

Student Work

6-1-1960

River Town, a descriptive survey of a unique community

Robert F. Simpson
University of Nebraska at Omaha

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/studentwork>
Please take our feedback survey at: https://unomaha.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8cchtFmpDyGfBLE

Recommended Citation

Simpson, Robert F., "River Town, a descriptive survey of a unique community" (1960). *Student Work*. 525.
<https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/studentwork/525>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@UNO. It has been accepted for inclusion in Student Work by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@UNO. For more information, please contact unodigitalcommons@unomaha.edu.

RIVER TOWN: A DESCRIPTIVE SURVEY
OF A UNIQUE COMMUNITY

by
Robert F. Simpson

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Sociology
University of Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

C.1

June 1960

UMI Number: EP73163

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI EP73163

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
The Value of Community Studies	1
Reasons for Community Selection	4
Methodology	7
Difficulties and Weaknesses	10
Scope	12
II. GEOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS, HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT	13
Location and General Description	13
Trade Area	19
Historical Background	20
III. POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF CARTER LAKE	37
Growth	38
Reasons for Growth	41
Social Stratification	47
IV. COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS AND FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS.	55
The Local Government	57
The Community Power Structure	57
Religious Institutions	62
Formal Organizations	68
Leisure Time and Recreation	70
V. BUSINESSES AND SERVICES	71
Private Industry	71
Retail Outlets and Private Services	73

CHAPTER	PAGE
Municipal Services	74
Other Public Services	76
Local Public Welfare	78
VI. THE CARTER LAKE SCHOOL SYSTEM	80
Physical Facilities	81
Secondary Education	82
Social Interaction	83
Special Problem	84
Future of the School System	84
VII. SOCIAL CONTROL, SOCIAL RELATIONS, AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION	86
Social Control	86
Social Interaction	92
Social Conflict	94
Social Disorganization	97
VIII. THE FUTURE OF THE COMMUNITY	103
Community Problems	103
The Legal Question	108
IX. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	114
BIBLIOGRAPHY	119
APPENDIX	123

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. Cited Locations in Carter Lake	16
2. Description of Houses	18
3. Carter Lake Census Statistics	40
4. Omaha Transit Company Airport Route	77

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE VALUE OF COMMUNITY STUDIES

Since the Lynds first presented the study of Middletown¹ to the social science world in 1937, there has been an increasing interest in community studies. Many social scientists have presented their studies for the interested reader. The community study titles are familiar ones for the majority of the social science students. Among them are such studies as: Hollingshead's Elmstown's Youth,² Warner's Yankee City Series,³ Redfield's The Little Community,⁴ and Lantz and McCrary's People of Coaltown.⁵ Each study approaches the community from a different point of view, but each has one thing in common with all others: the desire to present an objective study of a community.

¹Robert Staughton Lynd and Helen Merrel Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929).

²August Hollingshead, Elmstown's Youth (New York: J. Wiley, 1949).

³William Lloyd Warner, Yankee City Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

⁴Robert Redfield, The Little Community (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955).

⁵Herman R. Lantz and J. S. McCrary, People of Coaltown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).

The reasons why an investigator studies a community vary with the individual and his interests and methodology. A businessman may study the community to develop and coordinate plans for expansion; the school administrator may study the community to obtain a picture of the future needs and expectations of his school; and others may study the community for a variety of reasons. There appear to be as many reasons for studying as there are students. The reasons may be categorized into the following three classifications:

(1) Personal reasons. Some persons study the community to gain answers to questions affecting their own lives. Such interests are usually centered around their participation in community activities.⁶

(2) Reasons of the social scientist. In the community the social scientist discovers a complete and "comprehensive social universe." He may study gangs, families, or other social groups; but none of these offers such a gestalt of social relationships as does the community. Each part of the community may be separated, identified, and examined. In turn these parts may be seen in relationship to each other. Social scientists also study the community because it is a universal social form wherever human beings live. Variations are many, but everywhere people strive toward a common basis for meeting

⁶Irwin T. Sanders, The Community (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958), p. ix.

common needs and establish a community.⁷

(3) Reasons of the social philosopher. In times of world uncertainties and tensions there is a tendency for people to turn their attentions to local areas and local communities, to seek to improve and better their communities. These people have a solid basis on which to work for the community is an area well adapted, both spatially and socially, for substantial achievement by interested citizens. Many government agencies are making greater use of the findings of researchers in these areas for aiding community improvements.⁸

Whatever the reasons given, the community provides a laboratory setting that cannot be equalled in any other way. It is an arena of interaction that offers an opportunity for the researcher to study most, if not all of the facets of community organization and human interaction.⁹ Even the smallest village has some rudimentary form of social structure. The variety of spatial patterns is almost endless. The pattern of the community is usually unplanned. It is determined by forces generated wherever people in any numbers are thrown into close relationship. These forces consist of competition, attraction, struggle for dominance, and cooperation for the sake of economy. The pattern changes somewhat as the community

⁷Ibid., pp. ix-x.

⁸Ibid., pp. xiii-xiv.

⁹Ibid., pp. xiii-xiv.

continues to expand and develop.¹⁰ These factors signify the value of community studies. For every special interest, there is something of value to be found in the community study.

REASONS FOR COMMUNITY SELECTION

In selecting Carter Lake, Iowa, for study the writer was influenced by several forces. The first was personal and based upon the student's interest of being attracted by the unique. As will be observed throughout the study, this community is unique in many aspects. The community, itself, owes its formation to a series of events which can be matched by few other communities.

Loomis and Beagle describe a community in this manner:

The community may be defined as a social system encompassing a territorial unit within which members carry on most of their day to day activities necessary in meeting their common needs.¹¹

There are many similar definitions by other social scientists. All of the definitions are similar to the above and stress the elements of social structure, interaction, and a common territorial basis. Applying the implications of the above definitions, Carter Lake is unique in its very existence.

¹⁰R. M. Maciver and Charles H. Page, Society: An Introductory Analysis (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1949), pp. 286-87.

¹¹Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beagle, Rural Sociology (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 22.

It could well be labeled as a parasite community, a dormitory, or a dependent community. Its economy is unique. The majority of its residents work in the industries of Omaha and Council Bluffs. Few are employed in Carter Lake itself. The four industries of Carter Lake in turn employ people from the above-mentioned cities rather than from the community itself. Although little personal income for community residents is derived from the industries in the community, all community residents benefit by their presence in the community. The taxes levied on these industries pay for a large portion of the public services provided by the community.

The definition of community provided by Loomis and Beagle suggests that the community provides for the common needs of the population. In Carter Lake this is not true. The community has no grocery stores, drug stores, variety stores, nor even a business district. The community provides no hospital facilities, has no locally practicing professional personnel, and provides only very limited services for its residents. Despite the absence of a business district, the community exists as a legal entity, it grows, and continues to attract new population. Even more surprising, this community shows every indication that it will be classified as a city following the compiling of the 1960 census.

Another reason for choosing the Carter Lake community for analysis is a personal and earlier acquaintance with the community. The writer knows many community residents, and

this aided in the establishment of rapport. At the same time the writer is far enough removed to remain objective in the evaluation of community data.

A third factor which influenced the selection of the community was economy in relation to time and money. The community of Carter Lake was sufficiently close to the university campus to permit interviewing and field work during the school year. Of particular importance was the fact that the researcher noted the lack of knowledge on the part of the average citizen of Omaha concerning the characteristics of this community. Few Omaha citizens know of the existence of a distinct incorporated community in the area. Among those who are vaguely aware that the community exists, statements such as the following are typical of the extent of their understanding:

Oh, you mean down in the swamp. That's where the dumps are. Don't you mean East Omaha? I remember there are some joints down there where you can drink all night. Isn't that where the gambling joints are? Who lives down there, swamp rats?

Few people realize that Carter Lake, Iowa, is an incorporated town of over 2,000 population.¹² Few people realize that there exists such a community with the problems, conflicts, institutions, and characteristics of a community social system. To the majority of people Carter Lake is not a town; it is a name, a name with many connotations, but few of these connotations are accurate pictures of the community.

¹²1959 estimate by mayor of Carter Lake.

METHODOLOGY

Sanders states that there are at least three levels at which community studies may be made. The first level is that of social science research. This requires professionally trained personnel employing the latest research techniques. The costs, usually quite expensive, are beyond the reach of the average graduate student.¹³

A second level of studying the community involves a reconnaissance approach or a self-survey. In the reconnaissance approach the researcher conducts a preliminary study to arrive at a profile of the social units of the community. In the self-survey a group of citizens, often with the assistance of an outside consultant, examines various aspects of the community. Often this type of study is problem oriented.¹⁴

A third level of studying the community involves personal observation and individual interpretation on the part of the researcher.¹⁵ This level is best suited for the neophyte in the field of community studies. The techniques involved in this method are simple yet sufficiently adequate to gain a wealth of information for the researcher. Although the interpretation of such data requires careful consideration,

¹³Sanders, op. cit., p. xiv.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., p. xv.

it is within the comprehension of the graduate student.

The third level of community research has been employed in this study. Several methods were utilized in gathering data concerning the community of Carter Lake. Specifically these were: (1) the use of interviews, and (2) secondary source materials. Two types of interviewing techniques were used. One was the prearranged appointment. The other involved random calls on residents, and meetings in such places as the town tavern or service stations. In neither situation were interview schedules used as it was felt that more information could be gained in a non-structured situation.

The interview method proved quite rewarding. Interviews were conducted with fifty of the Carter Lake residents. The interviewees were selected so as to include the community officials, the industrial officials, the educational leaders, the members of the community power structure, the old residents and the "newly arrived" group; i.e., people who have moved into the three new housing developments within the past two years. The persons interviewed were often recommended by others. Some were chosen by random selection, especially in the housing developments. In the report some informants are categorized as upper or lower class. These classifications were selected after the field study was completed.

Secondary source material concerning Carter Lake was spotty and difficult to locate. There is an absence of written records relating to the community. It did provide dates

and the background story of the area and community as the first white settlers knew it. This material served to supplement the dates obtained in personal interviews. The Iowa Historical Society maintains no historical information concerning this community.¹⁶ Some secondary source material was found in newspaper clippings of the now defunct Omaha Bee-News. These clippings are preserved in the Council Bluffs public library and the World Publishing Company library in Omaha. Additional information was gained from the current Omaha World-Herald, Des Moines Register, and the Council Bluffs Nonpareil. Much of the authenticated history of the Carter Lake school was taken from an unpublished Master of Arts thesis from the University of Nebraska library.¹⁷ An additional source of information came from confidential source materials of the department of sociology, University of Omaha.¹⁸

The author was fortunate in having established good rapport with informants in the community thus providing a basis for intensive interviews and informal discussions. It is

¹⁶This was surprising as the Carter Lake area has been a factor in Iowa-Nebraska boundary disputes since the 1880's. Personal communication with the director of the Iowa Historical Society brought the reply that no information was available, November, 1959.

¹⁷Richard C. Boe, "The Problem of Administering an Iowa School in a Nebraska Culture" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1952).

¹⁸R. Browning, "Aspects of Mobility in the Omaha Metropolitan Area" (unpublished paper on file in the Department of Sociology, University of Omaha, Omaha, 1959).

believed that the writer's prior acquaintance with selected community residents opened several doors that would have remained closed. To prevent the occurrence of suspiciousness on the part of the interviewees, the writer explained that he was conducting a historical survey of the community. This explanation was well accepted by the interviewees.¹⁹ Particularly valuable information and suggestions were given to the writer by various members of the community.²⁰

DIFFICULTIES AND WEAKNESSES

There are two recognizable weaknesses of the study. The lack of money and time, especially time, limited return interviews and also limited a number of informal discussions. The writer feels that much information could be obtained provided more time and money for research could have been available. It would also have resulted in better insight into the subtle interaction of the community residents. The second weakness lies in the comprehensiveness of interpretation based upon fifty depth interviews plus many more casual conversations although all key people in the community were contacted.

¹⁹Reverend W. Chapman of the Carter Lake Community Church identified himself as a sociology minor in university. He proved to be a valuable informant.

²⁰Much credit must be given to Mayor Mabrey Wilson, City Attorney Devere Watson, Town Clerk Clara Barton, School Board President C. Rine, Town Marshal Earl Bates, Deputy Marshal John Bruno, Mrs. Helen Aulmann, and many informants whose wishes to remain anonymous are respected in this report.

If the total number of informants had been greater perhaps other information concerning the community would have been available. Listening with "the third ear"²¹ in informal situations did much to overcome the lack of a larger number of informants.

The greatest difficulty encountered in making the study was the feeling of suspicion on the part of the community residents. In interview after interview the opening remarks were as follows:

Why come ask me? Read the World-Herald. They claim to know all about us.

Almost without exception the residents expressed an intense dislike toward Omaha's newspaper. Once the people were convinced that the interviewer did not represent the newspaper, the people were willing to impart information concerning the community. They appear proud of their community and are eager to talk about it. This eagerness at times proved to be almost a minor problem. Some of the informants were eager for the researcher to understand their place in the community, and its meaning to them. Only two persons refused to be interviewed. One of these had moved out of the community; and the other, a leader of a small religious sect, feared that the writer would

²¹The writer listened for expressed opinions and attitudes in situations where the writer was not part of the conversation. The town's beer tavern proved an excellent source. Many of the remarks overheard tended to support the information gained through direct interviews.

subject his religion to ridicule.

An interesting incident illustrates some of the situations that were encountered. Arriving at the home of one of the town's older residents of the lower class for a pre-arranged interview, the interviewer found the gentleman's sons present in order to insure that "the old man is not made a fool." After being reassured that all interviews would remain confidential, rapport was established. During the process of the interview, the sons became helpful informants and contributed valuable information concerning the community. During the interview many points of community history were revealed by the family.

SCOPE

The study of Carter Lake is a descriptive study pointing out that Carter Lake is a unique, parasitic dependent community. As a descriptive study it serves as a pilot project providing an introduction to a unique community. Its findings and conclusions serve as a point of departure for future students of this community. It also serves as a small fact index to the community, and finally it serves as an agent in clarifying some false impressions concerning Carter Lake.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS, HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

To understand the character of a community the researcher must determine a point of departure. There are several possible points; however, a common procedure is to describe the community characteristics which are visible.¹ In addition, the community may be considered as a place or settlement pattern.² In this chapter the community is considered as a settlement pattern.³

LOCATION AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Carter Lake lies approximately three miles northeast of the central business district of Omaha and is due east of the northern residential district of the city. It is situated on the west side of the Missouri River, directly across the river from Iowa, the state to which it belongs. The community is an enclave being surrounded on three sides by the city of Omaha.⁴ This location limits any future expansion of the

¹Robert Redfield, The Little Community (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 19.

²Irwin T. Sanders, The Community (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958), p. 3.

³A settlement pattern is the way in which man adjusts and adapts to his physical surroundings.

⁴Figure 1, p. 16.

community and is an important factor in the consideration of this community for purposes of a community study. Carter Lake resembles a pork chop in shape; the upper portion, or community proper, is rounded and is surrounded by the ox-bow shape of Carter Lake. The man-made boundaries form an elongated portion running into the Missouri River. The residential area resembles a peninsula. In area Carter Lake, Iowa, encompasses approximately 2,200 acres.

There are two access routes into Carter Lake from Omaha. Neither route presents a picture that is favorable to the community. The visitor who passes through the community on Locust Street, the east-west thoroughfare, without turning north into the residential district gains only the impression of lowlands, dumps, smoke, smells, beer taverns, service stations, a drive-in movie, two drive-in "eateries," a used auto parts yard, and some houses in varying stages of disrepair and dilapidation. With the exception of smoke and smells from Omaha's open sewer outlets and a land fill dump, the scene is typical of the outskirts of almost any city. Unfortunately, this impression is quite misleading.

If one approaches Carter Lake from the southwest, the route is along Abbott Drive.⁵ This new route, built four years ago to speed and facilitate the flow of traffic to Omaha's growing airport, follows the river. That it would also facilitate movement of Carter Lake residents was

⁵Figure 1, p. 16.

co-incident. The environment surrounding this drive has proven a source of irritation to both communities. Leaving Omaha's business district the traveler passes over in succession a commercial open sewer outlet, an unsightly dock area, the city incinerator plant, an open city refuse sewer, a used and junk car lot, a tank farm (not unsightly), the very unsightly and odorous open city dump, a section of unsightly houses, another dump, some lowlands, and a drive-in restaurant. At present an Omaha group is undertaking the beautification of this drive, and the federal authorities have ordered the sewer outlets improved. The future of the dump is uncertain.

The other approach to the town is from the west. This approach offers a view of railroad tracks, an abandoned oil refinery, various types of business and fabricating plants, railroad tracks, and filling stations.⁶ This route lacks the smells of Abbott Drive, but on dry days this slight asset is cancelled by the pall of dust hanging in the air. As mentioned previously, neither approach to the town is pleasing.

Upon becoming familiar with the ecology of the town, the picture becomes more appealing. The community's industry and business enterprises are located along Locust Street and the area to the south. Today this commercial zone is established by law.

Running to the north and at right angles to Locust

⁶Figure 1, p. 16.

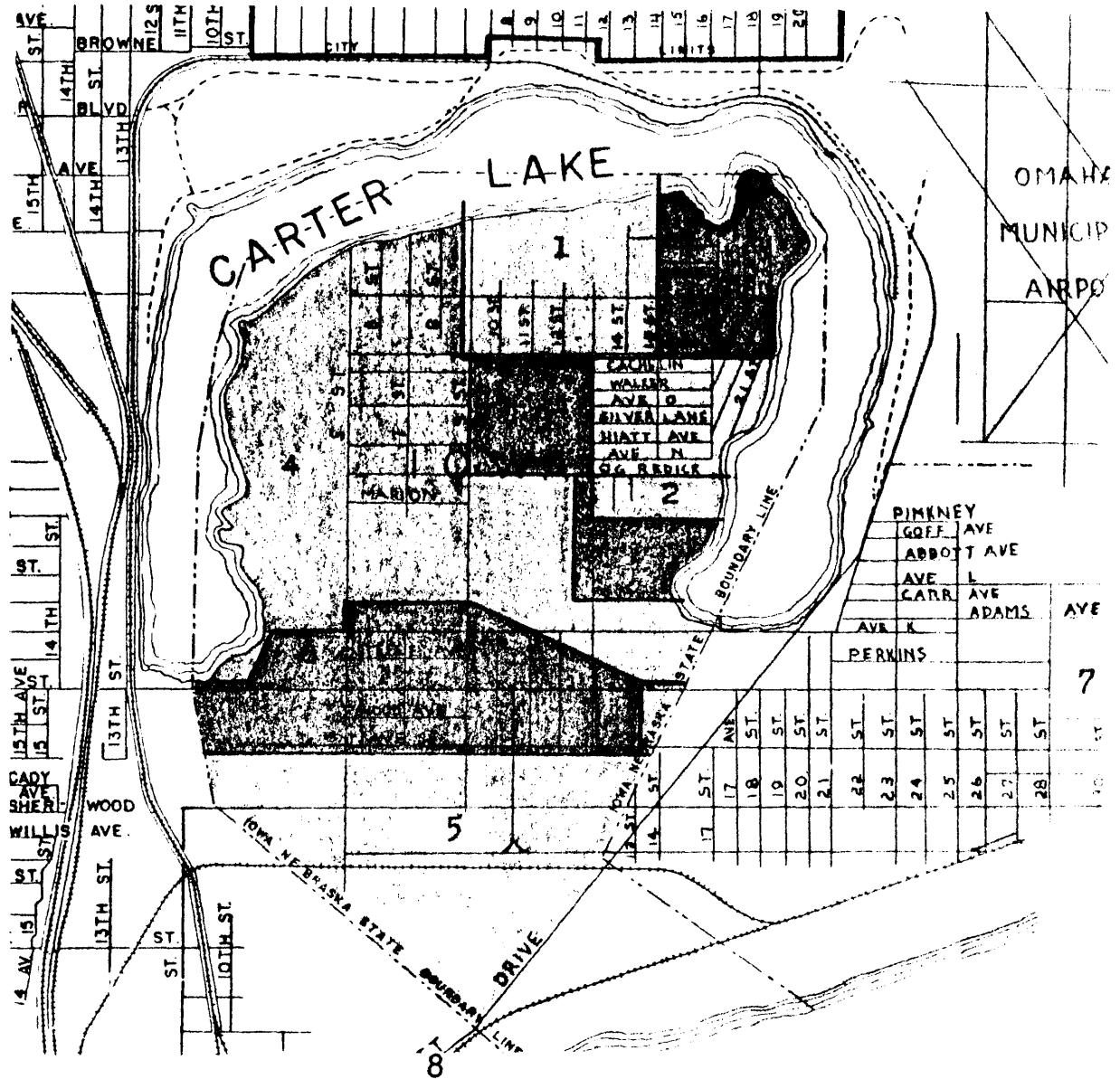


FIGURE 1
LEGEND

LOCATIONS

- 1. Carter Lake Club area
- 2. Neptune Place
- 3. New Housing Developments
- 4. Agricultural Area
- 5. Industrial Area
- 6. Older Residential Area
- 7. Locust Street
- 8. Abbott Drive

RECOGNIZED SPECIAL CLASS AREAS

- Upper Class Area
- Lower Class Area
- Undifferentiated Class Area

Street is Thirteenth Street, the second of Carter Lake's two main streets. This street roughly bisects the larger residential area. It continues north until it dead ends at the entrance to the Carter Lake Club area several blocks from the lake shore. The observer traveling along this thoroughfare is presented with an entirely different picture of the area. The buildings are primarily residences. The majority are in good repair. Most have good-sized yards and, in season, most are well kept. The researcher checked the external appearances of the 529 occupied homes in December, 1959, and was able to make the following observations:⁷

1. 377, or 72.1%, of the houses were well preserved or new and had sufficient yards and space between houses.
2. 106, or 20.3%, of the residences were houses showing the primary stages of deterioration.
3. 46, or 8.7%, were houses presenting advanced stages of deterioration and very poor appearance.
4. Only six deserted houses or shacks were observed in the area.

It is interesting to note that 27 houses in the third category are in an easily defined and somewhat isolated area of the community. In striking contrast, 16 of the remaining houses in this category are located in the area of well kept houses. The extremely high ratio of houses in the first category is explained by the large proportion of newly constructed and newly occupied homes. In making the count and figuring

⁷Figure 2, p. 18.

1			100%
2			72.1%
3		20.3%	
4		8.7%	
5	6 only		

FIGURE 2
DESCRIPTION OF HOUSES
DECEMBER 1959

EXPLANATION OF GROUPS

1. Total Sample - 529 houses
(Houses under construction excluded).
2. Well preserved, well painted houses.
Adequate sized, well attended yards.
3. Medium Houses, Primary Signs of Deterioration
Adequate Yards.
4. Poorly painted, deteriorating houses.
Usually have adequate but poorly attended yards.
5. Deserted houses or shacks.

the ratios the observer exempted over 100 new dwellings in various stages of construction.

The residential area of the community presents a picture of bustling home building activity. Three additions are in various stages of construction. Additional ones are contemplated. These will be mentioned in the chapter concerning population.

Centered on Locust Street and in the area to the south of Locust, we find the few business and industrial firms. Industry is centered in four large concerns--a large refinery, a tank farm and pipe-line terminal, a pressure gas concern, and a large steel fabricating concern. A 1955 estimate placed the value of this industry at two million dollars. The taxes from these industries constitute a large percentage of Carter Lake's revenue.⁸

The remaining businesses in the community are distributed along the length of Locust Street. At the present they consist of ten filling stations, one tavern, a drive-in movie theater, an ice cream stand, a used auto parts yard, and a drive-in restaurant. At one time there were three small grocery-variety stores, but none are operating now.

TRADE AREA

The trade area of the community is the same as that of Omaha. This city provides the community with most of the

⁸Omaha World-Herald, February 10, 1960.

necessities for everyday living. Carter Lake must look to the city for medical and health services, for most repair service, for legal advice, for retail goods, and commercial recreation.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The historical perspective of a community is important to the student of community studies. It may answer such questions as from where the people come, which basic values are traditional, what shifts in values have resulted from the influx of newcomers, and how community crises have influenced traditions.⁹ In the instance of Carter Lake, history has greatly influenced the contemporary personality of the community.

Throughout history rivers have run rampant, caused floods, built up bars and deltas, washed away sections of land, and have caused man headaches, distress, and money. The Missouri River, "Old Muddy," has proven no exception to this practice. However, in the case of this community, the practice was reversed. Carter Lake, Iowa, might well be called the town the Missouri created. The following history will show why this statement is applicable.

The history of Carter Lake began officially in 1853 when one Edmund Jefferies filed claim upon thirty acres of

⁹Sanders, op. cit., pp. 75-77.

land at Kaneshville, Iowa (one of the three named sections that later became the city of Council Bluffs). Almost immediately the Missouri began to work. Originally Jefferies claimed thirty acres of swampy bottom land. In 1856 the river shifted its channel farther westward leaving the area high and dry. In the course of the next fourteen years the river deposited enough soil to build this area to seventy-eight acres.

In 1870 the river had a horseshoe bend. This arc of the horseshoe was what is today Carter Lake. In 1888 the river again wandered. This time the river cut across its prongs leaving an ox-bow lake and a piece of land of approximately 2,200 acres that belonged to the state of Iowa, was separated from it by a river, and was surrounded on three sides by the state of Nebraska. This situation was to explode into a series of arguments and lawsuits over boundaries that continue to the present day.

Nebraska sought this orphaned piece of land, but Iowa wished to retain it. Nebraska based its claim upon the river as a boundary, but Iowa contended this was not necessarily true. In 1892 the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision favoring Iowa, stating "that where a stream, which is a boundary, from any cause suddenly abandons its old and seeks a new bed, such change in channel works no change of boundary; and that the boundary remains where it was, in the center of the old channel."¹⁰ Since that time various

¹⁰The Supreme Court Reporter, Vol. XII, p. 397.

other suits have been filed; however, no significant changes have resulted.

In 1886 began a series of events that were to become the real foundations of the community. Four men, prominent in Omaha's early developmental history, were seeking trackage room for the expanding Burlington Railroad. Their attention was drawn to the large tract of level lowland lying northeast of the city. Piece after piece of this tract was purchased until approximately 1,000 acres were under their control. The control of so much of this area caused them to change their plans for its use. They decided instead to develop it for homes and industry.

On February 15, 1887 the East Omaha Land Company was incorporated with three of the men as officers: Richard Cushing, president; George W. Holdredge, vice-president; Henry W. Yates, secretary-treasurer. For reasons undetermined the fourth prominent developer failed to hold an office in the corporation. On June 1, 1887, Arthur S. Potter joined the group as manager and planner. He decided that the corporation should enlarge its holdings and its plans. The enlarged plans entailed the creation of a manufacturing city.

Some time was spent in perfecting titles and in gaining new ones. The holdings were increased to over 2,000 acres. The first task for the company was to cut roads through the forest and turnpike them. The land was covered with brush, willows, and assorted trees. Some portions were low, swampy,

and created special problems. Work was rushed to complete the development.

By 1892 much had been accomplished. Seventy-seven miles of roadways had been cleared and turnpiked. The land was cleared and graded; here and there a well trimmed tree was allowed to stand. The cleared land was plowed, dragged smooth, and seeded. To protect its property, the company fenced in every lot. It erected many miles of fence of cedar halfposts and four-strand barbed wire.

The turnpike roads suggested graded streets. A gigantic earth-moving project was begun. A railroad was constructed from the area to a point near Florence. The company placed this rail line in the hands of a contractor and engaged him to deposit on the newly constructed roadways over one million yards of earth. The cost of \$300,000, considering the purchasing value of the dollar at the time, does not clearly show the enormous scope of the undertaking. The work progressed on a round-the-clock basis. On the four-mile rail line the contractor operated four locomotives, sixty gondola cars, two steam shovels, and hundreds of men. Also employed were many teams of horses and drags.

An electric car line had been built. It operated from Sherman Avenue, Omaha's present Sixteenth Street, two miles east on Locust Street. Avenue H in Carter Lake had been paved, and there was continuous paving from the factories of East Omaha to the site of the old Paxton Hotel near Fourteenth and

Farnam Streets.

Between the "island" East Omaha and the City of Omaha lay the west arm of Cutoff Lake, the original name of Carter Lake. Over this, on Locust, the company constructed an unsightly wooden bridge. This bridge did not seem in harmony with the solidity, the magnitude, and the permanence of the other plans. The bridge was removed, and a wide causeway was created by filling a strip 100 feet wide across the arm of the lake. This provided a connection with the paved streets of Omaha, and it also provided Omaha with a beautiful drive.

In keeping with its plan to create a manufacturing city, a belt rail line was built. Side tracks extended from it so that every industry had its own private trackage. No tracks were laid in the streets as is common in many industrial towns. The streets of the residential sections were wide and clean.

To provide water for the area the American Water Works Company was engaged to lay fifty miles of water mains, and it was to provide 700 fire hydrants. This project was not completed. A proposed \$500,000 sewer project was also started.

A village of thirty-six neat and well constructed houses was completed at a cost of \$30,000. These were leased to their occupants. Each was provided with city water and garbage collection at no extra cost. Neat grass lawns around these houses were kept in trim by the company. A school was erected, staffed by a teacher drafted from the Omaha system;

and, in 1892, the school enrolled thirty-four pupils.

By 1892 there were a number of manufacturing concerns located in the area. Others were negotiating for sites. Some of these concerns and their personnel figures follow: Marks Brothers, a harness factory with seventy-five employees and a weekly payroll of \$750; Robinson-Stokes Company, a mercantile plant employing 100 or more with a weekly payroll of \$400; Sillson Wall Plaster and Manufacturing Company with a payroll of \$100 weekly; and the Omaha Box Factory with a payroll approximating \$400 per week. Also listed were American Cereal Company, Adamant Wall Plaster Company, and Carter White Lead Company. The Omaha Box Company still operates in the area but in a new location.¹¹

To facilitate the moving of freight cars, wagons, and people from Council Bluffs, the company decided to erect a bridge across the river to Iowa. A subsidiary company, the Omaha Bridge and Terminal Company, was established. On February 13, 1891, Congress approved plans for a low, electrically operated, swinging span drawbridge over the Missouri. The bridge took three years to construct. Upon completion it was used by horses, autos, trains and passengers for many years. Later it was sold to the Illinois Central Railroad Company, and today is used only for trains.¹²

¹¹James W. Savage and John T. Bull, History of the City of Omaha (New York: Munsell and Company, 1894), pp. 456-58. Omaha World-Herald, January 1, 1892.

¹²Edward F. Morearty, Omaha Memories (Omaha: Swartz Printing Company, 1917), p. 51.

After 1893 the quest for sites in the area slackened. To compensate for this, the land company began leasing the land for grazing purposes. Much of this grazing land was occupied by dairymen. Out of this arose an interesting ethnic situation. According to old-time residents the original dairymen were Danish immigrants. The first of these farmers sent back to Denmark for other Danish young men to work as dairy hands. These young men would immigrate, work for a few years, buy a few head of stock, and go into business for themselves. The peak of the dairy business was reached shortly before World War I when there were fourteen such dairy businesses in Carter Lake and the adjacent area. One continued in operation until the late 1930's.

In contrast to some of the other ethnic groups in the Omaha area, the Danish immigrants intermingled with the other settlers quite freely; and, as far as could be ascertained, did not segregate themselves from the others; nor did they tend to retain a distinctive group identity in the settlement. Most have left the community, but there are several descendants living in the town today. One is one of our informants.

Another interesting development took place a few years before the East Omaha Company went bankrupt in 1902. "Squatters" moved into the area. These people were a very trying source when the corporation passed into receivership. When the receivers attempted to remove them from the land, the squatters hired an attorney and attempted to hold to their

land. After a long legal struggle the squatters lost; but, even today, there remain many cloudy land titles in Carter Lake.

From the 1890's until World War I, sections of Carter Lake were centers of recreation for Omaha residents. An automobile, a horse, and a motorcycle track operated. In 1892 an amusement park opened. This park was known as Cortland Beach. For the sportsman the area offered hunting and fishing.¹³

In 1906 the Omaha Rod and Gun Club purchased the property of the Cortland Beach Amusement Company. This group consisted of a group of Omaha sportsmen. On the acquired ground the members erected a clubhouse. Also individual houses and shacks were built on the grounds.

In 1912 the area owned by the Rod and Gun Club was purchased by the newly incorporated Carter Lake Club. The purchase price for seventy acres and the clubhouse was \$50,000. The purchase was to create a legal snarl a few years later. Members who had built houses in the club area discovered that they owned houses, but did not own the lots on which they stood. The real estate problem was settled to the apparent satisfaction of all concerned.

The new club prospered, and it became the summer resort for many prominent Omaha families. At the time of the

¹³Richard C. Boe, "The Problem of Administering an Iowa School in a Nebraska Culture" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Nebraska, 1950), pp. 8-12.

purchase there were thirty cottages and the clubhouse on the grounds. A bathhouse with pavilion, a skating rink, garages, a dancing pavilion, and a sewer system were added by the members. The club prospered until the late 1920's. The pinnacle was reached in 1916 in both membership and prominence. The membership rolls carried more than 700 well known Omaha names.¹⁴ This club status became important to this study when social class was studied.

During the years of dispute between Iowa and Nebraska there was little police supervision in this area. Beer taverns, gambling establishments, and houses of prostitution flourished. One informant, a lifelong resident of the community, stated that there were seventeen bars and houses of prostitution within a four block area.¹⁵ The popularity of this area was heightened by an eight p.m. closing law in Omaha. This period may have set the precedent for the toleration of numerous alleged gambling establishments and after-hour establishments until a few years ago. For years this community was the site of one of the largest gambling houses in the middle west.¹⁶ Carter Lake's Chez Paree was well known to traveling men and convention delegates.

¹⁴Arthur C. Wakely, Omaha: The Gate City and Douglas County, Nebraska (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1917), pp. 472-73.

¹⁵This area was partially destroyed by fire according to accounts of several informants.

¹⁶Omaha Bee-News, et passim, 1923-1927.

The community continued to grow, and, by 1925, its permanent residents numbered approximately 350. Carter Lake Club continued to grow in prominence. Many permanent residences were built by leading Omaha business men. These houses were of better quality and bore sizable tax appraisal values. In 1923 this section of the area was paying \$33,000 per year in taxes to Pottawattamie County, Iowa of which it is a part. At this time the community was the Sixth Ward of Council Bluffs. These taxes became the first seeds of discontent in the later secession movement.

Taxes, school issues, street paving, and street maintenance were to play important roles in inciting the citizens of this community to legal, peaceful rebellion against its mother city of Council Bluffs. The next area of discontent to cause resentment was the public services area, especially concerning police protection, fire protection, and street construction. Fire and police protection had to be furnished by Council Bluffs. To reach Carter Lake, equipment had to travel over the then Douglas Street toll bridge, traverse a large portion of Omaha's central business district, pass along more than two miles of heavily traveled Sixteenth Street, and cross the Locust Street viaduct before it could reach the community. As a result, fire insurance rates were extremely high for the property owners.¹⁷ One of the older lifelong residents spoke of a jail and deputy sheriff in the community prior to World

¹⁷Ibid.

War I, but it was not possible to verify this.

The early school history is hazy. Early residents were the only sources of information as the local school records were missing. The informants tell of attending a one-room schoolhouse on the north side of Locust Street near Fifth Street. On this site all eight grades were taught. In 1893-1894 this school was moved across Locust Street to the south side. Following this move, only the first four grades were taught. After completing the fourth grade, pupils completed their elementary education at Lake School in Omaha. Later a frame building was moved to a site several blocks north of Locust on Ninth Street. The school was a two-teacher system. The first six grades were taught. From 1923 the school grew steadily. Enrollment increased, and new teachers were added. In 1923 the school again returned to an eight-grade plan.¹⁸

High school students in Carter Lake have received their secondary education under several plans. At various times they have commuted to Council Bluffs, while at other times they have been allowed to attend Omaha high schools with the village paying their tuition. The present system is discussed in a later chapter.

In the period immediately prior to its unifying for the political purpose of seceding from Council Bluffs, the residents of Carter Lake tended to be gathered into three

¹⁸Boe, op. cit., pp. 8-16.

identifiable groups. Two were loosely knit, while the third, Carter Lake Club, was very restrictive and clearly defined. These were called by various names. Roughly, their areas of concentration were the west end of Locust Street, an area just north of Locust on Thirteenth Street, and the Club on the lake shore. An early resident living in the Locust Street section recalls:

We were known as the Locust Street Rats or the Swamp Rats.

The second area was, and is, known as Neptune Place. It is an area of better built, above average homes that are occupied by businessmen, junior company officials, and several government employees. The area between these sectors was occupied by small farms. Today these areas are still recognizable, but new housing developments will soon erase the clear-cut identity of these sections.

Just when the first seeds of unrest were first apparent is difficult to determine. Older residents tell of making numerous complaints to the Council Bluffs city council about services, better school facilities, and greater apportionment of their tax dollar to its source. These complaints apparently fell on deaf ears. One of the complaints originated with the Carter Lake Club group which protested that in 1923 it had paid in excess of \$33,000 in property taxes of which less than \$6,000 were returned to the community in services. They claimed that the services that these tax dollars should

have provided were paid for out of the residents' own pockets. Street improvements were not provided; requests for new all weather streets were ignored; police protection was inadequate or lacking; and, when the residents investigated the possibility of taking matters into their own hands, they found they had no legal authority to float bonds to provide such services.¹⁹

In December of 1925 the trustees of the East Omaha Land Company announced it was instituting legal proceedings to secede from Council Bluffs. This was apparently the first "official" move in this direction. An attorney was hired, and the intention was drawn to the attention of the Council Bluffs city council. The council laughed at the proposal. They stated such a move was preposterous. The mayor at that time urged them not to treat the matter so lightly.²⁰ There is no further mention of the East Omaha Company's action in the source material. Apparently the matter was dropped at the time.

The matter was not a dead issue, however. As previously mentioned, the area was attracting steadily new residents. Among these new settlers were a Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Aulmann. A few years before, this couple had selected this area to build their own and several other homes. This area came to be known as Neptune Place. Mrs. Aulmann was, and is

¹⁹Omaha Bee-News, et passim, 1955.

²⁰Ibid.

a dynamic person who is very interested in the civic development of the community. With a flair for leadership, she was elected to the presidency of the newly formed local P.T.A. This election provided a crucial basis for the events to follow.

The discontent was spreading; residents outside the previously mentioned sectors, became interested. A small group decided to take action. At that time the local P.T.A. was the only quasi-official body in the community. It was also the only instrument that could reach the majority of the residents. In the spring of 1926 this body, under the leadership of its president, the aforementioned Mrs. Aulmann, called a meeting to discuss the possibility of seceding from Council Bluffs. After a short debate the proposal was accepted, and the legal machinery was set in motion. In September of 1928 an election, based upon a petition signed by eighty residents, was held. The community by a substantial majority voted to "divorce" itself from its mother city. Mayor Harding of Council Bluffs looked at the election as "a move to steal something from his city."²¹

During the next two years the leaders in the community made several moves to have the new "divorcees" annexed to Omaha. The moves gained no support from Omaha officials, and they were later to be remembered resentfully when Omaha made moves to annex the area. To gain the legal status it desired and to

²¹Omaha Bee-News, et passim, 1926-1928.

enable it to raise the revenue it needed, it was necessary for the town to gain legal existence. In March of 1930 the residents filed an election notice to enable it to become an incorporated town under Iowa Law. The application was handled by DeVere Watson, a Council Bluffs attorney and state senator. Mr. Watson is still city attorney for the town.

In June of 1930 the residents voted to become an incorporated town. The proposal was not without opposition. The residents along upper Locust and the farmers favored unincorporated status. One old-time resident from this group stated:

Things were pretty good down here before Council Bluffs stepped in with a lot of rules and laws. They were real good the two years after we got out of Council Bluffs. I don't see that we've gained much from being a town except more taxes.

The residents of Carter Lake Club and of Neptune Place were the advocates of township. The measure carried 171-124. The area previously known as East Omaha had, on the election petition, adopted a new name. Carter Lake, Iowa, was now officially on the map.²² Iowa statutes provided for the form of local government. This will be discussed in Chapter IV.

One of the first projects of the new community was to pave Locust and Thirteenth Streets. This proved advantageous to the citizens of both the new community and of Omaha. For Omaha, it provided a paved route to its expanding airport. Paving Locust was to lay the groundwork for a further thorn of dissension between Carter Lake and Omaha. To observe the

²²Omaha Bee-News, et passim, 1930.

legal boundaries the paving project was to end 1000 feet short of the Nebraska pavement. A proposal was made that Carter Lake finish the pavement in exchange for police protection. The pavement was completed; however, the village officials insist the protection was never provided.

Before leaving the historical setting of the village it might be well to mention the local political history of Carter Lake. In 1930, in the first community election, the progressive slate representing the Carter Lake Club faction was elected to office. Al Schneider of the progressive party was elected the first mayor. Elected on the same ticket was a young filling station operator, Wilson Mabrey. In 1932, Schneider was succeeded in office by Luke Haney. In 1934, the young filling station operator was elected to the mayor's chair. Since that time he has never relinquished that position.

No complete history of this community would be complete without more than passing mention of this colorful politician. Investigators have heard him described as:

A cheap crook, a man who gets things done, a smart politician who is too clever for those "guys" in Omaha, best man we could ever put in office, a small town boss, a little dictator, and a nice young man we thought would make a nice councilman but turned out a real stinker.

During its years as gambling and after-hour drinking oasis, Carter Lake has heard its mayor blasted as a promoter of gambling and vice. His reign in office has been blasted by minor scandals and by open accusations of coercion with national

syndicated gambling activity. He has been attacked by Omaha officials for refusing to take steps against these establishments. He has weathered the barrage to remain a popular mayor. Thirteen times he has gone to the polls. Thirteen times he has been elected. Only three times in his reign has he been seriously challenged. If it is any indication of community opinion, it might be said that his triumphs have been by very large electoral majorities.

There are many other interesting side lights, anecdotes, and bits of historical data that could be recorded about this community. They would not add to the purpose of this study and would be merely space filling, time consuming, and would add little of value to the report. The history gives evidence of the early seeds of resentment and distrust bred in the town. It offers evidence of the feelings of solidarity expressed against motions to annex the village today.

CHAPTER III

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF CARTER LAKE

The study of population characteristics is important to the student of the community. Usually the first question that is asked concerning a community relates to its size. By community size the person has reference to the number of inhabitants. Many persons believe that a consideration of numbers provides the essential means by which insight into the workings of a community may be obtained. However, mere numbers present but a limited amount of information concerning the population of any community.¹ It is much more important to obtain information concerning the composition of the population as determined by such factors as: (1) race, (2) sex ratio, (3) birth rate, (4) death rate, (5) migration rate, (6) labor force, (7) education level, (8) marital status, and (9) income statistics. It is important to know the percentage of population growth or decline; and, when a population increase or decrease occurs, it is important to know the reasons behind such changes.

Recognizing the importance of demography in a community study, Sanders states:

A community is lived in by people who can be counted, studied in terms of the various groupings to which they belong, and understood in the light of the

¹John A. Kinneman, The Community in American Society (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1947), p. 92.

problems that demographic trends reveal. Demographic trends represent only one aspect of the community; but, when added to the knowledge of the community as a place or to the community as a provider of jobs and services, they provide a necessary background against which to view the intense social activity of which community life consists.²

GROWTH

The community of Carter Lake has grown steadily since it was incorporated in June of 1930. No official census figures were available for Carter Lake in 1930 since its population was enumerated with the population of Council Bluffs. Community officials estimate the 1930 population at between 350 and 400 residents.³ By 1940, when the community first appeared in the official United States census as a legal entity, it had grown to 843 residents.⁴

In the next decade the community continued to grow, and the 1950 census revealed a population of 1,183.⁵ It was in 1950 that, for the first time, a summary of the age and sex distribution of the community population was given.⁶ The

²Irwin T. Sanders, The Community (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958), p. 36.

³Two hundred ninety-five voters cast their ballots in 1930.

⁴U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population, 1950, Vol. II, Part 15 (Washington: Government Printing Office), p. 80.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

present estimate of the population by the mayor is approximately 2,000. The 1960 Census will include further breakdowns of the community's population, such as: (1) country of birth, (2) occupation statistics, (3) education level, (4) age distribution, (5) marital status, (6) income levels, and (7) housing characteristics. Only the sex distribution of the population is currently available.⁷ According to the information obtained from residents and from selected secondary sources, the community's population characteristics can be summarized as follows:

(1) There are no Negroes in the community.

(2) There are few foreign born persons; however, there were earlier immigrants from Ireland, Denmark, and other Scandinavian countries. The decline of dairy farming within the community resulted in the majority of the foreign born migrating to other areas.

(3) Newcomers in the housing developments show a modal age bracket of 25 to 34.

(4) The school age population is increasing as evidenced by the increasing number of enrollments in the Carter Lake elementary school.

(5) The recent newcomer groups reveal a modal education level of twelve years.

(6) A new middle social class level is evolving in the community.

⁷Figure 3, p. 40.

Total Population (1940)	846
Total Population (1950)	1,183
By Sex:	
Male	601
Female	611
Native Born:	
Male	578
Female	566
Foreign Born:	
Male	21
Female	18
Negro and other	None
By Age:	
Under 5 years	155
5 to 14 years	218
15 to 24 years	146
25 to 34 years	213
35 to 44 years	164
45 to 54 years	111
55 to 64 years	110
65 years plus	66
Rural Farm:	
Male	2

Figure 3

Carter Lake Census Statistics

Official United States Census--1950

REASONS FOR GROWTH

There are several ways in which a community can gain or lose population. For instance, the birth rate, the death rate, migration, and annexation are specific factors which influence and alter a particular community's population characteristics. In the case of Carter Lake, annexation is to be discounted since the community, because of its location, has not and cannot annex additional property. It was pointed out in Chapter I that the community is an enclave completely surrounded by Omaha on three sides and the Missouri River by one side.⁸ Community officials state that out migration is small. The official birth and death rates for the community were not available; however, the growth of Carter Lake has been too rapid to be accounted for by the natural increase of births over deaths.

There are many factors which suggest that migration into the community is the single most important explanation of its rapid growth and development. School officials report an increasing number of new students who have transferred from schools in other communities. The city clerk reports new applications for public services continue to increase. Several hundred new homes are being built and are in the process of being occupied. The writer conducted a study of eighty families who have recently purchased new homes in Carter Lake

⁸Figure 1, p. 16.

within a six-month period from May through October of 1959. The eighty purchases have brought 427 new residents into the community.⁹

The movement and mass migration to suburban areas surrounding the central city is a recognizable phenomenon throughout the country; however, it is a comparatively recent phenomenon in the Middle West. The suburban movement into Carter Lake became apparent during the period of the late 1950's. A comment concerning the forms which this general suburban movement assumes in its spread aids in understanding the extension of this movement into Carter Lake.

Kinneman notes that, going beyond the metropolitan centers, one finds small communities within communities; there are small towns which are satellites of the metropolitan center.¹⁰ Carter Lake fulfills the role of a satellite community in relation to Omaha. Most communities have external functions; that is, they contribute in some way to the larger society although these functions vary from community to community.¹¹ All such communities may be classified according to the functions they serve, or according to the social class characteristics of their residents. The result is that one finds working class

⁹R. Browning, "Aspects of Mobility in the Omaha Metropolitan Area" (unpublished paper on file in the Department of Sociology, University of Omaha, 1959).

¹⁰Kinneman, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

¹¹Blaine C. Mercer, The American Community (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 136.

suburbs, upper class suburbs, and middle class suburbs. If suburbs are classified in terms of their relation to the central city, then one finds relatively self-sufficient suburbs in which the residents live and work in the same locality or dormitory suburbs in which the employed persons work in other localities.¹² Using this typology, Carter Lake may be classified as a dependent, working class, dormitory suburb.¹³

Carter Lake has passed through several developmental phases in its growth. Prior to the late 1920's the area had a moderate of industry, quite a number of dairy farms, and a few recreational enterprises. During that time community was relatively self-sufficient. With the introduction of mechanical milk handling and bottling in the larger Omaha dairies, the operation of small dairies declined rapidly as they could not compete with the larger dairies. Industry declined; and, with an increasing number in its labor force being employed outside of its boundaries, Carter Lake became more and more a dependent community. Lacking in most of the services considered essential to any community, Carter Lake rapidly became a bedroom community for the workers of Omaha and Council Bluffs.

Although pertinent to the understanding of the

¹²Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, Urban Society (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1956), p. 136.

¹³A note of reminder; however, few communities conform to an ideal type, and differences are a matter of degree.

community development, the above-mentioned factors do not in themselves explain the rapid growth currently being experienced in the community. There are other factors which operate in attracting people into an area. One such factor is improved transportation facilities. Until November of 1956, the only route to Carter Lake from downtown Omaha or Council Bluffs was an overcrowded, poorly maintained traffic-laden street. In 1956, to meet the demands for a better route to Omaha's rapidly expanding airport, a new direct route from the heart of Omaha's business district was opened.¹⁴ It was coincidental that this route also placed Carter Lake within a few minutes drive of both Omaha and Council Bluffs; nevertheless, this route greatly influenced population growth within the community. Geographically, Carter Lake was now ideally situated for mass housing development. Sufficient land was available in the community. A tax base favorable to veterans is offered by Iowa and is a factor in present community growth.¹⁵ The close proximity to the downtown shopping area is considered as an asset to persons purchasing property in the community.

There is another characteristic which accounts for the peopling of the community. This is the psychological aspect of status which comes with the prospect of home ownership.

¹⁴Figure 1, p. 16.

¹⁵Under Iowa's property tax laws veterans are given \$1,500 in valuation reduction.

Studies of the suburban movement point out that one of the principal motivations for suburban movement is the desire to improve one's social status although this may not be consciously recognized nor admitted.¹⁶ Many suburbanites feel that they are living a temporary existence within the city until they move into a home of their own, even if the home is heavily mortgaged. Developers take advantage of this to build suburban developments of small compact houses.¹⁷ These developments may be observed in Carter Lake in three areas. Several tracts have been built and sold, and others are in the process of building. The majority of these houses are pre-fabricated, and many have occupants who are waiting for completion of specific houses.

Advertising plays an important role in attracting buyers into the suburbs. The "executive manor," "the junior executive ranch home," and "the newly married delight" are typical of the names given the various types of developments in some areas. In Carter Lake the advertisers have used a different approach. Although one attempts to portray his homes on a more exclusive level, the focus of the appeal is directed to the financial position of the buyer. A typical advertisement illustrating such an approach is the following:

¹⁶Gist and Halbert, op. cit., p. 128.

¹⁷Elizabeth Briant Lee and Alfred McClung Lee, Social Problems in America (New York: Henry Holt, 1949).

If you earn \$85.00 per week, you can qualify. No down payment, no work agreement. Only ten minutes from downtown Omaha.¹⁸

The attractiveness of such appeals as the above has been quite effective in drawing home purchasers to Carter Lake. From the informants themselves come such statements as the following:

We were paying almost as much rent as we make payments here. Where we lived before was a dump. The kids didn't have any place to play, and all we ever got was rent receipts.

Before they advertised these low down payments, we could never get enough ahead to even think of buying. We'll have to pinch pennies, but we will have a house to show for it.

One housewife stressed the nearness of the new housing development to place of employment:

We thought about some of the other new developments, but everything we could afford was too far out to ever get to work. Now my husband can leave for work at 7:30 and still have time to eat breakfast.

It is inviting to note that none of the informants mentioned Iowa's tax exemption for veterans as a reason for buying Carter Lake homes, although several informants mentioned it during the interviews. In contrast to the newcomers, many older residents mentioned the exemption. One person who was interviewed stated:

We wanted to buy a place where we wouldn't have to keep up with the Jones. This area don't believe in that sort of thing so we can live and let live.

Some students of the suburban movement have noted a

¹⁸Appendix A.

distinct tendency for persons of homogeneous interests and traits to gather in specific types of suburbs. The study of the Carter Lake community does not demonstrate this tendency. The interests and occupations of the newly arrived residents are heterogeneous.

The study of the occupational characteristics of a community labor force provides a further insight into the make-up and characteristics of the total community. This source of information again points up the uniqueness. As far as could be determined the occupational characteristics of the labor force of Carter Lake reveal a heterogeneous composite of a wide variety of occupations represented. The occupations of old time residents range from that of business operators to farmers. The new residents demonstrate an occupational range from unskilled laborers to small business owners.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

All communities are characterized by some degree of social stratification; some persons rank higher on the social scale than others. The values esteemed by the community determine the status and appropriate roles of its individual residents. This facet of the study of the population also reveals an insight into the community's way of life. Stratification is the social expression of inequality. A social class stratum is actually a grouping of people of similar

social rank or social status. Closely related to this characteristic of social class is that of the role or the expected forms of behavior which accompany social rank. Social class, the usual term used by the sociologist to refer to status levels, is traditionally broken down into three basic divisions: (1) upper, (2) middle, and (3) lower class.¹⁹

Mercer notes that in every community there exists an awareness of status.²⁰ Each community has its social classes. Geographical location often plays a significant part in indicating the social class characteristics of community residents. Residence in "Flytown," "Smoketown," or "The Flats" does not carry with it a picture of desirable social status. On the other hand, residence in the "Gold Coast," "Silk Stocking Row," or "Main Street" indicates upper class residential dwelling areas. These contrasts are most noticeable in a large community; however, they also exist in the small community.²¹ Lantz and McCrary, in their study of Coaltown, found the fact of residential area a noticeable index of social class. Such areas as South Central Street or "Silk Stocking Row" are referred to as symbols of "upper crust" social status in Coaltown.²²

¹⁹Sanders, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

²⁰Mercer, op. cit., pp. 121-26.

²¹Kinneman, op. cit., pp. 150-51.

²²Herman Lantz and J. S. McCrary, People of Coaltown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 232.

In Carter Lake, prior to the housing development of 1958, there were two recognizable social classes. On an individual basis it was difficult to classify a person or family into the appropriate social class division. When the interviewer began to explore the community's social class characteristics, it was found that interviewees often became reluctant to the reality of social class. When the subject of social class was mentioned openly, most residents were quick to deny its existence. With further interviewing and indirect references to the subject all of the residents agreed that there existed an upper and lower class in the community. There was no evidence of a recognized middle class in the community. Through extensive interview data and observation, the geographically determined class limits of the community can be clearly defined.

The lower class tends to be physically segregated into the western edge of the community near the Locust Street viaduct. An example of the recognition of class structure comes from an old time resident of that particular geographical area:

We swamp rats don't have much to do with those people from Carter Lake Club. We live up here, and they live over there.

Another informant from the same area and socio-economic class remarked:

They used to look down their noses and tried to run us. Then we put our mayor in and they quit trying. We don't have much truck with them except at council or school meetings.

Carter Lake Club at the north end of Thirteenth Street and Neptune Place near Thirteenth Street north of Locust Street are recognized as the area of upper class residents.²³ One informant from Carter Lake Club remarked:

If we didn't have zoning and building codes that Locust Street trash would have ruined this section long ago. They'd have come in with shacks and outhouses.

In Chapter II it was pointed out that only six residential structures in the community fell into the classification of "shacks." It is interesting that one of these "shacks" that is in need of repairs is located next door to the above upper class informant.

In an interview with a school informant who resides in the upper class area, concerning changes in the social class structure, the following comment was made:

If you mean during recent years, the last fifteen or twenty, I'd say there is no change. Most residents are pretty much the same as myself. The trend is pretty much to middle class occupations, incomes and interests. Of course the club doesn't have the prestige it formerly had when it was an exclusive business and professional club.

Social class differences in Carter Lake appear to be determined largely upon geographical location rather than upon more commonly accepted indices such as income, type of residence, cultural participation, and education.²⁴ Carter Lake, as previously mentioned, has two geographical areas in which the

²³Figure 1, p. 16.

²⁴W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949), pp. 121-59.

upper class is concentrated. One is the Carter Lake Club area which has been in existence for many years and antedated the incorporated town by twenty years. The second area is known as Neptune Place and was developed during 1926 to 1928, prior to the separation. The developers of Neptune Place were leaders in the secession movement. A few of the upper class indices found in other communities apply to Neptune Place. One finds well kept ranch homes of early 1920's vintage along with ranch homes of contemporary style. The owners are government employees and junior executives. One absentee owner is currently leasing one of the homes to a military officer. The residents of this upper class area are quite active in the community, and several have held political office. It is to be noted that, with the exception of one leader, a woman, the lower class informants do not have reference to Neptune Place when speaking of the community's upper class area.

When interviewing residents of Neptune Place, it becomes apparent that they are quite class conscious. One informant, an older woman, gives strong emphasis to her claim that the area is a "better" class area in making the following statement:

There are many arbitrary and illiterate people down here who don't know what is good for them. I had to handle these people, but there is a way to do that. I know how to handle low class people.

It should be noted that the recognized upper class in Carter Lake would be more nearly identified as middle class

in a large urban center. The Carter Lake lower class would fit into the lower lower or upper lower class of Warner's classification.²⁵ At the present time there appears to be little overt class conflict in the community.

It was noted earlier in Chapter II in the historical treatment of the community that at one time Carter Lake Club membership was composed of the members of the upper social class of both Carter Lake and Omaha social structure. Although some of the former Carter Lake members have moved outside the community, the feeling of the community, especially that of the older residents, is to continue to identify that area as an upper class area.

There is another phase of social class which is also unfolding. Fragmentary bits of evidence suggest that the dichotomous class structure will crumble, and that a new social class structure is evolving. This change is related to the new housing developments and to the new residents who are being attracted into the community. Though most of the houses being constructed are attracting members of the upper lower class in both Carter Lake and Omaha, a few of the houses are attracting members of the middle class.

Since the number of people moving into the new housing

²⁵Ibid. Warner uses a six category system of social stratification. His categories are: (1) upper upper class, (2) lower upper class, (3) upper middle class, (4) lower middle class, (5) upper lower class, and (6) lower lower class.

areas will soon equal the number of older community residents, this will have a decided effect upon the social class structure of the community. Selected statistics for eighty of the new families who purchased homes in Carter Lake during a six months period from May 1, 1959, to August 31, 1959, were enlightening.²⁶ From this information the characteristics of the social class prominent for these new families were determined.²⁷

The social class characteristics of the heads of the eighty new families were as follows:

1. Owners of small businesses, highly skilled workmen, and white collar clerks were classified as lower-middle class.
2. Unskilled and semi-skilled workmen were classified as upper-lower class.

²⁶Browning, loc. cit.

²⁷Bernard Barber, Social Stratification (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957), p. 171.

To compile the social class characteristics of this group of new residents, the occupation of the family head was used as an index for assigning class position. There are several reasons for doing this. In contemporary industrial society the single item most commonly used as a social class index is occupational position.

W. Lloyd Warner, American Life: Dreams and Reality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 55. Warner described occupational groupings according to social class. The upper-middle class is composed of the owners of large businesses, professionals, and the like; the lower-middle class consists of owners of small businesses, highly skilled workers, and white collar clerks. Persons in the upper-lower class are semi-skilled workers, small tradesmen, and the less skilled employees of service enterprises. The lower-lower class is composed of the little respected or pitied unfortunates.

3. Military personnel, officers and enlisted, were not classified.²⁸

There were forty-six families in the first classification, twenty-four in the second category, and ten in the third category. The modal income for the entire eighty families was \$4,000 to \$4,999 per year. This new resident group possesses the characteristics of lower-middle class and upper-lower class, according to Warner's scale. As members of the Carter Lake community, they fall into the middle class group. This is an indication that the older more stable class structure is in process of change.

The characteristics of population of a community tell many things about the way of life in that community. These particular characteristics of Carter Lake demonstrate a population growth; and with population growth, especially rapid growth, comes change. These changes will have interesting effects upon the community in the near future.

²⁸There were no large business owners in the study. The requirements of mortgage acceptance discounted the possibility of any lower-lower class persons in these selected statistics.

CHAPTER IV

COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS AND FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

One approach to the study of the community may be described as the social system approach. A social system may be viewed as an abstract unit, or one in which patterns of relationships prevail from generation to generation. Social systems consisting of persistent patterns do not require that specific persons be considered as part of the system. Social systems, whether studied as going concerns in the present or from a historical point of view, are composed of social interactions and the cultural factors which structure these interactions.¹ The community in its totality is the social system.

The basic unit of study is the subsystem. Each subsystem develops as a result of the social needs which develop with the growth of the community. The social needs of the community are basically those functions which enable a community to survive and maintain its integrity. If a community is large and complex, it will develop many needs, with the result that many subsystems may evolve. If the community is small and relatively simple in structure, it will develop only a few social needs and only a few subsystems will evolve.

¹Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beagle, Rural Sociology (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), pp. 186-88.

Sanders lists the following needs which develop on a nationwide basis and notes that most of these same needs are represented in the community as well.²

1. Biological maintenance with the family as a primary institution.
2. Exercise of power with the informal power structure and the formal governmental structure.
3. Dissemination of knowledge, information and "know how" as exemplified by the school system.
4. Material resources and services as embodied in industries, commerce and professional services.
5. Strengthening psychological security with some particular religious subsystem, kinship groups, or welfare programs.

Carter Lake at the present time does not present a complex series of community subsystems. The size of a community has much to do with the number and networks of interaction and subsystems found within it. As the community continues to grow, it appears imperative that its subsystems, as manifested in both formal and informal organizations, must also grow. At the present time there are three formal subsystems within the community: (1) governmental, (2) religious, and (3) educational. The discussion of the school subsystem appears in Chapter VI. The governmental and religious subsystems are discussed in this chapter with a description of the formal and informal organizations of the community.

²Irwin T. Sanders, The Community (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958), pp. 96-97.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The laws of the State of Iowa establish the form of government for communities of 2,000 or less.³ The form of government is the mayor-council type, with the mayor as the head of the local government and a council consisting of five members. Elected officials in the government are the mayor, councilmen, and town treasurer. An assessor, a city attorney, and a town clerk complete the organization.

Salaries of the council members consist of one dollar per meeting, not to exceed fifty dollars annually. The salary of the mayor and the treasurer are voted by the council. A fixed schedule of meetings is prepared for the town council. The mayor of Carter Lake reports that these meetings are well attended by the local residents.

THE COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

The term "power structure" is used to describe the existence of power relationships in a community: the relationship between the leaders and the led, the "commanders" and the "obeyers."⁴ In studying the government of any community, it is often more revealing to study the power behind the scenes than it is to focus entirely on the structure of the formal

³Code of Iowa (Des Moines: Wallace-Holmstead Company, 1958), Vol. I, Ch. 363, p. 1180.

⁴William E. Cole, Urban Society (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), pp. 241-42.

government. This power structure often has considerable influence upon the conduct of government affairs and in some instances is more effective than the formally recognized duly elected officials. This does not mean that an individual can not be a member of both the formal and informal power groups. In Carter Lake the evidence suggests that a dichotomy is present in the form of a formal power structure in addition to a small political "boss" within the informal power structure.

The community power structure of Carter Lake is a picture of contrasts. In terms of occupation its membership includes the widow of a real estate developer and the school maintenance engineer. The writer obtained from many informants information to indicate that the engineer is the actual coordinator or leader of the informal community power structure. This leadership appears to be extremely subtle, as, on the surface, there are several apparent leaders. The mayor is an important member of the informal group in both his official and unofficial status position. It is interesting to note that a female member of the lower socio-economic class is constantly mentioned (by informants) as a member of this informal power group. Another female member of the power structure, Mrs. Helen Aulmann, is also mentioned by informants as a member of the same group. Articles in the Omaha and Council Bluffs press support the information that Mrs. Aulmann is a powerful influence in the community. No study of this community would be complete without a discussion of this member

of the power structure.

Mrs. Aulmann is a dynamic and aggressive woman of nearly seventy years.⁵ Her looks and actions, however, belie her years, and her list of achievements is long. Although a "latecomer" to the community, she soon became active in community affairs. She must be considered the first "official" of the community. This distinction resulted from her being elected as president of the Carter Lake Parent-Teachers Association.

As president of this group, she led a fight against the Council Bluffs school board to improve the Carter Lake school and its physical facilities. In this fight she was partially successful. Later, again using her office as president of the P.T.A., and, as the only duly elected "official" in the community, she called the community meetings which spearheaded the eventually successful secession from Council Bluffs. She, along with her husband, the late Herman Aulmann, was instrumental in the construction and development of the real estate development known as Neptune Place.⁶

Since the death of her husband, Mrs. Aulmann is not as active in the power structure as formerly. She has been a long-time foe of the mayor, and is often his outspoken critic. Mr. Aulmann ran for mayor in 1948, and, although defeated, was

⁵By her own admission.

⁶Figure 3, p. 40.

Mayor Wilson Mabrey's first opponent in fourteen years.

Today Mrs. Aulmann is a leader in the newly formed Community Church. When interviewed, she talked with pride of her accomplishments. She may be typified by this comment from a lower class informant:

She may be upper class and all for their district, but that woman sure gets things done.

When one thinks of political bosses one thinks of the partisan metropolitan "party boss." However, bosses and political machines are not restricted to large cities. Bosses are often found in rural areas and small cities. Loomis and Beagle suggest that in the small community a strong official and shrewd politician are very difficult to separate:

The responsive official is Gemeinsh aft-oriented.⁷ His finger is on the pulse of his community; his ear is down at the grass roots. He listens, he tells, and he acts. He tries very hard to act within the broad acceptance of his constituents.⁸

The local political scene in Carter Lake has become one dominated by the single politician.

As mentioned in Chapter II, the mayor of Carter Lake is a colorful personality. As his political foe, the previously discussed Helen Aulmann stated:

We elected him to the first council because we thought he was a nice industrious young man.

⁷Here literally interpreted to mean community-oriented.

⁸Loomis and Beagle, op. cit., pp. 272-73.

His being elected to office in 1930 was the beginning of a long turbulent political career for Wilson Mabrey.

In 1934 Mr. Mabrey was elected to the office of mayor, the third mayor in the history of the young community. Today, twenty-six years later, he still holds that office. His long tenure in office has resulted in much bitterness among his political foes. One stated:

Sure he stayed in office. For years most of the people who voted for him traded at his station or took fuel oil from his service. Most of them didn't dare not vote for him or they would be cut off.

Another remarked:

Sure he keeps the vote of the Locust Street trash. He lets them do what they want. Look at how he let gambling run in town. He was getting his cut and to hell with the town's reputation.

Both of the above informants were members of the upper class. A lower class respondent had this to say:

They don't like him over there. It was all right for them living over there on the pavement and all so they didn't have to eat dust all of the time. We remember he took the money he got from the joints and oiled the streets.

Another:

Hell no, they don't like Mabrey over the other way. He doesn't run after them and butter them up like they'd like. He gets things done here in the community, and he sees that everybody gets their share.

Still another:

So what if the gambling joints were down here. They couldn't and as for reputation huh. Nobody ever thinks of us as anything but East Omaha trash anyway. At least he had the guts to do it in the open.

The controversy concerning the mayor has been raging for several years. The majority of the upper class residents interviewed expressed unfavorable opinions concerning the mayor, while the majority of lower class residents favored his policies. Although opposition is voiced, it is to be noted that he has been opposed at the polls only three times during his twenty-six years in office. During the times of opposition he has remained in office by large majorities of the popular vote. Commenting on his ability to remain in office, Mayor Mabrey remarked laconically, "I know what the voters want, and I give it to them."

Although a large majority of the eligible voters go to the polls on election day, active participation in the government of the community appears lacking. One indication of this is the fact that there have been only three attempts to unseat the mayor. There have been, however, several attempts by "the progressive ticket" to gain control of the council. This "ticket" is primarily backed by the residents of Carter Lake Club and Neptune Place. In the past few years there appears to have developed an apathy to community political participation. One evidence of this is seen in the fact that in the last election a city council seat was vacant, but no one filed for the vacancy.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

All societies, no matter how primitive, simple or

complex, carry on religious activities. In few social phenomena, however, is there greater variety in form and practice. Some societies have religious cults, characterized by simple dogma and beliefs; others possess rich dogma and elaborate ritual.⁹ Religion develops to meet psychological needs of its residents. There are many definitions of religion, but, for the purpose of this study, religion may be defined as the beliefs, practices, and organizations which arise in response to uncertainties and frustrations which exist in any society.¹⁰ People expect a religion to serve one or more specific functions. These functions are three in number:

(1) The first is peace of mind for the individual.

This function is generally felt to be the first and foremost function of religion, although there are no data to indicate to what extent religious institutions actually fulfill this need.

(2) The second function is social control and guidance. Religion, with its marshalling of emotions and sentiments, tends to support the mores of the community.

(3) The third function is welfare and recreation, both of which are the concerns of the more modern religious institutions. Basically, religious institutions have an integrative

⁹Loomis and Beagle, op. cit., p. 202.

¹⁰William E. Cole, Dynamic Urban Sociology (Harrishburg: The Stackpole Company, 1954), p. 194.

effect on the community.¹¹

The community of Carter Lake contains three religious groups. Two of the religious groups are classified as sects.¹² These sects are the Carter Lake Gospel Church and the Lakeview Bible Society, and each has approximately thirty-five members. The leader of the Lakeview Bible Society refused to be interviewed concerning his group, and repeated attempts to contact the head of the other sect were unsuccessful. Originally, the two sects were members of one group; however, because of conflict in views, they divided and each went its own way. An informant stated that the division resulted from the disappearance of a building fund. Attempts to verify the story were unsuccessful. Since each sect has only a small number of members, it is doubtful if either group exerts a great deal of influence upon community affairs.

A complete history of the third religious group, the Carter Lake Community Church, is available. Very much like the community itself, the Community Church had a unique beginning. Reverend W. Chapman, the present pastor, supplied the history of the church.

Prior to 1953, the community of Carter Lake had no

¹¹Blaine E. Mercer, The American Community (New York: Random House, 1956), pp. 229-31.

¹²The sect is a small group. It is fundamentally exclusive in its membership, appeals to personalities, emphasizes personal religious experiences, and is often in protest against the ecclesia or other aspects of the social approved churches and denominations. Ibid., p. 223.

recognized church despite the fact that the Mothers Club had made several unsuccessful attempts to establish a church. In 1953, the entire community was evacuated due to flood threats of the Missouri River. However, the levees held, and the community was saved. It was decided to have some type of memorial in thanksgiving. The populace was divided into two factions. One faction, headed by the mayor, wished to purchase a new sprayer generator to remember the event. The other faction wished to have a religious commemorative service. The latter group was successful in its demands and a religious service was held. This service tended to revive the former in establishing a community church.

During the fall of 1953 a "good Roman Catholic"¹³ was instrumental in bringing together the Reverend Olson, a Presbyterian, and interested Protestant residents of the community. It was decided that Protestant services would be held each Sunday in the community. At that time the church was to remain non-denominational. Services were held in the old Cortland school building. They were led by such visiting ministers as could be secured by invitation.

In 1954, after a year of such services, the congregation met and decided to affiliate with the United Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, because of Reverend Olson's earlier help. However, the emphasis has remained on

¹³As expressed by the Reverend Chapman.

the non-denominational and community centered aspects of the church. Although geographically in Iowa, the church associated itself with the Nebraska Synod. The Synod sent Harold Wilson to organize the congregation. His efforts were successful, and on July 24, 1954, the church was formally recognized with the Reverend George Moran as its pastor. The community shared the pastor with an East Omaha church. Following the death of Reverend Moran in 1957, Wilson returned to the church. He, too, served as pastor of the same two churches. In 1958, it was decided to seek a pastor for each congregation. On July 8, 1958, Reverend W. Chapman was ordained as the first full time pastor of the Carter Lake church.

From Reverend Chapman the writer gained further insight into the relationship of the church and the community. It was pointed out that at the present time there tends to be a barrier between the "native" members of the church and the newcomers moving into the community. Attempts are being made to eliminate these barriers, and some progress is reported.

The attitude of the community as a whole toward religion, according to Reverend Chapman, is one of suspicion and antipathy:

The people down here tend to think of the church as mid-Victorian and condemning. They are very hard to change.

At the present time the church remains on a missionary

status, and much of its work falls under the heading of welfare work. According to one of its own members,

There are a lot of families here that are in need of welfare services but do not know which services are available to them or how to avail themselves of such services. We have to deal with problems of juvenile delinquency, especially petty thievery.

Reverend Chapman reports that the congregation is slowly growing despite its many problems. At the present time finances limit its work; however, this problem is beginning to decrease in importance. Of the residents interviewed in new housing developments, concerning their religious activities, some were maintaining their membership in Omaha churches. Reverend Chapman also mentioned this as one of the problems of the Carter Lake church. It is natural that, where the denominations are different, there would be a reluctance to switch affiliation. As far as could be determined, no plans are being formulated for the establishment of churches by other religious groups in the community.

One informant related an incident suggesting that in some areas certain functions of the church tend to be resented. On one occasion a family in the community had all their belongings destroyed when fire leveled the home in which they were living. Although covered by insurance, no cash was available until settlement could be arranged. Reverend Chapman allowed the family to sleep in one of the classrooms in the basement of the church, and a drive was quickly organized to provide the family with household

necessities. On the second or third day of the fund raising activity a representative arrived from the mayor to inform the church leaders that the help should cease because the family "wasn't worth helping." The informant states that there was an implied warning that continued aid would be officially frowned upon. Help was continued, however; and the family, although dependent and disorganized in many ways, has made a satisfactory adjustment. This incident is offered as evidence that social change in the community is strongly resisted.

FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

Other than the above two basic social institutions and the school, there are only three other formal organizations in Carter Lake. These are the Volunteer Fire Department Auxiliary, the Parent Teachers Association, and the Carter Lake Improvement Club. Since the P.T.A. is part of the formal system of education, it will be discussed in a later chapter. The Fire Department Auxiliary was organized in 1957 when the volunteer fire department was founded. It is composed of wives of the firemen. It has held a number of fund raising dinners and dances for the purpose of purchasing equipment for the department. Its function, however, is primarily social.

The Carter Lake Improvement Club was established in 1943. It developed out of a crisis situation concerning the Missouri River levee. This levee was destroyed by the Corps

of Engineers during the spring flood of 1943 to save the Omaha railroad yards, power plant, and the low-lying sections of the Omaha business district. The community of Carter Lake was flooded resulting in severe damage to homes and property. At the time many of the residents, especially in the Carter Lake Club area, were deeply resentful of the actions of the army engineers. This hostility was directed at the mayor of Carter Lake who, they believed, could have prevented the action with a protest.

After the waters receded, the cleanup work proceeded slowly. The people of the club area came to believe that the work was going far too slowly. There was also a charge that the town equipment was not being made available to their particular area. To combat this and to "protect their own interests," the Carter Lake Improvement Club was founded. According to informants who supplied this information, the original aim of the group was neither social nor political, but was primarily aimed toward speeding up flood reclamation.

In 1948, however, the club entered the political scene with a progressive ticket to battle the slate of Mayor Mabrey. This ticket was headed by Mr. Herman Aulmann as the candidate for mayor; however, the ticket was defeated.

At the present time this group has become a permanent organization in the community. They have erected a club building and now operate primarily as a social group. Whether they will return to political activity cannot be answered at

this time. Membership in the club is restricted by geographical boundaries.¹⁴

LEISURE TIME AND RECREATION

Very few opportunities are offered within the community limits for leisure time recreation. At one time a recreation center for children was operated in a former gambling house, but this was discontinued when the building was destroyed by fire. There is no park or playground in the community other than the one provided by the public school.

In recreational leisure time activities the adult fares little better than children. Commercial recreation is limited to a single beer tavern in the community. An outdoor movie operates for part of the year during summer months. For most of his recreation, the Carter Laker must journey away from his community.

Carter Lake has few opportunities for social participation within its boundaries. The usual sources of interaction, such as social clubs, business fraternities, commercial recreation centers, church centers, and other sites where the population meets in other communities, are lacking in Carter Lake. Such organizations as do exist tend to be very restrictive in membership.

¹⁴Members must live north of P Street.

CHAPTER V

BUSINESSES AND SERVICES

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Industry in Carter Lake presents a paradoxical picture. It employs only a limited number of residents from the community, yet the residents indirectly derive many benefits from the industries. The existing industry is able to share the favorable tax structure of the State of Iowa, yet it enjoys the proximity of Nebraska within which the majority of its transactions occur. Industry makes little use of the municipal services of Carter Lake, yet it supports through taxation many of these services. As with the governmental and religious subsystems of Carter Lake, the industrial subsystem is also unique in this community.

There are four industrial plants in the community. These are: (1) a pressure gas company, (2) a steel fabricating plant, and (3) two petroleum pipeline and distribution terminals. An attempt to discover the reason for the decline in the number of industrial subsystems mentioned in the historical treatment of the community was only partially successful. Some industries and businesses, such as the harness plant, succumbed to modern technology. The white lead factory in Carter Lake succumbed to improved modern transportation methods which made importation of white lead cheaper than local production. The disappearance of the other industries and businesses

within Carter Lake is unexplainable.

The steel fabrication plant, including its subsidiary steel erection company, is the largest industry in the community. Its buildings cover approximately ten acres of land. The tax value is estimated in excess of \$2,000,000.¹ Recently officials announced a \$500,000 addition will soon be constructed. Company officials stated that the company was originally located here because of the availability of cheap land. The permanent payroll of this plant numbers around 120 workers; however, an official stated that only ten or twelve workers lived in the community. In 1955, this company paid approximately twenty-five per cent of the community's levied property tax of \$133,000.²

The two petroleum outlets cover a large amount of land due to the demands of space necessary for the operation of tank storage farms. Officials interviewed were unable to estimate the value of the property. One stated it was against company policy to impart such information. The other stated that he did not know the value as tax evaluation matters were handled by the national office in another state. Neither knew of any of their forty-one employees who was living in the community itself. It was discovered that one of the employees had recently purchased a home in Carter Lake.

¹Council Bluffs Nonpareil, January 20, 1957.

²Ibid.

The two industries mentioned above make little use of the municipal services of the community. Due to the nature of their product, both provide their own fire protection systems. As one of the managers of the tank farm explained, "If your chemical extinguisher isn't operating within a minute or two at most, the whole set up goes." Both industries have their own watchman service and do not depend upon the community's law enforcement agency.

Both of these companies selected the community as a base of operations for certain conveniences. The petroleum company bought the facilities of a refinery that had operated on the community site since World War I. The steel company located in the community because a suitable tract of land was available with good railroad trackage.

The fourth company, a manufacturer of pressure gas for carbide lights, was located in Carter Lake prior to the community's being officially incorporated. The company has approximately eight employees and none live in the community.

RETAIL OUTLETS AND PRIVATE SERVICES

Not only is the community limited in the number of its industries, but in addition the number of retail services are limited. Gas stations lead the number of retail establishments with eleven outlets. One beer tavern is operating, and there is one drive-in restaurant. An outdoor movie and an ice cream dispensary operate on a limited and seasonal basis. In

addition, there are several fish bait stands and a marina in the community. These latter businesses cater largely to outside residents seeking recreational activities. Three small contractors also have their offices in the community.

Occupationally speaking, there are no professional personnel in the community. Residents in need of such services must travel outside of the community. With the exception of an auto parts store, there are no retail stores located within the community boundaries. Community informants explained that this is due to the fact that the three percent Iowa sales tax makes it impossible to compete with Omaha stores. Before the establishment of the tax there were approximately three combination grocery-variety stores operating within the community. The Iowa tax structure, however, is favorable to the operation of service stations. Gasoline may be purchased at lower prices than in neighboring Nebraska, and many local and non-resident motorists take advantage of this saving to fill their tanks.

MUNICIPAL SERVICES

Carter Lake has the following public services: (1) a water district, (2) a street maintenance force, (3) a volunteer fire department, and (4) a police department. Electric power is purchased by the consumer directly from the Omaha Public Power District. Natural gas is provided by a private distributor under a franchise awarded July 22, 1958.

The police department consists of the mayor, a chief marshal, and several deputy marshals. Iowa law provides that the mayor must also be the chief of police in towns of less than 2,000 population.³ When arrests are necessary, the offender is detained in the Pottawattamie County jail in Council Bluffs. This procedure is inconvenient as it is necessary to cross Nebraska's boundaries in transporting prisoners to jail. Some attorneys have questioned this procedure; however, it has never been officially challenged. The police department is equipped with two modern radio-equipped cruisers, and law enforcement is considered efficient and effective by both officials and citizens.

For many years fire protection has been a major problem in Carter Lake. In the period before the secession from Council Bluffs, it required thirty minutes or more to get fire equipment from Council Bluffs to Carter Lake. This resulted in even minor fires causing considerable damage and in some instances total loss. When Carter Lake became an organized community, various arrangements were made with the Omaha Fire Department to answer community fire calls. According to the mayor, these arrangements were unsatisfactory. The mayor charged that Carter Lake paid for services it reportedly did not receive. The residents complained that their insurance rates were double the usual rates because of the arrangement

³Code of Iowa (Des Moines: Wallace-Holmstead Company, 1958), Vol. I, Chap. 363, p. 1180.

with Omaha.

To rectify this, a group of interested citizens formed a volunteer fire department in 1957. A ladies' auxiliary was formed at the same time. Various fund raising campaigns were carried out to equip the new department. The present equipment of the fire department is considered adequate to handle all residential fires. As a result, insurance rates on residences have dropped.

Carter Lake has its own water district, although it purchases its water from the Omaha Metropolitan Utilities District. The city clerk's records for October of 1959 listed 529 subscribers. Many applications were being processed as the new housing developments continue to grow inside the community.

OTHER PUBLIC SERVICES

Public transportation is provided by the Omaha Transit Company and Omaha's five taxicab companies. Bus service is provided by the transit company as part of its Omaha Airport route. Buses operate on a regular schedule, and, except in cases of extreme weather, the service is considered quite dependable by most informants. At the present stage of development, there are only a few homes that are more than four blocks from a bus stop.⁴ Buses are chartered from the Omaha

⁴Figure 4, p. 77.

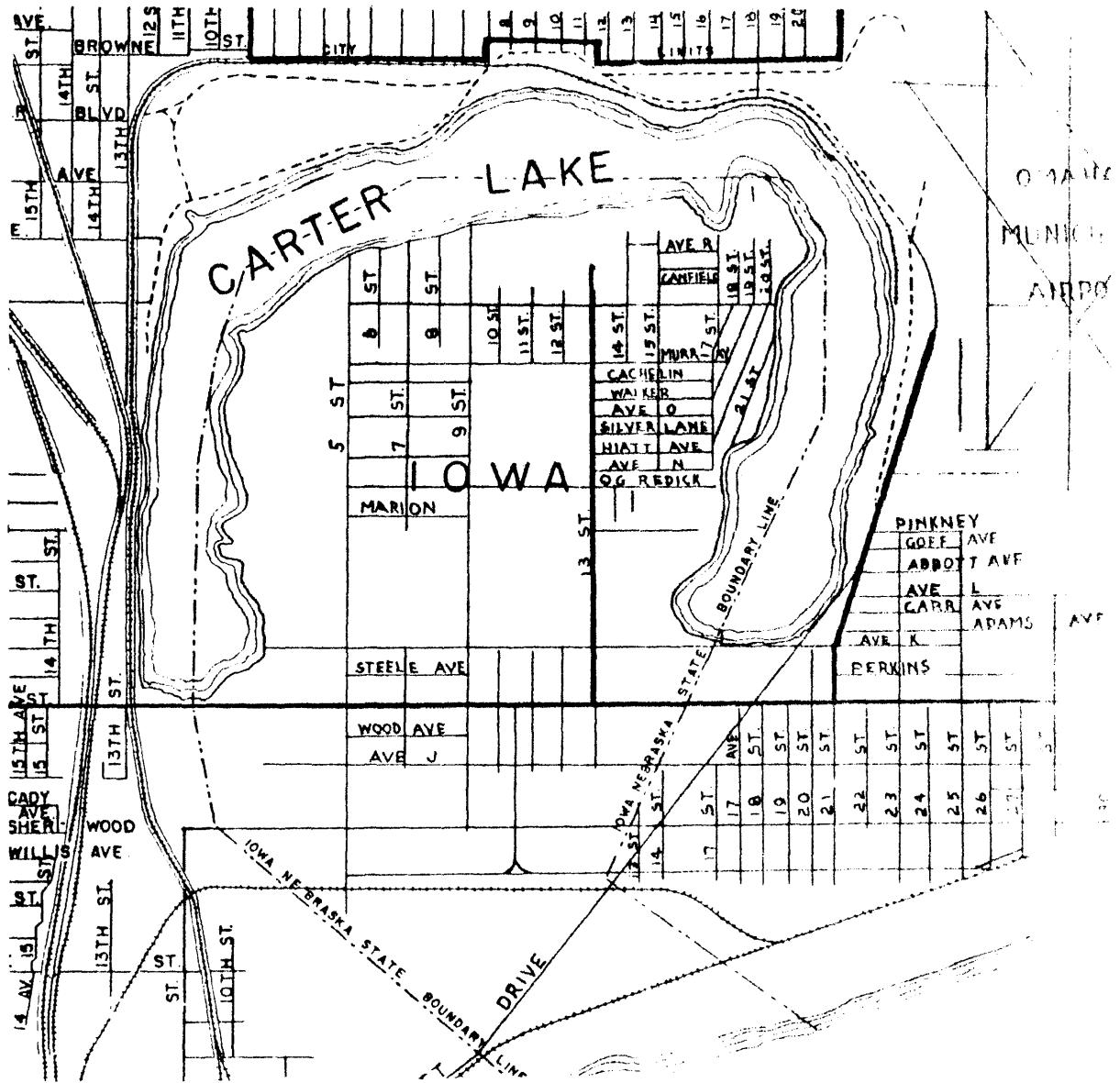


FIGURE 4
OMAHA TRANSIT COMPANY AIRPORT ROUTE

Transit Company to provide transportation for high school students who attend high school in either Omaha or Council Bluffs. "Charlie," the senior driver on this run, is widely known by the residents of the community and is considered an old friend by many.

Communication services originate outside the community. Postal service operates from the Omaha Post Office, since the community has no post office of its own. There are no indications that this situation will change in the near future.

The community has no mass media of communication. Radio and television are transmitted by Omaha stations. At three various times pamphlet type newspapers have been attempted, but none were successful. The Omaha World-Herald is read by the majority of community residents, but a few families take the Council Bluffs Nonpareil. Legal notices are printed in the Neola (Iowa) Gazette.

LOCAL PUBLIC WELFARE

In one meaning of the term, organized welfare programs do not exist in Carter Lake. Personal and family crises usually bring aid from cooperative community efforts. Many informants, however, state that a few community families could benefit from established welfare services.

The health committee of the local Parent-Teacher Association has made provision through Creighton University Dental Clinic for needed services for school children. This

group, with the assistance of Dr. Charles M. Bonniwell of Omaha, provides for vaccinations and inoculations. A school nurse from Council Bluffs makes infrequent visits.

The families in need of welfare services officially fall under the jurisdiction of Pottawattamie County public welfare agencies with offices in Council Bluffs. These agencies have no local offices or representatives so are seldom sought out by Carter Lake families. The distance to and from Council Bluffs tends to act as a further barrier. According to Reverend Chapman, the residents have little knowledge of the services which are available in the county seat.

In the area of business services, the town is unique. The industries, which provide the greater proportion of its tax income, do not employ the community's residents. Many of the services considered vital to any community are provided by the neighboring cities. In turn, the general lack of retail outlets in the community means that the Carter Laker must spend his purchasing dollar in other communities than his own.

CHAPTER VI

THE CARTER LAKE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Educational institutions are an important part of the organization of the community. The buildings provide evidence of the community's wealth. The public is not only ready with support, it is also eager to criticize; however, despite its criticism, it places blind faith in the potency of education to prevent and control social ills.¹

The investigator sought to compare Kinneman's concept of the importance of education with the role of the school system in the Carter Lake community. The task proved extremely difficult as there was a lack of objective data prior to 1950 concerning the role of the school in community relationships. Attempts to find the explanations for this lack of information resulted in such replies as:

Guess it was like any other school. I only went to the fourth grade here, and then we had to go up to Omaha to finish. The kids up there all thought they were too good for us.

The above informant was 67 years old, a lower class person. His son recalls:

I went all eight grades down here. The school was already pretty crowded (1933). I didn't notice any of the guys up there in high school acting "too good." Of course I knew lots of guys up there before I came up to high school. You know that.

¹John A. Kinneman, The Community in American Society (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1947), p. 247.

Another informant from Carter Lake Club stated:

The old school left a lot to be desired. It was too crowded. I'd have sent my kids to school in Omaha, but it was the depression, and I couldn't afford it.

Mrs. Aulmann, the first president of the Carter Lake Parent-Teacher Association, recalled that the old school building was dilapidated and deteriorated. All of the informants were vague concerning the history of the school. Although the information concerning the early history of the school prior to 1950 is inadequate, an accurate account of the present school and its relation to the total community was obtained. Information was provided by Mr. Clyde Rine, president of the local school board, and Mr. Lazarro, principal of the school. Both are quite proud of its growth and development.

PHYSICAL FACILITIES

The present elementary school is housed in a new \$200,000 building opened in 1957. It is a one floor, modern design construction. There is a large well equipped playground adjoining the school building. The school provided adequate facilities for the community's children when it first opened; however, the rush of families into the new housing areas soon created overcrowded conditions. To meet this overcrowding, in 1959 the community voted a bond issue to provide for the construction of a new classroom addition. At the time of the study this construction was under way.

Pupils receive their secondary education in Omaha or

Council Bluffs since the community has no high school. The old grade school building was sold to the Carter Lake Community Church.

The present school system employs fifteen teachers. Since there is no high school, the elementary system is headed by a principal rather than a superintendent. Teachers must be registered and qualify under Iowa's certification laws. The source of teachers varies, but Mr. Rine reports there is no difficulty in securing teachers since they are not required to maintain Carter Lake residency.

The school board president stated that, although salaries were not as high as they are in adjoining communities, the school board cooperates well with its teachers and good rapport is maintained. The teacher turnover since 1955 has been low.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Since the community has no high school, the laws of Iowa provide that a district which does not have a four-year high school may send pupils to high school in a neighboring state provided the school is within a reasonable distance.² Currently, high school students attend both Omaha and Council Bluffs high schools. The district pays \$550 yearly tuition

²Richard Boe, "The Problem of Administering an Iowa School in a Nebraska Culture" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1950), pp. 28-29.

for fifteen students attending Omaha high schools, while sixty-six pupils attend Council Bluffs high schools at a cost of \$325 per pupil. Chartered buses, provided by the community, transport the pupils to and from school.

SOCIAL INTERACTION

Of all phases of community life studied, the school system provides the best example of a harmonious and smoothly operating social subsystem. Both school officials and community residents express the desire to see the children well educated. This desire is not only expressed verbally, but is apparent in the actual practice of providing an adequate educational program. The old clash between the lower social economic class and middle and upper socio-economic classes tended to disappear when the new school bonds were requested. Both the original bond issue and the later one for new additional classrooms met with a minimum of opposition. This lack of class division and conflict is further evidenced in that a member of the lower class is a member of the school board and is recognized as an individual interested in education.

Within the school itself, there appears to be little awareness of social class divisions; but there are indications that recognizable socio-economic differences may materialize in the very near future. The principal, when asked concerning problems resulting from the children's awareness of different class backgrounds, replied:

Social class has never been a problem in the school. Children of this age group do not seem to be aware of social class. Lately, however, there has been a small clique of older girls who dress a little better, and who try to push the others around a little.

SPECIAL PROBLEM

Currently there appears only one special problem concerning the educational system. It is a problem that is common to many school systems today. This problem revolves around the problem of greater classroom crowding if the increased migration continues. The school officials are carefully watching this development, and the principal stated that, if the present trend continues, the school population may reach 1200 or more. A glance at the increase in a one-year period indicates some grounds for this fear. In November of 1959, the enrollment was 454. The previous year it had been 290. The influx of people into the housing areas is just beginning, and it shows no signs of decreasing.

FUTURE OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

When questioned as to the future of the school in Carter Lake, the school board president stated:

If conditions change enough, if the town passes 2,000 (and this appears certain in the 1960 census), and if valuations soar, it is possible that in the future a secondary school may be added. It would be impossible to do so under the present conditions as we are taxed for bonding purposes to the full extent of the law. If the town passes 2,000, the legal status of the community changes from town to city under Iowa law. This brings new taxing powers.

In the meantime the school officials are watching the new families move into the new housing developments surrounding the school, and realize that this means an increase in the number of students that will attend the school.

As with so many of the other subsystems in Carter Lake, the school subsystem is unique. It must turn to adjacent communities for secondary education for its children. It is within this subsystem, however, that one finds the most harmonious interaction and unification of efforts by Carter Lake residents to see that the children are provided with opportunities for sound education. In this subsystem, class lines and personnel differences tend to disappear.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL CONTROL, SOCIAL RELATIONS, AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

SOCIAL CONTROL

Another important facet of a community is the system of social control which guides and directs community members in their daily interactions. As a requisite for social order and integration, members of the community are expected to fit their actions into established norms or rules. To promote conformity to the norms, various forces within the community operate to influence the individual; the operation of these forces is social control.¹ In reality, community members control and direct each other, but certain formal institutions, or subsystems, evolve to facilitate these controls. These controls may be defined as communal rather than individual, and are characterized by: (1) the need for regularity and order in a social system such as a community, (2) the process of socialization which prepares individuals for communal living, (3) the processes of social control and the techniques of effective guidance of interaction, and (4) those who control these processes of community controls.²

¹Felix M. Keesing, Cultural Anthropology (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1958), pp. 302-303.

²Irwin T. Sanders, The Community (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958), pp. 165-66.

The developmental characteristics of social control which have evolved in Carter Lake were somewhat difficult to determine. In a typical small self-contained community there occurs a certain amount of social interaction in merely carrying out the functions necessary to everyday living. In this type of community, the people trade at local stores, use the services of local professionals, attend the various churches of the community, belong to its different organizations, and participate in many other types of group activities. Each of these necessary activities possess certain socially expected behavior patterns. These expected, and often demanded, patterns exert an appreciable amount of informal control upon the individual.

As pointed out in Chapter V, Carter Lake provides its residents with few of the necessities of everyday living. Since the majority of activities associated with earning are carried on outside the community, these activities offer little or no means of community social control.

As mentioned in Chapter IV, one of the secondary aims of the religious subsystem in the community is to promote social conformity. The religious influence in Carter Lake may be a factor in social control, but evidence suggests that it is an insignificant factor. The community church has a membership of only 113 members, which represents a small proportion of the total population of the community. In addition, many residents maintain church membership in Omaha. The

question of the degree of effective influence which the church exerts in community affairs is questionable in the face of such a small membership. Reverend Chapman made this statement concerning the relationship of church to community:

I don't think the church makes too much difference to these people. Some of them come just because it is the thing to do, and this is the closest church.

Another institution exercising formal social control is the government. The overt control is vested in the police force, although the duties of the police in Carter Lake are primarily protective and suggest a minimum of overt influence. However, the psychological factor of the presence of the police in the community is an important factor in social control.

The educational institution also plays a role in social control. Mercer notes: "Education is not general but specific, not universal but local, and not static but constantly changing as to goals and purpose."³ The goal of education is socialization, and, as part of the process, indoctrination. The school is expected to transmit to the youth the accepted values and behavior norms of the community.⁴

This would suggest that the role of the school in promoting conformity is important. How adequately the Carter Lake school fulfills this aspect of social control is somewhat

³Blaine E. Mercer, The American Community (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 204.

⁴Wilbur B. Brookhaver, A Sociology of Education (New York: American Book Company, 1955), p. 50.

difficult to determine. Informants revealed little that would offer significant insight into the role of the school in social control. An upper class resident remarked:

I send my children to school to get educated. I don't believe the school should have to teach them to behave.

Another informant stated:

If the school educates the children it has done its job. It shouldn't have to teach them to mind. The youngsters down here seem pretty well behaved.

A lower class informant's comment suggests the school sometimes exerts more influence than some residents feel is necessary:

Sometimes the teachers over there try to tell people what they have to do. I had a couple run-ins when my kids were going to school. They were always telling them to do something that wasn't the way we lived.

Since only the younger (elementary) school children attend the local school, it is very difficult to determine precisely the degree of influence which the school exerts in the community. The influence of the secondary school, in so far as local community control is concerned, is insignificant since the students attend school outside the community. Aspects of social control as part of the high school sub-culture would be oriented primarily toward the communities of Omaha and Council Bluffs. The evidence suggests that any social control influence exerted by the school in Carter Lake is of a reinforcing nature.

It appears that social control in the community is

heavily concentrated within the family. Many sociologists hold that the family is of primary importance in this area. Sanders states:

A very important contribution made by the family to the operation of the community as a system is the socialization of the young, which also aids in the socialization of parents, involving them much more in community affairs than would otherwise be the case.⁵

Bertrand writes:

Because it is the first institution with which the individual comes in extended contact, the family has strong influence on the individual.⁶

Mercer makes this contribution to the importance of the family in the social control:

We call the patterns which regulate the relations of individuals in society "regulative." There are certain aspects of the contemporary American family which fall within this category, whether one considers merely the relations of the members of a particular family themselves, or whether one is concerned with the broader problem of the contribution of the family as an institution to the stability and continuity of the community.⁷

Other functions of the family, such as the biological and the psychological function, are not pertinent to the consideration of social control.

Informants from each of the identifiable classes stress the importance of the role of the individual family in social control. Stress is placed on the independence of families

⁵Sanders, op. cit., pp. 254-55.

⁶Alvin Lee Bertrand, Rural Sociology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958), p. 210.

⁷Mercer, op. cit., p. 199.

from each other and from the community. This represents a tendency to display a lack of identification of the family with the community and with other families. This tendency characterizes both older families and young families in the community.

One lower class informant of a three-generation family stated:

I raised my kids right. They never got into any trouble, and they all got good jobs. They are raising their kids right too. If you tend to your family, there ain't no time to get into trouble.

Another informant from the same class remarked:

Kids grow up just like their parents raise them. If the parents don't care what their kids do, the kids don't care what they do either.

An informant of the upper class stated this:

In a place like this you've got to look after yourself and your money. We have always been pretty dependent upon ourselves. There isn't any trouble down here because we don't give it a chance to start.

Questioned about the community's control over its youngsters, one of the law enforcement officials stated this:

The parents have pretty good control over their children. Usually if we have a minor problem with the kids, we talk it over with the parents, and that usually ends the problem.

Family pride seems to be an important factor in promoting family conformity and indirectly community conformity. On the surface the fear of public opinion appears to be an important instrument of social control. However, the evidence suggests that, except for people in positions of

responsibility, this process of social control actually does not operate to any great extent. The fear of public opinion is mentioned subtly by only one informant:

If a family stays in line, no one pays any attention to it. If anyone doesn't do what he is supposed to, the whole town knows it.

Such a statement as the above suggests that gossip plays an important role in informal social control. Sanders suggests that gossip plays an important role in social control in small communities. Gossip operates whenever social cliques gather and whenever conversation becomes free and easy. The usual sites in Carter Lake where gossip begins are service stations, the local tavern, and similar places. Through this medium subjects are discussed that would never be mentioned in formal interaction.⁸ However, only the above informant mentioned this aspect of social control.

SOCIAL INTERACTION

The investigation of the social interaction within the community proved to be quite difficult for the researcher. As previously mentioned, there are only three formal organizations in the community. Each of these appears to operate efficiently within its own framework; however, the number of participants is limited. The Carter Lake Improvement Club appears to be the most socially active formal organization in the community, although the Parent-Teacher Association carries out many functions

⁸Sanders, op. cit., pp. 60-63.

that are usually delegated to other organizations in the community. The Carter Lake Improvement Club limits its membership to residents who live within specific areas in the community. This area coincides with the Carter Lake Club upper class area.

When questioned concerning informal types of social interaction, the informant's comments suggested that most interaction in the community was on an individual basis rather than a group or organizational basis. Formal interaction, such as clubs, bowling leagues, and similar participation, appears to originate in the city of Omaha rather than in the community.

In attempting to discover the extent of interaction between social classes, leaders of the P.T.A. were contacted since this organization tends to cut across class lines. Each of the informants interviewed gave similar information. With the exception of the lower class member of the school board, only a few members of the lower class come to the P.T.A. meetings. Of the small number of lower class residents that attend, only the school board member participates actively.

An observation of Reverend Chapman's provides some insight into the reasons for such a small amount of interaction apparent in the community:

These people pride themselves on and give lip service to the philosophy of rugged individualism. It is a misconstrued Twentieth Century philosophy of rugged individualism based upon selfish disregard for one's neighbors rather than the pioneer spirit of holding

one's place and responsibility in the community. The only time these people really become aware of each other is when a disaster or crisis threatens them.

Interviews with informants in the new housing areas of the community suggest that there is an increase in personal interaction in these sections. The "koffee klache" and mutual cooperation seem much more prevalent here than in the older sections of the community.

SOCIAL CONFLICT

Every community is characterized by some social conflict. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between social conflict and social disorganization. Conflict may display itself in manifestations of hostilities, between social classes, political parties, organized groups or between powerful primary groups and the resulting interaction influences the entire community.⁹ In Carter Lake community social conflict tends to be covert and carefully hidden. That it exists becomes apparent in the statements made to inquiries concerning other facets of community life. When actually questioned about conflict, with few exceptions, the residents were quick to deny that it existed within the community. When social conflict becomes apparent it centers around class differences. Such statements as these support the findings that social conflict is a part of community interaction. An upper class member of the

⁹Mabel A. Elliot and Frances E. Merrill, Social Disorganization (New York: Harper Publishing Co., 1950), pp. 487-88.

community power structure made the following remark:

We had to make laws to keep this a good section to live. If we didn't they would have had filling stations and beer joints all over. We put in a good housing code too. They didn't like that up there, but we kept the shacks out.

Another member of the power structure commented:

It is pretty hard to please all the sections down here. If you please the business men, you step on the toes of the club. If you please the residents, the others are on your neck.

Beyond statements such as these conflicts between groups, other than spasmodic outbursts of political activity is either very limited or so subtle as to be difficult to detect. However, evidence of individual conflict was plentiful. These conflicts were both inter-class and intra-class.

An example of a lower class member's feeling of class conflict is evidenced in this comment:

Those people on Thirteenth Street and in the Club try to make it rough on us, but they don't succeed. They were the ones who wanted to become a town. It was better down here the way things were before we incorporated.

Another member of the power structure had this to say concerning her personal leadership:

There are many contrary and illiterate people down here who don't know what is good for them. I had to handle these people. I know how to handle low class people.

Although lower class residents deny the existence of conflict with the upper class, statements such as the following from a lower class member suggest such conflict does exist:

If it wasn't for the mayor, those people over on the other side would run all over us. They try to tell us what is good for us, but they don't know what is good for us. We know how we want to live.

There is a developing set of circumstances in Carter Lake which will probably lead to possible conflict. Lantz and McCrary show how conflict developed in Coaltown when new immigrants were attracted to the area.¹⁰ It is possible that a modified situation of conflict between old time residents and the new community migrants may develop in the community. It is true that in Carter Lake there would not be language and ethnic differences, but the new residents will present a challenge to the value structure of the older residents. Although many of these values are more implicit than explicit, they nevertheless resist change. As was mentioned in Chapter IV, the older members of the community church are openly resisting acceptance of new residents. One older resident, when asked his opinion on the new residents, stated:

A town has to grow. I don't suppose they'll make much difference. We've got our ways and laws, and they'll follow them. They won't change things.

A new resident gave his opinions on the possibility of future conflict:

When I moved down here, I wanted to get away from a lot of things. One of them was Omaha's fouled up politics. I'll vote down here, but I'll vote the way that I want to vote. I won't vote for something just because that is the way it has been for thirty years.

¹⁰Herman R. Lantz and J. S. McCrary, People of Coaltown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 36-87.

It will take a future and a more extensive investigation to discover evidences of social conflict in the community, but there is already sufficient evidence to suggest the possibility of conflict between the old timers in the community and the newly arrived migrants.

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

The phenomenon of community social disorganization may be partially seen at the present time. Social disorganization occurs when there is a change in the equilibrium of forces, a break in the social structure, in which former patterns no longer apply, and the accepted forms of social control no longer function effectively.¹¹

As with most facets of community study, this particular phase might be approached from several points of view. In this study it is approached in terms of observable manifestations of social disorganization in community groups. Indices which often offer insight into community disorganization are the following: (1) the literacy rate for the population, (2) the figures of irregular school attendance, (3) rate of mobility and transiency, (4) political corruption, and (5) the crime rate.¹² These indices of social disorganization are helpful in obtaining a picture of the extent to which social disorganization is

¹¹Elliot and Merrill, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

¹²Ibid., p. 33.

present at the community level.

One of the first evidences of social disorganization at the local community level is a lack of interest and participation in community politics.¹³ Previously it has been mentioned that apathy is marked in the area of political participation in Carter Lake. Verbal complaints concerning the administration are expressed frequently. Despite this verbalized opposition to the current administration, the mayor has encountered organized opposition at the polls only three times in twenty-six years. Even more suggestive is the fact that no one filed for a vacant council seat at the last election in 1958. When information was sought concerning local office holders, the characteristic replies were as follows:

Why fight "city hall"? Mabrey and his bunch are in there, and what can you do about it? I guess if anyone else was in, it would be about the same.

Mobility is an important factor in the decreasing community organization. The degree of mobility in the community is an important index of the degree of consensus existing between its members. Families who change their residences from one part of the community, or from one city to another seldom acquire the deep sense of "belonging" which is necessary to good citizenship.¹⁴ There are no accurate figures available for mobility within the community, and only incomplete

¹³Ibid., p. 476.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 479.

statistics of the amount of inter-community mobility; however, officials estimate that over a thousand new residents have moved into the community since 1950. Three new housing developments are under way and each is filling rapidly. This mobility suggests indices of potential social disorganization.

Crime is not only a type of social disorganization, it is an index to the basic disturbances which threaten the social structure of a community. Social disorganization and confusion with reference to basic social values are accompanied by a high crime rate.¹⁵

Attempts to determine the extent of the arrest rate in Carter Lake met with official evasion on the part of the mayor and the police department. The official arrest rates were unobtainable; however, the city attorney made the following comments concerning the crime rate:

There is no crime problem in Carter Lake. We have had but one major crime in many years. Juvenile delinquency does not exist. Children have a good atmosphere, and they get off to a good start in Carter Lake and do not generate bad thoughts.

The mayor concurs with the city attorney on the above view. The official arrest rate suggested is ten persons per year.¹⁶ The community police cooperate with the Omaha police and the Douglas County road patrol in apprehending offenders fleeing through the community via Locust Street or Abbott

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 542-43.

¹⁶Chief marshal's verbal report.

Drive. These arrests are not accounted for in the above statements. According to residents, law enforcement is efficient and offers little room for complaint.

There are no official statistics covering juvenile delinquency. The marshal explained the lack of such statistics with the following comments:

We don't make court cases out of our few juvenile cases. We treat them with a "big brother" attitude and attempt to rehabilitate them. If you treat them like criminals, you don't really gain anything. Our department keeps the respect of the kids and their parents.

Observations made while patrolling the community with the marshal appear to support the above statement. During the tours, greetings on the part of residents toward the officers appeared friendly and spontaneous.

A small number of informants in the community disagree with the claim of little or no delinquency and they feel that delinquency is increasing. They claim that this is especially true in the category of petty thievery. These residents point the finger of blame in the direction of the lower class residents. The majority of the informants, however, agree with the official version of the mayor and the police department.

The researcher questioned the marshal concerning the rumored increase in juvenile delinquency and he made the following comment:

When you get this many new families and kids moving into the town you've got to expect a little of this.

A problem teen-ager well known to police reports:

Whenever you do anything in Carter Lake, the marshal just runs you out of town. He is a good guy.

If the presence of religious sects is considered an index of social disorganization, as some sociologists have maintained,¹⁷ then the two sects in the community cannot be overlooked. The membership in the sects, however, is so limited that they are not considered as seriously suggestive of social disorganization.

As was previously mentioned in this chapter, a state of disorganization often exists in communities where rapid growth and expansion occur. The mayor of Carter Lake (and other officials) states that they are now aware of minor community problems, and added:

As problems begin, we will take care of them before they grow.

There may be further evidences of disorganization; however, there are no official records of welfare or dependency cases of any type. Interview reports were conflicting and of little value in making generalizations concerning welfare or dependency cases. On the surface the Carter Lake community

¹⁷As one writer noted, "The sect is a small fundamentally exclusive in membership, and often is in protest against other aspects of the community." Mercer, op. cit., p. 223.

appears well integrated with a minimum of social problems. However, a deeper and more intense study of the community might prove that social disorganization is a significant aspect of community life.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FUTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

When one considers the future of the Carter Lake community he must view this future from two points of view. The first point of view concerns the problems and the consequences of these problems within the community. For instance, there must be a consideration of the following factors: (1) rapid population growth, (2) social change, (3) political change, and (4) class conflict. The second point of view centers around the future of the community as a legal, political unity.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

Evidence such as the construction of new houses, increasing applications for public utilities, new admissions to the community school, and opinions by community officials, all indicate that the population of the community will continue to increase. The Pottawattamie County assessor's office reported that 130 new homes were occupied in Carter Lake in 1959.¹ Many homes are in various stages of construction, and several new plats have been approved for housing development. This suggests a continued population growth and, with a continuing growth in population, changes will occur in community structure and function. Some of these changes will occur because of: (1)

¹Council Bluffs Nonpareil, February 10, 1960.

the characteristics of Iowa law concerning the size and functions of a community, (2) increased demands upon public services such as the school, street maintenance, law enforcement, and similar services, and (3) the normal process of social interaction. The first change that will take place will be in the legal definition and classification of the community. Under Iowa law a community with a population of less than 2,000 is classified as a town. Its form of government is limited to a mayor-council system.² Mayor Mabrey estimates the 1960 population will be approximately 2,300. This population figure will automatically place Carter Lake in the category of a city.³ Under this new classification Carter Lake will be permitted to change its system of local government if the citizens desire to do so. The new status will also give the community greater taxing power.

The population increase itself will also mean problems in other areas of community life. One such problem growing out of population increase is currently present. The school, only recently enlarged, has already become over-crowded. At a meeting in June 1960, the school board discussed the implications of population increase and its meaning for the school. One school official reports that at the present situation the

²Code of Iowa (Des Moines: Wallace-Holmstead Company, 1958), Vol. I, Ch. 363, p. 1180.

³Ibid.

school will probably establish a double shift beginning in September of 1960.

In Chapter VI it was noted that the teacher pay scale for Carter Lake was below that of both Omaha and Council Bluffs. To remedy this situation, the school board voted to increase the teacher salaries of Carter Lake in order to bring them to the pay scale level of Council Bluffs. However, the pay scale still does not match that of the Omaha system.

Another factor to be considered along with the population increase is social change. Whenever new events or forces appear on the community scene to shift the accents of human motivation or create new community value orientations, the behavior patterns, or roles, of community members also change. One way of viewing the process of change within a community is to consider the degree of adjustment made by the people to situations which they define as new circumstances.⁴ The degrees of adjustments to change are suggested by the replies of older community residents. One resident suggests a very strong resistance to change:

We built our town the way we want it. None of these newcomers could change it if they wanted to.

Another stated:

We don't ask them to come down here to live, but they

⁴Irwin T. Sanders, The Community (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958), pp. 150-51.

aren't going to change things. We've been the way we are for a long time.

One member of the community's power structure remarked:

There is bound to be some change. New people don't feel the same about a town as the older residents. The town has been changing all along. For instance the same people who used to defend all the gambling down here are the ones who get embarrassed if it's mentioned today.

A lower class resident stated:

If they liked other places so well they wouldn't have moved down here to Carter Lake. Some things will change like the school will, but not much.

The comments concerning the implications of social change made by some of the newer residents suggest an awareness of approaching conflicts and problems. The remarks reveal an interesting insight into the future of human interactions within the community.

A female informant remarked:

We bought down here because we liked what we saw. If I and my husband see things that would help us or the community, we will certainly work for it.

Another said:

We are putting a lot of money into our place. We expect to be here a long time, and will work for what we think is best. Just because something has been done the same way for thirty years doesn't mean it is right.

Several new residents of the community were questioned concerning their feelings toward the mayor's long tenure. Responses to this question varied. One new resident replied:

I've heard a lot about Mayor Mabrey. I wouldn't vote for him just because he has been mayor for twenty

six years. I hear he is a good mayor, though.

Another informant disagreed:

I don't think any man should hold office that long. If they hold office that long, they own a town.

One informant expressed the following:

I wouldn't vote for a man just because he has been in office a good many years. I've been here over a year, and I think some changes are needed.

These statements suggest that there are some differences in opinion between the new residents and the older ones concerning the possibilities of social change. To the new members of the community the older community traditions will not have as meaningful an influence to force conformity of thought or action as these same traditions once had for the older residents. It is possible that many of the older community traditions may be altered by the newcomers. One example of this is a current rumor that a new supermarket will be erected near the north end of Thirteenth Street. It is to be pointed out that in Chapter III the zoning law prohibits commercial outlets north of Locust Street.

In Chapter V, dealing with social interaction, it was pointed out that there was very little overt conflict between social classes. The discernible social class structure of the community has been congregated into three widely separated geographical areas. These groups were formerly spatially separated with farmland between them; however, with the coming of the

housing developments, this separation is no longer possible.⁵ The housing developments have eliminated the physical separations of social classes; however, there are now non-physical differences apparent. When various classes are thrown into close physical proximity, conflict often results.

It has been suggested that a rapidly growing population often brings with it characteristics of social disorganization. As was pointed out in the preceding chapter, there are no official statistics available for such indices as crime, delinquency, and dependency; however, law enforcement officials do admit that there is a small increase in juvenile delinquency. This increase may represent a normal amount that would occur in any group of comparable size to the new migrant group; however, it also may be evidence that there is decreasing community social control, conformity, and regard for customs and mores by the new residents.

THE LEGAL QUESTION

The subject of whether Carter Lake will remain a legally recognized town in Iowa or become an annexed suburb of Omaha has been a topic of controversy at various times in the history of the community. In Chapter II it was pointed out that the early court battles between Iowa and Nebraska concerning the boundary settlement were inconclusive. Although the

⁵Figure 1, p. 16.

1892 ruling of the United States Supreme Court has never been altered, it has been attacked many times. This ruling stated that an old boundary does not change each time the river channel changes.⁶

There have been several attempts to have Carter Lake become part of Nebraska. After much discussion, the Nebraska group agreed that the Carter Lake area should remain in Iowa.

The decision was not questioned for two years, but in 1926 a joint Iowa-Nebraska Boundary Commission, attempting to settle disputed land boundaries, again involved the Carter Lake area in the dispute. This commission recommended that the boundary line between the states be fixed in the center of the Missouri River; and, if the river changed course, the boundary would also change.⁸ No action was taken on this suggestion.⁹

Shortly after the community's separation from Council Bluffs, the leaders of the Carter Lake community attempted to interest Omaha in annexing the community to the growing city. Omaha officials refused to consider the offer. A few years later, in 1935, Omaha's Mayor, Roy N. Towl, led a fight to have

⁶The Supreme Court Reporter, Vol. XII, p. 397.

⁷Des Moines Register, May 23, 1924.

⁸Omaha World-Herald, December 21, 1925.

⁹Ibid., January 9, 1926.

Carter Lake made a part of Omaha.¹⁰ The community residents recalled the refusal of a few years previous and protested. There were no further developments until 1957.

In 1957, the old boundary question was again renewed by the Iowa-Nebraska Boundary Commission, and again the center line of the Missouri River was proposed as a boundary line. Charges were made by the community officials of Carter Lake that Nebraska wanted the tax revenue from Carter Lake. According to the Carter Lake assessor, in 1955, there were \$133,000 in taxes levied, and 95 per cent was collected. At this time the steel fabricating plant accounted for one-fourth of the taxes.¹¹ Once again there was no solution of the boundary issue, and it was again reopened by the Nebraska members of the Boundary Commission in April of 1960. The secretary of the Nebraska Commission, Robert E. O'Keefe, stated:

I not only want it in Nebraska, I want it in Omaha. And that is what I am going to fight for.¹²

The writer wishes to emphasize that it is not the purpose of this study to express conclusions concerning the ultimate outcome of the boundary controversy. However, the issue is of vital concern to the future of the community, and it is felt that the facts should be objectively presented as a further

¹⁰Council Bluffs Nonpareil, January 30, 1935.

¹¹Ibid., January 20, 1957.

¹²Omaha World-Herald, April 12, 1960.

contribution to the presentation of a picture of the uniqueness of this community. Whatever the outcome of the controversy, there will be aspects of the solution which will greatly affect the future of the community.

The arguments for the annexation of the community to Omaha are the standard ones given on the part of a large city as it is in process of expanding. Mr. O'Keefe stated:

Carter Lake people buy their food and their cars here (in Omaha); they work in Omaha. And they ought to be in Omaha.¹³

A former chairman of the commission charged:

The only people opposed to making the center of the stabilized channel the boundary were citizens of Carter Lake led by Mayor Mabrey. When sane-minded people get together, and Mr. Mabrey steps out, this will be settled. And it will be more healthful, more economical, and better for everyone when Carter Lake becomes part of Nebraska.¹⁴

It is interesting to note that Roy N. Towl, the former mayor of Omaha, is the head of this commission.

Mayor Mabrey answered the charges during a television interview on WOW-TV on April 17, 1960, stating that the commission "wished to treat his people like cattle." He also suggested that Iowa would have to pass several constitutional amendments before the fate of the community could be settled. He stressed the point that Nebraska was interested only in the various tax revenues that it might gain from the community's

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

property and industry.¹⁵ The mayor stated that he and several other private citizens in the community were prepared to go to the United States Supreme Court, if necessary, to prevent any annexation move.

Within four days after the announcement that certain Nebraska factions were interested in placing Carter Lake in Nebraska, twelve residents were interviewed concerning their opinions of the issue. The twelve informants expressed unanimous opposition to the proposed move. Typical remarks were as follows:

All they want is our taxes. Look at East Omaha. They got annexed, and what did they get? No services and an increase in taxes. Our town officials are good. We've got a good police force and no crime. Look at our streets in winter. They are cleaned while Omaha is still thinking about it.

A 67-year-old resident stated bitterly:

Back when we wanted in their damn city, they couldn't see us for dust. Now we are growing and worth some money, they want our taxes.

An upper-class leader retorted:

Who needs Omaha? We are growing and are not dependent upon anyone.

A new resident stated:

Hell, fellow, I just moved down here to get away from Omaha. I like the vet's tax exemption here too. They tell me they couldn't do anything unless the people vote on it. I sure as hell'd vote no!

Several days later a recognized community leader stated:

¹⁵In 1958 the gas tax alone amounted to \$140,000.

They didn't want us up there when we were little. Now that we have tax value and big industry, they keep wanting to grab us. Well, we've got a fire department and a police department, and now we don't need Omaha. One of those wheels over at an industry keeps yelling about all the gains we'd make by being in Omaha. What he really means is that he is in good with the Omaha city hall bunch and can get them to cut his valuation so he won't have to pay so many taxes. Down here we evaluate a business for what it is worth. They moved down here for cheap land and taxes; now that we are a town with tax power they are crying.¹⁶

It is noted that the letters-to-the-editor column of the Omaha World-Herald express essentially the same theme of opposition.

There have been charges and countercharges from both factions. There are claims as to the advantages and disadvantages of the community's being annexed to the city of Omaha. There is no objective way for the writer to evaluate these claims. No further public action has been reported by either side, and, in so far as could be determined, the final outcome of the boundary is very much in doubt. It may be noted that the future of Carter Lake as a separate and legally recognized community hangs in the balance.

¹⁶The above official had been interviewed several weeks prior to the issue's renewal. Although no mention had been made of this issue as the interviewers were preparing to leave, the official exploded, "Hell, this area should be in Omaha; our business is in Omaha. Everything we get is from Omaha. We even have fire protection by special arrangement with Omaha."

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of the study of the Carter Lake community was to describe the uniqueness of the community and to gain an understanding of the usual patterns of interaction. This included a description of the community, its history, population, institutions, social organizations, services, business organizations, the educational and religious organizations, social class, social conflict, and social disorganization. In order to obtain this descriptive picture of the community, it was necessary to analyze the social subsystems of the community.

In obtaining this information the most significant sources of data centered around the use of the personal interview and utilization of selected secondary sources concerning the historical and statistical characteristics of the community. The interview provided a means of establishing rapport with the informants. During the process of interviewing, the informants were encouraged to talk about their backgrounds and present life in Carter Lake. The interviewer encouraged the informants to reveal their feelings and attitudes about themselves and their friends and to describe their present interaction and participation in the community. In this way it was possible to compile life histories of individuals and to gain insight into community interaction and detailed characteristics of the

social subsystem of the community. This study enabled the interviewer to develop a description of the patterns of interaction in a single community. At the same time the description of a single community reveals significant trends which underlie broader cultural patterns of certain sections of American society.

It was discovered that the unique historical and developmental characteristics of Carter Lake significantly affected the types of human behavior which took place within this particular community. For instance, the lack of a sizable middle class in Carter Lake sharpened the feelings of conflict between the upper and lower socio-economic classes. The lack of economic institutions and business services meant not only that Carter Lake residents were forced to engage in intra-community interaction, but insured the economic and social dependency of the community on the adjacent communities of Omaha and Council Bluffs.

The unique geographical location of the community and the resultant state boundary disputes contributed to the setting aside of this community from other typical middle western communities. It is to be noted that the typical Carter Lake resident exhibited marked feelings of inferiority concerning the image of his community in the eyes of residents of Omaha and Council Bluffs. He felt, and rightly so, that the residents of Omaha and Council Bluffs looked down upon him and his community. To be a Carter Laker was an admission of personal

and social inadequacy. This feeling of inadequacy influenced community interaction and participation.

Since the study of a community's population characteristics reveals much information concerning the community's way of life, the factor of uniqueness of Carter Lake extends to the characteristics of its population. The population of Carter Lake is characterized by: (1) the complete absence of the Negro ethnic group, (2) relatively few foreign born persons, (3) the rapid influx of newcomers, the majority of whom fall into the lower socio-economic class structure, and (4) the emergence of a new community socio-economic class structure. The influx of the new Carter Lake resident is also unique in that they constitute a young age grouping, the modal age being the 25- to 34-year category. They have been attracted to Carter Lake because of the low cost housing developments. Although they constitute lower socio-economic group status as far as the application of socio-economic class indices are concerned, within the Carter Lake community this population group will be characterized as a middle socio-economic group. This will markedly increase the proportion of the community's middle class population. This increase will contribute to future realignment of the community's socio-economic class characteristics. The potential social conflict involved in the realignment of the community's class structure will greatly affect total community interaction. The resultant re-entrenchment of the long time resident will be an important factor in the degree of

opposition to new attitudes, new values, and the development of new interaction patterns. It is recommended that future studies of the Carter Lake community take into consideration the implications of this mass migration into the community.

It was discovered that a further dimension of uniqueness existed in Carter Lake: the lack of economic institutions and business services. Carter Lake has only ten service stations, a used auto parts yard, a drive-in movie, a beer tavern, a few bait stands, several small contractors, a marina, a television repair shop, and a small drive-in restaurant. The lack of economic institutions and business services means that Carter Lake is particularly dependent upon a large steel fabricating plant, two pipeline and petroleum distributing terminals, and a small pressure gas plant for purposes of taxation. This dependence upon a small number of economic enterprises is not conducive to future economic expansion.

The uniqueness of Carter Lake extends not only to business and economic institutions, but is also manifest in the lack of social institutions and organizations. There are only the Volunteer Fire Department Auxiliary, the Parent-Teacher Association, and the Carter Lake Improvement Club. The community does possess a government, three religious organizations, and an elementary school system; however, even these institutions exhibit marked unique characteristics. Carter Lake's governmental institution is marked by a one-man political order, one mayor having served for a total of twenty-six years.

Carter Lake has one community church and two fundamentalistic, revivalistic sects. As was pointed out in the study, the development of each of the religious groups is an example of uniqueness. A further unique dimension of the community is the lack of a complete school system. Carter Lake high school students must go either to Omaha or Council Bluffs. The community has only one elementary school, and it is extremely over-crowded.

Although characteristics for overt conflict and social disorganization were absent, the potentials for both conflict and social disorganization exist at the local community level. Rapid social change produced by the influx of the newcomers offers the potential for overt conflict and an increase of the indices which produce social disorganization. It is recommended that in future studies emphasis be placed on overt conflict and social disorganization.

In conclusion, the unique dimension of the continued Iowa-Nebraska boundary dispute adds to the already existing tenuous pattern of social interaction within this unique community. It is recommended that a future community study concentrate on the degrees of social change which develop within this community. Such a study would add further insight into the patterns of interaction which currently exist in Carter Lake: a parasitic, dependent, and unique community.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

A. BOOKS

- Barber, Bernard. Social Stratification. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957.
- Bertrand, Allan Lee. Rural Sociology. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958.
- Brookhover, Wilbur B. A Sociology of Education. New York: American Book Company, 1955.
- Cole, William. Dynamic Urban Sociology. Harrisburg, Penna.: The Stackpole Company, 1954.
- Cole, William E. Urban Society. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1958.
- Elliot, Mabel A., and Frances E. Merrill. Social Disorganization. New York: Harper Publishing Company, 1950.
- Gist, Noel P., and L. A. Halbert. Urban Society. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1956.
- Hollingshead, August. Elmstown's Youth. New York: J. Wiley, 1949.
- Keesing, Felix M. Cultural Anthropology. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1958.
- Kinneman, John A. The Community in American Society. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1947.
- Lantz, Herman, and J. S. McCrary. People of Coaltown. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.
- Lee, Elizabeth Briant, and Alfred McClung Lee. Social Problems in America. New York: Henry Holt Company, 1949.
- Loomis, Charles F., and J. Allan Beagle. Rural Sociology. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957.
- Lynd, Robert Staughton, and Helen Merrel Lynd. Middletown. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.
- Maciver, R. M., and Charles H. Page. Society: An Introductory Analysis. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1949.
- Mercer, Blaine C. The American Community. New York: Random House, 1956.

- Morearty, Edward F. Omaha Memories. Omaha: Swartz Printing Company, 1917.
- Redfield, Robert. The Little Community. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955.
- Sanders, Irwin T. The Community. New York: The Ronald Press, 1958.
- Savage, James W., and John T. Bull. History of the City of Omaha. New York: Munsell and Company, 1894.
- Wakely, Arthur C. Omaha: The Gate City and Douglas County Nebraska. Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1917.
- Warner, W. Lloyd. Social Class in America. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949.
- Warner, William Lloyd. Yankee City Series. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

B. PUBLICATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT

- United States Bureau of the Census. Census of the Population, 1950. Vol. II, Part 15. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- The Supreme Court Reporter. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Code of Iowa. Des Moines: Wallace-Holmstead Company, 1958.

C. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

- Boe, Richard C. "The Problem of Administering an Iowa School in a Nebraska Culture." Unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1952.
- Browning, R. "Aspects of Mobility in the Omaha Metropolitan Area." Unpublished paper on file in the Department of Sociology, University of Omaha, Omaha, 1959.

D. NEWSPAPERS

- Omaha World-Herald, 1892-1960.

Omaha Bee-News, 1923-1934.

Council Bluffs Nonpareil, 1923-1960.

Des Moines Register, May 23, 1924.

A P P E N D I X

ADVERTISEMENTS TYPICAL OF CARTER LAKE
HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS

It's Here!
The Home with the Most for Your Money

Three bedrooms ☆ Aluminum siding
 Large family room ☆ 1 1/2 baths
 ☆ 1209 sq. ft. of living space

Only **\$13,950** Includes Lot

VETS - No Down Payment
FHA - \$450 Down

Payments as Low as
\$86.00
 Per Month
 includes taxes and insurance

13th and Mayper Drive
 (Carter Lake)

Drive to 13th and Locust, Turn North and Go 5 Blocks

See our display ad in Sunday's paper
 in the Midwest Home Section

Open 9 to 9
B. H. BURAS
 Realtor BE 1234
 National Home Builder