or hunt a deer or cut your firewood, whatever you have to do to get by because they have all done it.

Similarly, there is little tolerance among the Town-identified for the summer people who do not work hard. The residents of Stony Point, who have inherited large amounts of wealth and have never had to work physically for a living, are seen as no better than the people dependent on welfare. One woman

noted how a non-working boy from Stony Point and the children in a poor family received the same treatment from the kids in town:

The Smith family in this town were outcast....[Boy from the Stony Point] was an outcast, too, just for having a lot of money and living in a mansion. [The Smiths] lived by the dump....They smelled really bad. It was like they were really, really outcast. If we were sliding or skating, no one would hold their hand while we cracked the whip...[The boy from the Stony Point] was treated on the same level. They didn't want anything to do with him either.

These work orientations are important for not only being viewed as a good, successful citizen of Sandy Haven but also for establishing an identity in opposition to the summer residents of the Stony Point. To work hard is to not be like the summer residents. One woman who is training to be a nurse's aide described the primary differences between Sandy Haven and the Stony Point as a difference in work, "We have to work really hard for a living and [some of them do] but in a different way. They are not doing the manual labor." Another Point-identified woman explains,

Most of the people who are local towns people have always had to work and I think they know nothing else.... I don't see [the summer people] as hard workers. They probably use their brains more than they do physical type work, but I think a lot of these people who are down there now have money from their parents and live off that.

According to the local culture, the lack of work ethic not only makes the summer people "different", it also means they are "unable to fit into the town". Because they never had to work and have had so much given to them, they are seen as having very different values than the "locals" of Sandy Haven who see hard work as such a central part of their identity. The woman who explained the

difference between summer residents and locals as rooted in mental versus physical work discussed the relationships between the two populations:

You can tell that they don't fit in because they don't like talking to the local people if they don't have to. If they've had a few drinks they might come over and start talking to you, but I don't know them real well. I've known a couple of them. They're not people that like to get close to other people, I guess. I can't say they really fit in.

These feelings are reinforced by the fact that a number of the jobs available to physical workers are working for the summer people. From working in their homes and waiting on them in stores and restaurants, many Town-identified women have stories of rude or demeaning treatment by summer residents. They attribute much of this behavior to the fact that the summer people have never done the physical work themselves. A woman who has waited tables at a number of restaurants in town shared many examples of this kind of disrespectful treatment by the summer people. She explains it as a result of their not knowing and appreciating hard work:

[The summer people] are the worst tippers...they leave less than any of the local people or anyone....Fishermen are good tippers. I think anyone that has had to work is a good tipper. Just like they say waitresses are the best tippers.

A woman who works at another restaurant in town has a similar explanation for the behavior of the summer people:

[Summer residents] will just come in and tell me, I want this, this and this, before you even ask them, can I help you, or can I get something for you. They will just come in and start telling you what they want, whether there are people there or not. You could be in the middle of waiting on somebody else and they will just start yelling what they want. Like they are more important...the townspeople are real good about waiting. They know what we are dealing with. We're dealing with them.

Being hard physical worker is essential to being viewed as a good citizen, accepted in the town, and often being able to remain in Sandy Haven. Thus, Town-identified women use a physical work ethic as a primary component of their presentation of self.

### Presenting Physical Work

Town-identified women must present a strong physical work ethic in order to produce a cultural identity and establish a social position as affiliated with the town and in opposition to the summer colony. Therefore, they take jobs which require physical work and continually present themselves as working hard. While there are obviously a number of reasons for taking jobs, including good hours for combining work and family responsibilities and good pay for the hours, my interviews show that an additional reason why women select these jobs over others is to present a particular orientation toward work and thus, define themselves in relation to the town.

There is a consistent correlation between women's identification with the town and performance of physical work. Women who use the culture of Sandy Haven as a frame of reference hold jobs which require physical work. They cut fish at the processing plant. They fry seafood or wait tables at local restaurants. They clean houses and care for the old and disabled. The women who conduct physical work do so by choice and preference. They are not confined to these jobs as a lack of skills or ability. In fact, many of the women have previously held lower white collar jobs in retail, bookkeeping and secretarial fields, and banking.



Physical work, however, dominates their work histories because they prefer that type of work over white collar work. As one woman explains, "To put me in a room with a desk and computer and say there's your job, I wouldn't last a day."

Another woman, who chose white collar banking work over physical work explains the conflict it created with her mother-in-law:

There really wasn't that much available around here, other than what I was doing in the summer time, cleaning and closing the cottages and laundry work....my mother-in-law, she worked for the summer people all her life....When I got the job at the bank I had been doing laundry work for 6 or 8 years, and the year before I got the job I had gotten Mrs. Rudolph's laundry, that's the mother of the Mr. Rudolph....When I came home and told my mother-in-law that I had the job at the bank she said, but that's year round. I said that's right....She couldn't understand why I would give up Mrs. Rudolph's laundry to go work in a bank. So that was what I was up against, that kind of thinking. She always worked, when she was just a high school kid she was working in the laundry... So to her, I had reach the epitome of success, I had gotten Mrs. Rudolph's laundry, and you are going to give it all up to go work in a bank.

White collar work requires use of one's brain but does not require physical effort.

Town-identified women must present physical effort in order to produce a town-based identity.

These jobs not only require physical work but are structured so that Town-identified women can easily present themselves as hard workers. Work at the Diner is an excellent example. As described earlier, only two women wait tables at one time at the Diner. The perpetual shortness of staff enables "make work", or a constant display of hard work (Goffman, 1959). The women are always running around, covering many tables at once, sweating, and complaining about how crowded it is. This display occurs regardless of the meal and regardless of

how busy the restaurant actually is. The customers, reacting to the behavior of the waitresses, also constantly comment on how busy and overworked everyone appears. As one annual summer patron stated, "You girls are the hardest working girls around." One waitress explained that she thought the job was fun during the peak season because the customers are amazed at all of the work she can do.

The pay structure of the physical jobs also guarantees that women have to work hard. The jobs are arranged so that the more you work, the more you make. One have to work hard to make money. Fishing, the economic foundation of the town, is centered around being a self-motivated, hard worker. If a fisherman does not go to haul, he does not get paid. If he works six days and week, hauling all of his traps every day, he brings home a good living. The physical work that women perform follows a similar structure. Pay in the factory is piece work. By law all employees are guaranteed minimum wage, but any canning beyond that amount results in addition income. Employees are also able to work as many hours as they want. There is always more work to do and always a shift to take. Blueberry raking works in the same way. During blueberry season, there is always a need for additional rakers and the more you rake, the more you earn. Town-identified women approach waitressing and housekeeping the same way. The greater the number and the larger the houses a woman is able to clean, the more she can earn. The better service a waitress provides to customers and the more tables she covers, the more tips she makes.

As Anderson (1976) found, verbal communication is very important to the presentation of work orientations. Town-identified women discuss their days in terms of the amount of work they accomplished. Waitresses talk about the raking blueberries or cleaning houses before coming to work. They talk about the long hours they put in, how busy work was the day before, and the lack of time they have off. Blueberry rakers describe how “back breaking” the work is. Housekeepers talk about the extraordinary number of rooms the houses have and how untidy the guests are. Fish plant workers emphasize the number of double shifts they completed and how hot the temperature of the plant has been.

Town-identified women verbally present a strong physical work ethic not only about themselves but about their families. They share stories of how their mothers and fathers worked long hours combining a number of physically demanding jobs in order to “survive hard economic times”. They, themselves, started working early, often before legally allowed. They raked blueberries, babysat, and worked in local restaurants in order to buy their own school clothes and school lunches. They strongly believe that it is important to start work early in life in order to instill the values of hard work and money. Young children today who do not work, they argue, do not appreciate or care for what they are given. They are “weak in character”. One woman describes the importance of working early:

[My grandfather] gave his boat to my brother and I. He said you guys can use this boat to lobster fish...I was only in 7th grade, I was earning like \$300 a week in the summer...I bought a snowmobile when I was in the 8th grade... people didn't realize that if you were willing to work, you could

have stuff. These days they hold their hand out they are not willing to work to make a buck. I did that 7th, 8th, and 9th grade.

This woman tried to pass these values on to her niece. Although her niece is only thirteen, she hires her to work at her gas station and garage during the summer. Town-identified women present physical work as essential to socialization and life in Sandy Haven.

Town-identified women, not only accept physical work, but reject and distinguish themselves from other types of work as they produce an identity and social position based on cultural orientations. Town-identified women are not involved in organized unpaid community or political work. As with white-collar work, this is not a result of blocked access to this work. Many Town-identified women have been asked to participate in local government or community organizations or projects. They, by their own choice, have declined. They often organize public suppers and help neighbors on their own, but they do not have time to join "clubs". They have "too much work to do". One Town-identified woman gave the following reason for not joining the women's club:

My life right now is so busy and hectic. With kids and their activities...I'm working full-time and I baby-sit three days a week...I don't feel I have the time to add anything else.

More than just not having time to do the work, however, community work would involve an identification with the summer people over the culture of the town. This is antithetic to the self-definitions Town-identified women are working to produce. Therefore, they reject organized community work.

Distinguishing themselves as a unique group of women who perform physical work over other types of work for Town-identified women as they produce cultural identity. Boundaries between women based on types of work are important in this process. One is able to reinforce an identity as a hard physical worker by being associated with others who have that reputation. Other than family, work is the primary means through which women know and spend time with other women. It is often through work that women form close social ties with other women. Thus, when women select some types of work and avoid others, boundaries form between women in town.

Boundaries between physical workers and non physical workers are based on work reputations and are strengthened through the hiring process. Network analysis of data collected in the interviews reveals that nearly all of the women in my sample got jobs through social networks. Friends, family, and acquaintances ask each other if they want a job. Few of the local business advertise job openings. No applications are completed, no interviews are conducted. Rather, new employees are hired strictly based on reputation. If one is known as hard working, they get the job. If not, they do not. In a town where everyone knows everyone and their families, being and presenting oneself as a hard worker is essential to securing local employment. A woman who cooks at a local restaurant explains:

People who are lazy don't always get the jobs that they have if they wanted to. If you are a hard worker, people will come to them and ask them, like they have me, if they want a job.

Boundaries between physical workers and other “locals” are thus created through displays of a strong physical work ethic. Town-identified women present and create boundaries based on work to secure distinct identities as connected with the culture of Sandy Haven.

### Community Work: Identifying with the Summer Colony

In sharp contrast, the women who hold the residents of the summer colony as their frame of reference value and perform volunteer community work and white collar paid work. On the other hand, they reject physical work and political work. Through their choices and presentations of work, Point-identified women emulate and show affiliation with the culture of Stony Point while distancing themselves from the culture of the town. Community volunteering and white-collar work provide more than an opportunity to assist the town and acquire income. It is used by Point-identified women in their production and presentation of cultural identity and status.

### Types of Community Work

In Sandy Haven, there are a number of organizations for women. The Women’s Club was organized in 1938 and is affiliated with the state and national organization of women’s clubs. Membership consists of approximately 22 “local” female residents of Sandy Haven. They describe their primary aim as “civic improvement” and “town beautification” with “club members donating hundreds of hours as volunteers to many projects that benefit the town and its residents”. Using money raised through craft fairs, bake sales, and bazaars, projects are

conducted to “enhance the quality of life in Sandy Haven”. Activities of the club include planting flowers, purchasing park benches, street signs, and a flag for the town, donating money to the local health clinic, library, and historical preservation society, providing scholarships for local high school students, and contributing a wreath to commemorate Memorial Day.

The Board of Trustees of the local elderly housing is another aspect of community work. The sixteen unit housing complex was build in 1975 for \$375,000 to provide low cost housing for older residents of Sandy Haven. It is classified as a non-profit organization and is operated and managed by a board of local residents. The work for this organization involves monitoring maintenance and management and planning an annual holiday party for the residents.

The Recreation Committee was formed in 1995. It was out of a community partnership grant jointed award to the Navy and Sandy Haven. The grant funded computers for the elementary school, video production and local cable station, field trips for local children, public performances including readings by local authors and folksinging, and many summer activities including aerobics, kayaking, and unicycling. A committee of four women and one man organizes and manages the activities.

The Preservation Society was formed around the goal of purchasing and restoring an old Sandy Haven church. The project was initiated by four Sandy Haven residents. Through the financial contributions of summer residents and volunteer hours by local residents, the church was restored with beautiful stained

glass windows and hardwood floors. It now houses the local library and serves as the meeting place for the women's club. The ongoing work of the Preservation society involves collecting funds for the upkeep of the renovated building.

The Sandy Haven Historical Society was founded in 1976 out of interest in the bicentennial of the United States. Initially, the society was funded through weekly bingo games. The money enabled the society to establish a museum in the old Sandy Haven grammar school. The museum is open on Saturdays during the summer season. The historical society also sponsors frequent programs and lectures focusing on aspects of local history. Examples of recent programs include local storytellers and poets and presentation on the cottages of Stony Point. Recently, some of the members of the historical society have expanded their interest to theatre performances based in Harrison Hall, a historic building in town. The Harrison Hall Theatre Group consists of local actors who perform two plays during the summer season.

And finally, the library is operated by a large group of volunteers. The form of community work takes two forms. First, there are the trustees who are elected to the position. They monitor the budget and operations of the library. Second, there are ten additional women who are not on the board but volunteer their time to staff the circulation desk, read books during children's hour, and assist patrons.



### Community Work Ethic

In the discussion of their work orientations, the Point-identified women who value and perform work in these community organizations sound very much like the Town-identified women who value and perform physical work. They emphasize the long hours and hard work they put in and clearly define it as a job. As one woman said after describing all of the community work she conducts, "You can see what my job is." Yet, the work they do is completely different in focus and goals.

Community work has three basic goals: town improvement, beautification, and assisting others. Through the work in community organizations, Point-identified women seek to change the culture and daily life of the town for what they see as "the better". They seek to provide services, opportunities, and developments which the town would otherwise not have. Whether through clean up and planting flowers, providing street signs or books, or donating money to the health clinic or scholarships, community work involves giving to the town and its residents. The Point-identified women believe the work is and should be done selflessly, without pay or tangible rewards. Concern for the town and self-satisfaction should be motivation enough. Giving to the town and the residents, they believe, should not wait for requests or suggestions. Rather, members of community organizations introduce and implement improvements and assistance for the town based on their own perception of the town needs.

## Presenting Community Work

Point-identified women use community work to produce and present an identity as sharing the cultural lifestyle and values of Stony Point and distinct from the values and lifestyles of Sandy Haven. Through their community work, they are able to have contact with and emulate the culture of the summer residents.

First, work in community organizations literally gives Point-identified women access to the lifestyle of the summer residents. The women's club, since its beginning, has had connections with the Stony Point. One member describes the evolution of the club, "this [chapter]...began with [the members] having teas with some of the ladies down on the Stony Point...they would use those teas for fund-raisers for some of their projects. Then it's evolved where it's not just a fundraising club but it's really a civic-minded, education-minded group of women who volunteer thousands of hours for no credit." One member of the women's club recalls, "When I first joined the Woman's Club...Once a year, we have a dinner and we would go [to the inn on the Stony Point]. This is really nice. Look how elegantly everything is served."

The other organizations, including the library and the preservation society, also have connections with the summer residents. Mr. Rudolph, the prominent resident of the Stony Point, was named an "honorary" library trustee after donating large amounts of money and support for the preservation of the church. Members of the recreation committee and preservation society meet with

summer residents to ask for financial assistance for their goals. Increasingly, residents of Stony Point are themselves volunteering in library. Some of the local women who volunteer at the library explain that the only way they know residents of the summer colony is through their volunteer work.

Furthermore, through their community work, Point-identified women are able to emulate the generosity of the summer residents. They, like the Mr. Rudolph and other summer residents, volunteer their time to improve the community. They provide scholarships and computers to local students and flowers, benches, and street signs to the town, and donate money to local charities and causes. For example, the Women's Club raises and distributes a large portion of their funds to the same charities which Mr. Rudolph supports, including the local health clinic named in honor of his mother and the chapel of the preservation society.

Finally, community organizations emulate an upper class status and lifestyle of the summer residents. First, the structures of the organizations, although small and relatively unprestigious by outside standards, provide Point-identified women with access to titles similar to those held by the upper class women of Stony Point. They are able to be members of the board of trustees or producers of theatre productions. They can be librarians or museum directors. They, at the most basic level, can be "club members". Furthermore, the social aspects of the organization meetings serve to emulate the high culture lifestyle of the summer colony. For example, the members describe the monthly meetings of the Women's Club as "very social". After the work is done, they have coffee,

tea, and dessert. They hold potluck dinners and speakers, ranging from representative from the local health clinic to local authors and historians. The club celebrated their 50th anniversary by having a "special tea" at the Sandy Haven Yacht Club. Thus, Point-identified women can hold titles and partake in social activities which mimic those of the upper class by participating in community work.

Community work is not only about presenting an identity and status as like the summer residents, however. Point-identified women are also able to distance themselves from the culture of Sandy Haven by selecting and presenting this orientation toward work. Community work centers on "town improvement" and "beautification". In other words, rather than embracing the culture of the town, community work is about changing the town from the traditional way of life to one which more closely resembles the appearance of the Stony Point. The Point-identified women who perform community work complain about run down houses, abundance of mobile homes, unkempt yards, and general lack of pride in the appearance of the town. They work to plant flowers, build parks in the town, and "eliminate eye sores". These projects occur often without the request or, occasionally, even the approval of the other Sandy Haven residents. Instead, Point-identified women see their projects as important for the town and take it upon themselves to implement the changes.

These changes are often made in the face of opposition from other "local" residents. The preservation society is probably the best example of this. A small group of women decided that by purchasing and restoring the church, the town

would have a nice local library. Not everyone agreed. There was extensive debate and conflict regarding the project. However, the discussion by a Point-identified woman involved in the process shows the role that the community workers take in the town:

I undertook it on my own to get an option to purchase it from the property owners. Actually, before we formed the Society, I had the purchase and sale agreement just about wrapped up. So, we bought it. Then incorporated and got private donations. No public monies. To undertake to not only buy, but to renovate it as well. And we had in mind all along to turn it back into a community building but we didn't know what type. We were hoping the library would eventually be located there. But there was some struggle to fight that. Only because people don't like change... But as it's turned out, everybody has been rewarded. Because we have a beautiful, fine library in there and it's a building that really would have been forever lost to the public of this town had we not done that.

Another Point-identified woman whose community work involves organizing and producing the Harrison Hall plays also sees the value of her work for the town, whether or not the "locals" of the town see the benefit.

The response has been wonderful and continues to grow, and it keeps the people coming into the town, it keeps the town alive...I feel like I am giving to the town by doing this. There's no remuneration for this, it's all volunteer work, but it's worth millions of dollars for these people of all ages to come and see this kind of quality performances. This can happen in your town and you don't have to go Hollywood.

Point-identified women make these changes not based on the requests and desires of the other locals but because they believe that these changes, which will make them more similar to the lifestyle of the summer colony, as being in the best interest of the town and the residents.

Still, Point-identified women express frustration when their efforts at improving the town are not appreciated by the other "locals". They are annoyed that the fishermen do not want to have to drive around the island of flowers planted in the intersection. They are mad that children harm and destroy the plants. They get upset that residents make fun of the banner hanging across Main Street advertising the play asking "what do you think this is Broadway?" Point-identified women describe their work as "thankless" and "unrecognized" but keep doing it because of their commitment to improving the town.

The Point-identified women see themselves as distinct from and a select population of the community because of their community work. They frequently note that the same women belong to all the organizations and are involved in doing all of the community work. The tone they use in describing themselves and the other community workers takes on an air of elitism. As one Point-identified woman explains,

In this community you are looked on in a different light if you work in the community than if you don't work in the community. The well liked people in the community work...You can count them on your fingers and toes, the community workers. There's not that many, there's so many organizations in town and there's so few people that are workers, it's hard to keep all the organizations going. Like if you find a worker, and I am not tooting my own horn, but if you find a person that will work, then you will want them in every organization in town, because they know if you are a worker that you will be faithful to that town and that organization.

According to Point-identified women, to do community work puts them on a higher level and status than doing physical work. They see the selfless work they do as superior to for-profit physical work. Like Town-identified women who

perform physical work, Point-identified women who do community work have little tolerance for the people in town who do not share their work ethic. The other women in town are labeled “apathetic”. One Point-identified woman explains:

I figured we couldn't depend on the people unless we gave them some stipend. I am sure we couldn't have. People just, they all worked.... I have always given so much time free, there's no reason why other people shouldn't give a little. Maybe that's why I am poor and other people are rich.

Thus, Point-identified women who perform community work distinguish themselves from other women in town who do not do this work. As with paid physical work, unpaid community work emerged from the network analysis as very important to the formation of social networks. When I asked one woman whose networks were all based in community organizations if she was close to any other women in town, she responded, “I didn't know there were any other women besides these groups.” While her comment was made half in jest, it does reveal the strength of the boundaries created by orientations toward work. The work women value and chose influences who they do and do not associate with. Another Point-identified woman described the boundaries between community and political work:

I am really community oriented, but I never seemed to care about being in the town offices. Then there are people that that's all they do. They won't get involved in the organizations. They keep their lines.

Boundaries created between women based on work orientations, are formalized by organizational membership procedures. For example, membership to the women's club is through invitation only. Current members of

the club nominate potential new members, usually family or close friends. These new members are sent an invitation asking them if they wish to join. In this way, membership is exclusive and restricted. While not as strict as the women's club, membership to other organizations also occur through social networks. Women ask other women if they would like to join the recreation committee or serve on the board of trustees of the library or elderly housing. The boundaries formed between women based on the type of work they value and perform strengthen the definitions and positions the women produce. As with physical work, boundaries are important in solidifying an identity as a "community worker" or associated with the summer colony.

Point-identified women further emulate the lifestyles and culture of Stony Point through the exclusive membership of the clubs. Comparable to Mr. Rudolph's buy back policy or resisted membership to the Stony Point association, the Point-identified women who are involved in community work have control over which other women become involved. Community organizations become exclusive. And indeed community organizations, particularly the women's club, have gained reputations as being "elite". The establishment of this reputation is probably the most important for Point-identified women as they use community work as means to connect themselves to the culture of the summer colony. While the members of these clubs were not necessarily from a higher socioeconomic status in terms of education, income, or husband's occupation, they take on the appearance of being of another class and status in town. One long time resident of the town said that the Women's



Club tried to “set themselves up as an aristocracy.” Members of the club themselves recognize this reputation. One member explains, “For a long time [members] had the reputation for being the elite and people were afraid to join in, some come to the Women’s Club meeting and oh, man, they weren’t in that class.” Now, this woman, who by no coincidence tends toward being “Outside-identified”, is working toward erasing this reputation, “We have been trying our best to get people in there to get that stigma taken away, because we are not really the elite.”

Point-identified women present an identity and status as culturally similar to the summer residents and as distinct from the culture of Sandy Haven through their community work. This occurs not only with the voluntary work that these women conduct but also with the paid work.

### Presenting “Professional” Work

While their involvement in community work is similar to the work conducted by the upper-class women in Susan Ostrander’s (1984) study, these women do not share the socioeconomic status of the upper-class women. Most of these women need to and do work to contribute financially to their family. These women, however, do not hold the physical jobs of the Town-identified women. Rather, they seek out the few lower and middle level white-collar jobs that are available in the area. They take these jobs because through these jobs, they present identity with and emulate the summer colony and distance themselves from the town culture.

“Professional” jobs, the term used by the women themselves, are actually not “professional” as conceptualized by occupational prestige measures. Rather, they tend to be lower and middle level white-collar jobs. The local grammar school, local bank, and post office provide the limited settings for professional jobs. Elementary school teacher, teacher’s aide, secretary, book keeper, bank teller, postal clerk, and post master are all jobs that fall under the category of “professional”. Conducting sales through small companies or through one’s own small business is another option for professional work. In the area, women can sell Avon, Tupperware, and home decorations. There are sales positions open in the fish factories and real estate companies, which do not require advanced degrees. Women can sell home made arts and crafts out of their homes or small shops. While considered by Point-identified women to be professional in comparison to jobs which require physical labor, these jobs often have comparable prestige and pay.

Yet, the structure of these jobs enables Point-identified women to present a very different orientation toward work than physical jobs. First, these jobs do not require physical work. Women do not get dirty, sweaty, and physically tired conducting this work. Second, the work settings require professional dress. Rather than wearing a uniform, comfortable shoes, or clothes that can be stained, Point-identified women wear more professional dress for their jobs. Third, these jobs involve a salary rather than piece work, tips, or hourly pay. The nature of the work, therefore, does not involve working harder to make more. Therefore, the important structures and qualities of the physical jobs which are

key to presentations of cultural identity and status as aligned with Sandy Haven are missing from these jobs. Rather, women are able to create a self-definition as “professionals” by choosing white-collar jobs.

Through this work, Point-identified women present themselves as like the high status, career oriented residents of Stony Point and unlike the manual laborers of Sandy Haven. The very fact that Point-identified women refer to these jobs as “professional” notes their desire for a particular presentation through work. By labeling white-collar jobs as professional, Point-identified women seek to present the work they perform as higher status than it actually is.

Point-identified women, on the other hand, do not conduct or present physical work because to do so would too closely connect them with the culture of Sandy Haven. Such presentations would make production of a cultural identity and status as affiliated with the summer colony impossible. Point-identified women’s explanations of why they reject physical work reveal their desire for a particular identity and status. Many of the women have previously done physical work. They and often their mothers have worked at the fish plant or cleaned houses for the summer people. Yet, now they are not willing to perform the physical work. When asked if they would consider waiting tables, cleaning houses, or working in factories, the women clearly declined. Instead, they are looking for more “professional” work. One woman discussed the concerns she and her husband had about work when moving back to Sandy Haven after time away:

We both knew we could find work because we were energetic and we knew we would take any type of job to allow us to stay here and to support the family...But what we were worrying about was finding jobs that would be fulfilling professionally....[My husband] began to work on our house and I took a job as a bank teller part-time.

If a "professional" job is not available and owning one's own business is not a possibility, Point-identified women will either not work or will "hide" their physical work from their public presentation. One woman first said that she didn't work for pay because she wanted to stay home and raise her children, but then added,

I can't imagine finding work in town today unless you were a chamber maid on the Stony Point or waitress.... What do I think of [the jobs that are available]? Menial jobs. If I needed the money I would probably do it. But I would have to really need the money.

The Point-identified women hold a very different orientation toward work than the Town-identified women. In almost complete contrast to the women who do physical work, Point-identified women use their work, both community and professional work, to present themselves as sharing in the culture of the summer people and different from the culture of the town. As a result, they establish a distinct self-definition and social position within the town of Sandy Haven.

#### Political Work: Identifying with People "From Away"

Finally, Outside-identified women also create cultural identities and status through their choice and presentation of work. However, they do not display physical work that would associate them with the culture of Sandy Haven and they do not display community work and professional work that would align them

with the culture of the summer colony. Rather, through political work in the local town government, Outside-identified women connect themselves with progressive values and diversity represented by life outside of Sandy Haven.

### Types of Political Work

The local government of Sandy Haven requires extensive participation of town residents. Town manager is the highest position in the local government. The manager, who also serves as treasurer, collector, and clerk, is hired through an interview process and holds a salaried position. The manager designs and implements policies, allocates for expenditure of tax money, and supervises and guides the daily operations of the town.

The work of the town manager, however, is highly influenced and supplemented by the political involvement of "local" citizens. The board of selectmen consists of three elected town residents. During their three year appointment, they work closely with the manager in designing policies, spending tax money, and overseeing the town. Other committees are designed to monitor specific components of government or social institutions. The utilities district trustees are comprised of three elected residents who monitor maintenance, expenditures, and funding for the sewage system. The water district trustees, an additional three elected residents, held responsibility for purchasing the water company and now improving the water supply. The four elected members of the planning board apply zoning ordinances and review applications for new buildings, businesses, and construction. The school board consists of three

elected members and is responsible for hiring school employees, developing the school budget, and monitoring school expenses and educational policies. The budget committee is responsible for drafting the annual town budget. The elected officials on all of these committees work together to monitor and assist in the operation of Sandy Haven.

### Political Work Ethic

The influential political positions are historically and overwhelmingly held by men. There has never been a woman selectman. There was a woman town manager for only a brief probationary period after which her contract was not renewed. The male dominance of Sandy Haven town government continues today although, interestingly, women dominate the local government of the neighboring town.

Most women are not willing to get involved in political work because of the arguing and “nastiness” that comes with holding a local town office. When the residents of Sandy Haven disagree with policy decisions, changes, tax increases, and expenditures, those holding offices are blamed and take the heat. Conflict and fights during the annual town meeting are common and are often directed toward the elected officials who are in charge of decision making. Many women say that their husbands can and do run for office, but that they do not have “thick enough skin”. Thus, the women who do political work are a unique group of women in that they are willing to enter a domain which is dominated by men and requires a personal strength that is stereotypically seen as a male

quality.

The dominant political orientation of the community is overwhelmingly conservative and libertarian. Thirty-seven percent of voters were registered Republicans. Forty-one percent of voters registered as Independent, without affiliation with either political party. The local social institutions and economy reflect the self-reliance and independence that the culture of Sandy Haven emphasizes. These values are reflected in the orientation toward the governmental policies and practices. "Local" residents of Sandy Haven are largely opposed to and distrustful of government interference and control. Many of the residents are self-employed and are thus opposed to high taxation and government regulations. They reject the social services provided by the government, arguing that people should work to make it on their own.

The Outside-identified women hold divergent political orientations. They use progressive and social change oriented values represented by life outside of Sandy Haven as a cultural frame of reference. As one woman explained:

I have very liberal social views. I'm a Democrat...I believe very strongly in equality of all kinds...I believe in equal rights. I believe in equal pay for equal work. I don't think I have any kind of racial prejudices at all.

Outside-identified women hold political values that are quite unique to Sandy Haven. They hold liberal social values. They vote and proudly state their affiliation with the Democratic Party. They are concerned about and vocal about the need for equal rights for all. They seek to end sexism, racism, and discrimination based on sexual orientation. They favor raises in tax in order to support needed social programs and services.

### Presenting Political Work

While women rarely hold the most influential governmental positions in Sandy Haven, women do hold positions on the school board, planning board, utilities district, and budget committee. In 1994-95, two of the three members of the school board were women. Three of the twelve members of the budget committee were women. One of the three water district trustees was a woman.

The women who hold these positions tend to be Outside-identified. In other words, there is a relationship between identifying with the culture outside of Sandy Haven and conducting political work in Sandy Haven. I argue that Outside-identified women seek these political positions in order to present their desired cultural identities and status. Through emphasizing their roles in local government, they are able to display the open-minded, social change oriented, and progressive values and lifestyles they see as symbolized by life outside of Sandy Haven. While they do not necessarily see themselves as politicians, their political work is a means through which they can bring outside values of equality and progressiveness to a small town. By conducting political work, Outside-identified women are defined by themselves and others as being distinct members of the community.

The Outside-identified women make a cultural presentation of self by entering the largely male dominated local government and encouraging their nonnormative political values once in office. The women who enter this world are a unique group of "local" women and see themselves as such. By their very



involvement in this world, Outside-identified women make a public display of progressive values and interest in women's equality and rights. They enter a world that most other women would not consider. One older Outside-identified woman looks fondly back to the brief time when women were seen as dominating the town:

[A woman] was the banker in town for years. At the time [a woman] was postmaster, the town manager was a woman. The bank had a woman. So, the town, they kept saying, was run by women. The ladies had control. And we did. Better than these men, I'm sure.

Their political work often involves making sure the community treats all of its members equally and fairly and thus, involves a presentation of progressive and social change orientated values. This is most obvious in the work of the school board. The Outside-identified women who serve on the school board fight for equal access to education for all children regardless of their disabilities and special needs. The growing special education programs cause a huge increase the school budget and in turn, an increase in tax expenditures. These increases led to extreme resistance from many tax-paying residents. Outside-identified women in political office, however, supported these expenditures arguing that it is the law that all children must have equal access to education and that the programs must be supported.

Outside-identified women, like other "local" women, see their work as essential and present themselves as of a different status than women who are not willing to participate in public office. They are especially frustrated by the "local" residents who complain about their political work and policies, yet do not

participate in the political process and are not willing be active agents for social change themselves by running for office. They cite the small percent of the town that votes, comes to town meeting, and has held a political office. They argue that “apathy toward government” is widespread, yet everyone complains about the work that they do. They feel that involvement in town government is an essential part of being a good resident of Sandy Haven. As one woman explained, political work is part of one’s “civic duty”. Another woman said that she felt a “moral obligation” to attend town meeting.

Thus, as with physical and community work, boundaries form between Outside-identified women who participate in political office and other women who do not. Women who do political work share common social ties. A woman explains how she knows the women in her social network, “she’s on the School Board. And [she] is on the School Board. I should put them next to [my husband]...they’re all on the School Board.”

The boundaries between Outside-identified women and other local women are reinforced through the means through which women get involved in politics. While no one is blocked from running for office, some women are encouraged to run while others are not. The women who now hold office were all encouraged by politically active friends or family to seek the office. Thus, some women become included in the political process while other women do not.

These boundaries reinforce the distinct identities and social positions of Outside-identified women. One woman clearly explains the self-presentation she is making by being on the school board:

I would rather be seen [as a “hippie”] than be seen as part of the crowd, to be seen as part of the masses. I have always tried not to be part of the masses, so for me if they see me as the radical one on the school board, that's okay, that's good. I usually don't agree with the group and I would rather not be seen as part of the group, I'd rather been seen as an individual.

Through their unique involvement in political work, Outside-identified women define themselves and are defined by others as distinct from other women in Sandy Haven.

As with the other women, however, the work that Outside-identified women reject is just as important as the work they conduct in production of cultural identity and status. For example, the Outside-identified women reject community work, especially women's organizations, because they view the work as too conservative and reinforcing the narrow-minded and backward ideas of the small town. One woman explains why she does not join the women's club:

...if there was a club to stop violence against women or child abuse or women's rights.... I would join, but because it's such a conservative group, I don't think I would.

Another woman explained, “I'm not a club woman. Not a joiner. I belong to the Democratic Party. That's it. And I'll tell anybody who asks me. Other than that, no.” To participate in these organizations would require Outside-identified women to present a cultural orientation they do not wish to display. They do not wish to identify with the values and lifestyle of the summer colony and they do not wish to be connected with the conservative values of the town. They do not participate in these organizations in order to avoid these cultural associations.

Similarly, Outside-identified women will participate in community work only if the goals of the organizations correspond with the identities and statuses they wish to present. For example, work in the Sandy Haven historical society is often accepted by the Outside-identified women because it is not as closely associated with the 'elite' presentation of the women's club. Volunteering at the local library is done, especially when it involves holding story hour for local children or providing community access to the internet. These forms of community work do not threaten, but support, the self-definitions Outside-identified women are working to produce.

Other Outside-identified women seek out different forms of community involvement in order to present themselves as affiliated with the progressive and change orientated culture of life away from Sandy Haven. For example, one woman became the only woman to join the Sandy Haven fire department. She explained her reason for performing this work:

I thought when I joined I would break the mold and more would join but nobody did.... in the beginning it never occurred to me to join the women's group over at the fire department.... it was something that I wanted to do and I guess for my daughter I want her to grow up knowing that she can do anything she wants to do whether she's a woman or not.

Thus, through her selection and presentation of community work, this Outside-identified woman wanted to both encourage gender equity in her daughter and the town. Another woman and her husband joined an AIDS support organization outside of town rather than participating in the local community organizations.

When explaining why she joined this organization, she states:

with our kids coming up.... there needs to be a lot more education out there... it's more of a liberal bent group and both of us needed to get involved in something more liberal than this small town.

Outside-identified women chose community work which demonstrates their desired identities. Community work dedicated to projects of town beautification and emulating the culture represented by the summer colony would be in sharp contrast to the liberal, social change identity that the Outside-identified women seek to present and secure.

The selection of paid work by Outside-identified women also reveals how work orientations are presented in the production of self-definitions. Outside-identified women openly reject the strong work ethic encouraged by the culture of Sandy Haven. They do not have an orientation toward physical or professional work. They openly talk about not wanting to perform manual work or have careers. They work part time and do not have interest in working more hours. They talk about the need to find themselves and rewarding work for the future rather than just taking a job to earn money. By violating a norm essential to the culture of Sandy Haven, they define themselves in opposition to the town. The work they do seek, enjoy, and hope for in the future, however, reinforces their alignment to the values and lifestyles outside of Sandy Haven. First, they seek employment and enjoy work which allows them to socialize and form relationships with people outside of Sandy Haven. As one woman explains why she went to work outside of Sandy Haven:

I wanted to get out and see people more because it's kind of hard here, there's not a whole lot of socialization that goes on, so I just wanted to get

out in the world more...I just wanted to get out and meet new people. Do something different.

This is in sharp contrast to Town-identified women who see the importance of working locally and favor jobs which do not require a commute.

Furthermore, the work that Outside-identified women envision for themselves involves progressive attitudes and social change. They will work making natural crafts or selling herbs because this connects them with the "Back-to-the-Lander" or hippie lifestyle. Primarily, however, they seek work in social service and activism. They consider working in Head Start programs, as social workers, or in educational programs for disturbed children. One woman described her goals for future work:

I would like to be less involved in making money and more involved in doing some good. In doing something to give back. I feel like I have had a real lucky life.... I feel like I haven't had to work to the bone and that I always had enough to eat, never gone without, I have always had a home. I have always had people that cared about me so if I got into a straight, I could call them. I know there are lots of people in the world that don't have anybody to call on, and I think that should be changed, so I feel like it's time we give back. That's where I would like to be.

They wish to find work which exhibits their values for social equality and justice which they display through their political work.

Through their unique involvement in political work and selective participation in community and paid work, Outside-identified women present themselves as activists who want to bring the liberal, open-minded, diverse ideas from the world outside to the town of Sandy Haven. Through their orientations

toward work, they secure a social identity and status as distinct from other women.

### Public Presentation of Cultural Orientations

The ways in which women distinguish themselves from other women, form boundaries, and create identity and status through their presentations of cultural orientations becomes even clearer by examining face-to-face interaction in a public place. Through my participant observation of nine local women in the Coffee Shop, the local coffee shop and ice cream parlor, I examined the social process through which social interaction leads to cultural stratification.

As explained in the methodology chapter, within the setting of the Coffee Shop, there are representatives of each type of work orientation. There are Town-identified women who present physical work. There are Point-identified women who present community work over other types of work. There are Outside-identified women who present political work and their rejection of other work. The ways in which cultural symbols are emulated, interaction is used, work orientations are presented, and boundaries are created in order to secure cultural identity and status becomes obvious through observations of daily face-to-face interaction within this public place. Coming to the coffee shop each morning is not merely about leisure. Rather, the coffee shop provides a setting in which women can produce cultural stratification.

Although the women in the Coffee Shop have known each other for years and some for their whole lives, they segregate themselves into three distinct

groups. The Town-identified women consist of Nancy, Jenn, and Holly. Nancy and her family have a history of physical work. She worked for years as a cook, at local factories and fish dealers, a housekeeper, and clerk at local stores. Recently, she got a job as a teacher's aide at the local grammar school. Jenn currently works at the fish plant and has worked at a number of factories and housekeeping throughout the years. Holly currently works at the Coffee Shop, as a nurse's aide, and a housekeeper. None of these women belong to community organizations or hold political office. They are the first to arrive when the Coffee Shop opens at 8:00 and sit at their 'regular stools' at the counter rarely turning around to even acknowledge the other women in the Coffee Shop.

The Point-identified women consist of Gigi, Jean, and Helen. Gigi is an upper class woman from the summer colony. Her husband is a lawyer and she is president of the women's board of a hospital in her home city. During the summer and her stay at the Stony Point, she has no work to do. Helen is also of a higher socioeconomic status. Her husband has a Ph.D. in engineering and she has a very sparse paid work and very thorough community work history. She is currently in the women's club, works in the library, and participates in a club that performs country line dancing for retirement homes. Jean is not married and is a home-duty nurse's aide. She is a member of the women's club, president of the historical society, and organizes and directs town plays. These women arrive at approximately 9:15 and sit together at a table toward the front of the Coffee Shop. New members or temporary guests visit their table only when invited and invitations are infrequent and selective.



The Outside-identified women consist of Amy, Dorothy, and Tricia. Tricia manages the Coffee Shop during the summer season and works for pay sporadically during winter, making wreaths or assisting at a day care. She does not belong to any local community organizations but is a member of the school board. Dorothy also works part time as a secretary at the local health clinic. While a member of the local women's club, she says that she is not an active member and does not have much interest in the club. She is also a member of the school board. Amy works sporadically for pay throughout the year as a substitute teacher, in retail stores, and making crafts to sell. While a volunteer at the library and member of the historical society, she is clear about her disinterest in joining the women's clubs in town. Her political work includes the Board of Appeals, Registrar of Voter, Poll clerk, and developing the town comprehensive plan. These women sit at the far back table. They get together less regularly than the other women, but are in the Coffee Shop at least a few days each week.

#### Presenting Work Orientations in the Coffee Shop

The Town-identified women display a very strong physical work ethic. Through talk and actions, Nancy, Jenn, and Holly reveal this orientation toward work. Verbal communication is the most obvious means of presentations. For all the workers, the overwhelming topic of conversation is work. Since Nancy wasn't employed for much of the summer, physical housework took the place of paid work in her presentation of her work ethic.

While at the Coffee Shop, the Town-identified often comment on how they are being lazy or a "slug" by sitting around. To socialize instead of working is to

violate the work orientation they wish to present. The words and actions of the “physical workers” are used to counteract this feeling or appearance of laziness. They come into the Coffee Shop the earliest and leave the soonest. While sitting having coffee, they discuss the paid or household work they did before or will do after leaving the shop. One day, Nancy came into the Coffee Shop, sat at the counter, and said that yesterday “I finished 4-5 loads of laundry and hung them out to dry before coming here. When I got back, they were all dry and I folded them and put them away”. Nearly everyday when leaving, she stands up and states that she needs to leave in order to “get something done” whether mowing her mother’s lawn, baking or cooking, or running to the next town for errands. Jenn does the same.

At times, the verbal presentation of work ethic can literally become a competition as the following example from my field notes shows:

Before they left, Nancy and Jenn talked about housework. Nancy said that she had to leave to get something done. Then they both described the amount of work they had done the day before. Nancy said that she did a load of laundry, washed the windows inside and out, and dusted. Later in the day, she took her mother to [the neighboring town] to the doctors...It was then Jenn’s turn to compare what all she did. She worked at the fish plant and then came home and did housework, including laundry and mowed the lawn. She said that when you are working it is amazing how fast the other time goes.

The most obvious display of a work ethic is the work that Nancy and Holly do while at the Coffee Shop. Nancy frequently gets up from her stool and does the dishes, makes eggs salad or coffee, or changes the displays. She started doing this without pay, but later in the summer was asked to fill in on the weekends for pay. Yet, she continued to help out during the week even if she

was not on the payroll. These words and actions are used to present a strong work ethic to the other “workers” and the other women in the Coffee Shop. Holly is employed at the Coffee Shop and rarely sits to talk. Instead, she holds conversations from behind the counter while she washes dishes, prepares food, and cleans up. When Holly is in the Coffee Shop and not working, it is always stopping on her way to her other nursing or housekeeping work.

Jenn works outside the Coffee Shop so she uses other means to present her work ethic to this public seeing. She can display her work ethic by not coming to the Coffee Shop for coffee for a few days. When she returns and she is asked where she has been, she will report that she has been working double shifts at the fish plant, talk about the hours she has put in this week, and how she only gets one day off a week. In addition, however, she can also bring indications of her work to the Coffee Shop. One of the primary symbols are her hands. She will display cuts, dirty nails, and stained fingers as a sign of her work at the factory.

When talking about their families, Nancy, Jenn, and Holly often discuss the work orientations of husbands, children, or parents. For example, Nancy describes her husband as a self-employed laborer. He earns income from a combination of maintenance, fishing, and construction work. She talks about how hard he works in order to make ends meet. She says that during the summer she never gets to see him because of all of the long hours he puts in. She is concerned about the lack of a work ethic among her daughters and other young people. The following field note illustrates this:

[Nancy] had worked at the Coffee Shop on Saturday and Sunday. She said that the girls who work with her are "hard working" but have no common sense or organization. They would clean the counters yet leave the mayo and egg salad out. It led into a conversation about kids and work today. Nancy said that girls have worked at the Coffee Shop for two years now. She said that when she was younger she had responsibility. She baby-sat for two kids from 7am to 11pm, one was an infant. She had to take care of them and the house. She said that her daughter is the same way. She said that she keeps hoping her two daughters will notice the mess and do something about it, but they never do.

Although Holly is only in her 20's, she also talks about the lack of work ethic among the younger women who work at the Coffee Shop. She teases one of the girls who works there saying that she comes in at exactly 9:30 if that is when she is supposed to work. If she gets in sooner, she will just sit and wait to start.

Thus, through their conversation and actions, these women are able to present their work orientations and reinforce their identities as physical workers.

The Point-identified women, on the other hand, present a strong community work ethic, but not a paid work ethic. Gigi, Jean, and Helen are all highly involved in community organizations and present this work as their primary concern whether or not they also work for pay. When they say "I have to work", they are referring to their community activities. The Point-identified women frequently talk about the unpaid community work that they are doing and often leave stating that they have some community work to conduct. Jean has to sell tickets to raise money for a new roof for a historic hall in town. Helen has to go to dance practice. Gigi has to return to the city because September will be a busy month for the women's board of the hospital.

Jean is a particularly important for illustrating the presentation of a community work ethic. She does not have the socioeconomic class standing of Gigi, or even Helen. Yet, by sitting with Gigi, a representative of the Stony Point, she is able to present her alignment with the summer people and by presenting her community work over her paid work, she is able to secure an identity as a community worker.

Jean, especially, brings indications of her community work into the Coffee Shop. She distributes and posts fliers advertising the plays or fund-raisers which she is organizing. She sells tickets for community events from the card table that she sets up on the sidewalk right outside of the Coffee Shop or from the table of "community" in the Coffee Shop. When conducting community work within the Coffee Shop, she will laugh and call it her "office".

Nearly everyday, Jean talks about the unpaid work she is conducting in the town and she, as well as the other Point-identified women, talk about how their work is important to the social foundation of the town. Jean talks about the hours and hours she puts into running the plays and describes the plays as providing worthwhile leisure activities and cultural experiences for the young people in town. She discusses the scholarships and charity work which are conducted by the women's club. She frequently mentions the "anonymous" charity work that she does on her own. Jean, Gigi, and Helen even see the time that they spend in the Coffee Shop as essential for building a strong sense of community in Sandy Haven, "that is what we do here, we form a community." They sit near the door, watching and greeting everyone who comes into the

Coffee Shop. They see these actions as important for building community and presenting themselves as community minded residents.

The Point-identified women are very upset by what they call "apathy" - lack of interest in joining community organizations or volunteering for task or positions within the organizations. Jean frequently talks about the frustration she feels when others are not willing to help and often criticize these projects that she sees as so essential to the community. Gigi and Helen agree and see it within their own community work.

While presenting a strong unpaid community work ethic, Point-identified women do not present the same orientation toward paid work. Helen and Gigi do not work for pay. Jean, on the other hand, financially needs to work for pay. She works as a private home nurse's aide, cleans the summer cottage that her sister owns and rents, and fills in for her friend at his art shop. She works anywhere from three to six days a week, but never discusses her paid work at the table with Gigi, a resident of Stony Point. When listing her days activities, her paid work never is mentioned. On days when she is unable to come to the Coffee Shop because she has to work, she does not provide an explanation unless she is asked directly and then only gives a brief answer. During an interview with Jean, she mentioned that she has considered seeking work waiting tables at the local restaurant at a time when she needed money. She said that she couldn't because it would be "demeaning" and "people have this image of me as being rich. I don't know where that comes from because it really isn't the case". To do physical work in public would change the image that she

has created of her self and thus, her status in the cultural system of stratification. Thus, she was unable to take the job although she needed it. When she does talk about her work as a nurse's aide, she discusses it in terms of community work. She is "taking care of an older woman in town" or "giving a massage to a woman who had an injury".

The actions of the Point-identified women confirm this commitment to community work and shunning of paid work. Jean, Helen, and Gigi come to the Coffee Shop the latest, the most consistently, and stay the longest length of time. While the Town-identified women leave early so as to appear hard at work, the Point-identified women stay late, presenting a very different orientation toward work. These actions distinguish the Point-identified from the Town-identified and provide the women with a distinct cultural identity.

The Outside-identified women display yet another orientation toward work – an orientation toward progressive, political work. They define themselves in opposition to the work orientations embraced by the Town and Point-identified women. In complete contrast to the Town-identified physical workers, they lack a paid work ethic and openly share it. They display this orientation through conversation and actions. They keep later hours like the Point-identified women, often hanging out in the Coffee Shop in the middle of the afternoon. While Holly and Nancy, Town-identified women, work at the Coffee Shop while they converse in order to present a strong work ethic, Tricia leaves her work and joins Amy and Dorothy at their table in the back of the Coffee Shop. In my first

conversation with Amy at the Coffee Shop, she presented her lack of a paid work ethic to me.

I will wake up in the middle of the night and feel guilty for no reason. It is that Protestant work ethic thing. You are supposed to work hard all the time and it makes me feel guilty for things I haven't done, like sending a birthday present to my son in law. The two most important things about the Protestant work ethic is that religion should be first and the work should be second in importance, and neither are very important to me.

In addition, the Outside-identified women are not interested in community work and are not active in the organizations which the Point-identified women find so important.

The work orientation that Tricia, Amy, and Dorothy present is a political work orientation. Through their words and actions, they display themselves as involved in local government, concerned about political issues on the national level, and interested in creating change in Sandy Haven. Local town politics is a nearly daily topic of conversation for the Outside-identified women - Who was at the town meeting? When will the teachers' contract be settled? If the Navy leaves, how will that impact the town? Will the town buy the water company? They also talk about national politics - public policies, the presidential campaigns, the candidates for state government. Tricia closes the Coffee Shop or has someone fill in for her so that she can do work for the school board in Augusta.

The Outside-identified women, as explained earlier, have a very specific political orientation. They define themselves as "liberal" and present themselves as such. They are very upset about people in the town who have sexist,



homophobic, and racist ideas and see themselves as social change agents trying to enlighten people to change their backward ideas. The following notes of a conversation with Tricia at the Coffee Shop show the liberalism of the

Outside-identified women:

We talked about Clinton winning and the Christian Right...She said that she doesn't understand why there is such fear about gay men and lesbians. She said that many people in town will talk openly about not liking gays/lesbians. Saying things like "I don't want them near me or my family" and calling people, "colored". She said that at first she was shocked, but now hears it all the time...[A woman in town] didn't let her daughter go to the African drumming and dance performance that they brought to the grammar school because "you can't trust black people".

Such conversations are common among the "political workers". Amy talks about the interesting guests that were on Oprah the day before, especially the lesbian congressperson. Tricia will talk about an article she read in Ms. magazine and Amy and Dorothy will talk about being frustrated about men assuming women have PMS every time they are angry. Amy talks about how she wants to visit the Holocaust Museum while visiting her children in Washington D.C.

Actions of the Outside-identified women confirm their work orientation.

Amy parks her van, with a bumper sticker supporting gay and lesbian rights, outside of the Coffee Shop. During the referendum regarding the gay rights bill, Tricia wore a button to work which revealed her support for gay and lesbian rights. Tricia listens to National Public Radio while working.

Thus, through presentation of self in the public setting of the Coffee Shop, these nine women create differentiation and boundaries and thereby, securing an identity based on their orientations toward work. The Town-identity women

present their work ethic which connects them with the culture of the town. The Point-identified women present their community work ethic and hide their physical work ethic, thereby, aligning themselves with the culture of the summer colony over the culture of the town. The Outside-identified women present their political work orientation over other types of work ethics displaying their identification with diverse cultures outside of Sandy Haven over the culture of Sandy Haven.

### Reinforcing Identities and Creating Status through Interaction

Interaction among the three groups in the Coffee Shop works to create boundaries and reinforce distinct cultural identities. The ways in which women in each group treat the other women sends the message that “they are not like us” and reinforce the social identity of each group. Furthermore, the interaction between the groups works to create status between the groups. Women work to secure their identity and position as higher than others. The status system with results is ‘subjective’, however. There is no objective clear hierarchy resulting in unequal access to resources or life as a result of the negotiation for status.

The seating arrangements between the groups are the most obvious way in which boundaries and distinctions are presented. As stated, the three groups of women sit in different areas of the Coffee Shop and these seating arrangements are rarely, if ever, violated. Women can sit with women who are “like them” and avoid the women who have different orientations. Amy, when talking about disagreeing with Helen and Jean about gay rights and women's

rights said, "why do you think I sit way over there?" Thus, by publicly associating with women like them and publicly avoiding women not like them, women reinforce distinctions between women and their own social identities.

Boundaries, distinctions, and social identities are further reinforced and status is created through interactions between the groups. Most obviously, the ways in which Gigi, the summer resident, interacts with the Town-identified women reinforces their work orientations as distinction from the community workers. Jenn's son works for Gigi and her husband. Most of the interaction between Gigi and Jenn centers around this employer-employee relationship. My field notes illustrate this:

Gigi told Jenn that she needed her son, Bob, to take her husband to the airport. Gigi didn't know if Bob could get off work early to do it, but she couldn't go because she had a meeting and doesn't like to drive at night. Jenn took the information down and said that she would run it up to him as soon as she left the Coffee Shop so that he could ask his boss ahead of time.

When Jim, Holly's brother, was in Sandy Haven on vacation from his job with a law firm in Washington D.C., Gigi has a similar interaction with him. She said that he used to detail her car for \$50 and do a really good job. When she took it to a garage, they charged \$125 and did a poor job. She asked if he was looking for any work while he was home. He was friendly, but said, "No, I am on vacation". Thus, Gigi actions toward Town-identified women function to secure boundaries, distinct identities, and negotiate status based on orientations toward work.

It is not just interaction with Gigi, however, which reinforces the boundaries and creates status between the physical workers and other groups. Although Town-identified women are the most concerned about presenting themselves as working hard, they are the only group that is treated as being lazy. The other women and customers will comment on how often they are in the Coffee Shop. It is not uncommon to hear someone say to Nancy, a Town-identified woman, "You should have your name engraved in that stool". They are often asked if they are "working hard" and are praised when they start a new job. For example, Jenn, a Town-identified woman like Nancy, had been working double shifts for most of the summer at the fish processing plant. The work is hard, hot, and dirty. She had only one day off a week. Yet, the following excerpts from my field notes show how the other women view her:

Jenn came in. She didn't stay, she just wanted change for a dollar. She left saying, "I have to get to work". Amy [an Outside-identified woman] looked surprised and said, "She is working now?" Tricia [another Outside-identified woman] said, "Yes, at the processing plant. She has had that job for a while. She's getting her act together." Amy responded by saying, "Good".

Jean [a Point-identified woman] came into the Coffee Shop. Jenn was sitting at the counter and said that she had worked 13 days in a row. Jean asked in a very condescending way, "So you got a job? Where are you working?" and then after Jenn answer, she said, "Now you finally have work and now you are working too hard...You jumped right into it. You went from nothing to overtime."

Thus, the Point and Outside-identified women seek to gain status over the Town-identified women by establishing physical work orientations, which they reject, as inferior to the work ethics they embrace and display.

The Town-identified women, however, also have ways of negotiating status based on their cultural identities as physical workers. They note the problems they see with people who are not hard working, such as the children of the other women:

Nancy [a Town-identified woman] talked about school shopping for her daughter. She bought her a dress that was \$35 and a pair of shoes to match. Later that day, her daughter went to the pool and saw Dorothy's [an Outside-identified woman] daughter. She talked about getting her school clothes and Dorothy's daughter said "I can get much nicer clothes than that at the mall". Nancy said that her daughter was really hurt. She told her, "You like your clothes and that is all that matters." Nancy explained her behavior by saying that she is spoiled by Dorothy. She said that even Dorothy's older daughter gets everything she wants and doesn't have to work for it.

Thus, the Town-identified women also seek to present their work orientations as superior and thus gain status relative to other women.

The Point-identified women also apply their "charity work" to secure their identity and status as distinct from other women. The following examples from my field notes illustrate this.

Jean [a Point-identified woman] came up to Nancy [a Town-identified woman] and said, "we wear the same size shoe, right?" and gave her the shoes off of her feet to try on. Jean said she couldn't keep them on her feet because they are too narrow. Nancy half-heartedly tried them on without taking off her thick white socks and said that her feet were too wide for them.

Helen and Jean [both Point-identified women] talked about how they would like to take Tricia [an Outside-identified woman], who manages the Coffee Shop, to lunch again this year. They explained to me that that they took her out to lunch last fall, after the Coffee Shop closed because, "she waits on us all the time, we wanted to do something for her".

As Rollins (1985) and Collins (1992) note, charity work is particularly important for cultural-status production, because it involves exchanging unreciprocated material gifts for prestige and status.

The Outside-identified women reinforce their identity as political workers through disapproval of women who they view as conservative and close-minded. By rejecting, rolling their eyes at, making faces toward, Town and Point-identified women, Outside-identified women can express their disagreement with and thus, distinction from and status over the other women. As Tricia explains,

“I don’t know if you noticed, but I don’t say anything when they are in here. I just keep my mouth shut. I am too busy having a conversation in my head” (I noticed that when I do make a comment that is different from what they are saying, Tricia will nod from behind the counter). She said, “I get so excited when Amy comes in because I can go and sit with her and talk.”

Thus, women use the public setting the Coffee Shop to produce cultural stratification. By watching the daily patterns of interaction, the process through which distinctions are made, boundaries are created, and cultural identities and statuses are produced becomes clear.

## CHAPTER 5

### LEISURE AND CONSUMPTION

Local women of Sandy Haven also produce cultural stratification through presentation of the way they spend their money and the activities they perform during their time away from work. Local women create distinct cultural identities and negotiate status within Sandy Haven by selecting and presenting particular leisure activities and consumption practices while rejecting others.

As with work, women's orientations toward leisure and consumption fall into three types. Local women lean toward one type of leisure activities and away from the others. Women's orientations correspond with their identifications with the cultures of the summer colony, the town, or life away from Sandy Haven. Town-identified women create an identity as connected with the culture of the town by rejecting displays of wealth in their appearance, exhibiting limited leisure time, gathering with other locals at a local diner, sharing in local gossip, and enjoying community based activities such as fishing and bingo. Point-identified women create an identity and status which emulates the culture of the summer colony through their displays of a wealthy appearance, interest in high cultural activities, such as plays and opera, travel to Europe, and hobbies, such as gardening. They define themselves in opposition to the local culture of Sandy Haven by displaying their desire for "intelligent" conversation over local gossip and preference for formal eating and infrequent patronage of the diner. Outside-

identified women create an identity reflecting cultures outside of Sandy Haven over local culture through their progressive hobbies, reading, and frequent travel outside of Sandy Haven to bed and breakfasts, country fairs, cities, and organic farms. In this way, women create and find a position within a system of cultural stratification.

### Local Leisure: Identifying with the Town

Women who identify with the culture of Sandy Haven use both consumption practices and leisure activities to produce a self-definition as connected with the culture of the town.

### Presenting Limited Consumption

Town-identified women reject materialism and spend their money sparingly and subtly. They oppose displays of wealth in physical appearance and material possessions. As with work orientations, Town-identified women display these values as they seek association with the culture of the town and disassociation with the culture of the summer colony. They reject the culture represented by Stony Point and align themselves with the local culture of Sandy Haven by refusing to use their money toward displays of wealth.

Town-identified women's appearance tends to be functional. They wear clothes appropriate for physical work, such as T-shirts, tennis shoes, pants, and jeans. Their hair is often unstyled and they wear little make-up. Dresses, flashy jewelry, and trendy or unusual clothing are rejected. One woman explained, "If you wear dresses, especially in the town, they will think, 'Oh she think she's better than everyone else, look at how she dresses.'" Town-identified women



view brand name clothing as “ridiculous” and “a waste of money” and are concerned about what they perceive as growing materialism among children that attracts them expensive, designer labels. Homes of the Town-identified are modest, not landscaped, or elaborately decorated. Mobile homes are viewed as sufficient housing. Cars and trucks are functional not expensive. A man who sells used cars in Sandy Haven tried to sell a large station wagon to a Town-identified woman. She refused the car, laughing, and saying, “In a car that big, I would look like Mr. Silverman [a resident of Stony Point].” New cars are quite rare in the local culture, except among the young fishermen who are making money for the first time. Through their material possessions, Town-identified women share in the local values and beliefs that consumption should be limited and wealth should not be conspicuously displayed. Such practices are important for being able to be associated with the culture of the town.

These practices are a result of choice, not a result of an inability to afford more. Town-identified women chose to limit their presentation of wealth independent of socioeconomic status. The following example illustrates this choice. One woman, Corrine, told the story of arriving at the doctor’s office from work in a dirty T-shirt and jeans. The other women in the waiting room, who were more formally dressed, gave her a disgusted look. She said that she just laughed to herself thinking, “I could buy and sell you ten times over”. She chose her appearance, because through these consumption practices she is forming the cultural identity and establishing a social position she wishes to express.

Another example further stresses women's agency in presenting consumption practices. Corrine, a Town-identified woman, told me the following story twice:

A man who bought a house in another town in Maine came into the Diner. He said that he was originally going to buy land in Sandy Haven but said he didn't know if he could stay here with "all the poverty". Corrine got very angry and just got up from the counter and walked away from him. She said that people just live by modest means here. They get by, they don't want much.

Town-identified women argue that their values toward consumption would not change even if their socioeconomic status increased. For example, Town-identified women at a local restaurant discussed what they would do if they won the lottery:

They talked about a fisherman's parents who won Megabucks a few years ago. With the money, all they did was get in-door plumbing and a new refrigerator. They haven't changed at all - they kept enough to live on and divided the rest between their kids. Corrine thought that was great. We talked about what we would do if we won that much money. Corrine said she would pay off the restaurant and then probably give out a lot of loans, but she wouldn't change. She said that Bob came today and asked to borrow \$4000 and she said sure. He was like, really? And she said that "If you need it, I will lend it to you." She wouldn't want to get a new house and car because then she would have to get new clothes. Faith said that she didn't know how she would change. She would like to not have to worry about making enough to pay the electric bill. She said her husband goes for mussels. She would also like to put enough aside for her kids to go to college, but she wouldn't want them to be spoiled and not have to work for things. Sharon came and sat down. She said that she would want a nice house. Corrine started to give her a hard time. Sharon then said "Well not a huge house because that would be too hard to take care of. But I guess if I was that rich, I could hire someone to clean it."

Town-identified women, like Corrine and Faith, present non-materialistic and modest consumption practices. They only need and want the basics, such as affording electricity. Sharon received criticism from Town-identified women when she violated these norms and showed a desire to have an extravagant lifestyle.

These values do not simply reflect a structural socioeconomic position, but reflect an identification with the local culture of Sandy Haven.

Similarly, Town-identified women do not value material accumulation. Greediness is strongly discouraged in the local culture among both individuals and business owners. Local values specify that excess should be shared with others. The previous quote demonstrates the importance among Town-identified women for sharing. Corrine states that if she won the lottery she would continue to give money out in loans as she does now. Similarly, Town-identified women believe that one should not profit at the expense of others. Local values prescribe fairness, trustfulness, and patience in acquiring payment for services rendered. The following quote by a Town-identified woman demonstrates values of sharing excess with others:

I like a lot of junk. I do. Not clutter, I like paths, but I like junk... In the cellar, you should see it. I accumulated the last 25 years, and it was a mess.... We even helped the neighbors. People needed couches and chairs, we gave it to them. If anybody came up and asked me if I had an extra telephone, which they did, and microwaves, yes we do....We just give them away because we had extra.

Town-identified women who own businesses in town also hold values discouraging greediness and profit-driven motives. By maintaining affordable prices and making credit available to local residents, Town-identified women demonstrate their commitment to the local Sandy Haven culture. A woman who owns a beauty salon explains her prices:

I had this lady from Florida who after I got done with her in two hours said, "Do you realize that I have probably paid triple what you are going to charge me today and I have never had such a service that you have given me today?".... For me I want to make a living and pay my bills....I have a charge account, when people come in bad times of the year you know I let

them charge, they are good for it. I am not going to starve if they can't pay me one month. I got one lady that charged for six months, but she's having a rough go of it and I know that she'll pay me. So I let them do that. If a woman in this area is making minimum wage, you can't charge her \$85 or \$90 for a perm, she can't afford it.

The woman who owns the garage in town expresses similar values:

Our rate [for labor] is \$28, you go to the dealerships it goes up to \$39 and \$40, even as high as \$45 in some places an hour. People can't handle that, especially people in this area. You know how the fishermen are, well not just the fishermen, a lot of people around here work for minimum wage, that's tough, if their car is broke down and somebody says that's going to cost \$500, it's like yeah, that's devastating.

The owner of the Diner presents these same values. She frequently notes that customers can leave their slips under the register to pay later and that she gives loans to young fishermen to help them through the off season. She says that it "doesn't matter" when the drawer ends up short at the end of the night. "Greedy" waitresses are ridiculed and criticized. She charges only ten dollars a night for rooms above the restaurant so that people coming to work in Sandy Haven can have an affordable place to stay. Although she makes quite a good living for the area, she continually explains that she has not become rich off of her restaurant. She explains that even when she does make money, she works too many hours to enjoy it. Therefore, she gives her money to others to enjoy. Town-identified women display values which stress support for one's neighbor and community over personal profit and accumulation of wealth. As one woman explains, "Material things don't mean anything, they are just there. Family comes first. It has to."

Accompanying this rejection of materialism, Town-identified women are disdainful of those who accumulate debt in order to live beyond their means.

One woman said, "If you have a credit card, yes you can go on a vacation right now. But who wants to pay the credit card off? I don't... I don't believe in going out and buying a new car and having the payments...I don't want any big houses." They perceive women who use credit as attempting to "put on airs" of being wealthier than they are. For example, the following Town-identified woman explains why she does not like another local woman whom she describes as "materialistic":

[She] lives on credit cards and I'd hate to have to pay her bills....I don't like somebody that uses people and that's what she does. She uses people. And she's not up front of what she is. She puts on airs of trying to be somebody that she's not...she doesn't have any more than anybody else. If she paid her bills and only bought what she could afford, she wouldn't have anything any more than the rest of us.

Using credit to accumulate excess and more than one can afford violates core values of the local culture and thus, results in harsh criticism by the Town-identified women.

In sum, Town-identified women further separate themselves from the culture, values, and lifestyles of Stony Point by rejecting displays and accumulation of wealth. They oppose the very heart of what summer colony represents. Rather, Town-identified women secure their identity and status as rooted in Sandy Haven by declaring their dedication to family and community over economic profit. They present money and material possessions as unimportant in their lives and insignificant compared to the strong ties of the community.

### Presenting Limited and Local Leisure

Town-identified women also use their time away from work to present an identity that aligns them with the culture of the town and distances them from the culture of the summer colony. Primarily, Town-identified women present a lack of time for leisure. These presentations of leisure orientations are closely related to the presentation of work orientations. "Not having time for leisure" is important for displaying a strong work ethic in the town. When asked what they like to do during their leisure time, many of the Town-identified women commented, "What free time?". They described their days as "so full of work" that there is little room for fun and relaxing.

When describing what they do in their leisure time, Town-identified women often list productive, unpaid work activities. Time away from paid work is filled with household or yard work. The following answer by one woman provides an example:

Q. What kind of things do you do if you are going out for the night?  
A. I don't. We don't go anywhere. Well we went to a party Saturday night. First time we went for probably 4-5 months. The only thing we do is drive to Elmwood to get what we need for supplies for the house. We might go out to eat and then we come back and watch TV. We work around the yard. We're trying to prepare our place for a pasture. We work on that. We just built the barn and we've been working on that a lot...I always had horses and I wanted to get them further away from my house so I built the barn. It's just a, kind of like a hobby. [My husband] has a hobby of like guns, hunting. He repairs cars once in a while. So, he's doing that stuff and I'm working with the horses. We don't get a chance to ride very often, but at least I'm still over there with them. It is something you got to do everyday.

She presents herself as rarely having leisure time. When she leaves town, the purpose is not fun but to run errands. Her interest in horses, she

explains, involves so much work that she rarely gets pleasure from her hobby. These are common descriptions of leisure time among Town-identified women. Town-identified women continue to demonstrate their strong work ethic and identification with the culture of the town by presenting their leisure time in this way.

Furthermore, by discussing their leisure time as limited, Town-identified women distance themselves from the summer colony whom they view as having excessive leisure time. They define themselves as unlike the summer residents who lead lives of leisure. One woman explains how leisure activities separate her from the lifestyle and culture of Stony Point, "I just don't do that. I don't play tennis. I don't drink. I don't party anymore. So, I don't think I'd feel like I fit in. I don't dress in nice, nice clothes." Town-identified women are highly critical in their descriptions of the leisure of Stony Point. They describe irresponsible behavior, extreme expenses, and excessive drinking. The following Town-identified woman's description of the activities of the summer colony provides an example:

I used to baby-sit down there. They'd ditch their kids off on anyone. I mean they don't really know us local girls and ... they'll call you almost everyday, they're going to their parties, they're playing golf, they're going out on their yacht, they don't care who they leave their kids with....I know that Stony Point kids all have drinking problems. Major drinking problems. Fifteen or sixteen, they're drinking all the time. They're always stealing booze out of their parents...They drink a lot more than the local people. In fact it's normal for them, I think their parents are drinking all the time. They drink at dinner, they drink at lunch, they drink when they come here. They have social parties, they probably think it's just a normal thing.

By presenting the leisure lifestyle of the summer colony in negative terms and downplaying and rejecting their own time for leisure, the Town-identified women

produce a self-definition as like the culture of the town and unlike the residents of the summer colony.

Town-identified women choose leisure activities which are centered on life in Sandy Haven. They, thereby, continue to present and produce their commitment to the local town culture. First, Town-identified women show little interest in traveling outside of the town. Vacations are rare and tend not to be an aspiration of Town-identified women. As one woman explains, "We would like to go on a vacation real soon. Probably next year because I have a week off at the fish plant paid next summer. We haven't had a vacation in [13 years]." This woman could afford a trip if she desired. Instead, she chooses to remain in the area and present herself as working too hard to find time for a vacation. The importance of choice in leisure activities is found in the following example. A group of women were talking about a local county fair one day. I asked one Town-identified woman if she was going. She said she never gets away and wouldn't have time to go. She said that she wants to take a few weeks off and go down south to Pennsylvania and South Carolina to visit people but she said she would probably make it to Southern Maine and be ready to come home.

Town-identified women show little interest in exploring cultures outside of their own. Leaving to learn more about the world away from Sandy Haven is not considered fun or important. Many of the Town-identified women who have traveled tend to report not liking life outside of the town and returning shortly after leaving:

When [my boyfriend and I] went to Florida, we stopped into Georgia for a while and I didn't like the crowds. There was too much going on. It was



too busy. It's really noisy. I just like the quiet. That's the way it was growing up so you get used to it. You can't sleep at night because cars go by or people screaming, sirens or something. You don't feel like you are safe. Well let's go back to where you come from where you are already used to that type of living. That's why I had to leave.

Instead of focusing on life outside of Sandy Haven, leisure activities are centered in town. Socializing is conducted in the Diner, a casual restaurant in town. This gathering spot has been featured in magazine and newspaper articles about Sandy Haven. At 2:30 in the morning, an elderly local woman opens the restaurant. She begins baking the pies, donuts, and bread for the day and the local fishermen come in for breakfast. By 4:00 in the morning, pickup trucks fill the parking lot and fishermen fill the front tables of the Diner, sharing stories, news, gossip and teasing each other. During lunch, local workers come for a quick cheeseburger or fish sandwich. In the afternoon, fishermen again fill the front of the Diner, drinking coffee and sharing more stories. Later in the evening, families come for dinner, couples come to socialize over dessert and coffee, and young kids come to hang out with friend or dates. Not all local women spend time in the Diner, however. It is Town-identified women who tend to center their socializing around the Diner. By doing so, these women connect with the culture of Sandy Haven and secure a distinct cultural identity and status within the town. They participate in the local information networks and local social networks by coming to this public gathering spot.

Partaking in local gossip is a focus of the social life of the Diner and the local leisure culture of the town. Being the only year-round public gathering spot in Sandy Haven, the Diner becomes the information center of the town. The

owner explained that there is no local Sandy Haven newspaper, but that the Diner fills the void. People pop in for quick information about sirens that they heard or the health condition of an ill neighbor. Local politics are discussed and debated. Gossip is exchanged regarding who is new in town, who is dating, who is separating, and who did what the night before. The Diner is where stories about locals get started and spread. Women whose leisure activities focus on the Diner are part of this loop of information – hearing, producing, and spreading gossip. One woman provides a good description of the gossip in town:

The small town talk ... everyone knows everyone's business ....they all want to know who's dating who, who's sleeping with who, who's trying to have a baby.

Q. Where does the gossip happen?

A. The Diner, a lot of it's here at the Diner...a perfect example today, an ambulance comes into town, everyone's **zzzzz** trying to find out what's going on. I swear to God, three hours later a lady comes in, did you hear, I said hear what, she said a lady committed suicide, which in this little town that's a big deal, they were like, who was it?

Conversation between locals is often based on gossip. Being a participant in the flow of local information is an important aspect of the culture and leisure activities of the town. Therefore, Town-identified women want to be “in the know” and have access to information which they can pass onto others.

Socializing at the local Diner also strengthens local social ties. Town-identified women emphasize community-based social networks. Friendships are based on family and lifelong friends in Sandy Haven. Non locals or people “from away” may become acquaintances but are not at the core of social networks.

One woman explained her relationships with Navy children growing up:

They were like a friend, but they were never really like someone that knew from the time you born, and that you went out and did things with. I mean

you'd say hi to them and you maybe talked to them on the phone, but it wasn't like someone that you'd invite over to your house and so it's just different.

She explains a similar relation with the Stony Point children:

The Stony Point kids always want to be a part of the local kids too, and they never really are... They'll do anything... some of those kids from Stony Point would bring the local boys out here, pay for their lunch, buy them dessert, everything... They're always trying to fit in... they're always having parties and inviting local people... they always wanted to be a part of us, but they never were either.... we'd let them hang around and they'd do stuff with us, but it was never like a close intimate friendship.

Town-identified women present themselves as unfamiliar with the Stony Point residents. Even when they clearly know who the summer people are, Town-identified women act as if they are not familiar with them. For example, a man from Stony Point who has been coming to Sandy Haven for over 30 years came into the Diner. When asked who he was, a Town-identified woman said that she did not know. Later, she admitted that he was indeed from Stony Point, but quickly added that she did not know anyone from the summer colony. This woman, like other Town-identified women, is demonstrating that summer residents are not part of her social networks. As another woman clearly explained, "There's nobody that I know down there at all. I don't even know Mr. Rudolph. He's one of the key people in this town. If he should walk through that door right now, I wouldn't know who he was... And I don't know any of the Stony Point people."

Town-identified women rarely socialize with people "from away". Rather, family and other locals form the basis of their social networks. They often have gatherings with generations of extended family members, yet gatherings with

non-family, non-locals are rare. One woman, “from away”, found this when she attempted to invite “locals” to her house for parties.

...that's not what they do. They do it a lot with their own families. You'll see big, big gatherings all the time around here of different generations of families. But as far as the social, going back and forth to dinner parties or cocktail parties and card playing, you don't see a lot of that.

The social ties and social activities of Town-identified women, therefore, are rooted in the town. The Diner provides a public setting in which to produce and present these community based ties. Grandparents, parents, children, and neighbors gather for Sunday breakfast. Wives and husbands visit and share tables with other local couples. One Town-identified woman who says that she no longer “has time” to socialize at the Diner, describes the fun that she and other locals used to have at the restaurant:

They'd all come at the same time... And [my husband and I] used to come...We used to gather up here nights. Play cards...joke and laugh ...it was mostly the wintertime when everybody was bored and there wasn't anything going on. We used to play cribbage and 83...We had a good time.

Yet, the atmosphere of the Diner is unwelcoming to the summer residents and people “from away”. Tourists pile into the Diner during the summer months, often because someone recommended it for the local culture. Yet, the owner does not cater to this trade. Instead, she often rejects this population. Rather, she sees the Diner as a local gathering spot and stays open year round to serve the locals of Sandy Haven.

Interaction between the Town-identified locals and people “from away” in the Diner builds boundaries between the groups and thereby, reinforces the self-definition of being a “local”. Employees of the Diner frequently comments on

how they does not want the Stony Point residents in the restaurant. They are “rude, hard to please, and do not fit in”. One evening a waitress said, “The Dining Room [the other restaurant in town] must not be doing so well because we are getting a lot of Stony Point. They have been calling and making reservations. I don’t care for them. I would just as well have them stay down there. I am like, ‘Stay down there where you belong, don’t come up here.’” Customers also express annoyance when Stony Point residents come into the Diner. A Town-identified women explains:

A You know they’re Stony Point when they come to the restaurant.

Q How can you tell that they’re Stony Point?

A You just know. I don’t know why you know, but you do. It’s a different feeling. Then, lots of times, [the owner] will say, “[noise] They’re Stony Point.” That’s another way.

Other people “from away” are also face criticism and rejection from the “locals” when they come into the Diner. Town-identified women make sarcastic comments about young Naval personnel like, “I am glad we have them defending our country”. They openly ridicule “hippies”, such as one young intern from the local organic farm who wore painted overalls and dread locks. This treatment of non locals guarantees that locals continue to dominate the atmosphere of the Diner.

On the other hand, Town-identified women reject the Dining Room, the more expensive and formal seafood restaurant in town. The atmosphere of the Dining Room is substantially different than that of the Diner. The servers wear dark green polo shirts, black slacks, and black leather shoes. Each server at the Dining Room is assigned six tables and the pace is slow, relaxed. The

atmosphere is one of “make-no-work” – making the work seem easy - as compared to the “make-work” atmosphere of the Diner (Goffman, 1959). While the Diner serves fried fish sandwiches or fried seafood platters, the menu at the Dining Room contains gourmet dishes with foreign names. In contrast to the Diner where the prices are affordable for local families, the prices at the Dining Room are recognized as high for the area. Most entrees cost between twelve and twenty dollars. The regular customers consist mainly of Stony Point residents and tourists.

Town-identified women avoid this restaurant not only because of the cost of the meals, but also because the setting of the Dining Room involves a display of wealth and lifestyle which is more closely connected with the summer residents than the local culture. A Town-identified woman, who worked at both the Dining Room and the Diner, explains why she prefers the Diner:

I think [the Diner] is much more relaxed. Where [at the Dining Room], they kind of like to put on airs. More prim and proper. You've got to wear the thing over your arm to serve wine and let them smell the cork that you take out of it and all that kind of stuff....I always feel it's pretentious. Kind of makes me feel uncomfortable. Like I'm acting or something...I still don't understand it. I don't see why everyone has to go through all this pomp and circumstance to drink something. To me, it's so stupid. And I'm afraid it will show on my face. This is stupid.

Including the Dining Room as part of their leisure activities would too closely connect the Town-identified with the culture of the summer residents. They, therefore, reject the Dining Room in favor of the Diner and the local culture it provides and represents. Finally, hobbies and interests of the Town-identified women are community- based. A number of women are regulars at the local “beano” (bingo) games and enjoy going out on the boat to fish with their

husbands and children. They participate in those activities which do not take them outside of the area or culture of Sandy Haven.

In sum, through their choices and presentations of consumption practices and leisure activities, Town-identified women create a desired cultural identity as connected with the town of Sandy Haven and in contrast to the cultures of the summer colony and life outside of the town.

### High Leisure: Identifying with the Summer Colony

In sharp contrast to the Town-identified women, women who use the summer residents as their cultural frame of reference display "wealth" in their consumption practices and "high culture" in their leisure practices to develop an identity and social position as emulating the culture of the summer colony.

### Presenting High Consumption

First, the consumption practices of Point-identified women are more likely to emulate wealth and glamour. Dresses, styled hair, perfume, jewelry, pressed slacks and matching tops, and dress shoes are all characteristic of the dress of Point-identified women. As one woman explains:

For five years I was never seen in a pair of jeans....I have diamond, real diamond rings, that are not on my hand now because my hands are all dry.... I have gold chains....I got an 18" and a 20" 14 karat gold chains, really nice, I have two of them, one each. I have a five diamond band which adds up to a karat, I have that. On this hand I have diamonds and sapphires.

She went on to say that she gets a lot of criticism from local residents for having these material possessions. Yet, she explains that she had to work hard to the money to buy these things. She sees herself as just making different choices in

how to spend the money she earned. She says, "I earned them, they were extra...I have nice things, but I worked for them." Through these spending choices, Point-identified women emulate wealthy and glamorous lifestyle of the summer colony. They also distinguish themselves from the local culture.

Point-identified women also present distinct consumption practices through the appearance of their homes. The Point-identified women tend to own small homes instead of trailers. One woman who owns a trailer camouflages it with trees, bushes, siding, and a deck to make it look like a house. Their homes are decorated and lawns are manicured. Their houses are painted and well kept. They keep only statues and gardens in their yard, not old vehicles or furniture. The interior of their homes are "tastefully" decorated by their standards.

Point-identified women recognize that decorating their homes in this way separates them from the culture of Sandy Haven. As one woman explains, "[My house] really does need a facelift really bad. It could really look a lot nicer than it does, but a lot of people say well, 'she thinks she's better than everyone else because she has all these nice things.'" Point-identified women, in turn, reject the way that other "locals" keep their houses. They want a better appearance to the town. As another woman describes the homes of many locals, "all the junk in the yard. I don't know why they have to have all the crap in the yard. Their houses are always such a mess."

In sum, Point-identified women use consumption practices to develop appearances which connect them with the culture of summer colony and



separate them from the culture of the town. Selection and presentation of leisure activities is conducted for the same purpose.

### Presenting High Leisure

Through their choice of leisure activities, Point-identified women further present an identity which mimics the summer residents and is distinct from the culture of Sandy Haven. They select and display hobbies, interests, and entertainment associated with the “high culture” of the summer colony.

Point-identified women frequent different public spots than the Town-identified women. Most significantly, they favor the Dining Room over the Diner. Although the Diner is the only restaurant open year round, Point-identified women clearly state that they do not go to this gathering spot for Sandy Haven locals. One woman who has lived within a quarter mile of the Diner for over thirty years explains that she “has been to the Diner”, yet stresses that she rarely goes. Another Point-identified woman explains,

We don't go to the Diner too much....Mostly we go to Elmwood. We were great people for the Dining Room because our children worked there....[the owners of the Dining Room] were really good friends of ours and made you feel at home.

Point-identified women do not go to the Diner because they reject the local culture found there. They see the fried food, smoky environment, and gossip as aspects of leisure in which they do not want to participate. One woman complains about “that damn cigarette smoke” and explains that the “locals” at the Diner “don't know any better” than to gossip about others. She does not want to be a part of either of these. Another Point-identified woman also rejects the “local” culture found in the Diner:

When I go to the Diner I feel like I am stuck. I have been commented on and watched and undressed and everything as I walk into the place and I finally can slither into a booth....I am not better than they are, I don't mean to, but it's just not a level that I want to live at....You always hear so much talk about the people after they have gone, when you're sitting up there at the Diner and the ridicule and whatever. I just don't want to be part of the conversation...I don't find it a great cultural experience to go up to the Diner. I would rather rent a video and stay home, or invite someone in for dinner or something. I will have the girls in for coffee.

Going to the Diner, as this woman explains, connects women with the local culture of the town. Therefore, Point-identified women do not spend leisure time at the Diner. They prefer, instead, to be associated with gourmet food, smoke-free environment, and "intellectual" conversation found in the Dining Room. This setting connects them with the culture of the summer residents. The "local" woman who owns the Dining Room describes the reasoning behind the style of the restaurant:

We wanted something special for the local people. We wanted them to be exposed to a little finer different type of dining that they will experience when they go out. Not elegant, but something in between, moderation...we wanted to do for the community as a service...[My husband] and I are very accustomed to very fine dining, we didn't want to make it extremely fine dining, but we wanted to have like a casual, with table cloths, bus boys and everything. We are still not where I would like it to be.

This woman, who grew up in Sandy Haven, says she created an environment of "finer" dining for the betterment of the town. She sees her creation of the restaurant as an extension of community work. The Point-identified women use this restaurant in their presentations of self. They eat at and talk about eating at the Dining Room. For example, one woman described her leisure activities as follows:

[Our friends] called us and asked us to go to the Dining Room tonight, but we are going next week because they are closing. During the summer we try to go there a couple of times a month, at least.

By going to the Dining Room, Point-identified women not only emulate the standard of dining of Stony Point but create boundaries between themselves and other local women. In this setting, they form social ties with summer residents and other Point-identified women. One woman explains how she met other Point-identified women at the Dining Room:

I haven't been in the local Women's Club, but I am very interested because I have met some of the women in the restaurant and have become interested.... I became very attached to [two Point-identified women]. I would consider them new friends, we are not intimate because we are too new, but we definitely like each other [another Point-identified woman] I really, really liked. They are people that I got exposed to and I thought I would like to have them as friends.

Furthermore, spending leisure time at the Dining Room increases the opportunity of or appearance of sharing social networks with the summer people. The residents of Stony Point provide the most consistent business to the Dining Room. As one woman explained, "Of course, you see them [Stony Point residents] out in restaurants here socially. There are very few that we go out on an intimate, one-to-one basis. We see them in groups." Whether or not social ties form between the Point-identified locals and the Stony Point residents, women can present themselves as connected with the culture of the summer colony by with the summer residents at the Dining Room.

Indeed, it is important for Point-identified women to present social ties with the summer residents as part of their leisure activities. Point-identified women present summer residents among their friends, whether as children or today as

adults. One Point-identified woman explained her relationships with the summer colony as follows:

Stony Point, yeah. Definitely.... We've had a very workable, very friendly relationship with the summer colony....a real good healthy relationship. Not with all of them. Any more than you would with all of any population. But certainly, we have some real good, long term friends on the Point.

Another woman described a friendship from her childhood:

I had one friend who lived on Stony Point and I thought they must have been the richest people in the world. They had a room for everything, even the Christmas tree...She used to have me down to her house to play, her mother did. I went down and played. I thought it was pretty decent.... They still own a cottage on Stony Point She visited me, might have been 10 years ago now, but she did come see me at one time. I don't know whatever happened to her. I guess I assume that she is still around, but we lost contact.

While Town-identified women downplay, deny, and reject friendships with the residents of the summer colony, Stony Point residents display them.

Invitations to cocktail parties on Stony Point are the epitome of connection with the culture of the summer colony. Cocktail parties are held frequently throughout the summer at different Stony Point residences. The guest lists are largely limited to other residents of the Point. Some Sandy Haven locals, however, are occasionally invited to the parties. Yet, these invitations are quite rare and tend to be limited to the Point-identified women. Whether at cocktail parties or not, socializing with the Stony Point residents is essential to the identity and status Point-identified women are trying to produce. Point-identified women connect with the culture of the summer colony and reject local culture by including summer residents in their leisure activities. One 'local' woman explains how a Point-identified woman has done this:

You have [local] people who work for the people on Stony Point...they entertain the people at the Point. They obviously work, he's just a damn carpenter down there, but they do entertain them....Not all of them, just some of them... this other couple that we are fairly good friends with said that they popped in for a visit one night down there and these people were totally appalled that one of the townspeople had stopped by because they were having cocktails with some people from Stony Point.

Point-identified women can emulate the cocktail parties of the Point through parties of their own. Indeed, entertaining guests in their homes is a common leisure activity of the women who do not gather at the Diner. One woman explains:

We do a lot of entertaining. We both love to cook and that's our biggy, rather than going to a movie or going out. We would rather get a circle of friends over here or even have a big party, which we do periodically. 50, 75 people. We love to cook and we love to entertain. We love to show off our home.

By serving dinner, drinks, and dessert to guests in their home, local women are able to share in a common, well-known social activity on the Point.

In a similar way, Point-identified women can emulate the leisure culture of Stony Point by owning and spending vacations at additional, non permanent residences. A few Point-identified women own "camps". While of a far small size and lower standard than the luxurious mansions of the Point, these women present their "camps" as second residences where they go to spend time away from their permanent residences. The following woman's description of her "cottage" resembles the lifestyle of the Point:

We had a cottage on a pond in a nearby town that we went to all the time the boys were growing up....We had canoes, row boats, power boats, fishing, they had all that to grow up with, a nice beach, a lot of nice friends to play with.

While of a very different standard, Point-identified women try to emulate the culture of the Point by hosting parties in one's home and escaping to "camps" and presenting these activities as central to their leisure time.

Point-identified women also present "high culture" as central to their leisure activities. Rather than partaking in activities such as bingo or fishing that are popular among the Town-identified women, Point-identified women display interest in "high travel" in Europe or tropical vacation spots and "high culture", including classical music, opera, and theatre. The actual status of the "high" travel and culture available to Sandy Haven women, however, is less prestigious than that enjoyed by the summer colony and others in elite socioeconomic positions. Many of the Point-identified women traveled to Europe as a result of their husband's military careers, not as part of exotic vacations. Participation in high cultural activities is severely limited and relatively crude due to the isolated, rural nature of the area. Classical music and operatic performances are held throughout the summer season at a school for young musicians located thirty minutes outside of Sandy Haven and throughout the year in a university town located an hour and a half outside of town. Plays are organized and performed by members of the local historical society twice during the summer months. Trips to Portland, Boston, and Augusta provide the only other options for "high culture". Yet, Point-identified women present these activities as quite high in status and requiring a "refined" taste. They talk about the "night out at the opera" and the importance of bringing "quality" theatre to area.

Point-identified women state their frustration that there are not more opportunities for “high” leisure in and around Sandy Haven. As one woman explained:

I guess I am out of place in my thought process [in Sandy Haven]. I enjoy being around a college area because of the interesting things that are available, the culture and everything. There is none of that here, you have to drive to [the university town one and half hours away]. In the summer time we have some with the music concerts and things, but in the winter time it's kind of pretty dead.

Another woman, who teaches at the grammar school, describes the efforts that she makes to try to expose children in Sandy Haven to high culture:

[Children in school] just don't have here much that they've looked at that is called "art", very few of them.... I had the people from the Portland Museum come last spring with the marine painting and talked to everyone in my classes....And I have taken the kids down to Colby College, every two years they have an art exhibit there....It's a lot to arrange, but it's worth it, I really make that effort some time during the year that the kids are going to get another experience besides just myself, and try to expose them to the art directly. I spent a lot of my own money and the school's money when they let me have it on good reproductions. But I always try to tell the kids that it's just a reproduction and it's altogether different to see the real thing.

Point-identified women argue that high culture, including theatre, art, and music, should be a greater part of the culture of Sandy Haven. Through actions such as organizing theatre performances in town and exposing children to art, these women work to change the town by increasing the presence of high culture. Comparable to their efforts at town beautification through community work, these efforts are aimed at moving Sandy Haven away from its traditional local culture to a culture that more closely resembles Stony Point.

And in fact, these women do see themselves as different from other women in town because of their interest in high culture. They realize and

emphasize that their cultural orientations toward leisure are distinct from the dominant local culture. During the town centennial, local women were asked to contribute to a commemorative quilt. A Point-identified woman's description of her square shows that she defines herself as different from other local women based on her knowledge of art:

It's the one that doesn't look like anybody else's. I kind of got assigned it, blueberries. But I missed a few of the crucial meetings, but I was told I could do whatever I wanted to do as my interpretation for it. So instead of little tiny blueberries, the whole thing, it's almost like a Georgia O'Keefe in a way, here's the square and the blueberries are this size and different colored leaves. It's an applique one.... Nobody said anything, so I think they accepted it. I mean that's what I did, I thought it was nice, when I see it in the whole quilt .... they balanced it with something color wise that worked, but it is still different. I am aware that it's different, let's put it that way. But that's okay, that's my contribution to that quilt. But I look at it and think, I wonder if people know what that is.

This woman sees herself as distinct from other "local" women as a result of her cultural orientation. She explains that she stands out as a result of her cultural knowledge. Point-identified women are also treated as different as a result of their "high cultural", leisure activities. As one woman explains:

A [local] lady came one day [to my house]... Doug was next door, the artist. He had some people out there. I had -- I don't remember what on. Probably it was Puccini. I play that more than anything. She said, "Is that for their benefit?... I thought that was why you were playing it, so they'd hear it." I said, "Why would I want them to hear it?" She said, "Oh, so they'd think that you were -- " I can't remember the word she used, sophisticated or something. That wasn't the word she used. I thought why in the world would I care. Why would I play music I didn't like. She said, "I know you don't like that. I can't stand that kind of music. I know you don't like that." So, yeah. They either think you're -- if you're different or something -- you're a social climber.

This woman argues that she selected music purely out of enjoyment. Yet, she also explains that she is defined as different by other local women as a result of



her chose and presentation of “high cultural” activities. Therefore, for her and other Point-identified women, leisure activities are important for creating cultural identities and negotiating a social status within the community.

### Outside Leisure: Identifying with People “From Away”

Finally, Outside-identified women also use consumption and leisure practices to define themselves and ensure that others define them as associated with the progressive and diverse cultures outside of Sandy Haven.

#### Presenting Unusual Consumption

Consumption practices are not as important for cultural identity production and presentation among Outside-identified women. They do not display or reject wealth in their dress and appearance. However, there are ways in which Outside-identified women use physical appearance for creating cultural identity. Outside-identified women tend to have unusual appearances. They wear or display things that are out of the norm. Through these presentations, they are able to connect themselves with the diversity and progressiveness which is part of culture outside of Sandy Haven. By looking different, they can be defined as different. One Outside-identified woman explains choices for an unusual appearance:

I got my nose pierced, I have five tattoos. I mean if you don't like me tough shit...I used to wear like, if you can remember Madonna when she was into all the jewelry and the black and the hair stuff and makeup, but I still do my hair and I still do my makeup. My dressing toned down over a period of time, not just because of people's reactions because I still love to dress weird, I like different kind of clothes, but for work when you got that busy you couldn't be in three inch heels. You had to dress more practical and when I had children and my babies had been with me here.

Another Outside-identified woman chose an unusual appearance for both herself and her daughter:

Tricia has a number of earring and some quite far up her ear. She said that she originally told her daughter that she had to wait until she was 13 to get her ears pierced, but they didn't see any reason why she should continue to wait. She said her daughter ended up getting her ears pierced for times and then said she had enough because they were even. Tricia told her that she thinks that that would be a good reason to get them pieced again.

By wearing trendy and unusual fashions and styles, Outside-identified women can present themselves as connected with bigger, change-oriented culture outside of Sandy Haven. And Outside-identified do acquire certain identities within Sandy Haven by wearing certain clothes and maintaining a certain physical appearance. As one woman told me, my own appearance lead to quick definitions of me. She said,

I've had people come ask me who you were and make comments....You were called a hippie... I said why do you say -- I said, 'She's not a hippie. Why do you say that?' [The woman] said, 'The way she dresses. Her shoes and those long skirts.'

Presentation of leisure orientations, however, plays a more central role in the Outside-identified women's production of cultural identity and social position.

#### Presenting Outside Leisure

Unlike other local women, Outside-identified women's displays of leisure are not focused on the town or the summer colony. Rather, they center their leisure activities on life outside of Sandy Haven. Outside-identified women neither embrace nor reject local and high culture. They eat at the Diner quite often, but do not use the Diner as their center of social activity. As one woman explained, "Usually, we don't go out to dinner at the Diner. If we eat there at night, it's

usually because there's been some kind of glitch happened and there's no dinner ready. But lunch time we eat there often." They also occasionally eat at the Dining Room but see the prices as too high to go regularly. They invite people from away over to their homes, yet they also see strong ties with family as a core component of their leisure activities. They enjoy gardening and plays. Yet they also listen to country music.

Primarily, Outside-identified women focus their leisure activities, interests, and networks on life outside of Sandy Haven. While Town-identified women reluctantly leave town for necessary errands or appointments, Outside-identified leave for pleasure. On the weekends, the Outside-identified women go on a variety of long and short trips. They visit country fairs and farms, travel to cities or small town bed and breakfasts for the weekend. One woman explains what she did for the weekend:

We went to this place right here when we went away for the weekend...have you ever heard of a book called "A Small Farm In Maine"?...It's a really good story about this woman who was a professional in Boston .... she bought a farm for a really cheap price...they kept gravitating toward this place and spending more and more time here and less and less time in Boston...finally they decided that this was the life that they wanted here. Pretty much gave up their professional careers....they were doing organic farming and they were going to farmers' markets and selling to some local restaurants...[then they] went into growing everlastings ... they sell these wreaths and arrangements and various different things that are herb-related... And they do workshops, too. Classes and workshops and lectures and things.....we had a wonderful time there. There was a beautiful hike through the woods....Had a wonderful time. We do little things like that. We like to go to country inns and bed and breakfasts and things like that. We went and stayed in a motel in Portland.

This woman is able to demonstrate her identification with progressive cultures outside of Sandy Haven by showing interest in and visiting the home of a "Back-

to-the-Lander". Similarly, Outside-identified women often travel to Portland, Bangor, and Boston for weekend visits. Through these trips, they are able to show their identification with and interest in urban, diverse cultures.

Leisure activities are important to one's cultural affiliation within Sandy Haven. A local woman explains how choices in leisure activities shape her step-daughter's identity. By attending a "hippie" fair, this woman gains the identity as an Outside-identified "hippie".

It's part of the hippie thing, but his daughter, for instance, he calls her "granola" a lot of time because she buys her food at a co-op and we went to [an Organic farm and food] fair together.

Outside-identified women recognize that their emphasis on leisure activities outside of Sandy Haven sets them apart from other locals. As the following woman explains, her interest in traveling makes her distinct from her parents and others in the town:

When I was eighteen, we went on a vacation. The first time my father had been out of Maine, we went to Florida by Amtrak....my parents were a riot. Imagine Grand Central Station with my father, I don't even know if he had met a black man in his life... We were only there for a couple of hours, but for him it was a couple of hours of hell...I travel as much as I can, I take a vacation usually every year, for a couple of weeks I go someplace different. I have been to South America, I have been to the Bahamas and Florida a few times. [My parents] are like, it's too expensive, you have to do too much planning, you can't leave the house....I don't understand people that don't make an effort to do it, life is too short, for me it's a drag if you don't jump out and do something once in a while. All these people in this area, not all of them but a lot of them, they get so set in their ways they can't make the time, find the time to have fun any more. They always have this thing with the money, but save for it, once a year get out of Dodge.

Outside-identified women display a desire to leave and investigate other parts of the world, whereas others in town are uninterested in participating in these leisure experiences.

Like other women, Outside-identified women use social ties to produce and present cultural identities. These women do not emphasize friendships with other “locals” women. In fact, they state that they have a difficult time fitting in with the other residents of Sandy Haven. The following quotes are from Outside-identified women who attempt to explain the lack of locals in their social networks:

I don't have many women friends in town because I don't have anything in common with them. I don't know what it is, maybe I have just totally different [ideas]...I am very liberal.

I'm in a world of my own. Nobody understands me....I find that I don't understand them. I don't know. I've found very few people that – I have friends that we have a great deal in common and that I understand and that understand me, but here, no...

Outside-identified women distinguish themselves from the town culture by downplaying social ties with “locals”. Rather, they emphasize and display their ties with people from away. Their social networks often include people who live in many parts of the country and the world. For example, the two women who gave the preceding quotations have social networks that include people who live throughout Maine, in cities from Boston to Ohio, and even in foreign countries like Spain to Australia.

Outside-identified women also show acceptance of diversity and dedication to equality through their social ties. During network analysis, Outside-

identified women note their gay and lesbian friends, "hippie" friends, and Navy friends.

We just got a phone call from James and Bob....they are coming to Boston this weekend and we will be there to meet with them, and they are gay....James is a wonderful person. He feels comfortable with us. They came here and visited us a couple of years ago and they wanted to see [our son] and didn't know we were going to be there, so we are going to see them this weekend.

We are like blood sisters, she is gay, my girlfriend here is gay. She is just like my sister, I am closer to her than I am my sister. She's like the older sister I never had.

Another woman described how she spent her holidays:

We went [to the organic farm with friends] Christmas day, it was the most perfect Christmas day we have ever had. It was crystal blue skies, we went on a hay ride through the woods, it was wonderful. It was a perfect day. The best Christmas I ever had.

Thus, not only by leaving the town, but by sharing certain social ties both within and outside the town, Outside-identified women use leisure to secure self-definitions as connected with cultures outside of Sandy Haven.

Finally, Outside-identified women select and present hobbies and interests that reinforce their desired cultural identity and status. They display an interest in activities which are associated with the "hippie" lifestyles and acceptance of diversity, such as herbal therapy and natural healing, crafts, folk music and contra-dancing, and visits to bookstores and reading, particularly books about minority groups. Through these hobbies, as well as, through leisure activities and social ties based outside of town, Outside-identified women create and present a cultural identity as distinct from other women in the town. They use

leisure activities to connect themselves with the progressive and diverse cultures they see represented outside of Sandy Haven.

### Public Presentation of Leisure Orientations

As with work, the use of orientations toward leisure in the creation of cultural stratification can be examined in the setting of the Coffee Shop. By observing the daily, patterned interaction between the women who frequent a Coffee Shop, it becomes possible to understand how women are agents in the construction of identity, boundaries, status, and stratification and the important role of presentation of consumption and leisure practices in this process. Town, Point, and Outside-identified women publicly present leisure in distinct ways in order to produce and create a position within a cultural system of stratification.

### Local Leisure

The Town-identified women, Nancy, Jenn, and Holly, present orientations toward leisure which reinforce the work ethic they present. Although time at the Coffee Shop is non work time for the other women, the Town-identified women display their limited leisure time by both arriving and leaving the earliest. They spent the least amount of time in the Coffee Shop and when they do, they frequently talk about how they are being lazy. Conducting working while at the Coffee Shop also enables them to present their orientations toward leisure as distinct from the other women in town. As explained before, Holly and Nancy often work while at the Coffee Shop. Their time at the Coffee Shop thus changes from non-work time to work time. As the following field notes reveal, Jenn

presents her lack of leisure time by sharing the number of hours she does paid work:

Jenn came in and sat at the counter. She told me that today will be the thirteenth day in a row that she has worked without a break. She gets tomorrow off and then has to go back on Sunday. She said that she doesn't have time to get any work done around that house before going to work.

Through these comments, Jenn not only shows that she has few days of leisure but also that she spends her limited time away from paid work doing unpaid work.

Indeed, fun, non work activities are rarely a topic of conversation.

Weekends are evaluated according to how productive they were - "I got a lot done" or "Didn't get enough done". Questions such as "How was your weekend?" or "Did you get to enjoy this beautiful day?" receive answers of lists of unpaid tasks, such as mowing the lawn, baking, or doing laundry.

Trips outside of Sandy Haven are rarely a part of Town-identified women's public presentations. Rather, Nancy, Jenn, and Holly discuss their lack of interest in leaving the area. For example, while sitting at the counter one morning, Jenn said that both her son and her husband do not like to leave Sandy Haven. She told the story of how they went to Cleveland for a week and her husband was "dying to get back because he loves it here so much". Another day, a young woman was talking about traveling to Massachusetts to attend a concert. Nancy said that she has relatives in Massachusetts but she hasn't been down there for twenty-three years. In the fall, Holly and her boyfriend took their first trip to New Hampshire, the neighboring state. She often talks about how her



brother continually invites her down to Virginia to visit him, yet she can never find the time to go.

The Town-identified women not only present their orientations toward leisure but use it to negotiate a status relative to other women. By stating that remaining at the Coffee Shop makes them “sluggish” and “lazy”, they place a lower value on the other groups of women who come late and stay late. Nancy and Jenn laugh with each other when Amy and Tricia, Outside-identified women, talked about how much they enjoy visiting book stores. The following example shows how attempts are also made to gain status relative to Point-identified women:

Jenn was going to go to a local county fair on Saturday....I asked Holly if she was going and she said she didn't think so. She said that it is too dirty, that you come back with dirt all over you. Plus it was expensive and they were saving their money for vacation next week. Jenn started in on her right away. “It is a fair, what do you want? ...Just wear old clothes. Why don't you just go up to Mr. Rudolph's and stay up there. You think you are all hoity-toity now that you are working up there. Why don't you just go and live in Philadelphia [where many of the summer residents are from]?”

When Holly criticizes a local, traditional rural cultural event as something she does not want to participate in, Jenn was quick to remind her that she was violating her cultural identity. Furthermore, these comments reinforce her preference and value for local culture of the “high” culture represented by Stony Point.

Although coming to the Coffee Shop is a leisure activity, the Town-identified women use their time in the Coffee Shop to downplay their leisure time and interests. In this way, they not only produce and present a distinct cultural

identity as connected with the culture of Sandy Haven, they present their cultural orientations as superior to others.

### Outside Leisure

The Outside-identified women, Tricia, Amy, and Dorothy, also present orientations toward leisure during their interactions in the Coffee Shop. However, unlike the Town-identified women, this group of women frequently present involvement in recreational activities. For example, Tricia does not work on the weekends in the Coffee Shop. Rather, she has younger women fill the Saturday and Sunday shifts. In addition, she often takes an additional day off to make the weekend longer and provide more time for leisure activities. Amy comes into the Coffee Shop to socialize on days when she has turned down substitute teaching jobs because she was feeling ill.

Outside-identified women often talk about weekend plans and weekend plans are often based on visiting people and places outside of Sandy Haven. Tricia, Amy, and Dorothy frequently entertain and talk about guests who are visiting from out of town. They talk about day trips to Bangor, weekend trips to small Maine towns, driving to Portland for shopping, or camping trips they are going to take with their husbands or children. Come Monday, they report back on the success of the trip. They also discuss the longer trips they are planning – weeks to Boston or Washington D.C. to visit family and friends.

Outside-identified women also display their progressive interests and hobbies. For example, Tricia, who manages the Coffee Shop, does the purchasing for the small gift shop in the back of the store. She includes

aromatherapy, and environmentally friendly and Native American print greeting cards in the stock. By selecting these items for the store, Tricia displays her cultural values and interests.

Amy also presents progressive interests and hobbies. One day at the Coffee Shop, she asked me, while ignoring the other Point-identified women I was sitting with, if I would like to visit an herb shop with her in a neighboring town. I agreed and we visited two herb shops and an organic farm along on the way. Throughout the trip, Amy shared her knowledge of herbs for both artistic and medicinal purposes. Another day, she displayed her interests again to not only me, but the other women in the Coffee Shop.

Amy got a call from her daughter at school - her allergies were acting up and she needed medicine. She ran to catch Dorothy who had allergy medicine for her daughter from the day before. She said that her daughter also wanted the homeopathic medicine that she usually uses. Amy was upset but said that she wouldn't have time to get that also.

The Outside-identified women also present their values and orientation when they discuss movies and books. For example, one day they were talking about an author whose books they have all read. The author writes about Hassidic Jews. None of them are Jewish and they all loved the books. Tricia said that she was "thrown off" by the author's last book because it was about African Americans. She quickly explained that there was "nothing wrong" with a book about African American culture, but that she was "just really in a mood for a book about Hassidic Jews". Another day, I referred to the movie, *Bound*. Tricia, who hadn't seen it, asked what it was about. I described it as a "lesbian Mafia movie" to which Jenn, a Town-identified woman, joked, "Maybe we shouldn't talk to Carrie anymore" and Tricia replied, "that sounds really interesting". Thus,

through their discussion of “progressive” books and movies about diverse cultures and lifestyles, the Outside-identified women distinguish their cultural identity from other local women and connect with wider cultures outside of Sandy Haven.

Outside-identified women also present social ties with people from away and acceptance of diversity in the setting of the Coffee Shop. Their progressive friends frequently stop into the Coffee Shop to visit. Beth, is a gardener, with long hair, big earrings, and very “hippie” in appearance and values. Bob and Gwen Thatcher own an organic farm. Bob has a long gray beard and wears knitted caps. Gwen wears long skirts and hand woven sweaters. Jane, who works on the Thatcher’s farm, is another friend who visits with Tricia and Amy at the Coffee Shop. The following field note describes one of her visits:

Jane came in with her daughter. Jane was wearing a “reduce, reuse, and recycle” T-shirt. They were going to go an all-organic fair near Augusta. The rest of her family had gone today, but she and her daughter were going to meet friends from Boston there. She said that Beth [their mutual friend], her husband, and their sons left to go the fair. Her daughter was laughing about how in previous years they had stayed in the stalls and that they were kept awake by the animals. They were going to camp over again this time. Amy said that she would like to go, but that it really isn’t her husband’s thing. “He’s a poop.”

By associating with these “Back to the Landers” in the public setting of the Coffee Shop, the Outside-identified women show their identification with and acceptance of diverse cultures and lifestyles.

In efforts to make these displays, Outside-identified women sometimes present these ties as stronger than they actually are. The following field notes provide an example:

Amy came in with another very masculine looking woman, with short, dark hair. Tricia gave her a hug and they sat back at Amy's usual table. Tricia soon joined them at the table and they talked for quite a while.

Later, after being introduced to this woman, Amanda, I learned that she is a Navy instructor. I also learned that she does not know Tricia and Amy very well, although they act very close with her. She did not know their last names and who their children were. Tricia and Amy's presentation of their ties with Amanda make them appear closer than they actually were. Outside-identified women present their identification with progressive values and lifestyles outside of Sandy Haven through public association with these friends "from away".

### High Leisure

While the other groups of women use leisure orientations to display identity and status, the Point-identified women, Gigi, Helen, and Jean, do so most readily. Gigi presents her elite structural position to others through a presentation of consumption practices. She brings in pictures of her huge permanent home and the other women say how "beautiful" it is. She invites the other women to see her mansion on the Point, commenting that it is "not very large". She continually make purchases from the gift shop in the back of the store, often spending quite a bit of money. She also talks about the other craft purchases she has made from local women in the area. Finally, as the following field notes show, Gigi openly calls herself "materialistic" within the setting of the Coffee Shop:

Gigi talked about how she is very materialistic. She said that she "loves things", "I never get used to anything" and loves to throw things away. She said that she was going the laundry and that her husband had a T-shirt with a little, tiny hole in it and she stuck her finger in and ripped it. She said, "good, it will make a good dust rag."

Gigi said that one of the reasons she chose her husband to marry was because he was going to be successful financially. She says that for her material possessions are important and that she has a difficult time separating wants from needs.

Through her presentation of consumption and materialism, Gigi is able to reinforce her higher socioeconomic status to others.

Jean and Helen present identities which emulate the culture of the summer colony by presenting their interest and experience with high culture and high travel, rejection of local culture, and social ties with Stony Point. They present leisure orientations through both verbal communication and actions.

Jean and Helen can gain an identity as connected with Stony Point most visibly through displays of social ties. As explained before, the Point-identified women, including Gigi, who lives in the summer colony, share a table in the Coffee Shop. They sit together and are seen together by the other regular women, as well as, other locals enter the Coffee Shop. Associating with Gigi during leisure time is very important for public presentation of social ties and cultural affiliation with Stony Point.

Point-identified women use other actions and leisure activities in the setting of the Coffee Shop to present identification with the summer colony. After Gigi had returned to her permanent residence in the fall, she wrote a note to Jean. In the setting of the Coffee Shop, Jean used the letter to present herself and not others, as connected with Stony Point. As my field notes show:

Jean announced that she got a card from Gigi. She said that "She said to say Hi to everyone, Helen, Carrie, Tricia and someone else....Oh, Jenn (and laughed)...She will be back at the end of October....She said that she

is back into her routine which she enjoys although she “whines” about it a lot....She is such a real person.

During this presentation, Jean connects herself as a close, personal friend of Gigi, a resident of the summer colony. Not only does she show ongoing contact with Gigi but expresses that she understands her intimately. She publicly presents their relationship as much closer than it actually is. For example, during a taped interview later in the fall, Jean forgot and had to be reminded of Gigi's name. Thus, as with the Outside-identified women, it is important for Point-identified women to present certain social ties as strong in order to create a desired cultural identity. During this presentation, she also distinguishes between the quality of her and other women's relationships with Gigi. By forgetting and then laughing that Gigi said “Hi” to Jenn, Jean downplays the strength of other women's ties with the summer residents and seeks to gain status relative to them.

Jean also presents other leisure activities to show identification with Stony Point. The following discussion of an afternoon activity provides an example:

Jean and Elaine [a friend who was visiting] were planning to have tea at 4:00 on the rocky shore on Stony Point. Elaine's sister in law was going to play the flute . She is a concert flutist who teaches at a private school.

This leisure activity shows not only their desire to emulate the leisure lifestyle of Stony Point but also an orientation toward high culture.

And in fact, Point-identified women frequently present elite, “high” leisure orientations to publicly create a cultural identity and status. Discussion of high culture and high travel dominate their daily conversations. Jean, in particular, uses her experience with high travel to create her self-definition. While the

Outside-identified women also discuss travel and experiences with life outside of Sandy Haven as part of their leisure activities, Point-identified women present a particular taste in travel. They do not go to organic fairs, cities, camping, or to other small towns. Rather, they discuss experiences in Europe and tropical vacation spots. In other words, they present travel which is not associated with a privileged social position, rather than a progressive lifestyle. Almost twenty years ago, Jean lived in Spain and Germany, Hawaii and the Philippines as a result of her husband's military career. Yet, her presentation of these experiences enables her display orientations toward high travel. Everyday, even when quite irrelevant, Jean reminds women in the Coffee Shop that she has lived in these exotic locations. The following field notes provide examples:

Jean talked about moving around with her husband and always starting new. She said that she has never felt roots anywhere...She has gotten used to moving. She talked about living in the Philippines and how they gardener asked her to keep her urine. She was unclear what he was talking about so she asked the maid. Turns out, she said, Americans have enriched urine because of the food they eat and it is helpful for the plants. They - she and her gardener - started talking because she had recognized the flowers in the garden because she had seen them when she lived in Hawaii.

Gigi took a bottle of juice out of cooler and opened it to drink. Jean commented on how she shouldn't drink straight out of the bottle. Gigi said she usually does with those kind of bottles - Jean said, "You don't know where it has been". Gigi laughed and got up and asked for a glass and pour the juice into it before drinking. Jean said that she started doing that when she was in the Philippines because you never knew where the bottles had been. One time there was a dead mouse in the bottom of the bottle. Gigi laughed and said that that was the Philippines, not Northern Maine.

Helen retold the story about living in the one room for 4 months when she first got married. There was a hole in the floor for the drain pan from the refrigerator, a stove top that she bought, 9 people sharing one bathroom, a bed and a chest of drawers...they had to wash clothes in the bathtub,



but that there were lines outside in the yard to hang the clothes. Jean said "that is the way they do it in Germany."

Thus, no matter what the topic of conversation, Jean manages to present her orientation toward high travel to the other women in the Coffee Shop. Her actions reinforced these presentations. One day, she brought me a stack of Conde Nast Traveler magazines. The vacation spots covered in the magazines range from "55 Islands of Desire", Rome, Thailand, and Latin America. Both her subscription to this magazine and presentation of them to me within the setting of the Coffee Shop are important actions in her display and creation of cultural identity. Although she has not been outside of the country since her divorce and her travel was a result of military assignments rather than exotic vacations, she produces an identity as similar to that of the upper class of the summer colony by presenting these travel experiences in this way. Interestingly, although Amy, an Outside-identified woman, has also lived in Europe as a result of her husband's work in the Navy, she never presents her experiences in this way. Rather, she prefers to display her trips to bed and breakfasts, Portland, and the Holocaust museum in Washington D.C.

The Point-identified women also present their interests in high culture. Helen, nearly every days, talks about listening to classical music and attending musical performances. She shares her knowledge about high culture by listing performers and evaluating the technical quality of performances. Jean keeps everyone updated on the progress of the local plays she is organizing. She brings in a tape of classical music to share with Helen. The table of Point-

identified women openly make plans to attend the opera and the local plays together, excluding the other women in the Coffee Shop.

At the same time, Point-identified women present a rejection of popular culture. They frequently talk about “disapproving of current movies”, “never watching television”, and “hating country music”. Their discussions often center around concern over the “foul” language, violence, and sexual explicitness of popular movies. They disapprove of and publicly deny watching television. An example from my field notes reveals their presentation of popular culture:

We talked about hating talk shows and how some people must watch them because they are still on the air. No one said they watch them - everyone acted as though they were very unfamiliar with them. As Jean said, “I watched one called Geraldo” Jean said that the only time she sees TV is at her sister’s who watches TV a lot (she meant this as a cut down).

While most people are at least familiar with the title of television show, Geraldo, Jean pretends as though she is unsure of even the name. She then proceeds to talk about the limited leisure time she wastes on television.

Similarly, Jean uses country music as a means of putting down her ex-husband, as the following example shows:

Helen is in a volunteer dance group that performs for retirement communities. In their dances, they use country music. She started to talk to Jean about a country music singer and Jean was making all kinds of faces saying that she knew it well. She met her husband in Europe. He was from Texas. She that he had different art, music, religious background than her. Yet, they read the same books. She said that it was easy to get divorced because they could just separate the music. He listened to and played country music, which she doesn’t like.

Point-identified women present an interest in high culture and a rejection of popular culture in their negotiation of cultural identity and status within the setting of the Coffee Shop.

In addition, the Point-identified women present a rejection of local Sandy Haven culture. They talk openly about avoiding the Diner because of the food and atmosphere and gossip. Gigi says that she was craving blueberry pancakes, but wouldn't go to the Diner because they wouldn't be any good there anyway. Jean said she doesn't like the Diner, "I am going to sound snobby, but [pause] it is the level of conversation that goes on". They see their social time and conversation at the Coffee Shop as being on a higher level:

Jean said that she saw [the wife a wealthy man in town] and told her that she gets together with a group a women at the Coffee Shop everyday at 9:30 and that she should join us. She said that she has been wanting to ask her for a long time. She asked Gigi if she knew her. She told her that there is not "gossip". She talked about how we seem to know everything but it is "information" not gossip. Helen said that the difference between information and gossip is what you do with it.

Thus, not only is Jean attempting to form additional 'elite' social ties through leisure activities, but she is sure to explain to this woman that her leisure time is of a different type than the local culture which is characterized by gossip. The following field note also demonstrates how Stony Point women distinguish themselves from others based on their leisure:

At the end of the conversation [about families, dreams, and disliking television], Jean turned to me and said that this is great that we talked about these topics. She said that his is why she misses it in the winter. She said "We don't gossip like all the other groups".

Just as there is a rejection of local culture, there is a display of what they view as more prestigious leisure activities. For example, Point-identified women often

discuss dinner at the Dining Room. They talk about the excellent meals they ate and the good service they received. They invited me to meet them at the Dining Room for dinner. As Jean explained the one day, she and a friend wanted to go to dinner, but that she was getting sick of the Dining Room because they go so frequently. She also discusses other expensive restaurants she visits when she comes to the Coffee Shop.

Finally, the Point-identified women, particularly Jean, use the setting of the Coffee Shop to present their high demands for leisure. Jean has very high standards for service at the Coffee Shop which other women approach as very casual. Everyday when she comes in, she demands that her service is prompt and that her tea and popcorn are prepared just right. She gets visibly upset and annoyed if she does not receive the service she expects. As I explain in my field notes:

Jean came in when Holly was working. Tricia usually has her popcorn basket and tea ready for when she comes in...Judy gets very impatient if it is not all set up...Today, the water pot was on warm rather than boil so the water took a while to boil and Holly didn't know what was wrong. Jean got very impatient - she got up and checked over the counter and told Holly to check to the water. She did it in a cutesy, laughing way, but firmly said, "I am not going to drink coffee in the morning."

Through conversation and actions which display participation in high cultural activities, rejection of local culture, social ties with the summer residents, and demands for quality leisure, Point-identity women create an identity and status emulating the lifestyle of the summer colony. In sum, as with presentation of work orientations, the women who frequent the Coffee Shop, as well as the other

local women in Sandy Haven, create distinct cultural identities and negotiate status through their presentation of distinct leisure orientations.

## CHAPTER 6

### FAMILY

Finally, I found that women use family orientations in the presentation and production of cultural identity and status. Family orientations include strength of family ties, expectations for their children, and/or organization of gender relations. As with work and leisure, women in Sandy Haven lean toward one of three types of cultural orientations toward family: extended, socially mobile, or progressive. Women's family orientations correspond with their identification with the town, summer colony, or life outside of Sandy Haven.

Town-identified women tend to present a strong value for extended, local family relationships, including encouraging children to find employment in the area and remain a resident of the town. Through these family orientations, women gain an identity and status as aligned with culture of the town and in opposition to the summer colony and life outside of Sandy Haven. Point-identified women tend to stress social mobility. They celebrate economic mobility within one's own family and encourage educational and economic achievement in children. Through these family orientations, Point-identified women gain a self-definition and social position as like the summer colony and distinct from the culture of the town. Finally, Outside-identified women tend to present egalitarian marriages and stress growth and personal development among their children.

They display equality within the family and nontraditional gender roles and encourage their children to travel outside of the town, discover other ways of living, and remain independent and unmarried until life is fully experienced. These cultural orientations toward the family connect them with progressive cultures outside of Sandy Haven and distance them from the culture of the summer colony and town.

In other words, Sandy Haven women do not just pass “desirable” cultural orientations onto their children in an effort to be effective agents of socialization. Rather, women also form desired self-definitions and secure particular social positions for themselves by encouraging certain values, attitudes, morals, and lifestyles in family members. The accomplishments of their family members contribute to their own social identities.

#### Strong, Extended, Local Families: Identifying with the Town

Women who use the culture of Sandy Haven as their frame of reference secure an identity as connected with local culture by presenting their dedication to strong, extended families. Town-identified women describe Sandy Haven as one large family and describe themselves as always placing family first. These orientations toward family distinguish them from the cultures of Stony Point and life away from Sandy Haven which, they argue, do not value or preserve strong, extended families. In order to carry on these orientations toward family, they want their children to remain in Sandy Haven. These desires are reflected in their expectations and values toward educational and occupational attainment.

When describing the town, Town-identified women present a picture of one large extended family. One woman describes the relationships between the people in town as, "More or less family-like rather than just friends. Because you have been with them so long, you know them very well. And you see most of them everyday." Indeed, the town is characterized by a complex web of intertwined kinship ties. Generations of young men and women who grew up together in the town date and get married. As one woman explained, "You fall in love with what you have". They stress that nearly all "locals" are related to each other somehow. As another Town-identified women says:

Everybody has extended families here. Alice and Jim Green are part of my family.

Q. How are they related?

A. I don't know, Jim could tell you, but I don't know. I don't know the family tree that well, but I guess we are all related somehow.

Although she does not know how they are related, this woman presents these Sandy Haven residents as part of her family. Town-identified women take pride in these ties which they see as bonding the locals. It is these kinship ties, they argue, which make the town of Sandy Haven into a strong community and a great place to live. All members of the community, they explain, are supported and cared for. You are never alone, especially during hard times. One Sandy Haven woman explained how the town helped her and her family after a fire destroyed their home:

After the fire it was really amazing to see the way they pulled together. They had dinners and all kinds of stuff to raise money for the family. The Town Office was open for anybody who wanted to bring things in for the family. We got bags and bags of clothes, and things that people brought in to help out. The family was offered three or four houses that we could stay in, rent free, until we could find a place.



Town-identified women see these relationships as the foundation of Sandy Haven and thus, present them as central to their own identity.

Town-identified women describe family as the focus of their lives. Family comes first, before all else. Family members form the basis of social ties and networks. Both social events and every day living are centered on family members. They talk about caring for their parents and older relatives in town. They stress the time they spend with their children. Close ties make only the town but their families strong as well. As one woman explains:

Everything relies on my family...[My husband and I] do everything together. And with the kids. Very rarely do we get a babysitter, usually everything we do is with the kids.

Although this woman works four, sometimes five, days a week and has a friend provide childcare for her two children while she working, she emphasizes her dedication to her family. A woman who moved to the area "from away" also recognizes the importance of family in Sandy Haven. In fact, she said that displaying strong family ties was essential to gaining acceptance in the town:

I still do all the things you are supposed in a small town. We go to benefit dinners, sponsor the school, we are always with our kids. People see us with our kids all the time.

Town-identified women present both the town and their lives as rooted in strong extended families.

By presenting their values and orientations toward family in this way, Town-identified women distinguish themselves from both the summer colony and life outside of Sandy Haven. These populations, they argue, do not place the same value and emphasis on family relations. They see the residents of Stony

Point as having particularly weak and unhealthy families. The following quotes illustrate these views:

[A boy from the summer colony] had a crush on me and he invited to his house for dinner. I thought it was going to be this big deal. But all we had was TV dinners...His father was always gone. He wasn't close with his mother. He was really lonely and it was like we ate better than he did... I invited him to my house and it was to a party. It was my 13th birthday. He made a big deal like it was the funnest, best time he ever had.

As this woman explains, although the summer colony has a higher socioeconomic status than her family, she enjoyed a higher cultural status as a result of their strong dedication to family. She may not have had a large home but she had a caring family. Another Town-identified woman presents a similar view:

I used to go in [to a local restaurant] and there was a lot of [Stony Point residents] that would come in with their kids and they would bring their babysitter right with them, so they could eat their breakfast. And it was their babysitter picking up the spoon the kid threw on the floor and wiping their mouth and taking them outside when they cried, not the parents. And that's how really a parent-child builds trust, I think. By interacting with the child and taking care of the child's needs and, they don't do that.

In contrast to their own family-oriented presentations of self, Town-identified women present the summer colony as neglecting their children through excessive reliance on childcare. They describe the summer residents are rich in economic assets but poor in family ties. One Town-identified woman described the important of family relations as the primary difference between Sandy Haven and Stony Point:

[Summer residents'] values are different...I have seen a lot of their kids, sending them off to the private schools, the grammar schools and high school level. I would never do that. I want to see my child grow up... A lot of them do that.

Town-identified women also use family orientations to distinguish themselves from cultures outside of the town. They present their strong commitment to family as unique to the culture of Sandy Haven. As one woman explains, the dedication to family in small town Maine is rare and special:

I think that around here families are still really important. Which I don't think they are in a lot of places...I think that people still do a lot of things with their families and eat with their families. Like I know there was like this survey I was reading in Cosmopolitan that Maine had the most people that sat down and ate dinner.

By presenting themselves as dedicated to strong, extended families, Town-identified women define themselves as connected with town culture and better than the cultures of the summer colony and life outside of Sandy Haven.

Related to their emphasis on local, extended family, Town-identified women tend to want their families to remain in the town. While they may accept, they do not encourage their children to leave Sandy Haven to find work, other cultures, or new experiences. As one woman explains:

A. I think we all want our children being around us. That way, if they marry, you see your grandchildren. But, if they find something out of the area and it's better for them, then you go along with it.

Q. Was it hard when you daughter left and went to Florida.

A. Yes, yes. Very hard.

Earning a living, finding a spouse, and raising a family within Sandy Haven are viewed as accomplishments in which to take pride. Having to leave Sandy Haven to find work is presented as the less desirable option. It is viewed as something that some residents have to do, but only when there are no alternatives. The following Town-identified woman explains how she feels about the possibility of her daughters leaving the town:

[My step daughter] is talking about going into the service. So, she doesn't feel the bond, the tie here, I guess. She likes living here. She loves the people and whatnot. When we moved here, she said, "I don't want to move anywhere else. I don't want to leave Sandy Haven." But she wants to travel. She just doesn't have the connection, that close bond with the town and the people like I do. On the other, [my other daughter] might, because she's always been here. My step daughter has only lived here for four years, but [my younger daughter] has always been here. So, she's going to grow up here like I did with the people like I did. So, it might be different for her.

This woman is disappointed, but accepts, that her older daughter will leave Sandy Haven. She continues to hope that her younger daughter will learn of the strength of the community ties and wish to stay among them.

Rejection of the culture outside of Sandy Haven reinforces the desire of Town-identified women that their children to stay in the area. They do not want their children to venture into the dangerous, odd, and unwelcoming world outside of Sandy Haven. As one woman explained:

[My daughter] is not going anywhere...Her art teacher suggested that she go to college and then go to New York. Anyone that has anything to do with art knows that if you are good, go to New York because that is where you make your money. If you go to school there, all of your sources are all around you. So her art teacher suggested New York. [My daughter] looked at her and said no way. So she said, alright, Boston. [My daughter] just said, no way. Between Boston and New York, those are your two highest crime cities.

This woman, and other Town-identified women, are strongly opposed to their children leaving the safe, healthy, and supportive local culture for the uncertain, strange, and dangerous culture outside of the town. They do not perceive leaving Sandy Haven as an adventure or opportunity, but an inadequate alternative to remaining a part of the culture of the town.

As this example also suggests, social mobility and financial success are not the primary expectations and hopes that parents have for their children.

While going to New York would enable her daughter to “make her money” as an artist, this woman continues to choose the town of Sandy Haven over outside cultures. These values are reflected in educational expectations for children.

Town-identified women tend not place great emphasis on college for their children. While many women do not object to their children going to college, doing so is not essential or the primary expectations they hold for their children. As one woman explains, she “wouldn't mind seeing her [daughter] go to college, but only because she is a girl. It is something to fall back on”. Yet, she adds, “I wouldn't force her because I don't think college is that big of a thing in this area” In addition, she hopes that she will find a good husband and get married. For her son, she says that he “will probably be a fisherman. It's basically inevitable. He loves it already.” Thus, this woman sees college as a safety net for her daughter, yet unimportant for her son who will make a good living in the area doing physical work. As she clearly points out, college is not important for succeeding financially in Sandy Haven.

Another Town-identified woman has a similar view of college. She is not opposed to it, but doesn't demand it because it is possible to make it in Sandy Haven without an advanced degree.

I didn't go to college and I feel I have a nice job now. [My husband] didn't go to college. But he's had full-time jobs before, like carpentry, and he's happier being his own boss. And he can make a decent pay at it. I won't force them to go to college. That's their choice. But they also know that it's their future, too. Some jobs you can get without that piece of paper, without that degree. A decent paying job...But we told them we would like for them to go to college because neither one of us had gone. But I wouldn't try to drive it down their throat. No.

These expectations for their children are related to the reality that educational attainment and commitment to the culture of the Sandy Haven are negatively related. Since there are very few jobs available in town which require or utilize formal higher education, acquiring higher education essentially guarantees the need to leave the town to find work. This reality is commonly understood within the town. Women know that if their children work toward professional, white collar jobs, they will not be able to live in the area. One woman explains if her son got a college education, "he wouldn't be able to stay here...unless you are a lobsterman or you work in the woods." Many young people have already left the area for this reason. The quote from a Town-identified woman demonstrates this inherent conflict between valuing social mobility and valuing the culture of Stony Haven.

A. I mean I'm not adverse to him wanting to go move to better himself.

Q. Do you think he will have to?

A. No. Not if he didn't want to. I think there are plenty of jobs if people really want to work. If they really wanted to find something they could do it close by. They wouldn't have to move. It might not be something that they really really had in mind for years that they wanted to do, but I am sure they would be happy doing whatever they could find.

According to this woman and other Town-identified women, remaining in Sandy Haven can and should take precedence over efforts for social mobility or socioeconomic success. Through displaying these expectations, Town-identified women continue to connect themselves with the culture of the town over the summer colony, which represents financial success and social mobility. They do not expect their children to gain the financial and educational attainment represented by Stony Point.

Rather, as was discussed in the chapter on the presentation of work orientations, Town-identified place greater demands on their children to possess a strong, primarily physical, work ethic. A demand for hard work fills explanations of the expectations Town-identified women have for their children:

"I hope [my son] is hard worker. That is all I can really hope for I guess."

"We brought our girls up not to be afraid of hard work."

As discussed earlier, it is these work values which are at the core of the culture of Sandy Haven. By instilling these values in children, the children of Town-identified women will not only be able to secure work and remain in the area but will be accepted in the town. Therefore, family expectations of remaining in Sandy Haven and working hard dominate over expectations of educational attainment and social mobility. Presentation of these values are essential to the production of cultural identity and status as connected with the culture of Sandy Haven over other cultures.

#### Socially Mobile Families: Identifying with the Summer Colony

Like the Town-identified women, Point-identified women may also present a strong commitment to family. However, this tends not to be the primary orientation they present. Rather, Point-identified women tend to stress socioeconomic mobility and success within their families and among their children. It is through these orientations toward their families that women are able to connect with the culture of Stony Point. While they themselves do not gain greater access to resources, Point-identified women can be defined as more closely connected

with high statuses by encouraging their children to advance socioeconomically. Their children's accomplishments boost their potential for being identified with and positioned among elite cultures.

As a pathway to this mobility, Point-identified women strongly encourage, and often insist on, college for their children. As explained, Town-identified women may like their children to attend college. Yet, the desire to have college educated children is much stronger among the Point-identified and the reason they want their children to go to college is very clear. They want them to advance from the physical jobs which characterize Sandy Haven to professional careers of higher prestige. As one Point-identified woman explains:

Both my husband and I think of education as being a step up ... We both feel that no matter what one wants to do isn't the issue. If you have your education, nobody can take that away from you... [Our son] from the time he was little... always knew that he had four years after high school. We didn't care what he chose or what he did. But we were very supportive that he does it. He didn't have a choice.

Although neither this woman nor her husband went to college, her son "did not have a choice" but to make this "step up". The following woman also sees socioeconomic mobility as the reason she pushes her children get a college education:

[My son] wants to be a fisherman, but I hope that he realizes he'll need an education. Then he can fish... I think he'll fish and then find a job. Then fish when he can.... I wish [my children would go to college]. I do. Because I know that [my husband] was very high ranked in the military... And now he's working as a store worker and he's making good money. But if he had gone to college, maybe he could have been a lieutenant in the Navy and done other things. As a teacher, I am able to hack the job that I have and if I want to waitress, I can. But I don't have to. I've worked with one girl who waitresses in the summer, makes wreaths in the winter, it's that continued cycle where you have to get that job that pays good money. Blueberry raking. Hard, breaking work.



This woman wants her son to get a college education so he does not have to do hard, physical work. While she starts off saying that he can continue to fish after he gets an education, she soon adds that he can get a steady job and then fish on the side if he chooses. For this woman, as with other Point-identified women, college is a means for mobility from the working class culture of Sandy Haven toward the professional, higher socioeconomic position of the Point.

Point-identified women not only encourage certain goals, they also selectively present achievements of their family members. There is significance in not just what they expect of their family members but how they display what their children have achieved. In their descriptions of family members, Point-identified women stress examples of social mobility to professional, white collar work over association with local culture and physical work. They may accept alternatives, yet they clearly favor social mobility. The following woman's presentation of her sons' achievements provides a good example:

Peter is the youngest. The other one wasn't cut out for office work, or college work or anything else...we don't see him too often, he is working off a boat in New Hampshire now [fishing]...He is an outdoor guy, he had to be his own boss. He had his own boat but he lost it because he didn't make the payments. That kind of hurt us financially for a while, but we made it. Peter's always been, he was the type of child that cried if he missed a day of school. He graduated from the University of Maine from the business education with a major in finance.

In her discussion of her family, she focuses primarily on the white collar, professional accomplishments of her son, Peter. She goes on to discuss Peter's career and advancements over the years. On the other hand, she has very little

to say about her son who chose fishing over “office work” and “college work”.

She does not even use his name.

Another Point-identified woman has a similar presentation of the different achievements of her son:

[My son] is a carpenter. He went to [technical school] ....He had friends that followed him from the Sandy Haven area, and they were drinking buddies and it kind of ruined his college real fast. The first semester he flunked out of school. He thought he could catch up, he is really intelligent in high school, he thought college was going to be the same. But you don't catch up in college...He would just let things go and he would catch up real fast and he always had good grades. So he came out of college and didn't want to go back and he just got into carpentry. He is a good carpenter....I tried to convince him to, if you want to go back, you can. College isn't for everybody. I think a parent has to accept it. Because some kids are just not going to make it in college. If they make it another way, fine. They might make it with their hands.

She is accepting of her son's choice for physical work over professional work.

However, unlike the Town-identified women, she sees physical work as something she has to “accept” rather than encourage or take pride in. She continued to encourage college even after he left and presents working with your hands as an alternative to failing at white collar work. Furthermore, she blames his lack of educational achievement on his continued connection to the culture of Sandy Haven. It was his “drinking buddies” from Sandy Haven who ruined his opportunity for social mobility. On the other hand, this woman is very proud of both her other son and nephew who have achieved mobility. About her son, she brags, “My second son came out of high school, went to the University, went four years without a hitch, came out top of his class...now he's in his third year of law school and in the top of his class.” When mentioning her sister, she adds,

Her son is going to [an elite, private college]. He just started his freshman year there. He got the lead part in the first play he tried out for. All classes

it was open to. He got the male lead so that was impressive. He is very talented. He's been to London to the Gilbert and Sullivan, where they put on the Gilbert and Sullivan plays... So that is impressive.

It is educational and occupational mobility, not the ability to perform physical work, which Point-identified women expect, value, and find "impressive" for their children. They take pride in the social mobility of their children and present these achievements in the production of their identity and status within the town.

Point-identified women use presentations of social mobility not only for their children, but also for their husbands and parents. While Town-identified women tend to present their parents as working day and night just to make ends meet, Point-identified women are more likely to present their parents as "rags to [minimal] riches" stories. Some of the women talk about how their parents saved their money to start a small business or opened a restaurant during hard financial times. The following quote from a Point-identified woman provides an example of efforts at presenting educational and occupational achievement. Her partner is a fisherman. While fishing is at the heart of the physical work culture in Sandy Haven, she presents his work as essentially white collar, requiring great intelligence over strength:

I don't know how many other fisherman fish the way he does, but intellectually I could appreciate everything he keeps in his head about this industry, this job that he has. It's a job, it's a game to him, it's mental, all these mental activities going on the whole time. If I asked him, he would tell me about it. If you were just there baiting the bags and banding the lobsters and getting your trap overboard, there's this routine, this one level. But if you go into it with why did you do this, or why are we going back and setting the string, how do you find your traps, or how do you know where to set them. He has in his mind, he says he fishes like the old fishermen fish, like he was taught, he fishes the bottom and he literally knows, like in his head, a map of what the contours of the bottom of the ocean look like in certain places.

By presenting these goals and achievements of family members, they develop self definitions and statuses as closely related to the culture of Stony Point which symbolizes socioeconomic success and in opposition to the culture of Sandy Haven which values hard, physical work.

And indeed, Point-identified women believe their expectations of social mobility for their children distinguish them from the culture of the town. As the woman who states that her son had no choice but to go to college explains, "in this area, I must say, they make eighth grade graduation like the end of the world." Yet, she wanted her son to attain more education. Another woman sees the lack of desire for social mobility in the town as a reflection of a lack of ambition:

There really isn't much here for young people if they have any ambition at all, unless they want to be a fisherman....I think people run the whole gamut from the real nice, quite, unassuming, intelligent people right down to the ones that never got through grammar school and don't care whether they did or not. Nothing is that valuable to them. It's good to see some of the younger people that didn't have educations and didn't do well themselves who are trying to get their children to do things....Some of them succeed, some of them the kids say well, it's good enough for you, it's good enough for me and go the same way their parents go. That's kind of too bad sometimes, because there are a lot of people doing things, wasting their talents doing things that they could be doing so much better for themselves if they just had a little ambition.

Point-identified women present themselves as wanting more for their children than the culture of Sandy Haven can provide. Instead, they favor educational and occupational achievements which are represented by the summer residents of Stony Point. They become associated with the culture of the summer colony through encouraging and emphasizing their families as social mobile.

Progressive Families: Identifying with People "From Away"

Outside-identified women use family orientations in yet a third way in order to create an identity and status as like cultures outside of Sandy Haven and unlike, and superior to, the cultures of the town or Stony Point. They present egalitarian and progressive orientations toward the family. First, they display equality in relationships between themselves and their husbands. Second, they want their children to develop and grow as individuals, rather than gain purely economic success or remain to carry on the culture of Sandy Haven. Through presentation of these orientations toward the family, Outside-identified women establish their desired identity and status within Sandy Haven.

The display of an egalitarian marital relationship is essential to the self-definitions Outside-identified women are seeking to produce. They define themselves as feminists, holding progressive values toward women's roles in society. They are outspoken about reproductive rights, child care rights, and working rights for women. Outside-identified women argue that all women should have these rights and they do have these rights within their own families. By displaying these gender roles within their families, Outside-identified women are further able to connect themselves with progressive values and cultures outside of Sandy Haven. As one woman explains:

A lot of the women cook their husbands breakfast at 3:30 in the morning and make their lunch. My husband would starve to death. I love him and I have made his lunch before and he complained because it was too big. But if I ever cooked my husband breakfast or made his lunch it would be because I wanted to do it, not because he told me to do it. There are some men who will not take a lunch if their wife doesn't make it. First of all

we'd never be married, but we'd last in the same room together about 2 minutes. My husband does laundry, dishes and he raises his children, he doesn't baby-sit his kids. You hear a lot of men say I have to go home and baby-sit, my wife's got to go to work. You're raising your kids, not babysitting them.

Another Outside-identified woman presents herself as far more independent in her marriage than her mother:

She never had the freedom and independence that I have...If I decide today that I want to go to Portland, I could do it. She would never, even if she could drive, she probably wouldn't have done that, she always listened to what my father wanted to do. I wasn't always like that, but [my husband] has always been so involved with his work that I kind of had to make decisions for myself and what I was going to do with my time. Now it's great because I feel like I can do that, and he wants me to do that. So if I wanted to do that, or if I wanted to go some place he's pretty much ready for me to do that. Fine go ahead go, have fun. Life's a lot different from hers.

By presenting these egalitarian, progressive relationships, Outside-identified women create a cultural identity as not only connected with wider, diverse cultures outside of Sandy Haven, but as distinct from the culture of Sandy Haven. These women define themselves as different from the culture of Sandy Haven based on their family orientations. As the woman explains in the previous quote, many women in Sandy Haven have traditional relationships with their husbands. As a result, she observes, "I guess I don't fit in sometimes...I blend in, but some of my points of view are far different." This woman explains that egalitarian gender relations within her family distinguish her from other local Sandy Haven women in town. Another Outside-identified woman explains that she has never been able to date any men from Sandy Haven because her progressive, egalitarian family orientations characteristic of life outside of the town:

I never – and even when I was single and divorced, I didn't date] anyone from Sandy Haven]. Almost everyone I dated was either from Portland or out-of-state...I didn't have that much in common with them really....I don't like that attitude. That he-man attitude. And they're so caught in their roles you can never re-educate them...It's like you're the woman – these things they have in their mind that you should do because you're the woman and I'm the man. They drive me insane. So, it was like people who had been out in the world and exposed to more things are not pre-destined to play this role. I got along better with them...I didn't really have anything in common with the fishermen around here.

This woman clearly attributes acceptance of egalitarian gender roles to access to cultures outside of Sandy Haven. She has only been able to date men who understand cultures outside of the town. For the same reason, another Outside-identified woman has difficulty forming friendships with women in town. She says that many local women have conservative family orientations rooted in the culture of the town. Since she has egalitarian, progressive values rooted in life outside of Sandy Haven, she is unable to relate to Town-identified women, "I just view life differently [than other women in Sandy Haven]. I know there is more out there. It's really strange. It's like when I talk to my friends on the phone, they talk about needing a man to make their identity, and I don't feel that way. I feel I know who I am in myself." Thus, through their presentation of family orientations, these women connect themselves to cultures outside of Sandy Haven and separate themselves from the culture of the small town.

The values and expectations that Outside-identified women emphasize for their children also enable them to create a distinct identity and status within the community. For their children, they stress lessons of equality and tolerance and emphasize personal growth and worldly, self-enriching experiences. They teach their children to accept and appreciate all types of people, values which are often

associated with the "Back to the Land" movement. One Outside-identified women explains the values she passes on to her children:

I hate meanness. I can't tolerate the kids being mean to each other, I can't tolerate us being mean to each other. We don't let the kids play guns, killing is always bad. We don't kill animals, you can't kill people....[My husband] and I really believe in live and let live. It ought to be alright, as long as it's not hurting anybody.

They pass onto their children those values which they see represented in people and cultures "from away ". The learning and acceptance of these values also guides their hopes and expectations of their children.

Outside-identified women often want their children to go to college, but unlike the Point-identified women, they see college as important for personal growth and experiencing the world, not socioeconomic mobility. Experiences and knowledge should be goal of education, not a prestigious job or more money. An example of this is shown in this Outside-identified woman's explanation for why she wants her children to go to college:

I just think it's really important for a career, I would like them to have careers. I think it's just good experience. It's a nice, more chance to grow and learn while there is still time, they are still semi protected. Even if they just go to school and get a degree in English and then end up working in a department store or something, at least they would have that extra time just to kind of be a kid, without having all the responsibilities of earning a living. It's a fun time.

Outside-identified women present college as a chance to grow as an individual and learn about the world outside of Sandy Haven.

Similarly, Outside-identified women expect their children to leave Sandy Haven and travel to experience alternative ways of life. Unlike the Town-identified women, they do not merely accept that their children may have to leave



and then regret their leaving. Rather, they encourage their children to go and to return to Sandy Haven later in life if they so chose. As one woman explains, "I think it's important to me that they leave [Sandy Haven] at least for a while.

There's so much out there." Another woman even more clearly articulates the importance she stresses for her children of getting out and experiencing cultures outside of Sandy Haven.

I hope that [my son and daughter] grow up, graduate from high school and leave town for a while, at least. I hope that they go off and see something else. I am not real bent on them going to college at 17 or 18. If they want to go I will do everything I can to try to help them financially and motivationally to go to college, if that's what they want to do. If they have a pretty clear idea of what they would like to do with it...I advise them to travel, to go off somewhere and find a job and work. I would like them to go into the Peace Corp. I would like them to solidify my dream...I would like them to go and see how other people live, see other cultures, and just get a bigger world education, even before they decide what they want to do. ... I really think it's important to go off and find yourself. I still believe in that 60's thing that you need to take off and hitchhike around the country.

The accomplishments they want for their children involve experiencing and learning about other cultures. It is by passing these expectations onto their children that Outside-identified women continue to connect themselves with progressive cultures outside of Sandy Haven. By presenting these expectations and encouraging their children to become part of outside cultures, Outside-identified women form links to and reinforce their association with outside cultures. As the woman above explains, through their children, Outside-identified women are able to "solidify their dreams".

Outside-identified women, therefore, tend to view their children as being successful not when they get a college degree and high paying job or get married

and find work in Sandy Haven, but when they have worldly experiences and knowledge. As one woman explains:

My daughter went to school in Massachusetts and she actually remarked several times about how she felt that she was more aware of things going on in the world, like independence and getting along and that kind of stuff, than a roommate she had one year who was from New York City ....She is the curious kind of a person that would be more aware...Of course, everybody has their own interpretation of what success is, but Megan is one of those kids that will definitely be a success in her eyes and in other people's eyes. It's just because she really loves life, enjoys life, is curious and wants to know. She doesn't sit down and read novels very often, but she always is reading something that non-fiction kind of things...Even though she came from a small town in Maine, she's pretty with what's going on in the world and everything. And very liberal social ideas.

The expectations and desires that Outside-identified women have for their children are quite distinct from the other local women. And indeed, Outside-identified women define themselves in opposition to other women in town based on these orientations toward families. They reject the Stony Point culture by tending not to stress mobility and financial success for their families and children.

One woman shared the following story:

My son and I were talking on the phone because he doesn't think he's making enough money, and I said when your dad and I were first married, he cleared \$90 a week, and that's back in 1971 and we lived just as well as anybody else did.

Thus, she does not encourage her son to seek social mobility. A high income, she teaches him, should not be his first priority. She adds, "I just wanted him to be happy, that's the way I am. I don't care what people do for a living, just as long as you are happy with yourself and a good person. And he is."

Furthermore, Outside-identified women reject the culture of the town by not encouraging their children to stay in town and maintain strong, extended families. As one woman explains,

I would be real upset if [my daughter] got married when she was 18 or 19. I mean very upset. And the same with [my son]....I don't want him graduating from high school, then just marrying the first girl that he dated and stay living here for the rest of his life.

This woman, along with other Outside-identified women, reject key components of what Town-identified women see as a strength of the community and Point-identified women view as access to the lifestyles of the summer colony. Rather, Outside-identified women reinforce their self definition and social position as orientated toward cultures which are bigger than the town and more open-minded than the summer colony by presenting progressive and egalitarian orientations toward their families and children.

#### Public Presentation of Family Orientations

Observations within the public setting of the Coffee Shop can once again be used to understand how presentation of family orientations, like orientations toward work and leisure, are used by women during social interaction to produce cultural identity and status. In their daily interactions, the women in the Coffee Shop display expectations and accomplishments of children and relationships with husband in efforts to define themselves and gain a position relative to other women.

### Extended, Local Families

Within the setting of the Coffee Shop, the Town-identified women, Nancy, Jenn, and Holly, use traditional, extended local family orientations to present and produce cultural identity and status. Through verbal and physical communication, these women stress their children's ties to the area and their efforts to instill a solid work ethic in their children, while concealing their children's interests in leaving the area and efforts toward social mobility.

Jenn's son and Holly herself represent the hopes and expectations of Town-identified women. Jenn's son is twenty-five. He was married last year to Mary, a local woman. He has a good job as a gardener on Stony Point. He just recently bought a home in Sandy Haven and plans to raise a family in the area. He stops into the Coffee Shop quite frequently on breaks from work. When he comes to the coffee shop, he displays the expectations Jenn passed onto him. She speaks of his accomplishments with pride.

Holly does not have children of her own but she embodies the values of local, extended families. She is twenty years old. She is living with a young man who was a good friend of her brothers and was always over at her house when she was growing up. Although they are not yet married, she wears a "promise ring" and they plan to get married someday. She talks openly about wanting to stay and raise children in the area. Her daily activities and social events are closely tied with her sisters, nieces, parents, and in-laws. She frequently talks with relatives on the phone while at work, arranging activities and coordinating

errands, and family members occasionally come to the Coffee Shop during her shift. For example, one day Holly got a call that her niece had hurt her ankle at day camp. She left work to pick her up and brought her back to the Coffee Shop. She spent the afternoon there until Holly's mother was able to come to pick her up and take her home. Through these actions, Holly displays her orientation toward strong, extended local family.

Nancy's presentation of her family orientations also displays an orientation toward local, extended families. Her discussion of the future plans of her seventeen year-old daughter, who was soon graduating from high school, provides a good example. The following field notes show how she encouraged her to remain in the area:

Nancy said her daughter's friend left to go to school in Florida. Her daughter was really upset....Jenn asked, "Why is it that young people always want to go away and then they want to come back?" Nancy said that her daughter is dead set on going to a college outside of Maine. They talked about how it is a young age to have to decide those things. Kids want to be away but they are not really ready for it....Jenn told a story about a relative of hers who wanted to go away so she bought a house in a town about 20 minutes outside of Sandy Haven. Now wants to come back but it is too late. They are stuck there because of the house. She and Nancy talked about how they never want to leave.

Nancy presented her preference that her daughter stay in Sandy Haven during this conversation in the Coffee Shop. A few months later, her daughter decided to enlist in the military. Nancy began to display her fear of her daughter traveling and being so far away from the town. One day at the Coffee Shop, Nancy said that she thinks that her daughter is changing her mind and no longer wants to leave. When pushed by other women to explain further, she admitted that her

daughter never actually said that she did not want to go, but that she just sensed it.

In the presentation of her daughter's future plans, Nancy also stresses the importance of maintaining her relationship with a local young man. She said tells other women at the Coffee Shop that she asked her daughter about her plans for her new relationship after she leaves Sandy Haven, "Are you going to break up and just be friends or are you going to try to make it work?" Nancy described their relationship to the other women as "very serious" although her daughter is only seventeen and they have only been dating two months. Thus, within the public setting of the coffee shop, Nancy presents her desire for her daughter to stay in the area and maintain a local relationship, rather than travel in the military. Recently, Nancy's daughter has taken steps to retract her commitment to the military and remain in Sandy Haven in order to maintain her relationship with the young man. Nancy supports her decision.

What Nancy does not present in the public setting is just as important as what she does present. There are aspects of her daughters lives, especially those based in educational attainment, which Nancy does not talk about. For example, her older daughter was taking, very interested in, and doing well in Advanced Placement English classes in her high school. Yet, Nancy never mentions this among the other women. Furthermore, her younger daughter is the only student in grammar school class who gets straight A's consistently every semester. Yet, I learned this only from reading the local newspaper. Nancy does not talk about this either.

When Nancy talks about expectations for her children, she tends to stress a need for a strong work ethic over social mobility. As mentioned in the chapter on work orientations, she discusses her concern about her daughters' unwillingness to do housework and their efforts at finding work at local restaurants in town. Thus, within the public setting of the Coffee Shop, Town-identified women present those family orientations which assist in the production of an identity and status as connected with the culture of the town and in opposition to the cultures of the summer colony or outside of Sandy Haven.

### Socially Mobile Families

Point-identified women, Jean, Helen, and Gigi, in contrast, present social mobility and educational and financial success in their families as they create identities based on values, lifestyles, and world views within the setting of the Coffee Shop.

Helen, whose children have acquired the greatest educational and financial success, most frequently talks about her expectations for and the accomplishments of her children. She talks about her son's success in college, where he applied and was accepted to graduate school for engineering, and where he works. As the following field note shows:

Helen said that her daughter got straight A's because she was an overachiever. Gigi said that her daughter, too, was an overachiever. Helen talked about her son and how he was very smart, was told to do liberal arts, but wanted to do sciences and that he did sciences really well. All the men in her family are chemical engineers. He went to Cornell. Gigi added, "like your husband?". She said that her son was accepted to Berkeley and Lehigh for graduate school and picked Lehigh because of the reputation. Gigi agreed that that was a good move.

She also talks about the professional success of her daughter. She brings her daughter into the Coffee Shop to sit and talk with the other Point-identified women.

As stated before, however, what women hide is just as important as what they present. Jean rarely mentions her two daughters who have not gained educational and occupational success. Her daughters have not graduated from college, do not hold prestigious jobs, and are married to men who perform physical work. Because they do not fulfill the expectations for children which correspond with her desired cultural identity and status, she rarely mentions her daughters during conversation. To do so would harm her attempts at creating a cultural identity and status as connected with the culture of Stony Point.

The Point-identified women further gain status relative to the other women by criticizing egalitarian marital relationships, which Outside-identified women seek to display. They openly express criticism of non traditional, progressive family orientations, such as women working outside the home, reproductive rights, and gay and lesbian families, which Away identity women present as the core of their identity. The following field notes demonstrate these criticisms:

When discussing women working outside the home, Helen said, "You have to consider which is more important. How many hours are you really giving up?" She told a story that someone told her that dedicating time to your family only takes 20 years out of her 73 - "what is that really?" She said, "It has been a good life".

Helen, Jean, and Gigi talked about how parents don't instill a sense of worth in kids. Helen says that she knows mothers who have careers and have made it professionally outside of the family, but that their kids don't get anything out of it.



Tricia, an Outside-identified women, recognizes the ways that family orientations are used by women in social interaction to distinguish themselves from other women and negotiate status.

Tricia said that Jean is so against women working or women rights at all. She will make comments about how wrong it is for women to work and put their kids in day care. Tricia said that she is saying that to her, while that is what she does.... She said, "She knows that I am friends with Beth, yet she will make comments about the hippie, back to earth, liberal moms."

Through selectively presenting and hiding achievements and expectations of children and attitudes toward gender relations, Town-identified women seek a self-definition as connected with the culture of the summer colony and negotiate status relative to the other women in the Coffee Shop.

### Progressive Families

Finally, Outside-identified women, Tricia, Amy, and Dorothy, also use family orientations in the creation and presentation of identity and status within the setting of the Coffee Shop. Their presentation of egalitarian relationships is the most obvious. Through their conversations and actions, Outside-identified women present themselves as progressive women who have an equal partnership with their husbands. The following statements demonstrate the presentations of self made by Amy and Tricia:

Amy talked about how she had to clean the house, cook, and get ready for the family event tonight. She sarcastically said that she has to be "Suzy homemaker".

Amy downplays her participation in traditional gender roles by making fun of housework. On another occasion, Amy and Tricia express their ability to do traditionally male work within the home:

Amy and Tricia said that their husbands don't know how to fix things and that they work instead so that they can pay people to fix it. Amy told the story of how ran into the plumber at the hardware store. He started to tell her that she could tell her husband to get a wrench and do this and this in order to fix a plumbing problem they were having. Amy was irritated saying, "Like I couldn't do it myself... I just don't want to do it myself."

And another time:

A woman in the Coffee Shop commented about how gardening and yard work is fun. She said, "Who ever made the list of jobs for men and women?" She said that men get to do the fun work and the women have to "clean the toilets". Tricia and Amy said that they don't follow such a list in their families. In their houses, they said, "the list was torn up".

In these ways, the Outside-identified women publicly present their progressive egalitarian orientations toward the family. They frequently find ways to express to other women in the Coffee Shop that they orient themselves to the family values which they see as part of cultures outside of Sandy Haven.

Actions by Outside-identified women are also used to express these family orientations and create desired identities and statuses. The best example of this is the interactions between Tricia and her husband, Doug. Nearly each morning, Doug comes into the Coffee Shop to get lunch for himself and a man he works with. Although Tricia is working behind the counter at that time, Doug usually makes his own lunch. On occasion, Tricia will offer to make his lunch but only if he is doing something to assist her with her work, such as purchasing ingredients from the grocery store or refilling the water cooler. After his lunch is packed, they kiss and tell each other to have a good day. Through these actions, Tricia demonstrates to other women the equal, fair, and loving partnership that she and Doug share.

Outside-identified women also present their expectations for their children. Tricia, Dorothy, and Amy display enthusiasm and excitement about their children who live away from and have an opportunity to travel outside of Sandy Haven. For example, Tricia shares her enthusiasm about her ten year old daughter, who through winning an essay writing contest, won a week long trip to study marine biology on an island off of Maine. Amy talks frequently about her son and daughter who live in Washington D.C. She brings her cosmopolitan appearing daughter, with a trendy hair cut and very short, shorts, to the Coffee Shop. She talks about the preparation she and her sixteen year old daughter are going through to get ready for the fashion design program in which she will be participating in Washington D.C. Thus, unlike Town-identified women, Outside-identified women encourage and enjoy the opportunities for their children which take them outside of Sandy Haven. And unlike the Point-identified women, they are proud of goals which are not necessarily connected with high prestige or wealth, but are socially conscious or artistic, such as writing, fashion design, and marine conservation. These values are presented by women to both distinguish themselves and gain status relative to other women.

Within the setting of the Coffee Shop, Outside-identify women do not only present their family orientations, but display disapproval of local family orientation. Through their interactions in the Coffee Shop, they present the expectations for their children as better than those held by Town-identified women. As the following field note shows:

I said that my boyfriend and I have been dating for three years. Tricia said that that isn't too long and that I was still too young to get married. She

said, "I don't understand these girls who want to get married right out of high school. Being married is great, but you have your whole life to be married. Why not stay single for a while? I have been trying to talk Holly into getting away. She has been living with someone, not the same person, since she was fifteen. She has never experienced life as a young single woman."

They also present disapproval of traditional family roles. They show disgust toward women who are not advocates of women's reproductive rights or equal position within families. They make faces and roll their eyes when other women express what they view as "backwards" ideas about women in families.

Observations in the Coffee Shop reveal how women use family orientations in daily social interaction to produce a cultural identity and status. Family orientations, along with work and leisure orientations, are used by women to continually produce and reproduce cultural stratification within the town of Sandy Haven.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

This study has shown that women in the rural town of Sandy Haven, where there are relatively small class differences, create clearer boundaries and larger class distinctions through their selection and presentation of cultural orientations. The women in Sandy Haven use work, leisure activities, and family expectations, not only as a source of income, fun, or socialization, but as a mechanism through which to create identity, establish a system of cultural stratification within the town, and find a place within that structure. This study shows that cultural values, practices, and norms in the arenas of work, leisure, and family do not merely emerge from social class positions, but are also used to create structures of inequality.

In Sandy Haven, there are limited opportunities for gaining status and prestige based on occupational status, income, or educational attainment. As a result of the economic structure, most jobs available involve blue-collar or lower-level service work. Income from work is all highly seasonal given the dependence on natural resources and tourism. Sandy Haven residents have to leave town to attain higher education and seek jobs which require such credentials. As a result, many "locals" who advance socioeconomically, through educational and occupational attainment, leave the community and leave behind relative socioeconomic homogeneity. Within this setting, there are not many

opportunities to both remain a “local” and gain social mobility. Women, however, can use culture to create distinctions and gain social positions similar to those found within the larger American stratification system.

The women in Sandy Haven have created three distinct cultural groups that give them different identities and cultural status. Each culture resembles different populations which comprise the town – the “locals”, people “from away”, or the summer colony – and different social classes within the American system of stratification. The Town-identified women are deliberately maintaining lifestyles, values, and norms similar to those found among working class families (Rubin, 1976; Halle, 1984). The Point-identified women are emulating the lifestyles, actions, and values of the elite, upper classes (Domhoff, 1983; Ostrander, 1984). The Outside-identified women are constructing a culture similar to that found among the “new-middle” class of highly educated professional (Brint, 1984).” Women in Sandy Haven create this cultural system of stratification as a means to connect themselves to the American system of stratification that they see on television, in books, and in their everyday lives through the people “from away” with whom they share the town.

More specifically, the Point and Outside-identified women seek to move up and away from the working-class culture of the town. They use culture to seek a higher status than the working-class status and culture of Sandy Haven represents. These groups of women are seeking socioeconomic resources which are highly valued by dominant America. Through their choice and

presentation of values, lifestyles, norms, and worldviews, Point and Outside-identified women gain access to economic, cultural, and political power.

Point-identified women have access to economic rewards as a result of their cultural orientations. Some of the women from this cultural group have gained financial assistance and access to elite universities as a result of their alignment with the summer colony. For example, one woman describes a Stony Point family she worked for as “instrumental” in her husband’s acceptance to a prestigious university. Their college-bound young sons of “presentable” appearance can secure high paying work at the Stony Point pool to help pay for college expenses.

Furthermore, through their cultural orientations, Point-identified women are most likely to prepare their children for gaining social mobility away from the working class status and culture of Sandy Haven. As women push their children to attend college to seek social mobility, children gain socioeconomic status. For example, one son, whose father is a fisherman and carpenter, graduated from college and is employed as an elementary school teacher. Some children of Point-identified women are preparing to be lawyers and others are advancing in prestigious business careers. In some ways, these children have greater life chances. With college degrees, they have more options for and security in work throughout the country, if not in Sandy Haven. They, unlike residents who depend on the jobs and way of life of the town, have the choice to leave the community to form a life elsewhere and therefore, are better prepared to find alternative work when faced with social change, such as a collapse of the fishing

industry. Their economic success does not depend on the economic structure of the rural community.

Point-identified women also display knowledge and appreciation of “high” culture, “appropriate” behavior, and elite lifestyles which are valued and provide socioeconomic rewards within the American system of stratification. By knowing what to talk about, how to act, and being familiar with art and opera in elite social settings, these women are more likely to have access to elite positions in class system. (Bourdieu, 1984).

Outside-Identified women also acquire cultural capital, though in a slightly different form, through their selection of cultural orientations. They gain knowledge of diverse people and lifestyles. They know and appreciate ways of life outside of Sandy Haven. They pass this cultural capital onto their children. As a result, they and their children tend to be more adaptable and have greater life choices. They are free and prepared to leave Sandy Haven if they so chose or have to.

Also as a result of their cultural orientations, Outside-identified women gain power within Sandy Haven. Outside-identified women who hold political positions in the local government do tend to have political influence in town. Through positions on the school board, they are able to determine school policies, hiring, and spending. They, in turn, influence local taxes. By serving on the planning board, Outside-identified women are able to have some influence over the appearance of the town and control over the start of new businesses.



From these “objective” rewards of economic, cultural, and political capital, Point-identified and Outside-identified women gain respect, prestige, and status in the world outside of Sandy Haven. Although they are from rural Maine, they are unlikely to be viewed as “backward” or “small town” since they work every day to distinguish themselves from such an identity. They could successfully participate in a wide range of social settings outside of Sandy Haven, where they would be defined as cosmopolitan, worldly, and refined.

The Town-Identified women, on the other hand, do not seek social class mobility up and away from the working-class culture of the town. Rather, they continually reinforce and strengthen both the local culture and their identification with it through their daily interactions and presentation of self. Why do they do this? Why do they not seek mobility?

As with Point and Outside-identified women, the answer lies in the rewards that the Town-identified women receive from their cultural orientations. The Town-identified women, like the other women, gain rewards through their cultural orientations. First, Town-identified women gain different, but significant, socioeconomic rewards through their creation of cultural identities. By possessing and presenting their value for hard work, women in Sandy Haven are able to survive in a local economy of limited and unstable jobs. Although local jobs are relatively unprestigious and do not provide social mobility, they provide good income without a long commute. Women can gain access to some of the most abundant and often the highest paying jobs within this rural setting by being

willing to combine several jobs, withstand long hours, and perform physically demanding and dirty work.

Town-identified women also gain access to beneficial local ties through their cultural orientations. Connection to and good standing within the local networks further ensures access to good jobs within the town. Work is predominantly obtained through word of mouth and reputation as a hard worker. Friends hire friends, and family members hire family members. Being part of the local social network is essential to obtaining local jobs.

Belonging to Sandy Haven's strong local networks also provides social support. Town-identified women live among friends and family who know them and whom they can depend on. They have relied on them during hard times and know that they can turn to them again in the future. They know they can trust their neighbors and feel safe living within this setting. The town feels like a "family".

Carol Stack (1974) found a similar reliance on social networks among poor women living in urban areas. The strong ties are essential for women trying to survive hard times. Through these ties, women gave and received access to economic and social support which they could not find elsewhere. Yet, Stack also found that these networks held women back. When women gained excess to economic resources, they shared these resources within their networks rather than using them to gain mobility. As a result, the support networks ensured that everyone survived, but also that no one got ahead.

The local ties among Town-identified women in Sandy Haven operate in a similar way. The women value and rely on the culture of the town and the support it provides. Nonetheless, when they emphasize the need to maintain these ties, they are forfeiting efforts for social mobility among themselves and their children.

Some researchers conclude lack of mobility results in frustration and anger among the working classes (Sennett and Cobb, 1972; Rubin, 1995). They want more, but are trapped. Others, however, have reached the opposite conclusion. Halle (1985), for example, found that the working class men did not feel frustration in their class position, rather they felt a sense of pride and strong identity rooted in being a 'working man'. This cultural identity and pride is based on doing "productive", hard physical work and maintaining supportive alliances with other men doing similar work. They reject the values of their bosses and do not aspire to be like them. The identity of "working man" was so strong for the men in his study that they maintained this identity even though their economic position was more middle class than working class. These men, regardless of their economic standing, base their pride and esteem on physical work, rather than social mobility.

Pride in working class culture, including values of hard work, being a good neighbor, and strong dedication to family, while not necessarily providing access to the elite positions within the American system of stratification, are central to the image of a "good American". These values are expressed and taught throughout American political, educational, and religious institutions. These are

the values that Town-identified women take and use as the cornerstone of their cultural social identity.

Town-identified women, through daily interactions which reinforce these working-class cultural orientation, continually reproduce a pocket of the social world which emphasizes these values. They do not seek to move up and leave behind the culture of Sandy Haven. Rather, through their daily actions and presentations of values, they continually work to strengthen this culture and their connection to it. They do so by presenting those values of hard work, strong community and family and rejecting those values from outside which threaten this culture. As a result, the Town-identified women maintain their cultural orientations as dominant in Sandy Haven.

Orientations of the Town-identified women – value for physical work, local leisure, and strong, extended families - are the standards that predominate in the town. Point and Outside-identified women recognize that their values, norms, and lifestyles are not dominant in the town. They consider their cultural orientations to be in sharp contrast to the local culture, and try to reorient the dominant culture of Sandy Haven to reflect their own values, norms, and lifestyles. Point-identified women seek to change the culture of the town to be more like that of the summer colony. They strive for beautification of homes and streets, greater appreciation of high culture, and more emphasis on occupational and educational mobility among the local residents. Outside-identified women seek to make the town more cosmopolitan and accepting of diverse cultures. Although Point and Outside-identified women wish to change the town, they do

not have the necessarily socioeconomic status. As Bourdieu (1987) explains, individuals often work to impose one's cultural orientations - values, worldviews, and lifestyles - on others. Unequal access to socioeconomic resources is essential for doing so, however. He writes:

It is through this endless work of representation that social agents try to impose their vision of the world or the vision of their own position in that world, and to define their social identity...in the distributions of the various species of capital, the agents involved in this struggle are very unequally armed in the fight to impose their truth, and have very different, and even opposed aims (p.11).

Given the relative similarity in social class standing among the women in Sandy Haven, the Point and Outside-identified women do not have sufficient economic and political influence to impose their culture on others. For example, Point-identified women do not have enough political power or economic influence to pass zoning ordinances requiring residents of Sandy Haven to beautify their yards and homes. Outside-identified women do not have sufficient power or influence to affect the racism, sexism, and homophobia in the town.

As a result of their connection to the dominant local culture, the Town-identified women are in a position to have prestige relative to others in the town. Although their values are not associated with elite statuses of the American stratification system, they gain respect, esteem, and status in the town of Sandy Haven as a result of their values and lifestyles. The status and prestige they acquire is probably most obvious in the deference the Town-identified women receive from people "from away".

Gigi, although a summer resident with far greater socioeconomic status than the Town-identified women, defers to the “local” women. She wishes to become part of the local culture, defers to the “local” women in order to gain acceptance, and provides prestige to the Town-identified women by placing them in a position to reject her efforts. When Gigi first came to the Coffee Shop, she was ignored by the town women and only slowly grew to be accepted. During conversations with local women, she continually expresses her desire to seek access to the culture of the town. My field notes describe one such conversation:

Mr. Rudolph has land for sale in town. Gigi said that she thought that was strange that he was selling it and especially that he was advertising. She went in to the realtor in town to ask about it. She said that she would love that land. Jean said that she wouldn't because it is too windy. Gigi said that she wouldn't mind. She said that if she lived down there she would not be so alone like she is on Stony Point, where it can be like a ghost town. She said that she would like to be “down there with normal people, like all of you”.

Gigi wants to move into the culture of the town in order to gain the rewards associated with the culture, including local social ties and support. However, access to the “local” culture does not come easy. For example, Gigi and her husband came to the Diner for dinner. They passed through a group of local men and women socializing at the front of the restaurants. No one greeted them. When they saw me sitting among the locals, they asked me about my study and what I was learning about the town. One local woman said, “Why don't you ask the locals?” in a tone quite unwelcoming to questions. The atmosphere became tense and Gigi and her husband took a seat in a corner booth, having no further contact with the other people in the restaurant. Gigi came to the Diner because

she wanted to be part of the local culture. However, her overtures were rejected, and she had to stay within the boundaries of her cultural position as not a “local”.

Through such interactions, Town-identified women gain greater prestige and status in Sandy Haven than they do in the larger class structure of American society. In order to maintain this prestige and status, the Town-identified women continually create and recreate the “local”, working-class culture and secure their place within it.

### Contributions to the Field of Social Stratification

The findings of this study question common assumptions made in theories and research on social stratification and thereby, advance our understanding of social inequality. First, by analyzing women’s role in the creation of cultural stratification, this study encourages us to think about the link between the cultural and the economic, between structure and agency, in a new way. Differences in economic structural position do result in cultural differences (Weber, 1964 [1922]; Bourdieu, 1984). However, this study shows that cultural differences and inequality are not an outcome of structural differences but are continually produced and reproduced through daily interaction.

While the general patterns in the data from this study show a relationship between structural position and cultural differences, some of the most interesting cases are those which do not fit this pattern. There are a number of women in the study who hold cultural orientations which do not correspond with their occupational, educational status, and experiences in one’s family of background.

For example, there are a number of Point and Outside-identified women who have only high school educations, are married to men who have only high school educations or less and work in blue-collar jobs. Similarly, there are Town-identified women who are some of the most economically successful women in Sandy Haven. These cases add further support for the findings that cultural aspects of stratification are created. These women use presentation of cultural orientations to secure a class standing which would otherwise not be available to them given their economic status. Their class positions are not structurally determined. They choose and create them.

The findings of this study also encourage us to move away from attempts to fit women into economic definitions of social stratification and as Collins' (1992) suggests, investigate women's role in the creation of cultural stratification. The stratification system in Sandy Haven is not only based on unequal access to income, occupational prestige, and educational attainment, but also on the daily actions of women in the arenas of work, family, and leisure.

This study encourages us to look at the relationships between social stratification and women's work, family roles, and leisure in a new way. For example, the women in Sandy Haven do not simply pick work to gain economic standing and power. Rather, women's choice in work is also about creating cultural identity and status. This alternative understanding of women's work provides a place in our analysis of stratification for the considerable range in types of work that women perform –manual work, pink-collar work, unpaid community work, and political work. Women who perform community work are



often in a position to gain the highest status and prestige although their work is unpaid, because they are gaining cultural status rather than economic status. This finding is similar to what Daniels (1988) concluded in her study of volunteer work among upper class women. The findings of this study show, however, that women of all classes, not just the upper class, create cultural identity and prestige through their orientations toward their work, leisure, and families. In addition, they show that it is the relationship between women that is essential for the creation of cultural identity and prestige. As Thompson (1963) argues in "The Making of the English Working Class", cultural stratification is not a "thing" but a relationship. Women create their desired cultural social identity and position within a system of cultural stratification by associating with women who share their values, worldviews, lifestyles, and norms and distinguishing themselves from women who do not. They use their cultural orientations to present themselves as like or different from others.

This, in itself, is an important contribution to the study of women in social stratification. When research and theories on stratification include women, they almost always examine women in relation to men - how, why, and where is there inequality between women and men (Crompton and Mann, 1986). There are a number of studies, such as Daniels', that examine women who share a particular class position (Stack, 1974; Rubin, 1976; 1994; Ostrander, 1984). With the exception of Judith Rollin's (1985) work, however, few examine interaction between women of different social classes. This neglect continues, although increasingly scholars of gender studies emphasize the need to understand women not as a

homogenous group but as people sharing a common gender with uncommon social positions whether as a result of race, sexual orientation, or class. This study contributes to filling this gap in research by emphasizing how women of different economic and cultural positions interact to perpetuate differences and inequalities.

### Do Men in Sandy Haven Participate?

Do the men in Sandy Haven participate in the creation of cultural stratification which Collins (1992) argues is primarily the work of women? This question is difficult to answer since my research design did not include systematic collection of data from men. Yet, my participant observation and interviews with some men in the town provide enough data for me to speculate at possible answers.

There are men in Sandy Haven who clearly can be classified as Outside-identified, Town-identified, or Point-identified. For example, the women at the Coffee Shop tease Dorothy's husband for being preoccupied with the lifestyle and people of Stony Point. He participates in their leisure activities, such as sailing competitions, and closely watches their comings and goings. One day, he listed all of the summer residents who are currently on the Point and who was at dinner at the Dining Room a few days before. Meanwhile, he was not aware of when and for how long his in-laws would be visiting from out of town. Tricia laughed and said, "He knows every move that they make on the Point and he doesn't know about his own family". In the Coffee Shop, he is openly critical of the appearance, work orientations, and families of Town-identified women. Another man, a husband of an Outside-identified woman, is himself Outside-

identified. He is disgusted about the lack of interests in diverse cultures in town, works to bring contra dances to the local historical hall, and openly says that he would like the town to be more like Green Hill, a progressive, new age orientated town. There are some men who do not socialize at the Diner and some men who criticize women for socializing over tea. Clearly, there are men in Sandy Haven who participate in the creation of the cultural system of stratification.

Yet, men in Sandy Haven are not as closely connected to the creation of cultural stratification as women are. I speculate that this is attributable, as Collins (1992) suggests, to the distinct gender roles for women and men which are found in this working-class community. Women in Sandy Haven are primarily responsible for caring for and socializing children. Women also play a far greater role in the town community work. While women participate in a variety of unpaid community work projects, men's participation is largely limited to the fire department. Women are more likely to have a choice between blue-collar and pink-collar jobs, whereas men are limited to blue-collar work. The Diner, being a setting for "working men" in the morning, at lunchtime, and in the late afternoon, is open to most men in Sandy Haven who do physical work without being associated with a presentation of any particular cultural orientation. Therefore, men in Sandy Haven may contribute to the creation of cultural stratification, but gender roles in the community make it so that women, more than men, are essentially required to participate in this process. Women, in their daily lives in Sandy Haven, must pick between doing manual or "professional" work or not working for pay. They must chose to either participate in or avoid unpaid

community work. They must decide how they are going to raise their children. They must choose to go to the Diner or not. Women not only have choices as a result of their gender roles, but they indeed must choose. Any of these choices that women make are associated with a presentation of a particular cultural orientation, a particular cultural identity, and a particular status within the cultural stratification system of Sandy Haven. Thus, women, to a greater extent than men, tend to work as agents in creation of cultural stratification.

Within Sandy Haven, women create a system of cultural stratification – three cultures which provide unequal access to resources within dominant American culture. Nonetheless, none of the groups of women view themselves as living a lesser life than others. Some women move away from the culture of Sandy Haven to gain greater access to resources such as wealth or diverse cultures. Other women choose to emphasize those values, lifestyles, and world views which provide them success within the rural setting of Sandy Haven and gives them the chance to live their lives within a town that they find supportive, safe, and the perfect home. They find pride and prestige as a result of maintaining this culture. Through the creation of and association with these distinct cultures, women in Sandy Haven are able to seek the rewards they wish to have and live the lives they wish to live.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

How long have you lived in Sandy Haven?

When did you move here? Why? Where from?  
Did your parents grow up here?

### **FAMILY PAST:**

Make a family tree of your relatives.

Tell me about your and your husband's family.

Who lived or lives in the area?

Ages

Current residence

Work

Community involvement - government, organizations

Reputation

### **FAMILY NOW:**

Spouse - how long married? where did you meet?

How many children do you have? Sex? Ages?

### **spouse work:**

What does your husband do for work?

Hours? Seasonal? Good living?

How did he get into that?

What other work has he done?

### **your work:**

Tell me about your work.

Hours? Seasonal? Good money?

How did you get into this? When?

How do you feel about it?

What other work have you done?

What other work have you considered?

What is it like finding work in Sandy Haven?

What work related goals do you have? (expand, new job, full-time)

Tell me why you would or would not do the following work:

Fish?

Start your own business?

Wait tables at the Diner or the Dining Room?

Work at the grocery stores?

Work at fish plant?

Gardening/Construction?

What about unpaid work....

Do you belong to any clubs or organizations?

How did you become a member?

What do you do as a member?

Have you ever run for political office?

Why, why not?

If yes, how did you get involved?

Why not higher?

If no, who is involved in politics?

What kind of contact do you have with the people who made decisions?

What household work do you do?

### **children/school:**

What are your children doing?

What do you hope for them in the future?

Will they stay in Sandy Haven? Do you want them to?

### **COMMUNITY:**

How would you describe life in Sandy Haven?

Best/Worst parts of living here?

What the biggest problems facing the community?

### **values**

What is the most important personal quality a resident of WH should have?

Do people in Sandy Haven have this quality?

What are the most important values to instill in children?

How would you describe your values?

Work?

Family? (single moms, living together, two parents working, raising children)

How does your marriage/family compare to your parents?

Do other people in Sandy Haven think like you do?

How have values changed in Sandy Haven?

### **lifestyle**

What is your typical day like? What did you do yesterday? Is that typical?

What do you usually do in for leisure time or weekend activities?

Favorite day activity?

Favorite night out?

Favorite local restaurant?

Favorite TV show?

Favorite vacation?

### **networks:**

One of the things I am interested in is relationships between friends, neighbors, and acquaintances.

Could you draw a diagram of the people that you have socialized with in the last week? Draw lines between the people who know each other (Show example)

Are there people who are not included that you see fairly regularly?

Are there people that you saw last week, who you don't normally socialize with?

Could you tell me a little about these people and your relationship with them?

Work, husband's work, community activities

Where see each other, what do you do together, time known each other

How much contact do you have with other women in the town?

Who are the women you do not have a lot of contact with? Why?

Are there women in town who are very different from you and your friends?

In what ways?

What groups do you see in the community?

Social classes?

What about groups during the winter months?

Has this changed since you've lived here?

Where does your family stand in the community?

Do the groups intermingle?

Would you switch places with a family on Stony Point? Why?

Can a person "make it" here if he/she works hard enough?  
Example of when this happened?

How do people see you? Is that accurate?

How have things changed since you have lived here?  
How has the population of the community changed?  
People moving in? Leaving?

What do you think the future of the community is?  
Are you likely to stay here in the future?

### **FUTURE**

What do you worry about?

When you feel good about yourself, what has happened?

Do you have any regrets - things you would do differently?

Where do you see yourself 5 years from now? 10 years?

Is there anything you would like to add?

Any questions that you have for me?



## Appendix B. Sample Cover Sheet

| File<br>Leisure | Name<br>Work | Identity<br>Family |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------------|
|-----------------|--------------|--------------------|

**WOMAN INFORMATION:**

|                                  |  |   |
|----------------------------------|--|---|
| Age                              |  | Home<br>House   |
| Education                        |  |   |
| Paid Work<br>Workplace           |  | Away  |
| Past Paid Work<br>Past Workplace |  | Community Work<br>Past Community Work<br>Political Work |

**NETWORKS:**

Size of Network

Number of Women  
Number of Men  
Number of Couples  
Number Family

Number in WH  
Number Away

How know them  
Who in Network

Grindstone

**FAMILY HISTORY:**

Grow up

Mom Education  
Mom Paid Work  
Mom Workplace  
Mom Community Work  
Mom Political Work

**LIFESTYLE:**

Hobbies/Interests  
DoFun  
Dining

**VALUES:**

Family For  
Family Against

Social For  
Social Against

Values For  
Values Against

Dad Education  
Dad Paid Work  
Dad Workplace  
Dad Community Work  
Dad Political Work

**PARTNER INFORMATION:****Marital Status****Partner Grow up****Partner Education****Partner Mom Education****Partner Paid Work****Partner Mom Paid Work****Partner Workplace****Partner Dad Education****Partner Past Work****Partner Dad Paid Work****Partner Community Work****Partner Political Work****CHILDREN INFORMATION:****Number of Children****Where Children Live****Sex of Children****Time Children Away****Ages of Children****Child Away Important****Children's Education****Child College Important****Children's Paid Work****Values for Children****INTERVIEW SUMMARY****General notes****Family Past****Paid Work****Community Work****Political Work****Community****Groups****Gossip****Network****Family Values****Social Values****Children****Partner****Leisure****Grindstone****Navy****Away****Material**

## APPENDIX C: Sample View of Work Type

| PAID WORK  | COMMUNITY WORK   | POLITICAL WORK   |
|--|--|--|
| <b>OUTSIDE-IDENTIFIED WOMEN:</b>   |  |  |
| Babysat at young age because loved kids, in HS worked on Point, worked at 5 and 10, liked work because it dealt with town and Navy, applying to Head Start program | Does a lot and enjoys it, understands that people are working and can't volunteer, joined church recently, it is really liberal, "not a joiner" for Women's Club | None   |
| First job at restaurant when she was 15, bought restaurant, will work again after child is born, would go crazy if she didn't work                                 | None, too busy   | None, says she should get involved   |
| Always worked part time as secretary, works 2.5 days a week and that is enough, doesn't like to work, does for social aspect, meet people                          | In women's club because mother is a member but not a "club person", doesn't like cliqueness, compares to sorority, too busy with school board                    | Got involved in school board because of son's special needs, says school board members aren't popular  |
| Didn't do well in college and didn't go into any profession, likes job because it is good pay for amount of work, making wreaths in winter with friend is social   | Volunteers at AIDS network, kids need education, liberal group, don't belong to clubs because they are too conservative  | Joined school board year after she came to town, hates politics but has to do it, worlds apart on basic issues with people in town.                    |
| Has had jobs which took her all over the country. Was a flight attendant to get out of area which she always wanted to go as a child                               | None, not a joiner.  | Involved in water district, believes that everyone should fulfill their civic duty.  |
| Doesn't help husband with fishing, work at restaurant was mentally and physically exhausting but like social part of it  | Likes library but not stimulated by it, not interested in Women's club, explaining why makes her seem like a snob, not interested in Christian club              | A number of different offices, person behind manipulating everyone on school board, political divides in the town, stress with husband on school board |
| Applied for bank job because it sounded fun, fell into being manager, retired rather than lay a worker off, worked first for income and stayed to get pension      | Joined everything to please mother-in-law, library main interest now, loves books, previous librarian asked her to fill job                                      | Elected town clerk for 12 yrs, and school board for 3 yrs, asked to run by others, people don't participate like they should because of hurt feelings  |
| Very little work and low pay for women, women aren't allowed to fish, worked as cook on Point  | Volunteered a lot when kids were growing up, church groups, may get involved more locally, especially the library, maybe the Women's club                        | Not involved, but should go to town meeting. She doesn't because she doesn't like conflict, people hurting others                                      |

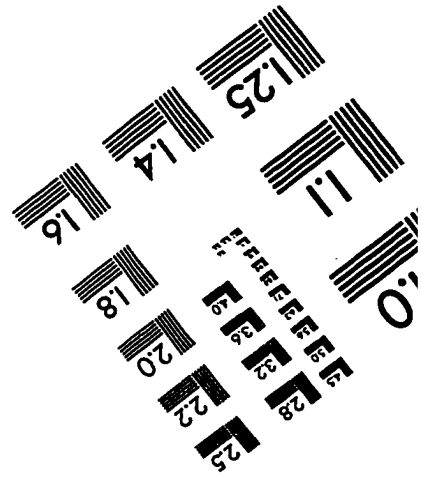
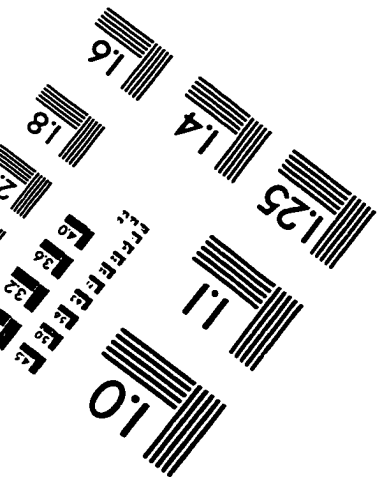
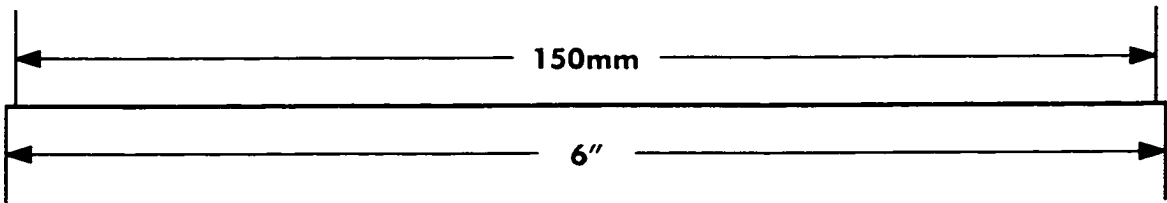
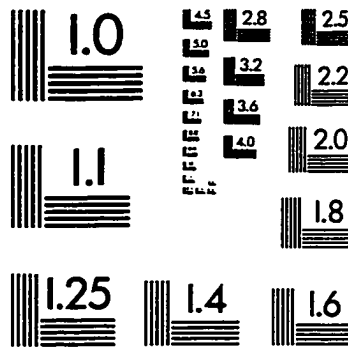
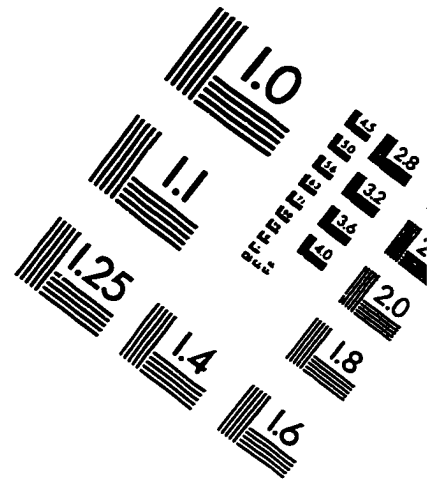
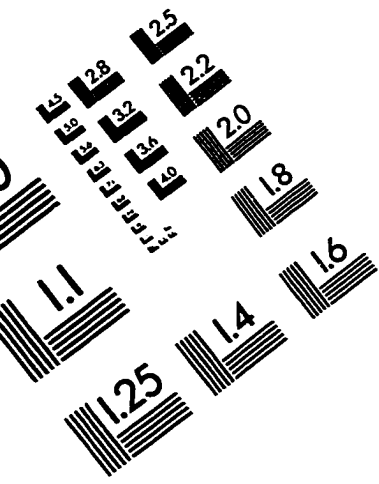
|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| Work is all she has know, has own business so she could be independent, works long hours without taking time off unless kids are sick             | EMT because there wasn't anyone, only woman firefighter, would rather fight fire than be in women's auxiliary, Women's Club would kick her out             | Political groups feel strongly about issues and that leads to tension in town                      |
| <b>TOWN-IDENTIFIED WOMEN:</b>   |  |  |
| All family had to work, 6th grade babysat, 7th grade worked on Point, bought school clothes and lunches, knew value of a dollar                   | None   | None   |
| Didn't work for 2 years and it was dull, worked long hours at fish plant, made more there when it was piece work, husband also works hard         | None, doesn't have time, not a volunteer group because we are working so much, exhausted from working all day and wants to spend time with husband and son | Doesn't go to town meeting and not involved, don't agree with what they do, in everyone's business |
| Doesn't work full time because husband wants her at home, works part time as waitress to get out  | None   | Only about fishing, fishermen's wives association  |
| Had chores growing up, everyone had to work all summer to make money for school clothes, she's a "workaholic", has a number of jobs at once       | None   | None   |
| Has held a lot of jobs, sometimes a number at once, likes cooking, close to home and good pay, distinguishes between physical work and brain work | None, doesn't want to, too much work to do, doesn't fit into organizations, that is why she cooks - in her own world                                       | None, its above her head, doesn't understand it, stays home with son so husband can go             |
| Lived with and worked for family when she was growing up, was a "tidy" woman most of her life, devastated by mess that people leave               | Asked to join Women's club and others, but not interested, she was working   | None, no political opinions, but adds that she's against school budget                             |
| Started work before she was legally allowed, kids should work early, worked all through HS, work at the Diner is great pay and great hours        | None   | None   |
| Mom got her job in nursing home when she was 15, working as nurse's assistant ever since, works 4 days, was sick, would go to 3 if she could      | None, not around enough because of work, not her personality and doesn't like clubs  | None, definitely not interested.   |

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| None work ethic among young people today, only work to get alcohol, loved to go fishing, stopped because father told her husband not to take her         | Very involved with their church, holds offices and teaches Bible study.   | None, don't have time.  |
| Got job pumping gas through friend, ended up owning half of business, gets niece to help during summers, important for kids to work early                | None, mom not involved, would be good for her mom and grandmother if they would because they could have those networks                                    | None, like parents, goes with the flow, can't make a difference, sister is the opposite and it makes her tired.                       |
| Worked in restaurants, met a lot of people through work, good waitress, has been a stay at home mom for 2 yrs, but works a lot on crafts she sells       | Never wanted to do organizations, not something she thought was important, helps at school, agrees to help out with things although she doesn't have time | None, she and husband were asked to run, but too much going on with work and kids, doesn't want people mad at her                     |
| Cooks at Point, pay in good, says that she works so much that she doesn't have many friends, much time for fun, or community work                        | None, not interested, thought about Easter star because mom and sister were in that, but was working and couldn't make meetings                           | None, hates politics, goes to town meeting, sits and votes, they do what they want anyway, why waste effort                           |
| In HS, cleaned and cooked after school and on weekends, as soon as she could get a work permit, worked in factory, has held a number of different jobs   | None, has done some but organizations are nothing she has ever wanted, too busy working and taking care of kids   | Not involved and not interested, will go to town meeting and help count votes, but not interested in politics, no political opinions. |
| Worked on Point for years, has done everything for them, also cleans and cares for people in town, thinks kids should have to work                       | Doesn't a lot of work for others on her own, but not a member of any organizations, not interested, she's tired at the end of the day                     | Goes to town meeting, but would not want the headache of holding office, make too many enemies  |
| Hard work is important for kids, works all of the time, never takes day off, even when sick keeps working  | None  | None, never gets away from work, they will do what they want  |
| Owned restaurants in town, hard to find good work, there were some women in town she could count on  | Eastern Star and works on annual town celebrations, but not interested in other organizations   | None  |
| Runs family store, tried to have jobs so that she could be with her kids, now works a lot of hours and is really busy, taught her daughters to work hard | Worked at benefit suppers and took daughters along to help, women's club for the last 4 yrs, asked and saw they did a lot so she joined                   | Not into politics, her husband is, have to be careful when you own a business, goes to town meetings but keeps quiet.                 |
| All kids grew up hard working on farm, "today it would be child abuse", milked cows at 6, ran a store with husband for 10 yrs.                           | Belongs to women's club but doesn't do too much   | None, never got involved, it can get nasty, goes and just listens   |

| <b>POINT-IDENTIFIED WOMEN:</b>   |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| Father was a hard worker, everyone worker long hours in their family, commutes to work in retail, there is not work in town, waitressing is too hard | Joined clubs when married and spent more time in town, belonged to everything, Women's club, Eastern star, PTA, "things mothers did"                    | None, too insecure  |
| Didn't work to raise children and teach good values, no work in town for women except menial work, would really need the money                       | Community workers are well liked people in town, she is one, puts in a lot of hours volunteering, calls it her job                                      | None, stays away from town meetings, women who are in politics that is all they do, women "keep their lines" in town                          |
| Worried about being fulfilled professionally in town, job at local paper was good because it was her education and flexible for kids                 | She and husband are involved, praises unpaid, unrecognized, extensive work of women's club, importance of Preservation Society                          | Goes to town meeting, way to show they were part of community, loved the town ball after the town meeting, may run for office in the future   |
| Worked during summer to pay for clothes and books, worked as a teacher as did her mother   | Belongs to a lot, so did her mother, Women's club used to have afternoon meetings with tea at the Point, when women worked moved to night               | None  |
| Describes parents and herself as working hard in the store, worked in town office, got to be too much work and responsibility                        | She and husband both very involved, very dedicated to Preservation Society, wishes others would give more, can't depend on people because they all work | None, her husband was crucified, have to have a thick skin  |
| Worked as aide in nursing home but didn't like care patients were getting, does private duty now, takes care of older women in town                  | A "doer" and works quickly, lists all that she does, very upset that people don't appreciate or help  | None  |
| Worked at family's store, kept it going when siblings moved away   | Involved in Women's Club  | None  |
| Is married to her store, is there all of the time because she can't find good help, wants to sell it so she can have free time                       | Member of women's club and was involved in forming historical society   | None, her husband is involved   |
| Had to support herself after her divorce, very interested in professional work, enjoyed fishing one summer   | Joined committees shortly after moving to area, important for acceptance, very involved in recreational committee, joining Women's Club                 | None, goes to town meeting  |
| Office job at fish plant, got job through father's friend, computers will increase jobs in town  | Volunteered growing up, same people serve on all committees, works to support and promote community, provide things for the residents                   | Government has a bad name but it has resources that can help the community through grants, has been on school board, may run for office again |

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| Worked as teacher's aide and secretary at the school, doesn't work now, no work in area, put her name in at the Diner but didn't get a call                    | Belongs to Baptist church, thought about women's club but got the feeling that she wasn't welcome when she mentioned it, involved in Library                          | None  |
| Teaches, works summer waiting tables, education important for staying away from seasonal work, encourage children to work but one son works too hard fishing   | Belongs to Women's Club, mom and sister are members, enjoys that scholarships and help with community, all members work hard  | None, never thought about it, brother did and it was a hard job   |
| Got job in hospital through father's friend, has never worked for a long period of time  | Women's club, library, university extension group which helped women to be better homemakers, held offices in all   | None, but is outspoken about conservative, Republican view points   |
| Runs business with her husband, she does books   | Volunteered at library and Point pool, taught nearly all kids in town how to swim, librarian, got invited to women's club by being invited to friends Christmas party | Would like to be on school board, planning board, or selectman but is afraid of negativity, you can only do so much                     |
| Sees it as very important that her kids work and they have worked a number of years already, works for herself, talks about the great job she does in her work | Joined women's club when she was 40 because she thought it was something she should do, show calendar of all the volunteering she has planned                         | None, husband was selectman and it was a thankless job  |
| Worked in factory growing up (didn't want to talk about it), thought work was bad, book keeper for family business   | Don't volunteer much with clubs, PTO when kids were young, people ask her but she doesn't have time   | Asked a few times but would conflict with business  |
| Worked at post office, job through friend, moved up from substitute clerk, liked meeting people, held number other jobs prior including factory                | Women's club, started scholarships because knew students needed them, started library, does it because she cares, people are against change                           | School board for 3 yrs, no one will run, there is apathy, only people from away are interested, talks about fighting for school budget. |

# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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