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# Social change, social capital, and civic community: a qualitative study of the long-term effects of industrial restructuring on a coastal community

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SOCIAL CHANGE, SOCIAL CAPITAL, AND CIVIC COMMUNITY: A QUALITATIVE
STUDY OF THE LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING ON A
COASTAL COMMUNITY

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# Abstract

This dissertation examines the link between economic restructuring and patterns of social capital and social control. Although social capital literature frequently examines the consequences of social capital on a variety of outcomes, the key theoretical contribution of my dissertation is a framework to explain how community structure conditions social relations among local residents. Specifically, I examine the effects of changes in economic structure on social capital. Using nine South Louisiana community case studies, I evaluate the effect of restructuring in the offshore oil industry on the development of weak ties among local residents. My central finding is that population turnover and the in-migration of workers demanded by a rapidly expanding economy enhances the density of weak tie networks within the community. This is important because weak ties have been shown to have negative impacts on crime since they serve as a foundation for exerting social control over community members engaging in collective problem solving activity. My research underscores how growing communities can better accommodate a growing population. I demonstrate that the presence of voluntary associations (Rotary, Lion's, and Elk's Clubs) help integrate newcomers and mitigate the negative effects of population turnover. This is in sharp contrast to social disorganization theory that posits a negative effect of population change whereby in-migration dilutes ties among community members and results in higher rates of criminal activity.

# Chapter I: Introduction

This study will examine effects of industry growth on community social organization. In particular, the gulf coast off-shore oil industry's impact on the coastal community of Morgan City and surrounding areas of St. Mary Parish, Louisiana will be the primary topic of interest. This dissertation aims to study this impact qualitatively and utilize various sociological concepts in order to gauge community change.

Sociology has a long tradition of investigating the causes and consequences of social change (Parsons and Shils 1951; Tonnies 1963). Whether these consequences are positive or negative has been studied by sociologists since the inception of the discipline. Much of this investigation was spurred by the industrial revolution bringing many to inquire whether or not rapid social change is beneficial for the communities experiencing it. Classic theorists, such as Toennies and Durkheim, suggested that rapid change may result in substantial disruption for community members (Freudenburg 1984).

Furthermore, neither classical theorists nor modern scholars are in consensus on the outcomes of community growth. Social disorganization theory posits that social growth is negative for community cohesion. This assumption is grounded on the belief that societies (neighborhoods more specifically) rely on normative consensus on common goals in order to regulate behavior. However, social disorganization states that communities which experience growth are also plagued with poverty, racial heterogeneity and high rates of mobility. These negative outcomes of growth undermine this normative consensus which leads to negative social outcomes such as high crime due to low levels of informal social control.

Contemporary research concerning industrial growth is also mixed. Research has suggested the positive outcomes of social growth (Forsyth, Luthra, and Bankston 2007; White

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1983).  These studies find that community and industrial growth often lead to increasing employment, higher wages, and other positive social outcomes.  However, alternative research utilizing the social disruption thesis posits that rapid community growth will often lead to a wide array of social problems (Greider, T., Krannich R., and E. H. Berry 1991).

The off-shore oil industry is one of the leading industries in the Southern gulf area. Within 40 years of its inception, the industry provided direct employment to 41,798 residents of Louisiana.  The reach of the oil industry extends even farther than those under direct employment.  By 1981 the industry led to the creation of over 80 thousand other jobs servicing the extraction of off-shore oil (Tolbert ed. 2006).  With the majority of off-shore oil leases belonging to Texas and Louisiana, the impact of this industry on these states' communities is unquestionable.

A great deal of academic interest has been aimed at the social, cultural and economic impact of the oil and gas industry.  Often the oil and gas industry is seen as a having negative social effects within this literature.  However, the present research was conceived when an in depth look was placed on the relatively small South Louisiana community of St. Mary Parish. St. Mary parish, with its economic roots in such extraction enterprises as lumber, fishing and presently oil, began to show a positive attribute of the presence of the oil and gas industry-- sustainability.  With its lumber exhausted, sugar cane farming delegated to South America, and the rise of Asian shrimp markets, St. Mary parish likely would have experienced great economic decline if it had not been for the development of off-shore oil and gas and its associated service activities.  However, this positive aspect of off-shore oil in this community has often been unidentified in previous research.  Due to methodological limitations previous research might have been unable to holistically view the off-shore oil industries impacts on communities.  The

use of social impact assessment models that were designed to assess different forms of energy extraction might have led to misleading results which might be avoided by utilizing methodology more tailored to the off-shore oil industry.

The oil industry is similar to other mining activities in having a cycle of expansion and contraction dependent on levels of supply and demand. Previous literature suggests this cycle leads to boomtown communities (Murdock et. al., 1984; Summers and Selvik 1982). These boomtown communities witness explosions of growth during the commissioning and extraction phases. These phases are synonymous with population and infrastructure growth. Typically, this growth is short lived and when the extraction activity is decommissioned all positive aspects fall to negative consequences. Whatever growth the community witnessed is truncated. These communities witness a vast outmigration of workers and infrastructure leaving them often in economic decline.

Arguments towards the misuse of boomtown models to explain the off-shore oil industry have appeared in recent literature (Gramling and Brabant 1986, Luton and Cluck 2002). It is argued by some that disparities exist between the boomtown model of effects and those of the off-shore oil industry. The first dramatic disparity is of the sheer size of the off-shore oil industry in comparison to individual mining operations. Very little, if any, of these mining operations encompassed areas as vast as the gulf region. This is not only spatial in nature. The complexity and number of separate industries involved in oil extraction in the gulf dwarfs the majority of other energy extraction operations. Furthermore, the time span of oil extraction in the gulf has been over several decades and has not shown the finite period of time usually identified in boomtown models. Lastly, there are many unique qualities to the South Louisiana oil industry in particular that contradict the assumptions of the boomtown model.

The disparities between the boomtown model's assumptions and reality have lead to possible distortions in research findings. The inherent tendency of this model to concentrate on the proposed negative effects of energy extraction operations on communities has led scholars to translate these negative outcomes to communities where they might not necessarily fit. The utilization of the boomtown model led to conclusions that the industry was leading to ultimately negative economic and social outcomes for community residents. Yet, from talking to community residents and leaders, it became immediately clear this perception was not shared by those in the community. This has led to a call for a new technique in studying the social impact of the oil industry, particularly in the Gulf of Mexico region.

This research aims to evaluate the effects of the off-shore oil industry on the community in which it resides. But, this study has several significant changes from previous research on this topic. First, it was not committed to the use of a boomtown model that may be ill fitted to identify long term industry effects. Rather it utilized a "diversity of effects" model that takes into account the complexity of the off-shore oil industry and those communities it inhabits. It was argued that research should depart from the previous paradigmatic view of the nature of gulf off-shore oil operations and utilize a model that analytically splits the industry into different dimensions and calls for research of these specific categories (Luton and Cluck, 2002). In particular, this research attempted to investigate the social capital consequences of the off-shore oil industry for a specific host community.

Second, this study used a qualitative methodological framework with the goal of developing an in-depth-explanation of the industry and its effects in terms of the experiences of those that lived them. The majority of previous literature on this topic has utilized quantitative methods. The use of qualitative methods may lead to unique or possible new findings (Forsyth,

Luthra, and Bankston 2007). In particular, the life history method is thought to be important method to use when an area of study has grown stagnant by virtue of its quantified detail (Becker 1970).

Third, this research followed the implications of a wealth of sociological literature on community change, civic welfare, and community quality. Social capital is the central sensitizing concept. Social capital discourse has immensely increased in current sociological literature. Researchers have utilized the concept to try to examine the complexities of individual and community networks, civic welfare, and outcomes of micro and macro levels of social interaction. This study employed social capital as a heuristic concept to document changes in a community since the induction of the off-shore oil industry.

This research examined three major interrelated themes. The first was the investigation of the changes brought on by the implementation of off-shore oil to the social fabric of Morgan City and surrounding communities. Life and familial histories obtained by respondents provided data to examine individual level effects. Within this theme, this research was also interested in macro level effects. Changes within the community in such institutions as education, civic welfare, and cultural outlets were explored.

The second theme focused on the in and out migration experienced in these communities since the introduction of off-shore oil. More particularly, I am interested in the new individuals brought to the area by the off-shore oil industry and the specific effects, positive or negative, these newcomers were perceived to have on the community. The perceptions of community residents were assessed to identify demands these newcomers had to the area, their involvement in community organizations, and their overall interaction with the community and its residents.

The last theme was guided by social capital and civic community literature. This section located the effects of the off-shore oil industry on levels of social capital and civic welfare. Changes in civic and social institutions since the introduction of the off-shore oil industry were examined. While the area has always shown high levels of civic connectedness and welfare (Doeren 1978), it was of interest to explore the enduring consequences of changes in the oil industry's nature and presence on civic welfare.

To summarize, this research represented a sociological analysis of an ongoing policy question, the social impact of oil and gas extraction on local communities. Its goal was to complement previous research which may have been misguided by a problematic paradigm. This study is significantly different from most past research in that it is qualitative in focus and attempts to utilize contemporary concepts of social capital to examine community change and off-shore oil development's influence on it. While there has been an abundance of research on the impacts of gas and oil extraction industries, none have examined it in terms of the diversity of impacts on social capital and civic community using the strategy of social biographical and ethnographic analysis. Social capital, referring to any resources generated in social networks, may more adequately assess the social impact of the Gulf petroleum industry. The goal of this study is to develop a synthesis that relates industry and community development and change over time and contribute not only to the literature on social impact assessment but may also shed light into social capital discourse through the use of qualitative methodology rarely used in association with the concept.

# Chapter II: Review of Literature

## 2.1 Consequences of Community Growth

The positive or negative social impact of community growth has long been pondered by sociologists since the inception of the discipline. Spurred by the industrial revolution many have investigated whether or not rapid growth is beneficial for the communities experiencing it. Classic theorists, such as Toennies and Durkheim, suggested that rapid growth may result in substantial disruption for community members (Freudenburg 1984). Durkheim posited that one possible outcome of rapid growth is states of anomie felt by residents. This state of normlessness is brought upon by community growth contributing to the individual's world becoming more complex and less predictable.

Sociology has a long tradition of investigating the causes and consequences of social change (Parsons and Shils 1951; Tonnies 1963). However, both classical theorists as well as modern scholars are not in consensus on outcomes of community growth. There have been many findings suggesting the positive outcomes of social growth in mining (Forsyth, Luthra, and Bankston 2007; White 1983) and social change in general.

## 2.2 Social Disorganization Theory and Negative Effects of Social Growth

Social disorganization literature also comments on the role of social change on community outcomes. Shaw and McKay's (1969) theory of social disorganization states that societies (neighborhoods more specifically) rely on a normative consensus on common goals in order to regulate behavior. However, they posit that social change, including growth, will undermine this normative consensus and lead to negative communal outcomes. Such variables

as poverty, racial heterogeneity, and high levels of mobility are posited to break down this normative consensus.

Later the works of Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) add upon this theoretical model in what is called the systemic model. This model theorizes that residential stability is important due to allowing time for residents of a neighborhood to initiate ties to other residents and for those ties to strengthen. Bursick and Grasmick (1993) stress that over time these ties will strengthen thus increasing the residents and communities' ability to engage in informal social control.

The overall theme is that social growth disrupts the ties within a community. With increases in residential mobility, community residents are not able to form long lasting ties with other. Above this, social growth and societal change negatively affects pre-existing social ties between community members.

The off-shore oil industry has brought about a tremendous amount of change to the communities in which it resides. The sheer mass of the industry has brought large inmigrations as well as large exoduses from many communities. These communities have been impacted and changed in a variety of ways. Certain lines of sociological thought such as social disorganization or the decline of community thesis would predict many negative effects to befall these communities. However, research has shown both negative and positive effects of the industry on communities.

In particular, thoughts on the effects of the off-shore oil industry on communities in the gulf region are also divided. Some argue that the off-shore oil industry, like other extraction industries, will be detrimental to the region in the long run (Seydlitz, Laska, Spain, Triche, and Bishop, 1993; Seydlitz, Jenkins, et al. 1995). Seydlitz, et al. (1995) point to various literature that suggest negative outcomes of the off-shore oil industry such as: locals not benefiting from

employment due to low levels of human capital; increased strain on local infrastructure; elevated unemployment rates and increases in poverty during the height of mineral extraction.

Some literature does point to positive effects of the off-shore oil industry on the communities. Lowered demands for welfare and food stamps and other positive economic situations have been seen during the boom periods of extraction (Brabant 1993a). A more recent study discussed the ability of the oil and gas industry to buffer communities undergoing industrial restructuring (Tolbert, C.M. II ed. 2006). Research also suggests increased avenues of status attainment available to residents of areas involved in the oil and gas industry (Forsyth, Luthra, and Bankston 2007).

The model utilized by previous scholars to investigate growth brought upon by the Gulf oil industry has recently come under scrutiny (Gramling and Brabant 1986; Luton and Cluck 2002). The following section will give a comprehensive review of the literature on the models utilized for social impact assessment research dealing with off-shore oil extraction.

## 2.3 History of Social Impact Assessment and the Gulf's Offshore Oil Industry

Mineral extraction operations effects on communities have been widely researched and criticized. Much of this research has highlighted the negative effects these operations have on their surrounding communities. However, research on the socioeconomic effects of the Gulf of Mexico's offshore petroleum industry was relatively non-existent until the collapse of petroleum prices in 1986.

The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) was initiated to identify, examine, and resolve adverse environmental and socioeconomic consequences of government land actions (Luton and Cluck 2002). The Environmental Studies Program (ESP) which is overseen by the Mineral Management Service (MMS) funds research regarding the Outer Continental Shelf

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(OCS) petroleum operations. Previous to 1986 little research regarding socioeconomic effects of OCS was conducted. Instead research emphasized oceanographic and ecologic matters. The reasoning for this decision was based on the argument that the oil industry's long history in the gulf and it's well developed infrastructure and workforce would make social impacts of offshore development difficult to identify.

However, after 1986 a new interest into the socioeconomic effects of OCS operations developed. The 1986 collapse of petroleum prices and more importantly its possible adverse effects on surrounding communities fueled this interest. The low volume of research by the ESP regarding the socioeconomic component of OCS began to come under heavy criticism. Scholars emphasized that the same 100 year history of industry operations in the Gulf previously used to argue against socioeconomic research should be reevaluated and utilized to study petroleum's social and economic effect (Luton and Cluck 2002). The pre-existing social impact assessment model, the NEPA boomtown model, was used as a framework to study the Gulf's offshore petroleum industry (Seydlitz et. al., 1993; Seydlitz and Laska 1994; Seydlitz et. al., 1995).

## 2.4 Description of the Boomtown Model

The boomtown model, or referred to as the 'Classic SIA Model' by Luton and Cluck, was the first social impact assessment model utilized in researching offshore petroleum extraction, and for 20 years has been the predominate model used for energy-related projects. The boomtown model originated from community impact studies conducted in the late 1970's and early 1980's that addressed large, governmental regulated extraction projects mostly in rural areas of the western United States. (Gramling and Brabant 1986).

The model was shaped by the shared characteristics and situations recognized when large complex extraction projects are constructed near small, rural, isolated, homogenous, agricultural-

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based economies.  Since these projects and the changes they produced only existed for a limited amount of time within the communities, they were referred to as boomtowns.  The typical lifespan of these projects would entail a short construction phase with high levels of employment and heavy demands on the community and its infrastructure.  Once the construction was complete it would go into operation which lasted longer than the construction yet demanded fewer and more specialized workers.  Lastly when extraction was complete a decommissioning phase brought the close of the project (Gramling and Brabant 1986).

The labor demands of the projects were well beyond what the community could supply. The small population of the rural communities as well as the insufficient human capital of their residents postulated that the majority of new jobs (esp. more specialized and technical employment) would not be filled by local residents.  This shortage of capable workers led to a large in-migration of workers into these rural communities.  However, this in-migration was followed by an out-migration of workers from the community after completion of the decommissioning phase (Gramling and Brabant 1986; Seydlitz, R. et al., 1995; Luton and Cluck 2002).

This labor demand and its consequential demographic effects are crucial to the boomtown model.  The rapid population growth and later decline are illustrated by the model as the primary cause of positive and negative economic; infrastructural; fiscal; and lastly social/cultural impacts occurring in these rural communities due to the short presence of large extraction projects.  The models use of demographic effects as causal mechanisms to social/cultural topics may not be as valid as the other three impact categories because even though "these topics do share one commonality; none fits easily into other classic SIA impact categories because each has a complex and, often, unclear or uncertain relationship to demographic change" (Luton and

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Cluck).  While some of the social and cultural impacts documented are positive, such as

alternative pathways to new social status introduced to residents, most of the impacts are

negative.  These documented negative impacts are attributed to the rapid in and out migration

experienced within the communities after the closure of the project in accordance with social

disorganization literature (Seydlitz, R. et al., 1993; Seydlitz, R. et al., 1995).

Predominate use of the boomtown model in research dealing with extraction based

projects is argued by scholars to have formulated a paradigm in literature (Luton and Cluck

2002; Gramling and Brabant 1986).  It is possible that a coherent scientific tradition has been put

in place that leads the majority of research to narrowly focus on demographic and disruptive

effects as causal variables for all impacts, usually negative, seen within these communities (see

Seydlitz and Laska 1994).  It can be that the aforementioned demographic effects are not seen

throughout all communities where extraction based projects are initiated which negates the use

of the model in these areas. However, due to the paradigmatic effect of the "boomtown model"

many scholars still strive to use this perspective in these areas even when it may not be

appropriate (Wilkinson, Thompson, Reynolds and Ostresh 1982).

## 2.5 Arguments against the Social Impact Assessment Model and Quantitative Datasets

There are arguments against the use of the Social Impact Assessment Model in general

but also against its use in examining the off-shore oil extraction industry in the gulf.  The first

arguments describe certain methodological inadequacies of social impact assessment research

such as incomplete data sets leading to proxy measures or simply data availability.  Arguments

against the models utilization in the Gulf further note certain unique qualities of off shore oil

extraction that make it unsuitable for social impact assessment models.

Some criticism of SIA research lies in the data itself. Jackson, Lee, and Sommers (2004) find that despite the approaches practicality, it is severely limited by data availability and reliance on aggregate figures that obscure variance between smaller areas. They further state common problems of secondary data as data availability, validity, level of analysis, problems of causality, the difficulty in linking macro-level and micro level phenomena, and the use of proxy measures due to data limitations (Luthra, Bankston, Kalich and Forsyth 2007). Concluding, they identify problems of existing data with the irregularity of boundaries for which the data are published, stating that many times each unique data set measures a somewhat different population and thus cannot be correlated. They suggest that community narratives should be utilized when examining the effects of social and economic policy changes in communities which are resource dependent.

Innes and Booher (2000) attempt to answer the question of how indicators can be better developed and utilized to aid in community sustainability research. They note several flaws with previous indicators based on the separation between secondary data and the community it characterizes. They state that researchers would achieve more valid information if they were present during all phases of the process. Furthermore, secondary data is separated from the community members it examines thus community members are not able to put in valuable information on which indicators are needed. They conclude this leads to finalized studies that do not aid the community and are seldom influential. They suggest the use of a diversity of players model. Their model suggests that there are many diverse players in communities (business people, residents, elected officials) and those actors should be utilized in the social impact assessment process to garner better questions and thus more informed data.

## 2.6 Contrasts between the Boomtown Model and Gulf Realities

The following sections will discuss the general contrasts between the boomtown model and the Gulf petroleum industry. It will proceed by highlighting contrasts based on the complexity of communities involved in the oil industry and discuss demographic changes that may not be solely related to the industry. Next, the unique differences between Louisiana's oil industry and the boomtown model will be noted. Lastly, it will argue for a new strategy to assess the societal impacts of the Gulf oil industry which takes into account the diversity of effects of the industry.

Researchers emphasize many aspects highlighted by the boomtown model that do not pertain directly to the Gulf's petroleum industry. First, they state that the boomtown model's basis of looking at a single project is not able to be related to the complex assortment of petroleum related activity that occurs in the Gulf region. Furthermore, the exclusivity of the boomtown model reviewing projects being introduced to small, rural, isolated areas is refuted. The Gulf's oil industry is located both in long industrialized rural areas as well as urban settings.

The shortened time span model of the boomtown is also argued to be flawed when discussing the Gulf. This model looks at projects as new and foreign to the community it enters. However, in the Gulf the oil industry is decades old which has made it familiar to the residents. Due to this long presence of oil industries in the gulf, the region's labor force has adapted to the industry. Thus the industry's technologies are familiar to the rural population which allows rural residents to work in jobs related to all phases of the industry. This is contrary to the boomtown model's predictions of rural residents only being utilized during the construction phase.

Forsyth, Luthra and Bankston (2007: 297) found the vast majority of respondents saw positive effects of the oil industry on community growth. The individuals interviewed had

developed specific caveats for acknowledging their convictions, but very few of these individuals perceived the oil industry to be a source of major disruption, and most saw the consequences as being positive. If I take the perspective that the social construction of problems may be found in the process of social actors creating causal stories involving blame or intent and their image of consequences (Stone 1989), my data suggests a rather broad range of definitions of the effect of off-shore development on community problems, with the most typical interpretative themes offering an image of long-term positive community gains.

## 2.7 Community Complexity and Diversity

Unlike boomtown models, offshore oil "industry does not appear in communities as something new with discrete phases but rather as a continuation of business, and social and economic effects related to changes in the magnitude and mix of this commercial continuity" (Luton and Cluck 2002:17). Unlike other extraction industries, the Gulf is inhabited by various communities each hosting a different mix of oil-related business. When change occurs, such as a "bust", each community is affected differently. The Louisiana community of New Iberia was used as an example of the differentiating effects of bust periods. New Iberia actually performed better during the "bust" because it was aided by its more white-collar mix of oil-related industries and due to its role as a bedroom community for the larger neighboring community of Lafayette, Louisiana (Luton and Cluck 2002:17). The advantages seen in economically diversified gulf communities are replicated by Tolbert ed. (2006). They find that the community of Abbeville was buffered from the negative effects of the closing of a clothing plant since workers were able to find relief in the oil industry in the area. Arguments for diversification were also made by Seydlitz and Laska (1995) when they discovered that communities with diversified economies fared better during the bust.

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## 2.8 Diverse Demographic Effects

Southern Louisiana's off-shore oil industry began to grow rapidly in the 1960's. Along with this growth came demographic changes to coastal communities. However, as noted, these demographic changes are more complex than the simple construction phase of the boomtown model would predict. First, growth was not only seen in the coastal parishes heavily involved with supporting offshore activities but also in urbanized and industrialized areas due to real economic growth driven in large part by the oil industry and associated refining and petrochemical industries. "Thus, by the end of the 1960's, the oil industry's demographic consequences had ceased to be the kind of localized or community-centered phenomena addressed by classic SIA" (Luton and Cluck 2002:11).

Secondly, scholars argue that you must use a holistic approach which does not only take into account the oil industry's affect on population change but also other demographic trends that defined these decades such as the decline of rural southern agriculture and suburbanization. (Luton and Cluck 2002:12).

## 2.9 Geographic Differences Particular to Southern Louisiana

The unique placement of onshore petroleum in Louisiana in its wetlands made it distinctive from other states for two reasons. First, workers were not able to live near the fields where they worked. Workers had to commute to their jobs and the logistical issues involved led to a system of concentrated work schedules (Gramling and Brabant 1986; Forsyth and Gramling 1987; Gramling and Forsyth 1987; Gramling 1989; Forsyth and Gauthier 1991). This commute was only elongated with the move to off-shore oil rigs. Workers would work 7, 14, or 21 days straight for 12 hour shifts with an equal amount of days off. These schedules both stabilized the workforce and dispersed worker residences. This meant that 'occupation communities' and

occupational segregation found elsewhere in the industry were not as notable in south Louisiana. Worker households were dispersed within communities and workers could more easily participate in such 'traditional' activities as trapping and fishing (Forsyth and Gauthier 1991).

Secondly, these operations in the wetlands were much more complex than the rest of the industry. Wetland extraction called for platforms, exploratory rigs, boats, and other equipment that were not needed for onshore petroleum extraction seen. These had to be built, operated, and maintained which lead to a much larger and diverse labor force. "While this labor force may be analogous to construction workers in classic SIA, fabrication yards, shipyards, and ports are geographically fixed, and their workforce lives nearby, weakening any tendencies to create boomtowns" (Luton and Cluck 2002:10).

Gramling and Brabant (1986) bring up another point of interest regarding the unique work cycles of the off-shore oil industry. They state that these cycles may have buffered levels of in-migration. This work period allows many workers to live outside of the community if not even the parish. Thus the amount of workers migrating into the community may not have been as extreme and immediate as seen in other energy extraction communities. They argue this might have been the case since work cycles buffered the area by not demanding the full amount of the workforce to move to the area.

## 2.10 Alternative Paradigm for Social Impact Assessment Based on Diversity of Effects

These arguments against the Boomtown models have brought arguments for the use of a new strategy of measuring impact (Innes and Booher 2000; Jackson et al 2004) which incorporates the diversity of effects that the gulf oil industry has on communities (Luton and Cluck; Gramling and Brabant 1986). The base of the argument states that even though

communities that are impacted by the Gulf oil industry are changing, the industry is just one of many causes of most effects. Thus the new strategy's challenge is to identify the oil industry's share of impact on social change instead of being identified as the sole cause as is dictated by boomtown models.

Due to the complexity of this challenge it is argued that the strategy should begin by addressing each topic of effect separately. "For each topic, analytic coherence will come from the logic and findings of relevant academic fields and not from the topic's role in an *a priori* model" (Luton and Cluck 2002:24). These authors argue this new "empirical approach to impact topics may provide a more useful foundation on which to build future monitoring and mitigation efforts" (24). Thus it would be imperative that sociologists measure the impact of the Gulf oil industry on the social fabric of effected communities. For the research of this dissertation St. Mary Parish provides the location for study. For the majority of this research, social capital provides the heuristic theoretical concept that can be used to document societal change due to the oil industry.

## 2.11 Utility of the Theoretical Concept of Social Capital

This section discusses one particular form of capital, that of social capital. Scholars point to the considerable overlap among the three types of capital, especially since they all seem to have positive effects for those who invest in them (Jeannotte 2003). The section will first give a brief introduction to the concept utilizing key authors and their works in social capital literature. Secondly, it will focus on the outcomes social capital can bring to those who invest in it. Both the macro and micro level aspects and outcomes of social capital will be discussed. Examples from empirical research will be discussed to support these expected effects.

## 2.12 Brief Introduction of Social Capital

The theoretical concept of social capital has generated great attention among sociologists. The concept was first coined in 1916 by L.J. Hanifan. However, it has been in recent years that interest in social capital has grown immensely in the sociological literature. Contemporary literature has redefined social capital many times leading some to argue the current condition of the concept of social capital as being a vague though still useful theoretical concept (Portes 1998).

L. J. Hanifan used the term to explain why community involvement was crucial for good public schools. Hanifan described social capital as "those tangible assets that count for most in the daily lives of people: namely, good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit" (Pooley, J.A., Cohen, L., and Pike, L., 2004:72). While the definitions of social capital have changed over time this theme of social interaction among people expressed by Hanifan has remained prominent in social capital literature.

Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam are three main scholars cited when conceptualizing social capital within the literature. Bourdieu was concerned with the ability of social capital to generate economic resources. The works of Coleman focused on the structure of social relationships and how they relate to human capital, while Putnam thought of social capital from a macro perspective dealing with national levels of trust and membership in civic groups.

Even though Bourdieu is known more for his concept of cultural capital, his work in social capital is still widely cited. For Bourdieu social capital is "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition or in other words, to

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membership in a group" (1983:248).  He further stipulated that these network ties must be

trusting and positive.  The previous stipulation is echoed through the majority of works on social

capital.

The underlying notion of social capital for Coleman is that it "adheres in the structure of

relations between persons and among persons" (Coleman 1990:302).  Coleman sees the

existence of social capital in trust, information, norms and effective sanctions, authority

relations, and the extent of obligations in a group.  Each is a feature of the social structure that

also provides social capital as a resource for the individuals of the group (Paxton 1999).  Thus,

for Coleman the social structure of a group can function as a resource for the individuals of that

group.  Hence, social capital is not an individual variable but individuals can utilize it to either

benefit themselves or a group.  Even though he viewed social capital from both an individual and

group perspective in his work, Coleman chooses to focus primarily on the potential positive

outcomes of social capital for individuals (Rosenfeld, R., Messner, S.F., and Baumer, E.P.,

2001).

Putnam (2000) states that "social capital refers to connections among individuals-social

networks and the norms and reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (19).  He

further states that social capital has a private face and a public face.  Putnam mainly focuses on

the public face or macro levels of social capital.  He examines national levels of variables such as

civic engagement, interpersonal trust and memberships in voluntary organizations to document

macro levels of social capital.

The work of these authors laid the groundwork for social capital discourse.  At the heart

of this groundwork lies the notion of social connections between individuals and groups and the

utilization of these connections for some form of gain.  This groundwork has lead to such recent

definitions as "social capital inheres in social relationships, specifically in those forms of relationships that enable individuals to cooperate with one another to realize goals" (Rosenfeld, Messner, S.F., and Baumer, E.P. 2001:285) and social capital being "the 'glue' that holds groups of individuals together in communities … referring to the connections between individuals and groups, which are the relationships, networks and competencies, that characterize social capital" (Pooley, J.A., Cohen, L., and Pike, L., 2004:73).

However, the large amount of research on social capital in contemporary literature has redefined the concept many times leading some to argue the current condition of the concept of social capital as being a vague theoretical concept (Portes 1998). The main source of confusion within social capital literature revolves around its conceptualization. Reading of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1995) often posits that social capital is social networks between individuals or larger social entities, and associated norms of reciprocity and trust. Some argue this reading of social capital obscures social interaction and makes for a tautological argument where the same elements that make social capital are the outcomes of social capital (May 2008). For example heightened levels of trust are essential for high social capital networks which in turn form high levels of trust between group members. This conclusion is often due to the operationalization of an abstract concept. Many of the variables thought to be associated or facilitated by social capital are used in its measurement, e.g. citizen's trust levels or civic engagement levels. It is important to distinguish the resources themselves from the ability to obtain them by virtue of membership in different social structures (Portes 1998)

Other conceptualizations of social capital do not focus solely on either the social networks in which it is embedded or the norms that govern its access. These readings claim "it is the culmination of resources, material and nonmaterial, owned by each individual involved in the

social network that become available for use by an individual to facilitate the achievement of certain ends" (May 2008). In other words social capital manifests itself in the mutually reinforcing relationship between people or social groups. These relationships, which are based on such factors as trust and reciprocation, facilitate the realization and acquisition of collective goals (Rosenfeld, Messner, and Baumer 2001). However, it is important to remember that social relationships and trust are quite possibly mutually reinforcing. Brehm and Rahn (1997) argue that the more citizens participate in their communities, the more they learn to trust other and the greater their trust is for each other the more likely they are to participate in their communities.

## 2.13 Outcomes of Micro-Level Social Capital

Coleman (1988) discusses the micro effects of social capital. His focus is on social networks that create and sustain social capital that can be used by actors within the networks. These relations lead to three forms of social capital. The first lies in obligations and expectations. Here an actor will do something for a fellow actor with the assumptions that the favor will later be reciprocated. This form of social capital is reliant on the levels of trust and trustworthiness within the social network. The second form is information channels which are avenues where actors are able to get information from relationships that will provide a basis for later action. Finally, norms and sanctions are seen by Coleman as a fragile form of social capital that allows for social collectivities to insure actors act in the interest of the social collectivity.

Coleman also argues that for the full potential and profits of social capital to be obtained all actors within the social network must be connected. He terms this the closure of social networks. However, other work has extended this notion stating that you must not only look at the amount of closure within a network but also the characteristics of ties within the network.

This literature states that different composition of ties within networks will lead to differing levels of potential action and benefit.

The main argument is that heterogeneous networks are better equipped for information transference than dense homogenous networks (Granoveter 1973). Since dense homogenous networks are comprised of individuals strongly related to one another, all information within them is redundant. While heterogeneous networks are not only comprised of strong relationships between actors but also weaker ones which provide bridges between social networks that actors can gain new information not available within highly homogenous strong tie networks. Thus "networks that are large in size and contain a variety of close and weak acquaintances are hypothesized as providing access to the greatest number of resources, while networks that are limited in size and diversity can constrain resource mobilization and opportunity mobility" (Zippay 2001:103).

These bridges or structural holes as Burt (1997) refers to them allow actors better instrumental action. For example, Burt (1997) illustrates that corporate managers with heightened levels of social capital overall and also a high prevalence of structural holes move up the bureaucratic ladder faster, i.e. get promotions quicker, get better promotions, etc… Zippay (2001) came to a similar conclusion. She found that displaced steelworkers overtime began to almost exclusively rely on their social networks to acquire jobs. More importantly those who relied on strong ties got equivalent jobs to what they had while those who relied on weak ties most commonly acquired better jobs than previously held. Edwards and McCarthy (2004) also examine the relationship of ties to the creation and sustainability of social movement organizations. They find clear support for the immense body of literature on the strength of weak ties and their ability to counter the social closure that can result from homophily.

However, other research has lead to contrasting conclusions in relation to tie strength and acquisition of benefits. This research documents the ability of strong ties to generate and sustain benefits. Most of this research pertains to new immigrants to the United States (Lin N., Ensel, W.M., Vaughn, J.C., 1981; Sanders and Nee 1996). This research finds that immigrant communities which are comprised of very homogenous strong tie networks are able to successfully use this social capital for positive gain such as in the creation and sustaining of independent business for example.

## 2.14 Outcomes of Macro-Level Social Capital

Macro level community studies suggest social capital and social trust is generated through avenues of civic engagement. Communities with high levels of civic engagement foster interaction between community members which in turn generates social capital. Social and civic clubs have often been found to be hotbeds for generating civic engagement. Research shows that local associations increase civic engagement, thereby rooting populations to place, increasing the quality of life (Tolbert, Lyson, and Irwin 1998).The social capital formed in these organizations, as well as many other diverse ways, is argued to foster sturdy norms of reciprocity and social trust which foster successful outcomes in such areas as education, urban poverty, unemployment, crime, etc… (Putnam 1995; Putnam 2000). Healy, K., Hampshire, A., and L. Ayres, (2004) further argue the positive role of social capital generated through civic engagement contending that "the local connections offered by civic groups play a vital role in building civic trust and community capacities that are, in turned, linked to positive outcomes such as enhancing educational outcomes and improved community safety" (331).

Social capital is typically thought of as a resource for action because it "stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures" (Portes 1998:6). It is these effects that are used to document social capital in action.

From the community level, social capital is generated through avenues of civic engagement. Communities with norms and networks of high civic engagement generate social capital. Communities with high levels of social capital are argued to foster sturdy norms of reciprocity and social trust which foster successful outcomes in such areas as education, urban poverty, unemployment, crime, etc… (Putnam 1995; Putnam 2000). Thus social capital is said to have a positive linear relationship with overall levels of community efficacy. Putnam (1995) utilized several different measures of social capital which included: voter turnout, newspaper readership, membership in choral societies, attendance in public meetings and political rallies, PTA's, sports groups, professional and literary societies, labor unions, professional societies, fraternal groups, veterans groups, and lastly service clubs. Healy, K., Hampshire, A., and L. Ayres, (2004) further argue the positive role of social capital generated through civic engagement contending that "the local connections offered by civic groups play a vital role in building civic trust and community capacities that are, in turned, linked to positive outcomes such as enhancing educational outcomes and improved community safety" (331).

Bobbio (2003) examined the direct effect of civic engagement on social capital. The example of civic engagement used was that of deliberative arenas. Bobbio was interested in the possibility that democratic deliberation occurring within these deliberative arenas is a means of building social capital. He concludes that deliberative arenas where everyone in the process (including citizens, organizations, or public administrations) is involved in the collective

decision making process does allow for the strengthening of citizenship, civicness, and social capital.

In regards to community safety Rosenfeld et. al., (2001) examined social capital's effect on homicide rates. They hypothesized a possible connection with heightened levels of trust seen in areas with high social capital lowering levels of social disorganization in the area and thus reducing its homicide rate. A small but significant effect of social capital and lowered homicide rates was seen. Other scholars have found a similar negative effect on homicide rates for areas with high levels of social capital (Lee and Bartowski 2003).

## 2.15 Negative Outcomes of Social Capital

Certain variables negative effect on communities stated in social disorganization literature are echoed in social capital. For instance, Physical proximity and residential stability are also often theorized as prerequisites to social capital assets. Actors closer together in physical proximity are thought to interact more often thus creating more social capital in the social network. When actors move from an area it is said that previous networks held in that area are constrained or severed. For example Portes (1998) notes, "leaving a community tends to destroy established bonds, thus depriving family and children of a major source of social capital" (11). However, Magdol and Bessel (2003) found the effect of residential stability on social capital to be more complicated. They found that frequent movers are not disadvantaged but movers with recent long distance moves are. These long distance moves were found to affect the mover's ability to gain tangible favors and companionship, but emotional and financial support were not affected. Magdol and Bessel also found that nonkin ties are stronger for recent long distance moves than kin ties. To this finding they state that contrary to previous social capital

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literature non kin ties may in fact be more durable and reliable than kin ties because they can be replaced by new ones in a new community and they are also substitutable for kin networks.

Not all effects of social capital are argued to be beneficial. Portes (1998) documents previous literature where social capital was shown to have negative consequences. He identifies four negative consequences of social capital in the literature. Exclusion of outsiders refers to when those outside of a tightly knit group are not allowed to gain access to the group. Portes also cited research which emphasized groups which have high levels of social capital may also have high expectations for members roles in the group. Furthermore, these groups sometimes place restrictions on individual freedoms. Last, Portes notes downward leveling norms as a negative consequence of social capital.

The following section discusses the literature examining other community level effects on civic welfare. This literature centers on the question of how economic concentration is related to civic welfare and community. The civic community thesis posits that communities with an economic structure ripe with small, locally owned businesses will have higher levels of civic welfare. This is hypothesized that these businesses are more dependent on the success of the community and thus are self interested to get involved in local affairs.

## 2.16 The Civic Community Thesis

There has been much sociological discourse on the effect of a community's economic structure on civic participation (Fullan 1970; Tolbert, Lyson and Irwin 1998; Irwin and Tolbert 1999; Lee and Ousey 2001; Tolbert, Irwin, Lyson and Nucci 2002; Blanchard and Mathews 2006; Tolbert ed. 2006). One perspective dating back to early research of Tocqueville views the foundation of civil society as resting upon small business firms (Tolbert et al. 2002). The question of small business impacts on communities was reintroduced in the years immediately

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following World War II.  Sociologists such as Floyd Hunter (1953), Irving Fowler (1954), and

Mills and Ulmer (1946) examined the newly introduced mass production economy affected

communities across the United States (Blanchard and Mathews 2006).  This new production

economy revolved around large corporate manufacturing plants and not small locally owned

businesses.

Mills and Ulmer's (1946) comparison of communities with large war plants to

communities based on locally owned firms brought interesting findings.  They found cities

dominated by small-businesses portrayed a more balanced economic life than their counterparts

(Tolbert et al 1998).  They found this lead to a higher level of social welfare in cities comprising

of mostly small businesses.  It is from this research that the civic community thesis was born.

Researchers examining the civic community thesis have sought to explain why small

locally owned businesses have such a positive effect on community variables.  Researchers have

highlighted the structural differences of large corporate owned business that may lead to either a

detrimental or neutral effect on the social fabric of the community.  Other researchers have

aimed at a more macro level explanation of the phenomenon.  This thinking issues that civic

apathy forms in communities dependent upon large corporations since the needs of the

corporation outweigh those of the community.

The independence from the community a large corporation feels is one theory on why

smaller locally owned shops are more beneficial.  This reasoning posits that since smaller,

locally owned businesses are completely dependent on those communities in which they exist

they are more inclined to help the community (Tolbert et al 1998; Lee and Ousey 2001).  In

essence, the development of the community is in their own self interest.  Large industry however,

is seen as not bound to place. If the community fails, these industries will simply relocate to a different area, there is no self interest in the local economy.

Hence, communities with many locally owned small businesses will see an increase in civic welfare. This is based on the logic that not only will smaller businesses contribute but they will also urge their workers to as well. These small businesses will also build horizontal relationships among residents in the communities to which they are linked (Tolbert et al 2002). Overtime these ties will form bridges across the local economy, binding both persons and businesses to place.

However, communities with an abundance of absentee-owned firms see the opposite effect. Here, local business owners and corporate executives are alienated from the community decision making process. The interests of the corporation hold importance over the local citizenry or community. Locals find themselves outside of the select leadership circles with overwhelmingly act for the benefit of the large businesses. There is not a diversification of interests of those in power. Business leader's interests are not on both their business and their community since their place of residence does not overlap with their place of business (Blanchard and Matthews 2006).

Blanchard and Matthews (2006) organize a more macro level understanding of the civic community thesis. They assume that "economically concentrated environments alienate community members, resulting in an apathetic, disengaged local population" (2245). They first utilize social capital literature to forge a link between business structure and civic welfare. It is theorized that community's comprising of small firms have heightened levels of reciprocity and trust since they must share resources in order to survive. Second they theorize that economic heterogeneity leads to greater levels of civic participation simply because the larger number of

small businesses means a larger number of solutions for a given local problem. Finally, the concept of "cross-cutting networks" is used to explain that when community members are torn between the interests of the community and the dominant corporate agenda they may disengage from participation. This disengagement is due to fears of sanctioning for supporting a non-corporate agenda.

Extant literature shows support for the civic community thesis. There is both qualitative and quantitative evidence that demonstrates the variety of benefits to communities generated by small locally owned businesses (Mills and Ulmer 1946; Tolbert, et al. 1998; Irwin and Tolbert 1999; Lee and Ousey 2001; Tolbert, Irwin, et al. 2002; Blanchard and Mathews 2006; Tolbert ed. 2006). Research has shown benefits ranging from lowered levels of migration to lowered crime rates.

Mills and Ulmer tackled the research question in 1946 and found a variety of reasons why large business communities show less civic participation. First they found that areas with concentration of large businesses tend to have a smaller middle class. The loss of this independent middle class negatively affects the problem solving capacity of the community. They also find that executives and management in absentee owned business status mobility is obtained solely through advancing the corporate ladder. Thus, these executives, are removed from the community and disinterested in its problems. This separation of interests between the powerful members of the community leads to community problems playing second fiddle to corporate issues.

One positive effect of concentration of small businesses was a decrease in outward migration of residents (Irwin and Tolbert 1999; Tolbert, et al. 2002). Irwin and Tolbert (1999), postulate that the structure of institutions in communities is associated with different levels of

civic engagement and that in turn is related to rooting people to their communities.  They show

that the proportion of persons remaining between 1985 and 1990 in 3024 US counties varies

directly with the number of locally owned small-scale retail establishments, the number of small-

scale manufacturing firms and family farms, the number of local civic associations, and the

proportion of the local population in civically active religious denominations.  They state that

small manufacturing firms may directly increase non-migration by providing a predictable and

stable economic base and also through the enhancement of economic outcomes for residents.

Furthermore, the interactions of large vertically organized institutions tend to be restricted to

activity within the group, thus actually decreasing civic engagement.

Further research also finds support of the positive effect on civic welfare brought about

by small, locally owned firms (Tolbert, et al 1998; Tolbert, et al 2002).  While this research

states that the presence of both large and small manufacturing firms have a positive effect on

income levels.  They find that non-employers (self employed individuals who do not have any

employees) and third places (service and retail gathering places) are associated with great civic

welfare in both non-metropolitan and metropolitan communities.  The measure of locally

oriented manufacturing firms does not perform as well as expected in metropolitan small towns

as hypothesized however.  They conclude this may be due to the use of place-level, small town

geography which requires that a plant be physically located with the boundaries of the

incorporated place (Tolbert, et al 2002).

A link between crime and the civic community thesis has also been discovered.  The

crime rate has been found to be dependent on the corporate structure of a community.  Lee and

Ousey (2001) find that the crime rate is negatively associated in non-metropolitan areas with

high amounts of small manufacturing firms.

Finally, Blanchard and Matthews (2006) also find positive support for the civic community hypothesis. They find that communities with economic concentration in large corporate businesses do generate a form of civic apathy. They come to this conclusion since their variable of economic concentration is negatively associated with both participation in electoral politics and protest politics. They "argue that the mechanism generating apathy in civic participation is linked to declines in social trust and the notion of cross-cutting social networks" (2254).

## 2.17 Social Capital Fear of Crime

Fear of crime has long been a social problem researched by sociologists. Early accounts of fear of crime argued a direct linear relationship between seriousness of offense to subsequent fear of victimization. That is to say that people will be more fearful of crimes more harmful to their being. However, a seminal paper by Warr and Stafford (1983) highlighted the contrasting realities that often individuals are more afraid of victimization of less harmful crimes such as robbery than more serious life ending crimes such as murder. From this they conclude that previous research was too simplistic in only relying on seriousness of crime to determine fear of crime. They go on to argue that researchers must look at perceived risk of victimization in addition to seriousness of offense.

Social conditions not related to the crime itself are also thought to play a role in individual's fear of crime. This has lead to a cognitive/volitional model of fear of crime (Skogan and Maxfield 1981), in which fear is seen as a rational response of those who perceive themselves as having a higher potential of victimization (Belyea and Zingraff 1988). Findings in this line of research focus on such demographic variables as gender, age, education, and income as important predictors of fear of crime. Females are found to have heightened levels of fear of

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crime due to perceptions of high vulnerability as well as the overarching fear of rape (Warr 1985). The elderly are found to have heightened levels of fear of victimization due to perceptions of high vulnerability. Education and income are often found to have negative linear relationships with fear of crime.

## 2.18 Rural Effects on Fear of Crime

Residential location has also been found as one possible predictor of fear of crime. However, empirical findings for residential locations effect on fear of crime have been fairly inconsistent. Earlier studies have found a linear relationship between fear of crime and residential location. That is to say that, fear of crime varies depending on whether the individual lives in rural or urban dwellings. Much of this research assumes an ecological approach, which dictates that people within urban communities will portray heightened fear of crime due to their heterogeneous surroundings. Thus this model theorizes that the more likely individuals are to witness those around them as different in terms of age, race, class, and other sociodemographic characteristics, the more fearful and less trusting of others they will be.

While some research does find that rural residents have significantly lower levels of fear of crime than their urban counterparts, this is finding is debatable. Belyea and Zingraff (1988) do conclude that rural residents have a significantly lower fear of crime than urban dwellers. However, they find that when other known correlates are controlled (i.e. gender, race, age, education, and income), there is not a simple linear relationship between population density and fear of crime. They argue that fear of crime is not strictly due to population density, but rather differences in behavior and attitudes determined by resident's positions and interactional patterns with local social structures. They conclude that future research needs to focus less on the

administratively defined categories of urban and rural areas and examine residential location in a more sociological sense.

There are examples of research which examines the variation in rural location and fear of crime.  Research finds that residents of extremely isolated rural areas report higher levels of fear of crime than others (Bankston, Jenkins, et al. 1987, Belyea and Zingraff 1988).  It is proposed that individuals living in these areas are so separated from formal social control mechanisms that they may be more apt to find themselves at risk to crime due to their heightened sensitivity to crime and lessened ability to rely on law enforcement (Bankston, et al. 1987).

## 2.19 Effect of Social Change on Fear of Crime

Further studies have found that areas experiencing dramatic population increases will also show increases in fear of crime.   The explanations for this increase often mirror the literature that predicts a linear relationship between population density and fear of crime.  They find that communities experiencing rapid growth demonstrate such fear of crime producing phenomenon such as lowered or strained personal relationships, lowered community trust, and lowered social cohesion (Hartnagel 1979, Freudenburg 1984, Krannich, Berry, et. al 1989, Greider, Krannich, et, al 1991, Markowitz, Bellair et. al 2001, and Hunter, Krannich et al 2002).

One explanation for increase in fear of crime in rapidly growing communities deals with social ties between community residents.  This explanation posits that small rural communities which experience rapid growth will exhibit increases in fear of crime due to declines in the density of acquaintanceship between residents (Freudenburg 1984).  While it may seem straight forward that as communities grow larger residents should have more access to a variety of social networks and should see increases in the density of their own network, research shows that what often happens is the opposite.  As these communities grow the potential for acquaintanceship

grows but the actual probability does not.  Community social networks become smaller and more homogenized, often based on length of residence.  This loss of density contributes to decreased perceptions of security, reduced effectiveness of informal social control mechanisms, alterations in established social structures, and lastly subjective responses to a larger and more diverse population of strangers leading to heightened awareness of actual or perceived crime (Krannich, Berry et. al 1989).

The relationship between fear of crime in rapidly growing communities and the fear of the stranger has often been cited in the literature (Kennedy and Krahn 1984, Krannich, Berry et. al 1989, Hunter, Krannich et al 2002).  This literature illustrates that as community social networks become more insulated and divided among long time residents and newcomers, that one response of long term residents will be suspicion of newcomers.  With this suspicion come heightened beliefs of criminality of newcomers who are not seen to be part of the community.

Another possible negative effect of rapid growth that has positive implications on fear of crime deals with levels of trust among community residents.  Research implicates that these communities show lowered levels of trust felt by community residents (Hartnagel 1979).  However, other research shows no connection (Greider, Krannich, et. al 1991).  Heightened levels of community trust have been found to have many positive aspects for communities (Coleman 1988, Putnam 1995, Portes 1998).  Likewise, lowered levels of trust have been theorized to have negative communal effects.  For instance, loss of trust hinders community members from forming or maintaining social ties.  This in turn leads community members to shy away from social and civic interaction.  Finally, this loss of trust limits communal favors initiated by residents due to lack of faith in future reciprocity.

Finally, some research points to a vicious cycle forming where negative consequences brought on by fear of crime go on to reduce neighborhood cohesion. More importantly this mitigates the positive effects on cohesion reducing disorder. In other words Markowitz, Bellair, Liska, and Liu find a 'feed-back loop' in which decreases in neighborhood cohesion increase crime and disorder, which increases fear of crime, in turn, further decreasing cohesion (2001).

To summarize, communities experiencing growth have heightened fear of crime due to lowered interaction between community members. Furthermore, whatever interaction persists is often very exclusive and forms a dichotomy between the local population and the new residents to the area. From this a fear of the stranger or newcomer often develops among the local population. This leads to lowered levels of trust between newcomers and locals. The divide between these groups becomes mutually reinforcing and the divide between them gets larger.

## 2.20 Guiding Propositions

The major underlying proposition of this research is what actual effect does the off-shore oil industry have on the communities in which it resides? Is this effect positive as some sociological literature states, or is it negative due to the social growth these communities experience as predicted by social disorganization literature? Furthermore, what is the relationship between social change and growth experienced in these communities in regards to social capital? Does social growth impede or contribute to social capital in these communities and do civic and social organizations buffer communities from the negative effects of social growth? This research will also investigate if there are in fact any negative consequences of social capital's interaction with societal growth. Last, this research is interested in the industrial structure of the offshore oil industry. Meaning does this industry coincide with the large

uninvolved corporate entities of which research dealing with the civic community thesis warns us about or is it a more diverse and heterogeneous industrial structure?

This dissertation examines these propositions through three major themes. The first theme was the overarching question of what change has off-shore oil implemented to the social fabric of Morgan City and surrounding communities. First, individual levels of change were examined. This was achieved by acquiring the biographical and familial history of the respondents. Interviews inquired about the respondent's family's intergenerational mobility, their educational status over generations, and how these variables have changed since the introduction of the off-shore oil industry. The respondent's own and family's relationship with the oil industry was explored. This process attempted to document any changes the industry has brought to both the individual as well as their family in relation to increased opportunities, sustainability, or larger social networks. Finally, the respondents were asked if the opportunity to obtain personal goals has changed over the years and if they believe this had any correlation with the presence of the off-shore oil industry. These questions were asked to qualitatively document micro levels of community change through the perceptions of community members.

Macro-level community change also was examined through the perceptions of those experiencing them. Perceptions of fluctuations in the educational system since the indoctrination of the off-shore oil industry were observed, and perceptions of how the overall community has progressed or regressed were garnered from respondents. Next, the study inquired about perceptions on the community's ability to sustain itself and accomplish goals, i.e. community efficacy, in the face of changing economic environments associated with off-shore development and contraction

The next two major themes under consideration were guided by social capital literature. The second avenue of research for this dissertation examines the more individual levels of social capital. This section focused on the workers who were brought to the area with the oil industry. Here the study investigated the effect on the community of the influx of new workers from both the perceptions of the locals and the (then) newcomers to the area. These were disaggregated based on occupation into two conceptual groups: white collar/professional versus blue collar workers[1]. Variation between these workers was examined with respect to their interaction with the community, their stake in the community, their caring for the community, and their prevalence in civic and social groups. Of course scrutiny also was placed on how the newcomers' presence changed the community. Other questions of interested included the following. Were there cultural changes demanded upon the community by newcomers brought in by oil? Did the newcomers bring with them varying forms of capital (social, human, economic) to the area and did that have a lasting effect on the area even when the newcomers were transferred away?

The last area of research this dissertation is interested in centers on civic welfare. Social capital dictates that communities with high levels of social cohesiveness and trust between residents will have higher levels of commitment to the community. One area this commitment can be seen is in participation in civic and social groups. Furthermore, it is a reciprocal relationship in that participation in social groups will reaffirm and increase levels of social cohesiveness and trust. The civic community thesis posits that communities with economic concentration in small locally owned firms will have higher levels of civic welfare because those businesses are more dependent on the community and have self interest in bettering the

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[1] Disaggregation was decided upon by interview pretesting showing large variation between blue collar and white collar workers interaction with the community. It became clear that the perceptions of respondent's reflected that blue collar workers such as engineers got much more heavily involved with the community.

community.  For the purpose of this study, civic welfare is identified in the form of civic and social groups.

Individuals were questioned on their own as well as their families' participation in civic and social groups.  Respondents were questioned on how many groups they are associated with and how much time do they spend with these organizations.

From the organizational level, the social and civic organizations themselves are placed under scrutiny.  The main point of this section is to investigate the changes in civic and social groups since the introduction of the off-shore oil industry.  This study looked into what kind of connections lie between the presence of the oil industry and social and civic organizations viability.  Variation in membership levels and participation were documented, as well as respondents perception of if, due to the oil industry, the organizations foci has shifted. Respondents were also asked if they believed the associations directly contribute to the community's ability to solve problems.  Finally, the contributions to the community from these organizations (scholarships, fund raising, sponsoring a variety of community activity, etc…) were investigated.  This line of inquiry was included to evaluate the role social capital may play in community well-being.

# Chapter III: Context of the Research

The research for this study was funded through a grant obtained from the minerals management service. The minerals management service is a bureau of the department of the interior that regulates domestic energy production off America's coast on the Outer Continental Shelf.

## 3.1 St. Mary Parish

The research for this dissertation was conducted within St. Mary Parish, Louisiana. St. Mary Parish is located in a central location on the Southern border of Louisiana. It is adjacent to the parishes of Iberia, St. Martin, Assumption and Terrebonne. To the parish's south is the Gulf of Mexico which has provided the means of living to St. Mary's residents since its founding in 1811.

Demographically St. Mary Parish has seen drastic fluctuations in total population since the 1900's. This variance was heavily dictated by industrial changes occurring within the parish lines. The total population in 1900 was 34,145; this number did not change drastically for the next 50 years. However, with the introduction of the first off-shore oil rig in 1947 St. Mary parish began to see severe increases in population. By 1960 the area saw a 36% increase in population to 48,833. Over the next 20 years there was another 31% increase in population resulting in a total of 64,253 residents in 1980. Since 1980 we have seen a decrease in the total population statistics due to the declining oil prices in the 1980's up until the recent resurgence. Presently, in 2007, the census reports 51,311 residents of St. Mary parish (U.S. Census Bureau Summary File 3 (SF 3)).

The mouth of the Atchafalaya has long been utilized by St. Mary Parish as an outlet to the Gulf of Mexico. This has lead to a large fishing and shrimping community to be established within the Parish borders, especially in East St. Mary Parish. While there is no official geographic distinction between East and West St. Mary, residents have long made this separation. The Wax Lake Cut is the unofficial marker that splits the parish into East and West. The cities and towns located within the Eastern part of the parish include: Morgan City (the largest city of the parish), Berwick and Patterson. West St. Mary includes the cities and townships of Baldwin and Franklin (the parish seat).

West St. Mary's economy is mainly comprised of farming. The main crop of interest for the area is sugar cane. In recent decades this economy has seen a downward trend due to the increased presence of South American sugar cane farmers who benefit from more suitable climates for elongated harvesting. However, the money generated from sugar cane from previous decades and generations boosted West St. Mary Parish's economy establishing the parish ahead of East St. Mary financially. The designation of Franklin as the parish seat further benefited West St. Mary and strengthened the tensions between East and West. West St. Mary parish was thought to generate the more prestigious individuals and social classes while East St. Mary parish harbored the working class. This is illustrated by one respondent:

> **72 year old, white male, oil field worker**: "You know what they say, Franklin, they have the lawyers and smart people. Down here in Morgan City we make boat skippers. You wouldn't want to say that in front of a bunch of people but that's the true mentality. That the parish seat gets all the council man and all the stuff they want and we get the droppings and what is left over. Franklin makes politicians and we make boat skippers."

East St. Mary Parish has seen many more diverse changes economically than their western neighbor. While East St Mary Parish's economy has always been reliant on some form

of extraction industry based on natural resources like West St Mary Parish. It has differed from its neighbor west of the Wax Lake cut due to the variance in what resource it was reliant upon. During the early settling period, timber was the primary industry of the area. The timber industry was dominated by two large timber mills which harvested cypress prevalent in the area. Once the cypress was depleted inhabitants of the area began to look for other avenues of entrepreneurial ship. The fishing of large sized shrimp, previously allocated to communities located in Western Florida, was becoming a possibility to residents of East St. Mary Parish. The Atchafalaya river basin allowed for fisherman to access the Gulf of Mexico with their shrimp boats. Another trade present in East St. Mary parish was/is fur trading. Even though the amount of the market taken up by hunting and trapping has never come close to other enterprises as timber or fishing it has consistently been a source of income of residents. The last major means of industry in the area and the one that dominates the area to this day is petroleum. While before 1947 the acquisition of petroleum was relegated to onshore drilling, the introduction of the first offshore rig in 1947 exploded the market.

The dynamic nature of the economy in East St. Mary parish has had an effect on the population. Inhabitants value entrepreneurial ship and seem to easily adapt to changes job wise. This can be exemplified when many operators of Shrimp boats began to convert their boats to be applicable to the off-shore oil industry. They made this conversion not only solely for economic reasons but also due to increasing competition from Asian shrimp markets.

> **49 year old, white male, mayor**: "[W]hen I was coming up in Morgan City, it really encouraged the entrepreneurial spirit. A lot of people took a chance. You heard stories about the former shrimp boat owners who converted their boats to oil field boats, then building crew boats and supply boats. Because for a long time that was a large part of Morgan City's economy. For a long time it presented opportunities like that. For a time period during some of our less vibrant times, when things slowed down, that seems to be one of the things people lost. Don't quite have that entrepreneurial spirit, or want to take a risk. Home grown

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businesses, it is always nice to get a company to come in and hire up some people, but it is those local businesses that really make growth. For one business I think is, you talk about people involvement in community, but also local businesses have a little more of a stake in community and are usually willing to do a little more in the city."

The vast majority of the research was conducted within Morgan City. This area was chosen due to its high involvement in the oil industry. Morgan City was seen as ground zero for off-shore oil extraction in the early days of off-shore pioneering. During this time period, the 1950's through the 1960's, limited communication technologies demanded that the large petroleum companies have corporate offices in the area in order to oversee the production of oil. However, as communications technologies progressed (telephones, faxes, the internet, etc…) these large companies were able to move their corporate headquarters to larger cities such as Houston or Lafayette. With the removal of large corporations in the area Morgan City began to once again adapt and service companies began to prosper in the area. To this day the vast majority of businesses within Morgan City are service industries catering to the off-shore oil industry, whether it is crew boats, rig manufacturing, or simply catering businesses. These service industries are much smaller than the previous employers in the area and are often locally owned and employed.

## 3.2 History of Morgan City

Morgan City is located in St. Mary parish and has a population of approximately 13,000 which makes it the largest town in the parish. Morgan City came into existence in 1860 when it was known as Brashear City. However, the name was changed in 1876 after Charles Morgan, a New York businessman who centered his steamship and railroad activities there. Morgan City has a diverse economy which includes sugar, timber, fishing, and the harvesting of oysters. "However, the harvesting of shrimp and the production of oil and gas inland and offshore and the

construction and repair of floating and other equipment essential to these enterprises indubitably constitute Morgan City's principle sustaining industries today" (Doeren 1978:29).

While Morgan City's blend of shrimp and oil industries has allowed the city to persevere, oil has been the more critical component. Morgan City boomed after 1947 when an oil rig struck oil in the open gulf beginning the offshore oil industry. It was during the 1940's that Morgan City began to be known as a jumping-off spot for the flourishing offshore oil fields. This began the process where Morgan City developed spectacular techniques of harvesting oil from the floor of the gulf by offshore oil rigs (Doeren 1978). The oil industry's infrastructure also brought and sustained jobs in the area in ship and rig building/repair, and various port and dock work.

The industry has also had a large impact on many outside petroleum-associated companies. Such companies as supply houses, rental tool companies, oil sale firms, mud companies, truck lines, marine and offshore equipment repair companies and shipyards, all have profited from a symbiotic relationship with oil. The extraction of off-shore petroleum requires extensive service industries which employs and gives livelihoods to many residents of Morgan City (Doeren 1978:32).

What is more interesting sociologically is the impact the oil industry has had on the residential community of Morgan City. "Workers in the oil industry have brought their families to the Morgan City area to live … these new people from all parts of the United States have participated in church, school, recreation, organization and civic affairs" (Doeren 1978:32). A good example of industry's effect on the residential population of Morgan City lies in the annual Shrimp and Petroleum Festival. The Shrimp and Petroleum Festival is held each Labor Day weekend in Morgan City. This festival was first held in 1935 which makes it the oldest harvest festival in Louisiana. Originally dedicated to the shrimp industry, in 1967, the festival embraced

the rapidly expanding oil industry and began to emphasize the unique way in which these two industries work hand-in-hand culturally and environmentally in Morgan City. The festival has a variety of events on the 3 day weekend but the highlight of the event is the blessing of the fleet. It is essential to not only see this event as an occasion to celebrate the economic contributions of the two industries to the region but also as a prime example of how industry has affected society. The festival provides a stage where local residents who currently reside in Morgan City as well as the past residents who left but travel back for the fair and tourists all come together to celebrate. Thus the festival should be viewed in the light of industry's interaction with community in bringing people together and the various social interactions that occur (Doeren 1978).

The Morgan City area was affected by the rise of petroleum prices in the late 1970's and early 1980's as all other oil based economies. By the mid 1980's Morgan City saw businesses close, rising unemployment, and out-migration of both new arrivals and locally born residents. However this was not due to the completion of an extraction project, rather it was a result of the town lying at the heart of a regionally dominant industry suffering a region wide economic depression (Luton and Cluck 2002). However, the fact still remains that this occurrence undoubtedly had an impact on the community structure.

## 3.3 History of Off-Shore Petroleum Extraction in St. Mary Parish

The world's first major petroleum reservoir, Spindletop, near Beaumont, Texas was discovered in 1901. Following Spindletop there were other discoveries in both east Texas and along the Louisiana Gulf Coast. Access to these discoveries was initially a problem. The technological breakthrough that facilitated exploration in the shallow coastal waters and marsh came in 1933 with the introduction of the submersible drilling barge on Lake Pelto in Louisiana.

Later versions became larger and more capable of working in deeper water. Once the technological problems involved with offshore drilling were solved, offshore activity expanded rapidly. More significantly the endorsement and expansion of the use of these submersible drilling barges thru the 1930s and 1940s led to the development of a marine construction and supply infrastructure in the Morgan City area (Gramling 1996, Lankford 1971).

In 1945 the state of Louisiana held an offshore sale on an area which would subsequently be designated as the "Outer Continental Shelf." The only bidder was magnolia Petroleum Company. In 1946 Magnolia constructed a platform in the open Gulf, as a drill site on this tract. For the initial survey as well as the ensuing construction and drilling operations, Morgan City's shrimp fleet proved most helpful, providing boats manned by seaman experienced in the Gulf Coast waters. These boats were used for survey purposes as well as for transportation of personnel, supplies and equipment (Oil Weekly Staff 1946b). During the two decades that followed Magnolia's first Outer Continental Shelf attempt saw the emergence of a full-blown offshore technology (Offshore Staff 1966a, Gramling 1996).

## 3.4 Off-Shore Petroleum Extraction's Concentrated Working Periods

During this same period, the necessity for construction and drilling crews to work in these isolated locations, where daily commutes were impractical, led increasingly to the use of living quarters located near the work location and the division of work into concentrated working periods. Labor for offshore petroleum occurs in isolated locations where travel to and from the place of employment is time consuming and often difficult. In response to these unique situations a form of concentrated work scheduling has evolved. In addition, offshore oil ventures were capital intensive and needed to return investment as quickly as possible. These factors led to 24 hour a day operations which was coupled with the concentrated work scheduling.

The first variation of this was a 3 and 4 schedule.  Individuals worked Monday thru Thursday or Friday thru Sunday—the weekend being seen as more valuable time.  As the distance to the work location increased, so did the transportation time/cost to get to the work location.  The common pattern for offshore work is for the employee to meet at a pre-arranged site to "go offshore" either by boat or helicopter.  As a consequence this work cycle rotation increased to 7,14,28,60, and 90 and an equal number of days off.  Following the stay offshore, the employee is returned to the meeting site.  When offshore, the crew is divided into two shifts which are on for twelve hours and off for twelve hours alternatively.  In effect there are four complete crews for each operating rig, two of which are offshore at any given time (Forsyth and Gramling 1987; Gramling and Forsyth 1987; Forsyth and Gauthier 1991; Gramling 1989).

## 3.5 Off-Shore Petroleum Extraction and Commuting Patterns

Due to the temporal scheduling of offshore work, employees can realistically seek and obtain employment considerable distances from where they live.  If, for example, one works a fourteen on and fourteen off shift, the round trip between place of residence and place of work must only be made once every twenty-eight days.  This allows considerably more time and money to be spent in transit before a point of diminishing returns is reached.  By increasing the length of the period of intensive work, and correspondingly the period of time off, a particular economic activity, such as an offshore drilling rig, can be sited literally in any coastal region of the world, and workers can be from any other region of the world.  Initial development off the north slope of Alaska was staffed largely by experienced offshore drilling crews from Louisiana and Texas.  Likewise, as offshore exploration and development moved off the North American Continent work scheduling was extended to longer periods and the same individuals who had

obtained their experience in the northern Gulf of Mexico were employed in these locations (Gramling 1996).

The following chapter will outline the methodology for this study. It will begin with an overview of the sampling techniques utilized. It will then discuss demographic characteristics of the population of St. Mary Parish and compare them to the descriptive statistics of the sample obtained. It will follow with a description of the techniques utilized in the qualitative interview process. It will conclude with a thorough explanation of the process used to analyze the data.

# Chapter IV: Methodology

The methodology used for this study is qualitative in nature. The research was conducted in Morgan City, Louisiana and nearby communities within St. Mary Parish. Individual level data was collected using face to face interviews with knowledgeable informants. A non-probability sample of informants was obtained through snow ball sampling. The data gathered was then analyzed through the use of analytic induction.

## 4.1 Sampling Techniques

The research identified and interviewed key informants in the Morgan City, Amelia, Patterson, Berwick, Bayou Vista, Franklin, Lydia, Baldwin, and Charenton areas of Louisiana. Sampling was varied across locales with extensive sampling in some areas and less extensive in others. The area of Morgan City was over sampled because it is the largest city in the parish and historically has been the hub of the East St. Mary Parish region and the industrial/oil center of the parish.

As Tolbert et al. (2006) notes community studies often utilize a non-probability design in aims of locating a more knowledgeable sample. This is done because the sampling design is preferable to probability sampling in small studies, especially where the probability of selecting an element from the universe that is knowledgeable on a certain issue is unknown. In this case, the respondents were required to have some knowledge of the oil industry in the area. The technique of snowball sampling is utilized for this research. In this technique key members of the population are selected and then asked to recommend others for interviewing, and each of the subsequently interviewed participants are asked for further recommendations which develops an ever-increasing accumulation of subjects (Babbie 2004). The initial sample size for the study

was 175 respondents interviewed.  However after the data was cleaned and unsatisfactory interviews were removed the final sample size was 156.

## 4.2 Snowball Sampling Process

The sampling process started with members of the Morgan City Historical Society and personal contacts in the community.  From this group a sample of over 100 individuals who have long term familiarity with the community were obtained.  Subjects involved in civic, religious, educational, business, political, and fraternal organizations were sought out to appropriately answer what effects the petroleum industry had on the social fabric and capital of the area.  Since these groups tend to be dominated by upper middle-class families and individuals, methods were taken to attain greater class/occupational range in the sample by including working class individuals/families in the sample.  The research also attempted to utilize sampling methods to obtain informants from populations of specific interests, particularly minorities, to determine their perceptions of the long-term community impacts of the petroleum industry, and their involvement in it.  The sampling process was terminated when themes became salient and saturation had occurred.

## 4.3 Descriptive Statistics of Sample

The demographic layout of St. Mary parish presents a picture from which one can compare the studies' sample statistics.  The median age of St. Mary Parish residents is 34.  The median age for Morgan City is close at 36.  Both St Mary Parish and Morgan City according to the 2000 U.S. Census had populations that were 52 percent female and 48 percent male.  Morgan City as well as the parish it resides it are predominantly white with Morgan City showing 62 percent of its inhabitants as white and 71 percent for St. Mary Parish overall.

This sample differs from the population of St. Mary Parish in age, sex and race. The demographic statistics are a little higher for all categories. The mean age of the sample is 58 years old with a standard deviation of 14 years. 68 percent of the informants in the sample are male and 92 percent of those are white. The other 8 percent of the sample are African-American. Further descriptive statistics of the sample include those respondents who are natives to the area and if they are employed in the oil industry, in any fashion. 30 percent of the respondents were employed directly with the oil industry and 67 percent were natives of the area.

**Table 1 Descriptive Statistics of Sample**

**Descriptive Statistics**

|  | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | 156 | 24.00 | 92.00 | 58.2244 | 14.51876 |
| Sex  (0 = Female; 1 = Male) | 156 | .00 | 1.00 | .6795 | .46818 |
| Race (0=non-white; 1=white) | 156 | .00 | 1.00 | .9231 | .26733 |
| Native to the area (0=no; 1=yes) | 156 | .00 | 1.00 | .6731 | .47060 |
| Oil job(0=no; 1=yes) | 156 | .00 | 1.00 | .3013 | .46029 |
| Valid N | 156 |  |  |  |  |

## 4.4 Interview Technique

Face to face interviewing was used to gather the respondent's familial history. These social biographies described how inter-generational life experiences were affected by the oil industry. Open ended focus interviews were conducted geared toward constructing social biographies of individuals and their families who have lived with and through the range of effects the impact of oil has had. This method does pose problems since many times during data collection unique topics appear that were not anticipated early in the interview structuring process (Jacobs 2000:15). However, the semi structured element of the interviews allows for

saturation of the research protocol through enabling the researcher fluidity through the interview process. Lastly, issues pertaining to the validity of respondent's answers are not foreseen to be a problem for this study based on the fact that there will not be any controversial questions.

The face to face interviews consisted of discussions with informants who were given direction by interviewers to discuss topics pertinent to the study. While the interview design was not identical across all respondents, each respondent was asked to address the same basic set of topics. However, I also remained flexible and would address new issues as they emerged and tailor specific questions depending on the characteristics of the informant. Data will be explored through the use of "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973), letting the respondents speak for themselves, and summarizing their perceptions through analytic induction. The unstructured interviews started with explaining that the research was interested in the respondent's thoughts and feelings regarding the off shore oil industry in St. Mary Parish. In the interviews, the respondents shared their own and their families/friends experiences and thoughts. These conversations/interviews lasted an average of approximately 1.5 hours, and ranged from 45 minutes to 5 hours.

## 4.5 Interview Guide

The interview guide utilized was fluid and in the form of a guided conversations. Researchers first introduced themselves to the informants and explained the confidentiality agreement. This was followed with questioning to gather basic respondent demographic data such as age, sex, race, occupational history, education, and geographical mobility. All respondents were given specific questions to saturate the research themes[2].

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[2] How much or little of each specific genre of questions asked to the respondent was specific on the characteristics of the respondent. If the respondent as a police officer questions tailored to crime were administered at a higher

A semi-structured interview guide was utilized in all interviews[3]. This instrument was used to guide conversations between the interviewer and respondents. The questions were open ended and allowed the respondents complete freedom in answering. Then the researcher proceeded to probe the respondents regarding their experience with the offshore oil industry. From the initial questioning period the researchers would tailor their following questions to the specific individual. For example if the respondent was heavily involved in civic organizations questions would be asked specific to how civic organizations were affected by the offshore oil industry.

The interview instrument had questions regarding the respondent's perceptions on how the community has changed were asked. Emphasis was placed on what relationship the respondent places the oil industry to this change. For the first aspect of the research social capital was used as a concept to gauge change within the community. Macro level indicators of social capital such as civic engagement were documented as well as more micro level indicators such as changes in obligations and reciprocity.

Questions pertaining to macro level indicators of social capital predominantly utilized Putnam's social capital measures. Respondents were questioned on their knowledge and experience in civic organizations. Such questions as how did these organizations change since the introduction of offshore oil in regards to the number of people within the organization and the composition of ties (strong or weak) within the organization[4]. Respondents were also asked how much a role in community decisions do these organizations play and has this role changed

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frequency. If the respondent was a business owner questions tailored to the civic community thesis were heavily probed, etc…

[3] A copy of the instrument is included in the appendix.

[4] Of course, here as with all the questions in the study, the age of the informant and the amount of time they have spent in the community dictated if they were able to give their personal perceptions on these temporal questions. Often respondents gave information they had garnered from family members and friends when their own personal constraints did not allow them to dictate a personal perception.

since 1947.  Furthermore, respondents were sometimes asked how rewarded they themselves feel from their experience within the organization before and after the introduction of the oil industry, if applicable.  Overall respondent perceptions of civic efficacy within the community from 1940's to present was attempted to be discussed.

Individual level perceptions of social capital change were also addressed in the interview guide.  Respondents were asked about their perception of trust within the community before the introduction of oil up to the present. The theme of obligation and reciprocity was inquired from respondents through asking them questions regarding over the course of this timeline what changes have occurred in being able to gain personal benefit from networks within the community.

Based on social capital literature on the composition of network ties being related to ability to mobilize social capital assets respondents were asked questions regarding their social networks.  Questions as how have the respondents networks changed in size and tie composition over the course of the oil industry in the area were often administered.  Further probing questions gathered if this possible change is seen by the respondents as positive or negative.  Have the introduction of more network ties, especially weak ties, lead respondents to gain more resources (such as job mobility) due to better information channeling.

The unique aspect of the Morgan City areas offshore workers commute to work was also a focus.  These questions examined on how has the unique work schedule (7 on 7's, 14 on 14's, etc...) affected respondent's social networks.  Have these schedules, which could be argued to be very similar to frequent moves within a community, hindered social ties?  Conversely has the amount of time off helped social ties because workers were able to spend more time within the community?

Lastly, Portes' (1998) four negative effects of social capital were also questions of interest on the interview guide. Are new migrants to the Morgan City area that are brought in by the oil industry excluded within the community? Did oil bring too much obligations on residents either personally or through the introduction of too many civic duties? Did local residents not think they were as capable as the engineers brought in by the oil industry and thus placing downward leveling norms?

Questions specific to the civic community thesis were also administered to respondents. Respondents were questioned on the characteristics of businesses within the parish. Were they predominantly small and locally owned or were large oil corporations the major industries present in the area? They were asked to describe if the businesses located in the area were always present and what effect they have had on the community? Did small locally owned businesses truly engage with the community at higher rates?

This assortment of questions provides a very broad view of the community and any changes that might have occurred throughout the timeline of the petroleum industry's presence in Morgan City and St. Mary Parish.

## 4.6 Grounded Theory and Analytic Induction

This dissertation was guided by qualitative research guided by a methodological approach based on grounded theory. The research was guided by a very general question asking what influence has the off-shore oil industry had on a southern Louisiana community. This early research was guided by the sensitizing concept of social capital in order to gauge social change. From this general question themes began to emerge in the field that guided the research. The research was constantly comparing the themes looking for negative cases in order to reorganize the data.

The qualitative method of analytic induction is used as a guiding framework in the analysis of the data. Analytic induction has often been used by past qualitative researchers in order to examine social phenomena with the aim of formulating general theories or themes from the data (Lindesmith 1947; Becker 1953, 55, 63; Cressey 1953). While analytic induction does have its liabilities, e.g. problems in establishing causation (Manning 1971), some scholars argue that it is as valid, if not more so, than other methodologies[5] (Glaser 1965; Manning 1971).

Analytic induction has evolved since its first incorporation into sociological research. Earlier researchers used a very strict interpretation which sought the identification of invariant properties or "universals" (Lindesmith 1947, Cressey 1953). These researchers sought to formulate conclusions along the lines of "all S is P". To further explain, all graduate students are poor would constitute a "universal". However, if a researcher examining this hypothesis found one rich graduate student, he or she would have to reject the hypothesis because the negative evidence proves it is not a universal.

More modern explanations of analytic induction refer to any systematic examination of similarities that seek to develop concept or ideas (Ragin 1994). It is no longer seen as a search for universals but rather a methodology that constantly directs researchers to pay attention to evidence that disconfirms whatever images they are developing. Obviously the broader the question the harder it becomes to generate a "universal". Thus the researcher is constantly redefining their question as the study progresses. For example, the researcher may change the focal point from all graduate students being poor to only graduate students within humanities are

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[5] Peter Manning in his 1971 paper given at the American Sociological Association conference argues that analytic induction's focus on negative evidence may actually give it more credibility since statisticians accept a small number of exceptions to their theses. However, analytic induction would advise the researcher to redefine his thesis, in some manner, based on the negative evidence.

poor[6]. In essence, researchers constantly compare and contrast incidents or cases that appear to be in the same general category with each other looking for relevant similarities among the instances of a category. If similarities are not found then the researcher must narrow the heterogeneous category. Over time this comparison leads to negative evidence, however unlike earlier installments of analytic induction, the researcher then does not throw out the concept but alters it or shifts categories. The method is less interested in how much positive evidence has been found in the data, and more to the refinement and elaboration of the research subject (Ragin 1994).

This dissertation utilized theory to generate topics of importance to be sought from the respondent's during their interviews. From this, guiding propositions or themes were generated and were expected to be shown in the data achieved from the field. From these themes I defined various research questions. These guiding propositions were first wide in scope such as: the off-shore oil industry benefited the social capital of St. Mary parish. Utilizing analytic induction I then began to test these larger hypotheses, redefining and narrowing their scope as negative evidence presents itself within the data. This process will not only seek answers to the pre-designed research questions but will also benefit the research by bringing unforeseen questions to light.

To summarize, the methodology of this dissertation aims to generate thematic categories based on respondent's perceptions of various topics. The themes generated will not be stagnant and will constantly be under revision, redefinition, or overall exemption.

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[6] Yet it is very possible that within this instance, a true universal, that of poor graduate students, may have been achieved.

## 4.7 Coding of Data

Early coding of data began in the field during the interview process. As the interviewing process progressed sensitizing concepts and key words became apparent. Through this early coding the researcher began to define and categorize the data. This early coding was done in hopes to focus further data collection and open up the research to unforeseen directions (Charmaz 2000).

All one hundred and fifty six interviews were audio recorded. Upon early stages of data analysis I transcribed all one hundred and fifty six interviews. This allowed opportunity for me to begin open coding of the data. I was able to examine each line of data and define actions or events within it by literally transcribing line for line every interview contained within the research. As covered by Glaser (1978) open coding allowed the analysis to build ideas inductively and be deterred from biasing the research. This form of coding helps researchers remain attuned to their subjects views of their realities, rather than assume that they share the same views and worlds (Strauss and Corbin 1990; Charmaz 2000).

The following chapter will outline the findings of the research. It will present fiver inter-related themes. These themes highlight both the effects of social disruption on the community as well as residents of the community over a broad range of topics.

# Chapter V: Findings

Five inter-related themes have emerged in the responses of the respondents: (1) the

effects of oil on civic participation and voluntary organizations in the community; (2) the

consequences of oil development for familial/inter-generational mobility; (3) the introduction of

weak ties into the area allowing for new bridging capital; (4) oil related entrepreneurship and the

enhancement of civic community; and (5) the negative consequences of the oil industry on

communities in which it resides.  With respect to organizational consequences, the industry

brought in new residents to the area who brought with them a variety of needs and assets

associated with community organization that the area lacked.  Oil companies as well as their

employees recognized these voids and fostered plans for facilitating their emergence within the

community. The second theme highlights the industry's presence allowing for increased

opportunities for residents' intergenerational mobility through such avenues as increased

educational and occupational opportunities (Dunham 2007).  For example, often the negative

aspects of out-migration on communities have been emphasized, but the findings also suggest a

positive long-term consequence on family status attainment.  The third theme, bridging capital,

refers to the external ties that the oil industry brought into the area that have expanded not only

the opportunity structure of the residents within the community, but externally as well (Lin

2001).  This has allowed the community to maintain and expand its social capital base through

the perpetuation of inter-community ties which were established when the oil companies came.

The fourth theme suggests a relationship of the area's oil-based economic structure and local

entrepreneurs and implications for the civic community thesis.  The final theme highlights some

negative consequences of both the social structure of the community in relation to social capital

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and the presence of the oil industry. These negative consequences ranged from exclusion of in-migrants to the area as well as negative views of those in-migrants.

## 5.1 Social Capital in the Form of Participation in Civic/Community Organizations

Civic and social organizations provide a setting for the generation and accumulation of social capital (Putnam 2000). Many of the respondents were very familiar with and participated heavily in civic and community organizations. Furthermore, if respondents were involved in a civic organization they were highly likely to have involvement with numerous others also. This created an atmosphere of lively civic participation and high "deposits" of social capital for the area.

Morgan City and St. Mary parish have always had high levels of participation in community organizations and activities. The following quote is a respondent's description of Morgan City even before the shrimping industry.

> **79 year old, white male, barber:** "It was a laid back community. When trapping was there it was a good community, everyone was like a family. People making out with what they could make out with. If I was in the grocery store business and you were in the trapping business we would give you credit. You would come back and pay off your bill. You had regular things going on like baseball on Sundays, picnics, boat races. The community would get together for church deals on weekends, wives had quilting clubs. We used to have all these church fairs were the whole community would come. They would go out hunting and serve their game at these fairs. People lived off the land for their food and other things like that. Then shrimping came in and everyone had more money. Shrimpers didn't usually live in the area and did not bring in their families."

The communities seemed to have heavy levels of civic and social engagement.

> **Interviewer**: "How civically engaged are the people of St. Mary Parish?"

> **74 year old, white male, oil service worker**: "Civic interest has always been extremely high in the area. People participate and give their opinions and still do. Oil did not have any effect on enthusiasm but the oil industry people brought the new ideas. They brought change and change always gets people a little irritated."

The following quote details how the Morgan City rotary club came into existence in the 1930's before the introduction of off-shore oil extraction.

> **75 year old, white male, real estate agent:** "My father was a charter member of the rotary club. There were 14 or 16 businessman who thought they needed to have a place for the people to bring in their fish and shrimp. We didn't have it here. [Fisherman] just stopped wherever they could. So they wanted the mayor and council in 1935 to pass a bond issue. This was in the middle of the depression. The mayor said no stating that people can't afford a new tax. Back then the rotary club was not a rotary club. So these 14 men got together and decided they wanted to form a civic organization, and they determined that rotary was it. So they went to Houma and got the Houma rotary club to sponsor a Morgan City club, which they did. These 14 gentlemen got the club formed, got initiated into the club. Went to other club and said this is what we need. The wharf cost 50 thousand dollars and is still there today. It has probably provided hundreds of millions of dollars to businesses all because these 14 business men decided the fishing trapping, shrimp people, everybody needed to come to Morgan City."

Civic spirit and progressive thinking was not alien to the communities of St. Mary parish. As it will be shown in the following section, community members getting together to accomplish a task for the benefit of the community was common.

> **75 year old, white male, real estate agent**: "Civic clubs have done a lot. I think without them we would not have advanced as far as we have today."

Many respondents pointed to the oil industry enhancing the community level of civic engagement. A large example of this is seen when the original Shrimp festival merged with the petroleum industry in 1967 to create the shrimp and Petroleum festival which was for some time the largest harvest festival in the state (Doeren 1978). The industry and its workforce only added to the levels of participation seen within the community.

> **Interviewer**: "What effect did changing from a mainly shrimping economy to oil economy have on the populace?"
> **74 year old, white male, oil service worker**: "You had people that came in from the oil industry that had ideas, that had seen things in other communities that they

tried to develop.  They probably were a big factor in furthering the Mardi Gras crewes and civic events."


Furthermore, this period of growth allowed for civic organizations to be more involved in the community.  The following quotes illustrate how population increases allowed for heighten civic engagement.

**Interviewer:** "Did the civic duties that clubs participated in grow also?"

**84 year old, female, business owner**: "They did a lot more when there were more people because they could afford to do so because they had more support."


**Interviewer**: "Talking of civic orgs like that.  Was it [volunteer fire department] affected by the oil industry as far as membership and money?"

**52 year old, white male, city employee:** "Membership has never been a factor. We have always had our membership."


This period of time not only saw increased involvement in the community based on the introduction of the oil industry, but also various demands placed on the community.  One such demand was for cultural events.  Employees brought in with the oil industry, primarily through white collar jobs, were accustomed to more cultural events than previously held in the area.  For example, a municipal auditorium was requested to be constructed with the incorporation of a concert series.

**Interviewer**: "What about the community concert?"
**65 year old, white male, oil service worker**: "It is put on by a group of community people.  It is several times a year."
**Interviewer**: "Did that start with the oil industry?"
**65 year old, white male, oil service worker:** "Yes, they were trying to bring up some type of social activity."

**Interviewer**: "Did the oil industry produce any cultural changes in the area?"

**63 year old, white female, school teacher**: "During the boom the municipal auditorium was built. That was another good thing that happened from the oil field."

The off-shore oil industry brought newcomers to the area who not only got involved in the community but placed certain demands on the community. These demands were varied from increased educational curriculums within the schools to more cultural events. Morgan City was experiencing a time of not only demographic growth but "institutional growth" as well.

## 5.1.1 Social Capital in the Form of Community Action/Efficacy

Community levels of social capital are often described by their end result. Theorists often describe high levels of social cohesion between community residents leading to various positive benefits for the community and its inhabitants. Morgan City and St. Mary Parish proved to be no different. In a community where most of the respondents claimed to know the majority of fellow community members one would suspect high levels of social cohesion between residents. These high levels of connectedness lead to many community problems being handled through informal channels. This next quote shows an outcome of the high level of social capital in the area. It illustrates how persons utilized the resources within their social networks to accomplish a community goal of obtaining a backstop for a local pee-wee baseball league.

> **Interviewer**: "Did the incoming engineers offer new ideas to the people of the area?"
> **61 year old, white male, real estate agent**: "A lot of engineers were active. The city would call on them a lot of times for help. They were helpful to the city. Being young guys coming out of school they probably had a lot of ideas…They got involved in the summer time sports. We always did have that program but they would get into it because they had younger kids and what not. …We saw plenty of that. Whenever we needed something for a school, talk to some guy, might not have necessarily been someone related to the oil field but it might have just been a service company."

Throughout the research process I found various examples of informal channels being used to accomplish tasks such as the one above. Another common task accomplishment of social capital

activation is the job search. Scholars have found that individuals often use their social networks in order to obtain job placement (Hsung and Hwang 1992, Marsden and Hurlbert 1988). My research came to the same conclusion with respondents noting that individual contacts and networks often found them placement in the offshore oil industry.

> **72 year old, white male, oil company employee:** "That's just the democratic way isn't it? … If you knew somebody in those days you could get a job."

We also found a similar conclusion on entrance into civic and social organizations that did not have open membership to the public. These clubs would often ask current members to recruit through their family and friendship networks.

> **Interviewer:** "How do people become involved in these organizations?"
>
> **77 year old, white male, business owner:** "Well in a lot of them someone asks you to join or sometimes you help yourself. But I would say most of the time you are asked to join because they are looking for someone who can contribute."

However, as the respondent infers to at the end of the quote clubs and organizations asking individuals to join did sometimes led to exclusion. Private civic and social organizations were able to control their memberships. This occasionally allowed them to ward off those who they felt were undesirable which will be further discussed in the last segment of this section.

5.1.2 Social Capital and Education

The data collected in this study points to various improvements in both the overall educational system of the area as well as its residents according to respondents. According to interviews Morgan City and Berwick exhibit a long tradition of having an educational system above the state average. However, this trend seems to have been enhanced by the presence of the off-shore oil industry. Not only did the industry bring with it a large influx of people to the area adding a larger tax base from which to fund the public school system, but I also found that

those individuals coming in, particularly those with families, not only placed demands on the

educational system but also contributed in satisfying the demands.

>**79 year old, white male, barber**: "Nicholls State got created by oil…More
>people were coming in so schools had to expand.  The area always had good
>teachers.  With the new wave of people coming in they asked for more subjects to
>be offered; geometry, calculus, and fine art."

>**Interviewer**: "Do you remember oil people placing more demands on the school
>system?"
>**70 year old, white female, school teacher**: "They had strong PTAs then.  They
>all supported everything."

>**61 year old, white male, real estate**: "Oil really helped us by offering jobs.
>Before we were a shrimping community.  They [oil] gave good high paying jobs.
>They [oil] did much to set up the infrastructure.  When people make money they
>can afford to build schools and roads and other things.  I was elected to the school
>board in 1973.  They built the new high school in Berwick and Patterson during
>that time.  They were able to raise a lot of money due to the jobs that were created
>in the area due to the oil.
>**Interviewer**: "Did you see the school system improve as oil came in?"
>**61 year old, white male, real estate**: "I would say it was beneficial.  With my
>background on the school board, I can tell you when you have a lot of money it is
>going to be beneficial.  Now you have to do the right thing with the money.
>Money was never a problem until 82.  It got tough after 82, had to make cuts.  I
>think the oil industry had an impact allowing the people to be able to do what they
>wanted to do with the schools."
>**Interviewer**: "How are they doing now?"
>**61 year old, white male, real estate**: "They are still doing well.  All public
>systems have problems but overall they do pretty good."

The industry brought about many positive changes to the area regarding education and

these have remained.  The general theme portrayed by the respondents was that of still

experiencing the benefits of this enhanced school system.  This benefited the population which

led to a subsequent out migration of residents' children which was allowed due to their heighted

levels of education.  The following quotes illustrate the general trend experienced by many of the

respondents being that of families with little or no previous experience in higher education beginning to send some or all of their children and grandchildren to college.

> **Interviewer**: How much schooling did your father and mother have?
> **64 year old, white male, mayor**: Neither one finished high school. My dad … I am not sure what his schooling was because of where he came from. My mother went through about the 8th grade. I didn't finish high school on a regular curriculum. I did go back and get a GED. So that is my educational background.
> **Interviewer**: Can you briefly state what you children are doing now and where they live?
> **64 year old, white male, mayor**: I have four children, two sons. My oldest two are boys. My youngest two are girls. My oldest boy is living here locally. He drives hotshots … My other son is in Columbia, Missouri, has been up there for about 14 years now. My oldest daughter is a school teacher for about 18 years. My youngest daughter graduated from LSU and moved to Austin, Texas and that is where she is living now.
> **Interviewer**: What kind of schooling did they receive when they were in this area? Did they all go to high school here?
> **64 year old, white male, mayor**: They all graduated from Berwick High School. They went through the Berwick school system, all graduated.
> **Interviewer**: Do you have any grandchildren still in the area? How old are they and what are they doing right now
> **64 year old, white male, mayor**: Four grandchildren live in Missouri. Four live here. One of them finished college and is now working in North Louisiana as a coach. One of the granddaughters is at Nicholls. I have two other grandsons, one is a junior at high school and one is in the 6th grade.
> **Interviewer**: do you feel that the oil industry had any effect on the schooling they were able to receive at Berwick high school? Did it help or do you feel that Berwick High School would have been Berwick High School regardless of the oil boom?
> **64 year old, white male, mayor**: … Well like I said I was raised in the oil field, I was part of the oil field. But I think what we saw was people moving in from places like Oklahoma, Texas and those areas. [The oil industry] brought in some people who are young people. [The local residents] got a chance to see what other young people are like. I think it was not a bad mix. I believe it was positive. I believe the education was a good one and I think they added to the system. I don't think any of the oil field detracted from the school system.
> **Interviewer**: …Was your family ever able to take advantage of any of those [oil field related] scholarships or did they go to school on their own?
> **64 year old, white male, mayor**: Well all of them. I only had two daughters that went to college. My two sons choose not to go to college. But I have had three grandchildren that have went to college. I think most of them have gotten some sort of scholarship help, but not in a particular profession. It has mostly been one year scholarships. My youngest daughter took advantage of the TOPS program. But of course I don't know if going to college is going to guarantee anything

except that they are going to pursue some type of profession. Where that profession takes them we don't know.

This conversation illustrates many different aspects regarding the interaction between the incorporation of the oil industry in the area and the educational institution. First it provides insight into both increased educational opportunities and achievement seen within the community. Secondly, it highlights the outmigration from the area not as a detrimental aspect but one of increased opportunities providing the ability for individuals to move away from the area if they choose. It finally highlights the positive impacts of the industry on the educational system in two ways. First, the effect of the oil field in bringing in individuals that have more extensive educational backgrounds and achievements is commented on. The local population in many instances was simply not aware of avenues of higher education and they were introduced to them. Secondly, the monetary impact of the oil industry on education is presented through the scholarships they provided the community which is further elaborated in the following quote.

> **Interviewer:** "What activities do some of these organizations sponsor?
> **71 year old, white male, doctor:** "API [American Petroleum Institute] has a large number of scholarships. I hate to guess but it might be something like 20 k a year."
> **Interviewer:** "To which level of education?"
> **71 year old, white male, doctor:** "Partial and complete tuition to high school students to go to college. And every year they have to maintain a certain average to stay in and they don't necessarily have to be in petroleum related programs. SMIG [St. Mary Industrial Group] does a scholarship too."

5.1.3 "Bowling Together": Instances of Stable Levels of Social Capital

Putnam (2000) argues that levels of social capital, particularly in the United States are declining. However, other scholars have found results inconsistent with Putnam's analysis (Paxton 1999). Like Paxton, I found stable levels of social capital. Even taking Putnam's "Bowling Alone" title literally it was found that the local bowling alley in Morgan City has not seen any decline in membership.

**63 year old, white female, school teacher:** "The bowling alley was built when I moved here…between 61 and 62…They had leagues back then and they still do. It never closed down…I don't think that bowling alley ever hit a low like others in the country."

Furthermore, the data suggests that cultural and community activities have also seen steady attendance. Such is the case with the Louisiana Shrimp and Petroleum Festival.

**63 year old, white female, school teacher:** "We still have a good turnout, people wise. It just costs too much money to put boats in now, especially with the liability involved. Here is a guy that has a work boat, they get huge prices for them. He has to take it off the job for 2 to 3 days, decorate it, get liability insurance to put people on it. It is just too expensive. Another reason is there is such a shortage of boats now they can't take it off the job."

Many respondents stated the same theme regarding the civic and social organizations. While the general agreement was that the physical numbers waxed and waned with the population of the area, the levels of participation and mindset of those involved in the organizations did not vary.

**Interviewer:** "Thinking of the history and membership of these associations, how has the membership changed over the years?"
**86 year old, white male, business owner:** "I think the membership hasn't changed. Got a good foundation back then [beginnings of organizations] with all these people, and the foundation of these clubs is still strong."

The next section will highlight the various effects the off-shore oil industry has had on the community residents in the sense that social capital generated provides a resource for individuals' rational goal attainment (Coleman, 1988).

## 5.2 Consequences for Familial/Inter-generational Mobility and Status Attainment

The off-shore oil industry's effect on levels of out migration has been widely cited within the literature (cf. Seydlitz, et al. 1993; Seydlitz, et al. 1995). However, unlike previous literature my research implicates a positive connotation of outmigration. The off-shore oil industry brought new jobs to the area which had significantly higher incomes than previous occupations

present in the area.  This provided inhabitants a multitude of other career paths and life choices

to which their earlier relatives were not accustomed.  This process, of course, lead to increased

avenues of social mobility than were previously found in the area.  Many subjects documented

this phenomenon especially when examining the social mobility of children of Morgan City and

St. Mary Parish.

> **Interviewer**: How long has your family lived in the Morgan City or St. Mary parish area?
> **58 year old, white male, attorney**: Since 1881 and that would be my paternal grandmothers family.
> **Interviewer**: Do you know what type of work those grandparents did?
> **58 year old, white male, attorney**: They were farmers.  They raised sugar cane, cotton, corn, and soy beans.
> **Interviewer**: Do you know how much schooling they had?
> **58 year old, white male, attorney**: Most of them were high school graduates. Two of the female ancestors, my grandmother and her sister had some college.
> **Interviewer**: How much schooling have you had?
> **58 year old, white male, attorney**: I am an attorney and I have a degree in accounting.  I worked on my masters in business administration and received a law degree.  I don't know, a lot of years.

> **Interviewer**: Do you know what type of work your relatives did and what type of schooling they had?
> **44 year old, white female, administrative assistant:** I'll start with the grandparents.  On my father's side, none of them had a real job.  They trapped and fished, basically lived off the land.  Never owned a car. I don't know if they went to school, I doubt it.  Their son, which is my father, he went to the 7$^{th}$ or 8$^{th}$ grade.  Then he had to quit school to help out with the trapping.
> **Interviewer**: How much schooling have you had?
> **44 year old, white female, administrative assistant**: Graduated Morgan City High School, 1979.  Married, stayed home for 13 years.  Went back to school, got my associates degree.  This was probably 8 years ago.  [Works as an administrative assistant at an oil service company].
> **Interviewer**: Do you have any children or grandchildren that still live in the area?
> **44 year old, white female, administrative assistant**: Yes, I have two children. I have a 23 year old son that also works for [an oil service company].  He was a diver, he now works in Lafayette. I have a 17 year old who is a senior at Central Catholic.

These quotes give examples of a transition among the population from relatively lower class occupations such as trapping and farming to a more industrial job base. This transition brought with it increased opportunities for social mobility of the residents of the area. The area witnessed increases in levels of income, education, civic and social organizations, and population.

Respondents also narrate residents becoming more aware of different lifestyles than previously during this time period. With increases in education and income, many residents of Morgan City began to broaden their career and social horizons. In the following quote a respondent explains that residents became aware of different experiences based on their interactions with newcomers brought in by the off-shore oil industry.

> **53 year old, white female, environmental activist**: "I think that the engineers and all brought in experiences that the people of Morgan City didn't have. I think that the resistance to getting a job outside was the lack of a college education. I graduated first in my class; three of us went to college. The rest of them, and this is not degrading, were going to work on their fathers shrimp boats or the welding shops. There wasn't even a thought of going to college. So in order to go work outside you need a college education. Now, more from Morgan City attend [Nicholls State University] because Nicholls at that time was just a day college and they ran the buses from Morgan City. More from that area went but again the thought was never to get an education and go somewhere else it was always to get an education and come back; to teach school doing education. And I think when those engineers came in they brought life experiences into the mix that were not there."

It was during this time that residents of Morgan City and surrounding communities began to diversify many aspects of their personal life. Many respondents cite a large portion of this new phenomenon to be due to the off-shore oil industry. The following quotes emphasize how respondents felt that the introduction of new workers into the area brought with them a new set of "ideas" or culture from which the locals were able to expand their own.

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**Interviewer:** "How did the community change after the discovery of off shore oil?"

**50 year old, white male, business owner:** "It is my understanding, that it [Morgan City] was a relatively quite fishing and shrimping town until the offshore oil industry. It impacted it greatly in the fact that Morgan City became a lot like Florida is now, everyone was from somewhere else. You had a lot of new comers. They set down some roots to where they are now becoming the established citizens. But there was a lot of new people that came down. Here everybody was from somewhere else while at Franklin it has been pretty stable.

**Interviewer:** "What were these people like?"

**50 year old, white male, business owner:** "They were protestant which was different. They were more well traveled. One thing that I have discovered with Louisiana in general is they don't travel. I think they brought in a lot of new ideas."

**52 year old, white male, business vice president:** "The pace of life increased. There was a huge influx of people that were not from here. They brought new customs and ideas. It really changed the way of life here."

**57 year old, white male, police officer:** "I would say probably dramatically. You had people coming in from all areas and that goes on today. People come down here for work. The east end[Morgan City] of the parish obviously has a large transient population. You will find people that have been there for 30 years but they have come there from Mississippi, Arkansas, or Texas. It changes the population especially on the east end of the parish. You have a more diversified people."

The following quote illustrates a couple of different themes of how the area changed due to the introduction of the off-shore oil industry. The first of which highlights the adoption of new goals by locals. They felt that they had increased opportunity with the emergence of the new industry. Secondly, how new opportunities allowed for intergenerational mobility. While as previously social stratification in the area showed little variation over generations, the introduction of this industry introduced and reinforced a middle class to this area that was previously scarcely seen in the area.

**Interviewer:** "Were people more able to easily obtain personal goals now or before the oil industry?"

**58 year old, white male, oil company worker:** "After the oil industry because they had more money. I don't know what your goal is, if your goal is to drink

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enough beer to put you to sleep and keep you sleeping until you wake up whenever you want to, then that's a goal. But if your goal is to give to your children more chances that were offered to you then unless you were a very successful cane farmer, shrimp boat owner, or had a real good trapping lease that was not a possibility. The whole level of what peoples' expectations and goals were changed once the money came. Now the [prominent family] always had money …You had the real rich and the real poor. So either you owned the cane being farmed or you were going out there with a knife to cut it. Either you owned the boat or you were a deckhand. There was no middle class, when the oil company came in the middle class was bigger than both and some of the middle class really became very wealthy after a little while."

The next section will narrow the focus to the newcomers brought in by the off-shore oil industry. These newcomers included white collar/Professional and blue collar workers. The variation between the two groups is examined in both their respective traits and their subsequent effects on the community.

## 5.3 Introduction of Weak Ties

This section focuses on the in-migration of individuals to Morgan City and St. Mary Parish that were brought in by the oil industry. The largest portion of in-migration is generally thought to have occurred during the oil boom of the 1970's. Here I return to an earlier theme, civic engagement, but with the intention of explicating its relationship to the creation of bridging social capital in the form of weak ties.

The first part of this section will focus on the white collar workers, mainly engineers, brought in by the industry. This group consists of a highly educated and skilled white collar labor force that came in with the large oil companies in the late 1940's through the present. These workers normally came from Texas, Oklahoma and Florida. Many respondents describe these workers as being very different from the then homogenous community residing in Morgan City and surrounding communities. As noted before, common themes present in the data suggest

these individuals bringing new ideas and ways of thinking to the area and also heavily investing

themselves and their families into the community.

This dissertation will cover four various themes regarding the white collar workers. First

it will describe the perceptions of residents of these individuals bringing new ideas to the area.

Second, it will illustrate their commitment to the community. Next, it will explore the various

stakes in the community these workers produced. These stakes were often described as being

directly related to this group bringing their families with them to Morgan City. Last, it will

document different examples of this group getting involved with the community through civic

organizations and civic engagement.

## 5.3.1 Perceptions of Workers Entering St. Mary Parish:

The white collar workers brought in by the off-shore oil industry are viewed in a very

positive light by the respondents in this study. Various interviews documented positive

interactions with engineers. The descriptions often vary significantly from the transient workers

brought into the area during the oil boom. White collar workers are described to be highly

educated and upstanding citizens.

> **Interviewer:** "How would you describe the engineers?"
> **77 year old, white female, oil company worker:** "Oh good people, intelligent, leaders, men who knew how to get the job done, capable."
>
> **25 year old, white male, sheriff deputy: "**I have heard stories from people that are different. Engineers obviously had a lot of schooling. The others, the roughnecks…They came over here only to collect a paycheck and then went out at night."
> **Interviewer**: "What about the interaction between these two [Blue collar/Professional and White Collar] and the Community?"
> **25 year old, white male, sheriff deputy: "**I can just say that the interaction at first wasn't really that good until the engineers seemed to be here to make a better living for their life and make the community better…They brought their families here, they tried to make a better living for themselves and their family…the bunkhouse workers brought in

themselves and only themselves.  I can see that being an issue."

More specifically the research found that certain individuals who migrated to the area due to the

off-shore oil industry played a part in community action.  Many of the respondents commented

on white collar workers, such as engineers, who were brought in by various oil companies

getting heavily involved in the community.  As noted previously, the engineers' benefit to the

community through social and civic interaction was highlighted in a very positive light.  The

following quote represents how respondents generally felt that the engineers [newcomers] helped

not only to put in place several of these organizations, but also brought with them new ways of

thinking that were not prevalent in the community before their arrival.

> **Interviewer:** "How much effect did the newcomers have on the community?"
> **79 year old, white male, barber**: "With the influx of people it helped [the community] build.  And I guess they were able to bring in new talents and educated people to new ideas.  They gave them a new concept because they are from another state."

The majority of white collar workers who came to the area due to the oil industry planned

to live within the community for at least several years.  Thus, they would begin to make stakes in

the community and get involved.  Since many of these workers had families which they brought

to the area they also, as noted previously, began to get involved in a variety of institutions

including public schools and churches.  The following quote illustrates these workers fully

immersing themselves within the community.

> **Interviewer**: "How much did these people get involved in the community?"
> **Respondent 12**: "Quite a bit.  I mean they felt like however long they were going to be here they needed to put their children in school, they wanted them to get involved in church, whichever church it was.  They did everything here they would have done in their home town."

It became apparent in the responses of many of the subjects that Morgan City and the

surrounding parish benefited greatly civically and socially from the in-migration of certain

individuals brought in by oil.  These individuals committed themselves to the community and

their involvement brought various positive benefits.  These benefits were tangible, such as the

creation of new organizations.

> **50 year old, white male, sheriff:** Well I think that oil created some of the new organizations that are there.  Like SMIG [St. Mary Industrial Group], API [American Petroleum Institute], and the Petroleum Club.  Those organizations were created due to the people that came in due to oil.  The JC's [Junior Chamber of Commerce], the Lions, the Elks, were helped due to the new ideas were brought in.  So it helped progress in these organizations through the new ideas.  I do not believe there are any more now than before.  I say yes they do sponsor more civic events than before.  You are always seeing some sort of walkathon for some activity or a bake sale or community concert.  The lions sponsor eye glasses to kids.  The knights of Columbus do scholarships.

These organizations integrated locals and newcomers through mutual interaction.

> **74 year old, white male, oil service worker:**  "The community didn't have a lot of money.  It was kind of a relatively poor community.  We always laugh because everybody was poor so we didn't know the difference.  We didn't know we were poor cause everybody else was too … I think that the interest and enthusiasm [in community organizations] was always there and the oil industry brought new ideas and new energy …  The people that did accept them would do stuff with them and the people that didn't would do social activities without them.  But eventually they merged.  It just took time."

There were also examples of intangible benefits as interview subjects repeatedly referred

to "new ideas" or ways of thinking that were brought to the area and its residents.  Examples of

these "new ideas" ranged from new denominations being established, suggestions for new

activities for social organizations, to heightened expectations for education.  Finally, these

benefits were not completely depleted from the area when these workers left.  The social, human,

and cultural capital generated by the interactions between the community and these newcomers

resided and still resides in the area after their departure.

5.3.2 White Collar Professionals' Integration into the Community

There was some mixed views according to respondents regarding the integration of white

collar professionals into the local community.  Some expressed the viewpoint that these workers

were fully adopted into the community as the following quotes imply.

> **Interviewer:** "How did the locals treat or view newcomers that came in based on
> the oil industry and vice versa?"
> **75 year old, white male, judge**: "Fortunately I knew quite a few of the so called
> new comers.  I attended meetings with them, I had them as my friends, they were
> invited to my home and I to theirs, I played golf with them, I fished and hunted
> with them.  They were accepted well into the community.  They were good people
> for the most part."

> **Interviewer:** "How did the locals treat or view the newcomers to the area?"
> **77 year old, white female, oil company worker:** "We welcomed them.  We
> enjoyed meeting them.  We found most of them to be really good people."

Other respondents stated that this process was not so simple.  Many expressed that there were

tensions present when all newcomers, including engineers, started to arrive in the community.

> **Interviewer:** "How did the locals treat or view the newcomers to the area based
> on the oil industry?"
> **86 year old, white male, business owner**: "What time frame are you talking
> about?"
> **Interviewer:** "Give  me every time frame."
> **86 year old, white male, business owner:** "When they first came here back in
> the 1940's they had a lot of dissension.  These people come from Texas, they start
> calling the French people coonasses.  And there were a lot of fights going on.  But
> then as these French people started working with the oil community they started
> mingling, they called the Texas people rednecks.  And today the French people
> today call themselves coonasses.

This was often based on locals view that the new industry and its workers would negatively

affect the economies already present to the area that is illustrated as the respondent continues.

> **86 year old, white male, business owner:** "Then, of course when the first oil
> well was drilled back in 46 by Ker Mcgee the shrimping industry fought them.

They didn't want them to come in there because they said it was going to ruin the shrimping. Well after they drilled the first well and started hiring these shrimp boats to bring supplies out there, you know everything got to be all right. Then they found out it didn't hurt the shrimping industry. And that goes on today."

However, the theme expressed by respondents is one that once the local community began to see personal and community level benefits from the emerging industry their viewpoints began to change. In essence once the local community began to have personal incentive in the form of future positive benefits (financial, social, etc.) they accepted the workers. With that in mind this same acceptance was not afforded to blue collar workers as will be discussed further in this chapter.

> **Interviewer:** "How did the [local] community react to the newcomers?"
> **80 year old, white female, business owner:** "The local community were hesitant to react at first. Treated them as newcomers because the locals had a very close tight knit community. When we first moved in. I went and bought groceries and I could not buy milk for my children. They were saving it for their regular customers. I said how do we get to be a regular customer? I fought with that until I went and bought a cow, I said I will have my milk for my children. My husband said who is going to milk that cow and I said I will. I was really disturbed by those people when we first moved here, but then I've come to love it as much or more as my home town."
> **Interviewer:** "So they were kind of stand offish as first?"
> **80 year old, white female, business owner:** "Oh yeah, we were outsiders. But then through the church…if I hadn't had the church I wouldn't have liked Morgan City"
> **Interviewer:** "Others have expressed that the locals embraced everyone."
> **80 year old, white female, business owner:** "After a while they did. When they saw what the oil industry did and the people that were coming in with that then they were very nice to the people that came in since they were educated people taking part in the community. But right at first they didn't."

The white collar workers migration and integration into the community changed the social network structure of the area. Prior to the introduction of the off-shore oil industry to Morgan City the area had a very homogenous residential population. The population was very similar in occupation, education and social economic status. The influx of newcomers to the

area from off-shore oil brought about a more heterogeneous population.  The white collar

workers are often described to be very different from local residents.

> **Interviewer:** "How were they different with their interactions with the
> community?"
> **76 year old, white male, oil field contract employee:** "Well, the educated
> people (engineers) brought with them more
> sophistication.  They came from different areas, diverse areas with diverse
> ideas."
> **Interviewer:** "So the educated brought sophistication with them and sought
> education?"
> **76 year old, white male, oil field contract employee:** "Yes sir, they stressed
> education."
> **Interviewer:** "How have these [social] organizations changed
> due to oil?"
> **76 year old, white male, oil field contract employee:** "More educated people
> came in with different ideas which changed the way of thinking on how to do
> certain things."
>
> **77 year old, white male, business owner:** "They [engineers] just brought a
> whole new culture to town that had not been here."
> **Interviewer:** "Do you think there is any connection between the oil industry and
> the viability of these [social and civic] organizations?"
> **77 year old, white male, business owner:** "Oh sure, the people that came in,
> there was new blood that had
> different ideas that sometimes were accepted.  And sometimes there was a lot of
> discussion that made for a healthy situation."

## 5.3.3 Description of White Collar Workers' Commitment to the Community

Our data also describes these workers as being very committed to the community.  They

did not come to Morgan City for short term employment.  Instead they brought their families

with them and subsequently became integrated in the community.  These workers had various

incentives to better the community.  They illustrated this devotion by trying to better the

education and social organizations.  They also put their money into the community and became

involved in social and civic organizations.  As will be discussed later in the findings section, this

commitment was crucial to the local communities' acceptance of these newcomers.  It was only

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after the incoming workforce, particularly white collar workers, demonstrated their commitment

and subsequent worth to the general community that they were fully accepted and integrated.

> **77 year old, white male, business owner:** "The engineers and executive types that were in charge of what was going on were the ones that were making the new developments take place.  I guess they were dissatisfied with what was here and were trying to change some of that in the schools and organizations.  When they came in they contributed and made it better or different or larger."

> **45 year old, white female, administrative assistant:** "Your more high powered executives…they put money into the community.  They raised their families here.  They joined civic organizations, they went to church. They got involved."

## 5.3.4 Description of White Collar Workers' Stakes in the Community

Since the majority of white collar workers were buying homes in the area and bringing

their families to the area they produced stakes in the community.  These workers joined

professional organizations.  They entered and became involved in politics.  They served on

school boards and in community organizations.  This was a distinction from the more transient

blue collar labor force.   One respondent described an overall change to the social fabric of the

area.

> **51 year old, white male, oil service worker:** "You had more people moving into the area that were not from Louisiana…I would say that is probably the biggest thing…in this area there is no longer the native Louisianan that it used to be.  We are such a diverse area now.  You can tell by the accents…"

The overall perception of respondents is that the white collar workers coming to

the area actively sought placement with the community and interacted heavily with the

local population.

> **65 year old, white female, writer:**  "Well the engineers, when they moved down here, their families moved down here with them.  They were also givers to the community … they got involved in the social fabric, they got involved in the schools, they got involved in the good deeds they could do because that is where they came from. They were more liberally educated and more able to help the community.  So that was always the good facet.

**Interviewer:** "Would you say either [white collar or blue collar worker] had a stake in the community?"
**48 year old, white male, government employee:** "I would say the engineers had more of a stake. Because typically they would come in and purchase a home and they had families and children in the school systems.

**50 year old, white male, self employed:** "The ones that had a stake in the community are the ones that owned property, go to church, send their kids to school. The ones that don't or rent don't have much of a stake but they are still contributing to the economy of the landowners of the property owners so."

The Ties to the community have remained in some forms even after they leave the community as the following quote highlights.

**Interviewer:** "Would you say either had a stake in the community?
**52 year old, white male, business vice president:** "The engineers that were here did. Some of them now own businesses here

## 5.3.5 Early Reluctance of Newcomers to the Area

The reluctance of portions of the local community to accept the newcomers has already been evaluated in previous sections. There was another theme of reluctance that came to light in the data. Many newcomers expressed initial negativity to moving to the area due to expressed concern of how different the community seemed to be from their then current residences. These differences were often expressed in the areas of cultural activities, community size, and demographics. The following quotes illustrate how even though tight relationships were formed between the local population and workers brought in by the industry, this bond was not always easily established initially.

**61 year old, white male, real estate**: "I remember a couple of distinct times, probably two or three. One of them [newcomers from oil] would come in to the office and say, 'I need a favor'. I would say ' what's the matter?' Says 'I'm bringing my wife to Morgan City and I need you to convince her to move here. She says she is not coming. She doesn't want to live down here, we are coming from Houston or from New Orleans. She doesn't want to live in Morgan City,

Louisiana.' So I say 'Ok, let me talk to her.' Boy one time the lady was sitting out in the car and she would not get out the car. So I asked for her to please give me ten minutes of her time and she agreed. She said 'I am not moving to Morgan City.' She said 'this is the end of the earth.' I am going to promise you one thing if you move to Morgan City, when you leave Morgan City you will hate to leave Morgan City, you will not want to go.' She answers with 'I don't believe that'. I said 'This is a close knit town, the oil folks are all close to each other and the local people are all very friendly people and you are going to love this area once you get settled here.' Her eyes kind of lit up a little bit and she said 'well I will give it a shot'. Eventually they bought a house and stayed here and then got transferred after 6 years to Houston and hated to go."
**Interviewer**: "Did they keep in contact after they left?"
**61 year old, white male, real estate**: "Oh yeah."


**60year old, white female, retired**: "My own saying that I created; 'They cried when they came and cried when they left.'"


**63 year old, white female, school teacher**: "I cried the first year I moved here, one solid year."

**65 year old, white female, nurse**: "My husband had to bring me home [where they moved from] every three months."
**Interviewer**: "Do you remember after being here for a while and the culture change, do you remember feeling more at ease?"
**65 year old, white female, nurse**: "Oh yeah."


**63 year old, white female, teacher**: "It only took me a year."


The reluctance to come to the community was a common theme found within the data. However, as shown above this reluctance was typically overcome with an acceptance both in the community and of the community by newcomers.

## 5.3.6 Introduction of Weak Ties into the Area Allowing for New Bridging Capital

The influx of population to Morgan City and some surrounding communities brought in by the off-shore oil industry allowed for bridging capital between the newcomers to the area and

the local population.  The introduction of this heterogeneous population brought with it a

diffusion of new information.

> **53 year old, white female, environmental activist:** "I think it just infused the town with diversity and it was wonderful, because you had people from all over with new ideas."
> **Interviewer:** "what do you mean by new ideas?"
> **53 year old, white female, environmental activist:** "Different ways to do things. I think we get in a rut and do things the same way all the time then someone comes in and says 'why don't we do this'."

Respondent's often used the word, 'ideas', to describe the impact of the newcomers to the area.

> **74 year old, white male, oil service worker:** "You had people that came in from the oil industry that had ideas.  That had seen things in other communities that they tried to develop.  They probably were a big factor in furthering the Mardi Gras crewes and civic events."

> **Interviewer:** "what do you mean by new ideas?"
> **58 year old, white female, clerical worker at church:** "Different ways to do things.  I think we get in a rut and do things the same way all the time then someone comes in and says 'why don't we do this?'."

The following quote highlights one respondent's views on how the area and its demographics

changed following 1947 (introduction of the off-shore oil industry).

> **72 year old, white male, oil company worker:** "It got bigger. You had just a different type of people coming in.  Here you had the French, the Italians, and the Americans pretty much.  After the war ended and the soldiers came back, you had German war brides coming in.  And then the influx of people from Texas, Oklahoma; the oil people, I don't want to say totally different from what we were. But you just got new customs and everything kinda changed here."

> **67 year old, white male, city employee:** "Personal experience that I have with people moving here from elsewhere, they brought ideas from where they came from of how things should be done.  They had their religions, their traditions, and they brought a lot of that in.  Good stuff fused with the stuff that you didn't agree with."

The following is how two respondents felt the civic associations changed by the

introduction of newcomers to the area.

**54 year old, white male, local newspaper editor:** "Yeah I think that when the oil patch was doing so well and these people with the shall we say global experience, because we had people coming here from management that had worked in the middle east that had worked in Africa, worked in Venezuela, Canada, worked all over the world. I think the club benefited from the insight that that type of input, leadership brought to that organization whether it was rotary, kc's or whatever. Maybe broadened their horizons a little bit as far as their civic goals are concerned. Or fresh ideas of what to do to help enhance the educational opportunities or social opportunities or whatever. Conversely when those people left you saw a lot of people economically, socially, psychological, everything, just literally pull back. Just like an army that gets too extended and starts taking hits that it shouldn't take so you just have to pull back and refortify and reenergize with the resources left that you have to work with.

**79 year old, white male, barber:** "with the influx of people it helped these organizations build. And I guess they were able to bring in new talents and educate people to new ideas. They gave them a new concept because they are from another state."

The new 'ideas' were not always accepted with open arms. However, respondents said the overall benefit of opening up previously stagnant forms of communication were a positive development.

**69 year old, white male, insurance agent:** "There was new blood that had different ideas that sometimes were accepted and sometimes there was a lot of discussion about but it made for a healthy situation."

**Interviewer:** "Did the way the residents interact with each other change because of the oil industry?"
**58 year old, white male, oil service worker:** "I think it did because they got to know one another better. And had better communication because they were talking to each other more often and shared ideas and talked to one another. I once said if you watch a man, don't talk to him, just watch his movements and listen to him and in a little while you won't like him because he is doing something over here and you think he is doing something else. And you get suspicious of him and you start watching him and pretty soon he does something else that doesn't make sense to you and you think it might be something else wrong that he is doing. If you talk to people and communicate to people you will understand them. If you don't talk and communicate you are lost and I think the oil industry provided the opportunity for people to communicate more and be thrown together more and it was a great help to this area."

5.3.7 Perceptions of Blue Collar Workers

The perceptions of the blue collar low skilled labor that was brought in with the off-shore

oil industry were quite distinct from their white collar colleagues.  Blue collar workers were seen

of as transients who came into the area solely for individual reasons and did not have any interest

in the overall good of the community.

Long term residents would often come to this conclusion of low commitment on the part

of blue collar workers based upon their apparent lack of stakes in the community.

**Interviewer**: "Could you describe the two [white collar vs. blue collar labor]?"

**57 year old, white male, OEP director**: "We had a lot of engineers that moved
into the area.  They were way different form regular oil field hands.  Oil field
hands, they created railroad avenue in Morgan City, the bar district there.  When
they come in, they would have a pocket full of money and want to go in town and
raise a little cane and raise a little hell and spend some money.  The engineers
didn't do that.  They bought homes, they didn't like some of the roughnecks who
would rent trailers and rough homes."

**Interviewer**: "Could you really tell the difference between the two and how did
the two interact with the city?"

**54 year old, white male, local newspaper editor**: "There is a social stratum
there and if you talk with any of the roughnecks or tool pusher or people like that,
the people who are really the backbone of the industry.  They were the
hardworking, hard drinking men. many of them were not married.  They were
mostly males.  The oil patch was a rough and tumble industry.  Those people
lived in a world of their own and there have been some interesting studies on that
too:   The impact of offshore oil and gas exploration in south Louisiana, not just
economically but sociologically and psychologically.  How families are being
raised and kids are being raised and educated when daddy is offshore for 7 days
and home for 7 days?  Who wears the pants at home? Who calls the shots? Things
like that.  The answer to your question is that there is a big difference between the
management level people that were here at one time that were very vital in the
community structure.  That were coaching youth recreation league teams, they
were leading members in the church community.  They were holding office in the
civic organizations and the other roughneck type person.  It would have been an
exception if one of those people belonged to a Kiwanis club or rotary club, or the
kcs or something like that."

As stated above the main action seen by community members to show a workers

commitment to the community was that of buying a house.  With this act, the homebuyer

was looked upon by locals as someone who was in it for the long haul and would

positively influence the community in the future.  Roughnecks, or blue collar labor, on

the other hand were seen as transient with no positive benefit.   Blue collar workers were

often referred to as 'bunkhouse workers' to refer to many workers who stayed in what

amounted to labor camps during the course of their employment.

> **85 year old, white male, salesman:** Well it [Bunkhouses] is a place where these people would come in and they can't find a job so they go to these bunkhouses and they have a place to sleep and they feed them.  And these people try to find them a job but there is always a little money attached to it. The workers would have to pay them.  We had quite a few of those bunkhouses in town.  Most of the time they wasn't a first class type of people. They were bums or drunkards.

This further isolated this group from the local community and, as will be illustrated in the

final section of this dissertation, not only led to rampant rumors of this group but also

often to their exploitation.

## 5.3.8 Acceptance of Workers by Local Population

The transition for the newcomers, whether blue collar or white collar, was not always one

of instant acceptance by the locals.  When the off-shore oil industry first arrived many locals

thought it would bring about negative change for the community.  This was commonly viewed in

relation to the economic structure.  Shrimpers and trappers felt the industry would destroy the

land and rid them of their jobs.

> **60 year old, white male, clerk of court:** "When they first hit oil offshore there was a big problem between the shrimpers and the oil people because the shrimpers had control and use of all that water just to shrimp and when they hit oil the shrimpers just knew that that oil was going to contaminate and kill all their shrimp.  So until they could educate the shrimpers on it is not going to do that there was a lot of bad blood between the oil production people and shrimping

people. That finally resolved itself because prior to the oil industry coming
shrimping ran everything."

However, this theme stretches farther than just the relationship between shrimpers and the oil

field workers. On new comer to the area explained their early years in the community with the

following.

> **68 year old, white male, attorney:** "I think you were a newcomer for a long
> time. My wife and I finally got to say we were residents of Berwick after about
> 25 years. But we were always well treated fairly. I never had to complain about
> being treated as an outsider. Berwick being a small town, very family oriented, it
> probably took a little longer to be accepted. But they are very good people there.
> Have high principles and good people."

Another respondent hints that this non-acceptance may be a general issue.

> **50 year old, white male, business owner:** "I will put it to you this way I have
> been here for 25 years and I am still a new guy. I will say it is getting better with
> the generation that is our age and younger. The generation that is older, never
> accepted them"

The theme of exclusivity was common among new comers reports of their early transition into

the communities. This negative aspect will be further discussed under the negative outcomes of

dense networks.

The Local community shifted their views on the incoming work force when they began to

realize their own incentive for doing so. They began to realize the positive benefits both the off-

shore oil industry and its incoming work force had for the local community and its citizens.

These positive benefits ranged from employment opportunities to the cooperation of newcomers

in the civic and social atmospheres.

> **Interviewer:** "How did the locals treat and view the newcomers that came?"
> **76 year old, white male, oil field contract worker:** "I think some looked with a
> jealous eye. After a while they recognize it was a better community. There was
> money on the street. There is money to go to the stores so they could get bigger
> and better. Everything is a trade off to a degree in life. But I think it has done
> good for this community"

**50 year old, white male, sheriff:** "Well, it depended. The engineers and better educated workers were coming in, they had great ideas. They came in bringing a lot of money. So they were welcomed in the first place. But these people were coming in with a company that brought a lot of money here and brought a lot of new people that gave a lot of great ideas and moved the community forward. And I think people saw that this was going to happen so they welcomed them. They were in situations where they needed these newcomers to come in and do things they were not able to do themselves. And have Morgan City progress like it did. The locals being just a few in number did not foresee the growth that would happen. Once this growth happened they welcomed the people to come in and help with that growth. And they were able to ride the coat tails of this progress. And many locals made a big deal of money from the people that came in here. Now granted some of the new people that came in here made a lot of money themselves but many locals were able to make a very good living. And made a lot of money on the coattails of these new people and industries.

Not all respondents said it was a one dimensional relationship with the local community not accepting the new comers. Some expressed the newcomers were actually the ones hesitant of the locals.

**Interviewer:** "How did the locals treat or view the newcomers that came in based on the oil industry?"
**41 year old, white female, city employee:** I think that is the worse of the relationships that existed. I think it was always from our Acadian heritage. The Acadians were always outgoing and friendly and wanted to accept people and I think some of the people that came in were kind of standoffish. And when you do this to the Acadian style mentality you sometimes drive a wedge and there will never be interactions. I personally have people that come in and work for me. I have one right now, the gentleman has worked for me for five years and his wife just was never acclimated into our society here and he is going leave come January. I have had this happen to me, many many times. These are white collar workers that come in and their wives or themselves never successfully cross these bridges to make long lasting relationships. And I have had others that have. What stimulates this is a mystery to me because I think from the Acadian point of view it is an open arms policy. The Acadians would accept you and let you into their homes with open arms. I think it is an amazing thing that happens but I guess it happens everywhere the same way.
**Interviewer:** "How then did the new comers treat the locals?"
**41 year old, white female, city employee:** "In most of those cases they were very private types. My experiences have shown that you need to make an effort on both parts if you are going to assimilate into the society and in a lot of cases the guys that came in felt that this was maybe a temporary stop in their life and did not care to make the efforts and open up their hearts and form relationships. But

those that did have stayed.  And I have workers here that have retired here from
out of state because they love the area, it offers so much for them."

The previous respondent states that he believes that some of the white collar engineers saw this

as a temporary stop in their careers.  As already stated this is crucial to the belief of one's stake

in the community.  If the individuals brought their families with them they were seen as having a

commitment to the community.  Only after this commitment was shown did the local community

accept them and integrate them into the community.  Otherwise it was felt that there was no need

due to the absence of benefits for the local community by accepting the incoming work force.

## 5.4 The Off-Shore Oil Industry, Local Entrepreneurs, and the Civic Community Thesis

This section of the report gets to the same fundamental dependent variable as the

previous section on social capital, that of civic welfare and its benefits.  It focuses on the

economic and industrial portion of the civic community thesis which posits that communities

with large numbers of small locally owned business will foster higher rates of civic welfare since

these businesses are dependent upon the communities in which they reside.  The overall question

of importance here is: is the economic structure of Morgan City and surrounding areas of St.

Mary Parish compatible with the civic community thesis, and if so, has this raised civic welfare?

The emergence of the oil and gas industry changed the industrial landscape of South Louisiana.

More importantly, with the introduction of off-shore drilling exploration, the oil and gas industry

began to dominate that landscape. Over time the industrial structuring changed within St. Mary

parish from one dominated by large oil companies to a more service oriented economy heavily

dependent upon small localized firms.

There are a variety of reasons for this industrial restructuring.  One reason lies in

advances in communication technologies allowing for large oil industries to operate away from

the actual drilling location. In the developmental period of off-shore extraction many large oil

corporations held executive offices in South Louisiana[7]. Thus the corporate atmosphere was

very exciting with the presence of large industries. However, as communication technologies

progressed the need to have ground operations close to the drilling sites became obsolete. These

companies could relocate to other cities and still have constant communication with the

operations. Thus many local businessmen became involved in the market and opened up their

own smaller drilling firms that worked for the larger corporations that left. The following quotes

highlight how the industrial infrastructure of the area has transitioned from being the location for

the national headquarters of oil industry giants to a more service sector for these industries.

> **61 year old, white male, oil service worker:** "I think South Louisiana was
> traditionally an agricultural community here prior to the development of the oil
> patch. From my earliest memory the oil patch stimulated it because it added a
> different business sector which was a very lucrative sector. All the way from
> trucks hauling service equipment to service companies being located here. My
> only disappointment in the area is because the major oil companies, due to
> improvements in communication and transmissions of data, do not have to be
> located here on the sights. Here in Morgan City we used to have all the majors;
> Shell, Mobil, Exxon. They all had major offices here with major management
> here because they needed to be on the spot where the action was. Today they can
> be in Oklahoma City, Houston, Lafayette, wherever. But the focus of the offshore
> industry started here in Morgan City. These were the predominant businesses that
> were available before Tidewater Marine to all the local boat builders here. We
> were framing all the backbone structures of the service craft that were needed and
> all the offshore sites that were needed. So here is where we started but back then
> the oil patch all had some sort of management structure set up here locally. In
> today's world that doesn't exist anymore."

> **64 year old, white male, mayor:** "But it is a service type industry time that we
> live in, we don't have the high tech offices here. I think that is because where we
> are in relation to the airports and the highways and those sorts of things."

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[7] Industry giants such as Exxon, Texaco, Shell, etc. all had headquarters with various high ranking officials in St.
Mary Parish.

Furthermore, these service industry jobs were locally owned and operated as described below.

> **73 year old, white male, oil service worker:** Many locals who opened up service companies really prospered due to the oil industry. There used to be a lot of welding companies that are not around anymore. Everybody and his brother had a welding truck, they don't anymore."

Another unique aspect of the oil and gas industry that allowed for the incorporation of smaller, service industry is its prolonged presence in the community. Since many other extraction based industries life spans are short, the local work force is not able to move up the occupational ladder. With the oil industry's prolonged presence in South Louisiana, many local workers have been able to acquire expertise in the industry. This added human capital has allowed for the establishment of many service companies which cater to specific needs of the expansive oil and gas industry. These service companies include such support as fabrication yards, boat docks, helicopter bases, shipyards, pipe storage, office equipment, and even catering services. It was a common occurrence for local businessman to shift their self owned business to one catering to the oil industry (Tolbert ed. 2006). For example, many shrimpers converted their shrimp boats to crew boats to transport crews from onshore to the offshore rigs.

> **62 year old, white male, city constable: "**[The] oil industry in Louisiana has been very good to South Louisiana. At one time there was the largest number of millionaires in South Louisiana than anywhere else. The major industry in the area before oil was the fishing and shrimping industry. A lot of the people who had shrimp boats were contacted by the oil industry and turned their boat into some type of oil supply boat. A lot of the people that went into the oil business were in the shrimping business originally. Many of these businesses grew from one boat to fleets of crew boats."

Another catalyst of the introduction of many small service companies was the lack of competition from outside South Louisiana (Gramling and Brabant 1986). There were not many other areas around that were involved in outer continental shelf petroleum exploration and

extraction. This allowed the community to thrive and become experts in the new emerging field. Since there was very little outside competition in the market, communities such as Morgan City were able to corner the market and establish a monopoly on the service industries.

Lastly, the sheer size of the oil and gas industries demands an extensive service industry to operate. Tolbert ed. (2006) states that by 1981 the offshore oil industry in Louisiana was "indirectly responsible for the creation of 83,500 other jobs in construction, maintenance and repair, retail and wholesale trade, business services and 34 other economic sectors" (12). Scott (1981) goes so far to say that for every new job created in the Louisiana oil and gas industry, two new jobs were created in other sectors of the state's economy. Coupled with the lack of competition from outside sources, a vast number of these businesses were developed and maintained in South Louisiana and St. Mary Parish specifically.

The economic conditions of St. Mary Parish and Morgan City are very suitable for an examination of the civic community thesis. One purpose of this research is to ascertain if the abundance of small, locally owned business firms are advantageous by increasing civic welfare and fostering a sense of community. Furthermore, the boom and bust of the oil industry from the 1970's to 1980's offers a social disruption somewhat distinct to this area that may lead to unique findings regarding civic community thesis. For example, did the high in-migration periods experienced during the boom attribute to a lowering of civic welfare due to an influx of migrants? Also, since the bust has there been a rise in civic welfare seen in the community? This question is asked because many respondents have mentioned that after the bust it became apparent the area needed diversification of industry in order to not be totally reliant on the oil industry. This resulted in the incorporation of even more small business firms.

**73 year old white male, oil service worker:** "Many locals who opened up service companies really prospered due to the oil industry. …everybody and his brother had a welding truck…"

**54 year old white male, local newspaper editor:** "There are other companies, service companies, that have made long term commitments to the area."

**36 year old, white male, oil service worker:** "I would say that oil field and support service are still the majority employer within the parish. Most people are either directly tied to it or maybe one degree removed from being directly tied to the oil field. That is still the biggest economic engine that we have in the parish."

The findings are consistent with the civic community thesis. The industrial atmosphere of the area is heavily reliant and dominated by small locally owned businesses. Furthermore, civic membership is endorsed by these locally owned enterprises. A common theme has developed in respondents dictating that small business firms in the area request that their workers engage in civic welfare; either through joining civic groups, volunteering, attending community meetings, etc. There are even many civic groups established based on the petroleum industry[8]. Even smaller civic contributions, often not discussed by social capital or civic welfare literature, are seen throughout the community. In one instance a respondent detailed to me community members who happen to work in the oil industry for various businesses working together to build a backstop for little league baseball.

> **61 year old, white male, real estate agent**: "These guys [oil field employees] had the hammer so to speak. Here is an engineer that works for an oil company that gives this guy all this business. So if he wants to do something with his children, as far as ballparks are concerned, like if they needed another backstop. All he has to do is pick up the phone and call one of his welding buddies and say … 'You got any old pipe around there that you could put together for baseball?' 'Oh, yeah, whatever you want we could do it for ya.' Then they would go out and build it for him. There is nothing wrong with that, the guy is not taking any money for himself, he was helping kids. Now, I don't know if they are allowed to do that today, I doubt it."

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[8] Such as the Petroleum Club, American Petroleum Institute, etc…

This quote demonstrates a community that worked together to solve specific tasks. The end of this quote does hint to a doubting that it happens as much present day. The respondent feels as though businesses have had to adapt and due to contractual negotiations and lawyers they are not able to act as spontaneously as before.

## 5.5 Negative Effects of Off-shore Oil Introduction

As stated in the review of the literature, there are negative effects of high deposits of social capital within certain strata of society. These negative effects ranged from the exclusion of outsiders to heightened expectations for group members. The first negative outcome which will be discussed here describes high levels of social capital hindering the community's ability to adapt to social change. Many respondents indicated that there were a few powerful groups within the area which often stymied growth for their own gain. This exclusivity on the parts of those with high levels of social capital was seen as a negative effect for the community.

### 5.5.1 Exclusivity

One example of a negative outcome found was the effect of dense homogenous networks fostering an initial rejection of newcomers brought in by the oil industry.

> **65 year old, white female, nurse:** "When I came here on weekends with my old roommate from New Orleans nursing school. She took me one day to Berwick where golden farms was just being built. She said 'I am going to take you over to where the oil people live'. I said 'they look like good homes to me.' She said, 'Oh you don't want to fool around with those people.'"

The inability of Morgan City and St. Mary parish to fully integrate and benefit from the off-shore oil industry was a common perception illustrated in the interviews. One respondent[9] went as far to say that starting in the 1950's Morgan City "had the world in our hands" but let it squander away. Others confirmed this assumption stating that Morgan City seemed to have what

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[9] Respondent number 2

they[10] called "a natural resistance" to change.  This resistance was not limited to Morgan City

but was seen in surrounding communities as well.

> **Interviewer:** Do you see people putting money back into the community?
> Investing in it again?
> **45 year old, white male, oil service worker:** Sure, Mardi Gras clubs are one
> thing.  Berwick has always been a bedroom community rather than commerce.  A
> supermarket reopened.  Car dealership opened.  Berwick doesn't have much room
> already for businesses.  The council seems to want their spot to stay the same.
> Bayou Vista is the place where all the new businesses are moving.
> **Interviewer:**  Isn't that the same thing that happened to Morgan City? They
> didn't want new things - they wanted to keep it small?
> **45 year old, white male, oil service worker:**  " The oil companies they wanted.
> But the people that owned the lands around the area [did not want the growth].
> That family still owns many of the [local] companies [businesses] around the
> area.  The Southland Mall in Houma wanted to build in Morgan City, but the
> family wanted too much money.  Same with Nicholls state.  They stifled the
> growth of this area.
> **Interviewer:** If they have that many holdings then they really control of a lot of
> what happens to the area?
> **45 year old, white male, oil service worker:** They have set up a lot of companies
> and then let others run it. Texaco used to be located in the area. They used to have
> their shore bases here like many others.  The leaders in the community did not
> think right and get them the right incentives for them to stay so they left.

This quote is demonstrating powerful groups in the community participating in expressive

action.  Expressive action refers to situations where highly homogenous groups attempt to defend

and maintain their resources (Lin 2001).  The higher these groups are on the social ladder often

the easier it is to maintain their resources.  Some causal implications for not allowing growth in

the community seemed due to the opinion from wealthier families in the community that it was

too much of a personal investment which furthermore lacked future benefits.

> **79 year old, white male, oil company employee:** "[A] bank and [some] families
> did not want to turn the land they owned loose.
> **Interviewer:** "Why didn't they want to turn it loose?"

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[10] Respondent number 1

**79 year old, white male, oil company employee:** "[One] was a head business man, started from a horse and buggy and made a franchise. They bought anything. [They are the] wealthiest family. They would have sold a bunch of land. They did sell a bunch of land, but not the land in town. The big shopping center in Houma wanted to move in. They wanted help with the development of the land. They wanted the [family] to come in and pave all the roads, put all the sewage and lights. It would have cost millions of dollars then. [The family] asked for help. But the city of Morgan City turned them down.

**72 year old, white male, oil company employee:** "Another reason is because [a political official] hated the oil people. [They] didn't want to make Morgan City bigger, he wanted to keep it small. [They] attempted to keep the rent high to keep oil workers out. Made workers move to outlying areas."

This quote brings in another major player of the area not fully embracing the industry into the area. Others commented to [a political official's] unwillingness to fully develop the area.

**79 year old, white male, barber:** "[One political official] was a guy that was very dedicated to Morgan City but was hardheaded. Morgan City grew in spite of [him] but it could have grown more if he had a vision. In Morgan City it was [a couple of families] who did not sell land. In Berwick, [a New Orleans] bank owned all the land. They took it from the farmers. The area was primarily farming …The oil companies were going to come in and settle on Avoca Island - they turned it down because they were going to take all the farm land people. So they didn't let our area grow, the big shots that owned farm land stymied our area. They didn't want the oil companies to take their workers so they would not sell the land to let them come in. They were also afraid of losing their oil rights on their land.

This respondent is noting when local families would not sell land in order to maintain their resources, in this case their labor force. This respondent later went to further describe that local business owners did not sell the land in fear of competitors moving into the area.

**Interviewer:** What about when other companies that wanted to come in, not just oil companies?

**79 year old, white male, barber:** They would not release the land. They would not even let people offer them money. I tried to get the mayor to excommunicate the property. When you raised hell enough, they would give you a little piece. For example, the high school. [One] family still will not sell the land. I couldn't even build a fire station because the land was owned by [them]. [The] bank has just now started selling their land because they are now in the business of selling homes…In Morgan City you had [a couple of families]. [One is] just starting to

sell their land. Another reason for not selling the land is that the [family] didn't want any competition. They had their money in a lot of local businesses.

Many respondents commented that Morgan City did not take full advantage of the industry because leaders in the area did not require that the companies set roots in the area. This led to the larger industrial players moving from the area when it was logistically possible to do so.

> **61 year old, white male, real estate agent:** I think one thing that he didn't do that he could have done. He didn't get the oil companies to set roots in Morgan City. If they put their bases in the area maybe they would not have up and left so soon…He liked the small town community.

As Portes (1998) states, one negative aspect of groups with high levels of social capital is the rejection of outsiders. The following quote illustrates this:

> **65 year old, white male, oil service employee:** What pops into my mind is that [a local political official] called a bunch of the people outsiders. He didn't want them to be involved in the community. In spite of that, the local people embraced most of the outsiders coming in. I can tell you when I came here in 59, most of the people treated me as well as I ever want to be treated.

However, the later part of the previous quote illustrates that only some of the political leaders in the community seemed to have this view. This further illustrates the heightened propensity for expressive action between high socially positioned actors.

> **Interviewer:** Who do you think has not benefited from the oil industry?
> **65 year old, white male, oil service worker:** I think [some] of the prominent families. They made money personally but they did not do anything for the infrastructure of Morgan City. They had lots of opportunities … maybe that is unfair to them. I think they hurt it. I think [they] hurt this city by trying to keep it a small village, fishing village, small south Louisiana town. We could have had a lot more going for us those days and [they] fought it every step of the way from happening here. I think that is when Houma and Thibodeaux kicked our butts. We could have had Southland mall here, we could have had a college [Nicholls State] here. There are so many things we could have had here but [some of them] personally didn't want it.

5.5.2 Effects on Fear of Crime

The local's perceptions of the newcomers heavily influenced their interactions and integration to the community. There were two distinct types of new comers according to the locals which were heavily based on occupation and class. However, another crucial predictor of acceptance was based on expected benefits. New comers who were seen to lay stakes in the community and have the ability to give something back were much more valued than temporary non-skilled labor. As the following quotes illustrate the locals perceptions of newcomers to the area ranged from the good, the bad, and the ugly.

> **75 year old, white male, judge:** "many of these people [newcomers] were good honest hardworking men and women. But also included in this group were criminals, degenerates, sex offenders, and others who preyed on our local population".

> **43 year old, white male, police officer:** "these people came from different walks of life. You got the good and the bad with it too. There was times when the law enforcement here had to change their uniforms three times a night because they got in so many fights. People would be going to bar rooms and getting intoxicated and causing big brawls."

The first group was the white collar professionals, often referred to as the engineers by respondents. These individuals were relocated to the area from adjourning states by their employers. These migrants were typically viewed very positively by the locals in the community.

> **53 year old, white male, museum caretaker:** "the people [white collar workers] had better educations and lived in big homes … they were an upper class row of people."

This positive image did not come immediately. The overall impression was that even the white collar workforce was not accepted at first. It was only when the local community

began to see that this group would benefit the community monetarily, civically, etc… that

they accepted them with open arms.  The following quote portrays this theme.

> **45 year old, white female, administrative assistant:** "Well, the more high powered executives, like you say your engineers, they put money into the community.  They raised their families here.  They joined civic organizations, they went to church.  They got involved, I guess you would say."

One the other side of the spectrum, were the non-skilled, seasonal workers that made up

the blue collar workforce that migrated to the area.  These individuals were not viewed positively

from the local population, and were even ostracized from the community.  This next quote

exemplifies the different perceptions of the two groups by the established population which was

heavily reliant upon reciprocity.

> **54 year old, white male, local newspaper editor:** "[T]here is a big difference between the management level people [and the blue collar workers] that were here at one time.  It's that they were very vital in the community structure.  They were coaching youth recreation league teams, they were leading members in the church community, they were holding office in the civic organizations.  The other roughneck [blue collar worker] type person.  It would have been an exception if one of those people belonged to a Kiwanis club, rotary club, or the KC's or something like that."

The blue collar, non skilled labor migrants were never accepted by the locals.  There were seen

as far detached from the local community and often as just bad people.

> **66 year old, white male, CEO of service company:** "They had no moral values. Not all of them, you did have some great people come through here.  But you also had riffraff…these people were not desirable."

Furthermore, the local population did not see a dedication to the community by these in migrants

due to their seasonal labor and not putting down stakes in the community.  In short, the present

community saw no incentives to integrate this new population.

**25 year old, white male, sheriff patrol deputy:** "The roughnecks, they came over here to collect a paycheck.

**54 year old, white male, dentist:** "you had a lot of people that were not educated but could still get jobs on boats working off-shore. We had a much higher transient population. You had more people drifting in and out."

Due to this perception of the lack of expected benefits these workers were ostracized from the local population. Another key variable in the disjuncture between these groups was a general fear of the criminality of the blue collar workers.

**51 year old, white male, oil field service worker:** "You used to see the riffraff walking the street. Probably in the 70's, it was just, you know, the old saying? Scum of the Earth?"

This criminality is further highlighted by the following quote

**43 year old, white male, police officer:** "These guys are fly by night guys, they work here a couple of weeks, make some money, then go or commit a crime and hurry up and go somewhere else. Then you have people that commit a crime in other parts of the country and would come here to blend in … they could be murderers, rapists, bank robbers and so on."

It was critical for the locals to view the white collar workers as a benefit to the community for their acceptance. As stated earlier the social relations between actors that generate social capital are very reliant upon reciprocity. And this was very true in this community's decision to either accept or ostracize the different workers than came in with the oil rush. This reciprocity was normally dictated according to if the workers brought in their families. By bringing in their families the community felt the workers planned on staying awhile and also they had an incentive, their children, for the community to prosper.

**25 year old, white male, sheriff:** "The [white collar workers] brought their families here. They tried to make a better living for themselves and their family. The [blue collar workers] brought themselves and only themselves."

**53 year old, white male, police officer:** "The engineers, the upper echelon, made sure that their children were provided more education. These, they called them oil field trash, they just made room with what they had. All they wanted was a paycheck."

**45 year old, white female, administrative assistant:** "they raised their families here. They got involved."

These perceptions played into how the locals interacted with the newcomers. Based on what social capital literature would predict, the white collar workers who were highly trusted by the local community and felt to be beneficial to the community, were brought into the community's civic and social organizations. The next quotes illustrate how these individuals were included in civic and social organizations and integrated into the community.

**61 year old, white male, real estate agent:** "The city would call on them a lot of times for help."

**60 year old, white female, retired:** "they joined the different organizations … all of us made very good friends both ways. Because they wanted to be involved in the community, we wanted them to be involved in the community. We invited them to join our clubs, to come to lunch with us, to do anything."

Their stake in the community is emphasized by the following quote.

**61 year old, white male, real estate agent:** "They did everything here they would have done in their home town"

In summary I find high trust shown towards the skilled labor brought in due to a belief in future reciprocity that will benefit the community. This trust encouraged the interaction between residents and forged weak ties and bridging capital. These weak ties were formed and built upon through interaction in civic and social groups.

This lack of acceptance of the blue collar workers, which was dictated by deficits of trust and reciprocity, led to their increasing levels of fear of crime. Respondents often claimed that

crime drastically rose during these time periods[11].  The overwhelming perpetrator of this crime

according to respondents was the non-skilled labor that was brought in during the boom periods.

> **79 year old, white male, oil company employee:** "The city became an unsafe
> place as far as the old timers were concerned."

> **60 year old, white female, local church employee:** "When I was a little girl we
> did not lock our doors.  When the oil people came in people started locking their
> doors."

This lack of trust and integration allowed for rumors to spread throughout the community

regarding the new workers coming to the area.  Many of these rumors posited that the majority of

blue collar workers coming to the area were criminals evading the law.  It was felt that the

unique schedule of off-shore drilling was enticing to evading criminals because when they were

offshore they were out of reach from authorities.

> **79 year old, white male, barber:** "Then all of a sudden bunk houses started
> taking anybody and not asking them any questions.  That brought in a lot of felons
> from out of state … the law enforcement had problems and problems during this
> time."
> **Interviewer:** "What happened with crime during this time?"
> **79 year old, white male, barber:** "Crime went up."
> **Interviewer:** "What about fear of crime?"
> **79 year old, white male, barber:** "It went up plenty because we always had
> fights. Front street was all bars.  But then when that first murder happened, that
> really brought it up."

In relation to Social capital and fear of crime it was found to play a factor in both

lowering possible fear of crime rates in the community but also raising them.  This community

had many civic and social groups and high levels of social capital.  This aspect lead the

community to be very selective of who it allowed to contribute.  The blue collar workers due to

their lack of stakes in the community were excluded from the many social capital generating

groups and were exploited by this community.  This isolation and exploitation began a process

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[11] However literature shows this not to be the case (Lutha, Bankston, Kalich and Forsythe, 2007)

where rumors about the group were not able to be defended and an overwhelming negative stigma was placed on the group. This exclusion and lack of trust lead the native population to be ever increasingly fearful of this group

> **25 year old, white male, sheriff patrol deputy:** "It was just we didn't really trust the oil field people"

> **38 year old, white male, police officer:** "Trust went down.  I know growing up it went from a very open community to one where you always had to keep your doors locked.  We were not allowed to play in the streets after it got dark."

These sentiments led to a lowered perception of neighborhood cohesion.  Furthermore, these views lead the community to isolate themselves from the blue collar workers.  This began a reciprocal process that even further strained ties between the groups and lead to more fear of these outsiders.

> **53 year old, white female, environmental activist:** "The locals thought the city degraded."

> **62 year old, white male, oil field service employee:** "Front street was bar after bar."

However for the white collar field engineers, the group that had both high trust and high reciprocity they were integrated into the already existing social and civic organizations in this community.  They were allowed to do this due to high levels of trust.  Also, unlike the blue workers whose status in the community relegated a reciprocal effect of lowered trust from the local population, blue collar engineers experience the opposite.  Due to their heightened levels of trust seen by the local community, which is very heavily influenced by their commitment to the community seen by them bringing in their families, the ties between the locals and this group were formed early and strengthened.  Thus the high rates of social capital for these two groups led to no increases in fear of crime by the locals to this new group coming in which might have been predicted.

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### 5.5.3 Fear of Crime Discussion

This dissertation found that the concept of social capital played a dual role in both lowering fear of crime in an area while also playing an exacerbating role. Which role was played was heavily decided upon by the interaction of the social capital variables of trust and reciprocity. As social capital literature foreshadows individuals migrating to the area that were seen as highly trustworthy with a high chance of future reciprocal activities within the community were actively sought and integrated to the community. On the other hand individuals who came in that were seen as not trustworthy and to not have any significant stakes in the community were rejected. These assumptions were often made based on first impressions of social status and not through interaction.

When newcomers were accepted they were asked to join civic and social groups. This would lead to a reciprocal process of forming and strengthening weak ties. Over time these individuals became standing members and leaders of the community and were never seen as potential threats or feared by long standing residents. On the other side the opposite occurred, where individuals were outcast due often to their job titles and descriptions. This group never formed ties with the community. Furthermore, this allowed for rumors and speculation of the groups criminality to transmit among the long standing population. The lack of social capital from the beginning, due to deficits in trust and reciprocity, never allowed this group to integrate with the community. Over time this reluctance to integrate lead to a downward spiral where blue collar workers became viewed more negatively over time leading to significantly higher levels of fear of crime shown by the community.

5.5.4 Exploitation

Another negative consequence of high levels of social capital was generated from the probability of exclusion of those that are not part of the group. The following quote illustrates how locals physically distanced themselves from the unskilled labor force.

> **53 year old, white female, environmental activist:**"there were two areas of town. The bars and the pool halls where the [blue collar] workers where and the other parts of town where those people would not go. The locals knew where to go and where not to go."

Once again due to this group having low amounts of trust and reciprocation there were not accepted into social networks. Furthermore, they fully excluded and shunned by the local community.

> **45 year old, white female, city employee:** "With all the transient workers, the community really kind of shut down and closed themselves in."

Building on the theme presented in the last section, this section will highlight not only the exclusion and fear of blue collar workers but ultimately their exploitation. Many businesses exploited these workers and were not criticized for it based on the low deficits of social capital of the workers. That is to say that the local community viewed the unskilled labor force coming in as unwanted criminals and did not object to their harsh treatment. The following quotes tell the story of this exploitation.

> **51 year old, white male, oil field service employee:** "Some businesses would take advantage of people … they would sell them food, clothes, places to sleep. They would work them all day. By the time it was all said and done they worked basically just for room and board in these bunkhouses."

The previous quote highlights exploitation of workers through wages. Many times blue collar workers moving to the area for labor were ushered into bunk house labor forces. Here they found themselves in what closely resembled indentured servitude. Workers pay would first go to their employer and then later to the worker. However, what is not

highlighted in the lat quote which further exemplifies the exploitation is that the costs of such items as clothing or food or room and board were exorbitant which further lead to the workers not getting proper pay for their work. The following quote illustrates. It also illustrates the hidden nature of these exploitations when the respondent states "I could get killed for this shit".

> **79 year old, white male, barber:** "Now later on as oil got really booming then they started bringing the bunkhouses because they didn't have enough workers. So what they would do is if you are a young man from Indiana and want to work in the summers, a lot of local people got into the bunk house business. When bunk houses first came in it was alright. Here is what they would do, I could get killed for this shit, they would give the person from Indiana a job; "you are going to be working offshore". The worker would want to stay offshore where they could make money. The worker would go open an account at various businesses like restaurants and clothing stores. Even though you are working off shore you have to open an account with these people in order to get your steel toed boats and other work stuff. You don't have any money at first so your first pay check will be used to pay them and to pay for your stay in the bunk house for the full time. Even the time when you are offshore! People took advantage of all the young people. When you would be in town [young non skilled labor] would go to the restaurant and eat but [they] would even have to pay for the times [they] weren't there. Then all of a sudden bunk houses started taking anybody and not asking them any questions. That brought in a lot of felons from out of state. Then they had the serial murders. The law enforcement had problems and problems during this time. So they passed legislation that people had to ask the workers questions before they hired them. But I don't think they every actually went through with that policy. I was [government official] and I had a lot of problems regulation bunk houses and making sure they were up to code. Bunk houses came during the boom. This was when they couldn't get enough workers so they had to bring all these people in from out of state. They would give you minimum wage or 10 dollars and hour but they were making 30 off of you. First thing you had to do when you got back from offshore you had to go pay for your clothing bill, then your restaurant bill, and then something else.

Workers wages were not the only way these 'bunk house' employers exploited their ostracized work force. Respondents spoke of how blue collar workers employers would often aim to put them in disadvantaged positions. For example, the following

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quote illustrates how they would outfit workers with drugs or alcohol only to later force

them into rehab institutions in which they were in charge of.

> **90 year old, white male, oil company employee:** "They would take advantage of the off-shore workers.  The companies would give the workers drugs and alcohol on the ride back and then put them in a drug rehab center when they got back.  The drug rehab center would overcharge them for items such as clothing and cigarettes .  By the time they came back in they owed them their whole check."

Clearly this portion of the labor force was exploited.  While the main reason they were

exploited was due to it being in the best interest of those who they were working for.  However,

were social capital comes to play is in the communities turning the other way when faced with

the reality of this exploitation.  The majority of the community knew what was going on but did

not take action.  This was directly influenced by their low perception of these workers.  These

workers were not viewed as wanted guests and thus were not properly integrated into the

community.  They were in turn ostracized even shunned by the local population.  This allowed

local residents to distance themselves from the labor force and to rationalize their exploitation.

This rationalization came through the justification that the workers were all criminals and they

deserved the treatment.  It was only a small percentage of locals that viewed the exploitation

from the lens show in the above respondents.

# Chapter VI: Discussion and Conclusions

## 6.1 Inappropriateness of the Boom-Town Model to Gulf Oil Extraction

One of the industrial features of oil and gas extraction is its cycle of expansion and contraction in supply and demand. As noted in the beginning of this dissertation, it has been suggested this pattern is analogous to boomtowns. While this may be the case for western boomtowns, the social history of Morgan City and nearby communities of St. Mary Parish, Louisiana indicate otherwise. The boomtown social impact model is simply not applicable to offshore oil. If one looks at company/mining towns of the western United States, that concept may be relevant. The towns were created and then disappeared or nearly did. Hence, the term "ghost town" is a feature of the west. Conversely, there are no such created "company towns" and/or abandoned places associated with offshore oil development. The demand for offshore oil has never stopped. This demand has moved up and down over the short run and up over the long term. But the ideology that pervades the oil industry and the community is that the industry will return because the demand is always there. Oil, like many other industries and the jobs associated with it, has varying demand overtime. Members of the community have learned to persist in this cycle. This unsettled character is an expected characteristic of the industry (Luton and Cluck 2002; Forsyth and Gauthier 1991).

Furthermore, the negative outcomes of boom-town literature were not found in this research. The positive benefits to the area have remained in the area. The local community was able to adapt and incorporate themselves within the industry. This fostered a middle class that still exists in the community today. Along with these positive economic benefits came increased aspirations for the local residents. These diversified worldviews have remained among the community residents.

The infrastructure that was introduced in the area is also still intact and maintained. The cultural additions as well as community resources still are present in the community. Lastly the economic, cultural, and social capital that was produced in the area still remains.

## 6.2 Mixed Findings of Social Disorganization Theory

This research finds that communities experience massive population turbulence will not always show negative results. Social disorganization posits that communities which experience large amounts of population turnover will show negative effects due to a weakening of community integration. However, this dissertation implicates various social safeguards from this negative change. The utilization of civic and social organizations can mediate or negate the negative impacts of population turnover. These organizations can also help to properly integrate previously homogenous communities that have become increasing diverse with population migration.

The research presented here did not only find positive effects of community growth due to population increases. That is to say that in some areas the predictions of social disorganization theory did turn up. For instance, if the incoming population was seen as different from the local population there was often fear of this group and actions taken to distance them from the local population. Here, the theoretical implications of social disorganization did work. It does seem that when the population turnover is one which the local population views as hostile community problems will arise. In this research those problems were heightened fear of crime, not achieving certain community goals, and exploitation of incoming work force.

## 6.3 Civic and Social Organizations Ability to Dampen the Impact of Social Growth

One of the larger findings of this dissertation pertains to the ability of civic and social organizations to inhibit the negative effects of social growth. A lot of sociological literature and research have found that social change, especially rapid social growth, brings with it negative effects for communities. However, this dissertation finds that there are resources, often already found in many communities, that can be utilized to hasten this effect if not stop it. According to this research, civic and social organizations within the studied communities were able to utilize these organizations and from that did not see quite as many negative effects which may have been predicted through traditional sociological theory.

There are several explanatory reasons for why civic and social organizations were able to protect these off-shore oil communities from negative effects of growth. The first lies simply in community integration. By using civic and social organizations to bring the entrenched local population together with the incoming working population, these communities established and fostered networks and ties between both groups. This was able to contradict the negative effects of growth that is posited by social disorganization theory and the systemic model where residential instability undermines social ties and does not allow them to fully develop.

Another explanation lies in the overall positive effect of civic engagement. Social capital literature and the civic community thesis portray the many positive effects of community involvement. By asking their workers to become involved in the civic community, oil related businesses generated additional social capital for the area.

## 6.4 Importance of the Local's Perception of Incoming Workers

A major variable in the local community's acceptance of newcomers and the forthcoming utilization of civic and social institutions lay in the local's perceptions of the incoming labor

force.  This perception was based on two factors; social economic status and reciprocity.  White collar workers were often looked upon favorably even if it took some time while blue collar workers were often thought of as deviances.  Regarding future reciprocity, the ability for the incoming workers to add to the overall good of the local community was at the forefront of this perception.  The common theme that portrayed an incoming workers dedication to the community was their laying stake in the community.  This was often portrayed through bringing their families with them, purchasing a house, or other indicators of long term involvement within the community.

While civic and social capital institutions were utilized to integrated the newly heterogeneous community, the full utilization of these civic and social organizations was not achieved in all communities.  That is to say, that these organizations did not seek out and include all members of the incoming population.  This research shows that the social economic status of the incoming worker was very important to if they were incorporated in the civic community.  Perhaps, even more important to this process, was the foreseen ability of the incoming migrant to positively contribute to the community.  Workers who were not seen as laying stakes in the community and having personal incentives to see the community thrive in the future or contribute to this process were ostracized by the community.  Quickly two vastly different types of workers were created in the perceptions of the local population.  This often lead to wrongful generalizations and even demonization of the ostracized group.  This finally did lead to the negative effects of a heightened perception of crime which was not valid.

## 6.5 Civic Community Thesis

The findings of the research coincided with the civic community thesis. St. Mary Parish, Morgan City in particular, was unique in its' economic progression with the off-shore oil

industry. Unlike the boom towns in the mid-west, this area was able to adapt to the off-shore oil industry. Furthermore, locally owned businesses which catered to the off-shore oil industry began to permeate the area. This was perhaps possible due to two reasons, first the unique displacement of the larger oil industries due to technology and secondly due to an entrepreneurship shown form local residents.

When the off-shore oil industry was first introduced to the area the larger industry leaders had to have their headquarters and larger offices inside or close to Morgan City. This was primarily due to technological shortcomings that forced the companies to be close to the extraction processes. However, with technological advancement these companies were able to relocate to other areas and oversee the extraction process via communication technologies. This allowed for the establishment of oil field service industries which worked as contracting companies for the larger oil industry. These service industries ranged from staffing agencies, drilling agencies, to catering agencies. These agencies were local and in the framework of local independent companies dictated by the civic community thesis. Thus it became apparent that these companies were very dependent on the community for their own survival. Hence it was not uncommon to see these companies working for the betterment of the community as well as themselves since they perceived their relationship to be mutually beneficial.

Another theme emerged within the data of a local entrepreneurial spirit of the residents. Many residents explained that locals began to adapt to the industry. This was most common of shrimpers turning their shrimp boats into crew vessels for the oil industry due to its high pay rates. Thus, many locals began to foster businesses that became quite large. This added to the already dense civic community. Locally owned businesses became larger, more prosperous, and in higher numbers. This benefited the community immensely.

The area studied in this dissertation reflects the civic community thesis. Locally owned businesses got involved in the community and both the businesses themselves as well as the community profited. One disjuncture of note is the larger oil industries also got involved in the civic community. While the civic community thesis would posit these businesses would not be concerned with the area due to their independence the data showed the opposite to occur in St. Mary Parish. This could be for a multiple of reasons. The industry knew it was invading an area heavily reliant upon the land. Knowing that the oil industry would be destructive to the current economy they might have pushed their workers into the civic community to try to win over the local population. This did seem to happen especially in the realm of shrimpers. Shrimpers were very hesitant to accept the industry due to fear their lively hood would be negatively affected. However, they began to accept them when they got to know the individuals that were coming in. The industry could have also gotten involved for logistically purposes. To train the local population in order to fully integrate them and take advantage of their labor and later their ability to institute service companies.

## 6.6 Fear of Crime

This study integrated two lines of research, social capital and fear of crime. Research on fear of crime in small town/rural communities experiencing rapid population growth has often found that one large contributor to communal and individual fear of crime is that of fear of the stranger or migrating workers. Research on social capital has found that civic and social institutions provide avenues to form and strengthen social bonds between all community members. The findings here illustrate that civic community can mitigate the negative effects of population inflation on fear of crime. In particular, the findings suggest that civic and social institutions can help integrate communities experiencing rapid social growth. This integration allows for long

standing community members to form ties with the incoming labor force. Furthermore, this leads to lowered levels of fear of crime within the community due to a lessened fear of the stranger.

However, all incoming workers were not integrated into community civic and social institutions equally. White collar professionals were much more likely to be incorporated into the community. Their incorporation was reliant upon trust and reciprocity. The local population saw these workers as trustworthy individuals. Furthermore, since these workers were forming stakes in the community, locals believed they had intentions to stay and contribute to the community for the distant future. These factors lead to white collar professionals to be accepted by the local community and properly integrated.

Blue collar non-skilled workers were not treated in this same manner. One possible reason for this could be how the local community was organized before the emergence of the oil industry. Former sociological research has found that groups with high levels of social capital are often exclusionary to outsiders (Portes 1998). These groups have high levels of bonding capital and are very critical of newcomers. Many of this study's respondents described these coastal Louisiana communities this way. Therefore, these groups were very critical of all new comers. This is illustrated by how the white collar professionals were also not accepted at first. However, unlike the white collar professionals, blue collar non-skilled laborers were never accepted by the community. Their low level of social capital in the form of trust and reciprocity did not allow them access or acceptance into the community. They were further isolated and separated from the community. This in turn led to lowered levels of trust of this group by the local population and increased fear of this groups' criminality.

The findings of this study assert the positive nature of community integration on perceptions of crime and disorder that is somewhat independent of objective levels of crime. The findings of this study show how civic and social groups can be utilized by communities experiencing rapid demographic change to buffer some of the negative impacts, in the case of this paper fear of crime. More importantly, the findings presented here show how the lack of integration can lead to various negative effects, such as over inflated perceptions of crime.

## 6.7 Positive Effects of Industrial Restructuring

The community experienced several positive effects of the presence of the off-shore oil industry. Furthermore, these effects were not temporary and are still present within the area. These influences are seen both in the macro community level as well as the individual level outcomes for area residents. These impacts range from progressive cultural additions to the increased personal goals and opportunities of residents.

Morgan City witnessed increased interest in cultural activities with the population boom brought on by the oil industry. During this time the incoming population[12] was not satisfied with the cultural opportunities of the area. These individuals utilized civic and social institutions, such as the American Petroleum Institute, to gather resources to introduce cultural outlets to the area. It was during this time that the municipal auditorium was built. Also these individuals brought in a community concert series to be hosted in this auditorium that is still present today. The merging of the shrimp festival with the oil industry to create the shrimp and petroleum festival is also a sign of the area adapting to incorporate the oil industry into its cultural repertoire.

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[12] Mainly white collar workers

The area also found itself benefiting from the industry through its infrastructure. During this time many infrastructural additions were created as well as the staff to accommodate them was brought to the area. A large hospital was erected to be able to support the influx in population that was not able to be properly treated in the one room building they had before the introduction of this industry. Along with this building also came an incoming labor force to manage it. Many doctors, nurses, dentists, etc… were recruited to the area. This hospital is still functioning in the area today as well as many of the workers that were brought in to manage it.

Along with the macro level positive effects were positive effects for the individuals inhabiting the area. These individuals experienced greater intergenerational mobility through increased educational and occupational opportunities. The industry brought newcomers to the area who were not appeased by the educational system in place. These individuals, along with locals in the community, asked for curriculum additions. They joined the PTA and through their interaction in it demanded such curricula as Geometry, Calculus, and Fine Art to be offered within the local school system. Secondary education in the area was also positively affected by the industry. Industry leaders were big players in the introduction of a college to the area. This college did not only offer classes specifically for the oil industry but also general education as well.

It was not only through increased educational outlets that residents of the area perceived increased mobility. Respondents illustrated a sense of increased goals and opportunities for themselves as well as others. One way this came through was from direct association with employment in the industry. A theme emerged dictating that this industry infused the area with a middle class. However, residents also illustrated a perception of increased worldviews during this time directly attributed to the introduction of a very heterogeneous group to the community.

They state the incoming population brought with it diversity and different lifestyles. Many respondents were introduced to new ways of viewing the world during this time. Many individuals had never thought of college or traveling and became introduced to them through their interactions with the newcomers.

Yet not all impacts to the community were positive during this time. The following section will highlight some of the negative impacts of industrial restructuring and social disruption to the community.

## 6.8 Negative Effects of Industrial Restructuring

Respondents did indicate negative effects on community during this time. The first does not directly deal with the off-shore oil industry but the community players present during the early introduction of the industry. High deposits of social capital lead to expressive action which many respondents felt was beneficial for those actors but detrimental to the progression of the community. However, in regards to the oil industry not all effects were positive either. There were groups who did not benefit from the industry.

A theme emerged within the data of an animosity of respondents to some of the powerful community leaders during the early times of the off-shore oil industry. Many respondents felt these individuals stymied growth. These individuals had very strong ties with each other and utilized their influence to not allow industrial growth through such avenues as not selling land. This was assumed to occur because these individuals were afraid of outside competition in the markets they already dominated (housing, commercial, etc…). The animosity was very large and respondents often spoke of lost potential to the area.

Another negative effect directly dealt with the oil industry. This direct link was not through the larger oil companies themselves but the many local businesses that serviced them.

These businesses often brought in outside menial labor and supplied the industry. However, some of these groups exploited their workers. This lead to an indentured servitude of the lower portions of the labor force. The local community turned a blind eye to this occurrence mainly due to dichotomy that formed between the two groups. The locals viewed these individuals as highly deviant and deserving of the way they were treated.

## 6.9 Implications

The main implication of this study rests on the positive nature of community integration. For many decades sociological studies have shown the positive benefit of integration. Much sociological literature in the realm of social capital focuses on the concept's ability to foster a sense of community. Furthermore, previous studies have consistently shown the detrimental effects to overall community integration[13] that community change and growth can bring. The findings of this study show how civic and social groups can be utilized by communities experiencing rapid demographic change to buffer some of the negative impacts. More importantly, the findings presented here show how the lack of integration can lead to various negative effects, such as over inflated perceptions of crime.

Another implication for future research is the closer examination of the intricacies of population mobility. Unlike past social theories the research presented here from varied effects of population mobility on community organization. Not all migration and demographic transitions have the same outcome. While in some cases population turbulence was negative in this community there were also many positive benefits.

Furthermore, the variance within population migration needs to be highlighted within future research. That is to say that not all migrants are the same or perceived the same by the

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[13] Between long standing citizens as well as long standing citizens and new comers and newcomers to each other.

local community.  Research needs to disaggregate the incoming or outgoing population and not lump them into the same characteristics.  For as this study shows differences between individuals during population turbulence are very important to their subsequent effect on the community.

The last implication of this research points to the possible inappropriate assumption of social disruption literature of an outmigration of all forms of capital.  This research shows that the advances in capital a community experiences during rapid growth will not all deteriorate when the growth slows or stops.  Economic, cultural, and social capital permeates and survives even when those that fostered it leave.

## 6.10 Limitations of Present Dissertation

One limitation of the current research appears in the demographics of the sample.  The snowball sampling lead to a sample that consisted of roughly 75 percent of those interviewed pertaining to white collar employment.  This artifact of the sampling technique may create a sampling bias and lead one to overlook important insights about newcomers from the perspective of the lower and working class residents of the community.  Perhaps, these groups may see an influx of blue-collar workers as positive for the community while viewing the influx of white collar workers as strengthening of the hegemony of local elites.  A second limitation of this current study deals with the amount of newcomers, both white collar and blue collar who were interviewed.  Local residents amounted for roughly 67 percent of the sample, leaving less than 40 percent of the data to reflect views of outsiders.  These limitations lead to several recommendations of future research.  Future studies should aim for a more egalitarian sample based on employment or perhaps even on that is focused on white collar workers.  Through this sample, a more holistic view of social attitudes on fear of crime could be attained.  Another interesting and significant avenue of research incorporates the newcomers themselves.

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Accessing thick descriptions from their point of view could open up more insight on the foci of this research. Existing Research points to boom migrants as having higher levels of fear of crime than their local counterparts (Hunter et. al., 2002).

The nature of the sample obviously limits the external validity of the results, but is supported by other research ( Forsyth, Luthra and Bankston 2007). Nevertheless, my findings clearly do suggest the need for research sensitive to the diversity of possible effects, and not bound to the inherent assumption of the boom/bust model that the social impact of oil extraction is inherently detrimental to social and cultural integration. Generally, the perceptions of the respondents suggest the presence of the oil and gas industry and the various kinds of support industries it has delivered have not disrupted communities, but has brought immediate higher SES for families and in time, social capital and social mobility for their children, has contributed significantly to building the community. Auspiciously, the ideas and findings generated by this research should encourage further inquiries, and will propagate new models and paradigms, with which to investigate the effects of oil development or other mining activities.

## 6.11 Implications for Future Research

There are a variety of different avenues and caveats this research can take in the future. The first deals with a limitation of the current study, its low sampling of African Americans. Second, future research can incorporate the findings here with new literature on crime. Third, the present study can be expanded to look at other cases of community change based on industrial restructuring.

This study had an 8% African American sample. The data indicate that African Americans had experienced a very different effect from the offshore oil industry. There were 5 basic differences. First, no Africans Americans who had established service companies seemed to

benefit from the expansion of OCS activity. Second, few Africans Americans attained

supervisor level positions and those that did were later demoted. In one such case the man was

promoted when newcomers came in and demoted with newcomers left. Third, some had no

recognition or experiences with a boom/bust cycle. Things did not get better or worse, indeed

their experiences seemed flat. This is indicative of many rural parts of the south during the Great

Depression, where Southerners commented their lives had not changed; they were poor before,

during, and afterward the Great Depression. Fourth, the flow of African Americans with social

capital out of the community is higher than that of whites; perhaps indicating that other areas

offered more for educated individuals. This indeed may not be different than the continual flow

of blacks out of the Deep South. And lastly, few African Americans migrated to the area.

I feel that these differences merit further study. The question addressed in the present

project is to examine more systematically the degree to which the substantial fluctuations in the

economic environment of South Louisiana's oil patch has interacted with or influenced social

biographies and social change among African Americans. The project will utilize a 100 percent

African American sample.

During the last several decades Blacks have made progress moving into jobs traditionally

reserved for whites. Barriers have been removed and racial differences in the occupations of

employed men have substantially decreased, and among women, a continuation of recent trends

implies an elimination of racial differences in occupations. Such sweeping generalizations do

not describe experiences within particular sectors of employment nor familial/individual ordeals

and successes, including intra-generational and inter-generational mobility, within and out of

sectors. The findings within this population suggest a specific need to revisit this research using

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a 100% African American sample the study. This will continue to build upon a long history of MMS research in this area by focusing on African Americans.

Another avenue of future research is the linking of this type of community study with community social control. There is a large body of recent criminology literature which investigates the interplay of community cohesiveness or collective efficacy on crime (Roncek 1981; Smith and Joanna 1986; Sampson and Groves 1989; Sampson, Raudenbush et. al., 1997; Sampson 1998; Rosenfeld, Messner, et. al., 2001; Morenoff, Sampson, and Raudenbush 2001; Lee and Bartowski 2003). While this study did examine the effects of community disruption on fear of crime, this is as far as the data allowed this examination to go. Future research could examine if crime is affected in communities witnessing population turbulence during industrial restructuring. Furthermore, this research could examine if social and civic institutions were utilized to try to combat rising crime rates if they were occurring. This examination would look into the positive benefits to informal social control that these institutions could have during rapid population migration.

Another avenue of future research would be an examination of other communities that are experiencing a large population migration due to industrial restructuring. This research would highlight this process especially when the incoming group is seen as deviant. How generalizable are the findings of this study were the 'deviant' incoming group was distanced from the local population and finally exploited. Agricultural markets that are experiencing large incoming Hispanic populations may show some of the same impacts as the present study. Furthermore, how are these groups able to establish themselves in the community? Do they always reject as was the case with blue collar workers in the current study or do some try to navigate into the civic and social community?

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# Appendix A: Interview Guide

### Informed Consent (Read to respondent first and get consent)

All the information we will gather today will be held as strictly confidential.  Also at any time during the interview if you would wish to stop just say so and we will terminate the interview. Would you have any problems with us recording the interview?

### Basic background information for the research (to read to the respondent)

Our research interest is in the off shore oil industries effect on the social fabric of Morgan City and St. Mary Parish.  We are attempting to gather family histories of which your own families experience is highly valuable.  We are particularly interested in how the community changed since the discovery of offshore oil and which of these changes are directly related to oil.  For example we would like to know what opportunities oil has allowed to residents of Morgan City especially the younger generations.  We would also be appreciative of any information regarding civic and social organizations in the area and how those have changed or been influenced by the presence of the off shore oil industry.

### Basic background information for the research (for the interviewee)

This research project is funded by the mineral management service.  The purpose of the research is to gauge change in the communities of St. Mary Parish since the introduction of the off shore oil industry.  We are using the theoretical concept of social capital to evaluate this change.  Put simply social capital is the social connections between individuals and groups and the utilization of these connections for some form of gain.  We will not be using the term social capital with the respondents; instead we will use words such as social fabric, social characteristics, social cohesion, etc…  Previous research normally highlights the negative effects of the offshore oil industry on society.  However, we are focused on the possible positive effects this industry has given the community, such as increased opportunities, more civic organizations, etc…  For example if the respondent' s children were able to move away due to the opportunities afforded to them by the oil industry we see that as a positive and not a negative impact.  Of course we are still interested in any negative impacts the oil industry has attributed to the community, please gather this information as readily as information on positive impacts.  Some of the main themes we are interested in are how the respondent's personal and family life has been changed due to the oil industry, how civic organizations have been effected or ultimately created due to the impact of the industry, and how the general societal conditions of St. Mary parish have changed.

### Interview Guide

1. Record the social demographic characteristics of the respondent.  Gather his/her name, age, gender, and occupation
2. Gather family background.
   a. How long has your family lived in Morgan City/St. Mary Area?

b. If more than one generation, do you know the kind of work your relatives did and how much schooling they had?

c. Ask the respondent how much schooling he/she has and what is/was his/her occupation.

d. Gather information on possible children or grandchildren. Do they still live in the area? If so, what do they do? If children have left where did they go? What kind of work do they do – is it related to oil production in any way? What kind of education did they receive? Did they go to college?

e. How were the education opportunities of the respondent's family affected by the oil industry? Did any members take advantage of scholarships offered by oil related organizations? How has the public school system changed due to the effect of the oil industry? Has it gotten better or worse?

3. Information on relationship between respondent's family and the oil industry.
   a. Describe how your family has been related to the oil industry over the years?
   b. Do you think you or others before you would have left if oil would not have come to Morgan City?
   c. What kind of opportunities did it provide for members of your family?
   d. Do you think the petroleum industry has enabled traditional occupations and activities to continue that might have otherwise disappeared? E.g. shrimping or farming? Has it contributed to the decline of any, if so what?

4. General information on St. Mary Parish
   a. How did the community change after the discovery of off shore oil?
      i. How many new people came to town?
      ii. What were these people like?
      iii. Can you distinguish between the engineers that were brought in and the bunk house workers?
         1. Could you describe the two?
         2. How were they different in their interactions with the community? Did they join civic and social organizations?
         3. Would you say either had a stake in the community. Would you say either cared about the community? If yes to either what did they do to show this?
   b. Did the way the resident's of St. Mary parish interact with each other change due to the oil industry?
      i. Did people trust each other as much as before?
   c. How did the local's treat or view the new comers to the area that came in based on the oil industry and vice versa?
   d. Were people able to more easily obtain personal goals (ex. Jobs) now or before the oil industry?

5. Personal interaction with the industry
   a. Personally were there positive or negative benefits from your interaction with the off shore oil industry?
   b. Are you able to more easily obtain personal goals (jobs, favors, etc…) now or before the oil industry?
   c. When the bust of the 1980's occurred, what did you do?

    d. Who do you think has not benefited from the oil industry or did not take advantage of its opportunities?

6. Information on civic and social organizations
    a. What kinds of civic and social organizations do you or members of your family belong to?  If involvement in associations how long have they been associated with them?
    b. What kinds of activities does the association sponsor?
    c. Do you know of or think there is any connection between the presence of the oil industry around this area and the organization's viability?
    d. Thinking about the history and membership of the association, how has the membership changed over the years?  Has it grown or declined?
    e. Do the members live outside of the community?
    f. How do people become involved in the organization?
    g. Has the focus of the organization changed?
    h. Do you think the association contributes to the community's ability to solve problems?  If yes please state examples or further explain.
    i. Ask respondents who are in organizations as well as those that are not about their personal beliefs on how civic and social organizations have changed due to oil.
        i. Are there more now that before?
        ii. Do they sponsor more civic events than before?
        iii. Are these organizations more able to achieve their goals due to the presence of the offshore oil industry?

# Appendix B: Respondent List

| Respondents | Age | Work in Oil (1=yes; 2=no) | Profession | Native to area (1=yes 2=no) | Sex (1= male; 2= female | Race (1=white 2=non-white) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 79 | 1 | oil/shell | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 72 | 1 | oil/shell | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 3 | 90 | 1 | oil/shell | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 4 | 80 | 0 | homemaker | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 5 | 78 | 1 | Phillips | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 6 | 70 | 0 | homemaker | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 7 | 73 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 8 | 70 | 0 | insurance | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 9 | 74 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 10 | 55 | 0 | teacher | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 11 | 53 | 0 | retired | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 12 | 60 | 0 | retired | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 13 | 62 | 0 | city counsel | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 14 | 54 | 0 | Newspaper | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 15 | 45 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 16 | 92 | 0 | health | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 17 | 55 | 0 | bank | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 18 | 58 | 0 | Episcopal church | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 19 | 74 | 1 | shell | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 20 | 70 | 1 | Kerr Mcgee | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 21 | 79 | 0 | barber | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 22 | 46 | 0 | principle | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 23 | 65 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 24 | 48 | 0 | retired | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 25 | 60 | 0 | retired | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 26 | 60 | 0 | retired | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 27 | 50 | 0 | Secretary | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 28 | 32 | 0 | Church | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 29 | 80 | 0 | Owns Business | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 30 | 60 | 0 | church | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 31 | 62 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 32 | 77 | 1 | Exxon | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 33 | 70 | 0 | teacher | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 34 | 61 | 0 | reality | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 35 | 65 | 0 | nurse | 0 | 0 | 1 |

| 36 | 63 | 0 | teacher | 1 | 0 | 1 |
|----|----|---|---------|---|---|---|
| 37 | 79 | 1 | Shrimp/oil | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 38 | 74 | 0 | homemaker | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 39 | 54 | 0 | Kemper | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 40 | 65 | 1 | retired | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 41 | 65 | 1 | retired | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 42 | 25 | 0 | Sheriff | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 43 | 42 | 0 | Air Force | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 44 | 50 | 0 | museum director | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 45 | 54 | 0 | school board | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 46 | 45 | 0 | secretary | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 47 | 57 | 0 | bank CEO | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 48 | 59 | 0 | business owner | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 49 | 52 | 0 | city | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 50 | 53 | 0 | police | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 51 | 69 | 0 | insurance | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 52 | 67 | 0 | city | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 53 | 38 | 0 | police | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 54 | 43 | 0 | police | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 55 | 44 | 0 | business owner | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 56 | 54 | 0 | dentist | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 57 | 30 | 0 | police | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 58 | 71 | 0 | business owner | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 59 | 41 | 0 | city | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 60 | 24 | 0 | restaurant mgr | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 61 | 36 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 62 | 50 | 0 | business owner | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 63 | 64 | 0 | mayor | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 64 | 49 | 0 | mayor | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 65 | 45 | 0 | city | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 66 | 42 | 0 | police | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 67 | 62 | 0 | restaurant owner | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 68 | 46 | 0 | restaurant owner | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 69 | 75 | 0 | real estate | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 70 | 73 | 0 | CEO service co. | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 71 | 52 | 0 | manager | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 72 | 50 | 0 | self employed | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 73 | 76 | 1 | contract | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 74 | 77 | 0 | business owner | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 75 | 71 | 0 | doctor | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 76 | 51 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |

| 77 | 62 | 1 | service | 0 | 1 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 78 | 59 | 0 | ceo bank | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 79 | 90 | 1 | service | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 80 | 75 | 0 | judge | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 81 | 86 | 0 | business owner | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 82 | 65 | 0 | writer | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 83 | 60 | 0 | clerk of court | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 84 | 58 | 0 | attorney | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 85 | 60 | 0 | business owner | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 86 | 66 | 1 | service | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 87 | 66 | 0 | port director | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 88 | 50 | 0 | sheriff | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 89 | 61 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 90 | 68 | 0 | attorney | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 91 | 75 | 0 | assessor | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 92 | 50 | 0 | business owner | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 93 | 52 | 0 | v.p. business | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 94 | 41 | 0 | city | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 95 | 77 | 0 | teacher | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 96 | 46 | 1 | CEO Service co | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 97 | 68 | 1 | real estate | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 98 | 57 | 0 | police | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 99 | 58 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 100 | 65 | 1 | service | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 101 | 69 | 0 | business owner | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 102 | 50 | 1 | service owner | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 103 | 48 | 0 | government | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 104 | 65 | 0 | cop | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 105 | 82 | 0 | teacher | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 106 | 71 | 0 | government | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 107 | 66 | 1 | CEO service company | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 108 | 58 | 1 | V.P. service company | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 109 | 60 | 1 | manage | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 110 | 59 | 1 | oil construction | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 111 | 65 | 1 | service owner | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 112 | 56 | 0 | attorney | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 113 | 65 | 0 | own radio station | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 114 | 57 | 0 | OEP dir | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 115 | 62 | 1 | own service co | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 116 | 71 | 1 | own service co | 1 | 1 | 1 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 117 | 69 | 0 | retail | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 118 | 65 | 0 | judge | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 119 | 56 | 0 | city manager | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 120 | 78 | 0 | building inspector | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 121 | 25 | 0 | med tech | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 122 | 41 | 0 | insurance | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 123 | 61 | 0 | House Keeper | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 124 | 34 | 0 | student | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 125 | 35 | 0 | high school teacher | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 126 | 59 | 1 | oil hand | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 127 | 29 | 0 | med tech | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 128 | 34 | 0 | school social work | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 129 | 45 | 0 | social worker | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 130 | 31 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 131 | 32 | 0 | student | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 132 | 64 | 0 | tri city rentals | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 133 | 47 | 0 | salesman | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 134 | 39 | 0 | secretary | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 135 | 85 | 0 | salesman | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 136 | 79 | 0 | home maker | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 137 | 68 | 1 | machinist | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 138 | 53 | 1 | purchasing manager | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 139 | 42 | 1 | warehouse manager | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 140 | 33 | 1 | cost analyst | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 141 | 50 | 1 | dispatcher | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 142 | 58 | 1 | Exxon field supervisor | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 143 | 68 | 0 | house wife | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 144 | 42 | 0 | house wife | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 145 | 48 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 146 | 45 | 0 | newspaper | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 147 | 45 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 148 | 69 | 1 | service | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 149 | 62 | 1 | service | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 150 | 38 | 0 | teacher | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 151 | 44 | 1 | admin assistant | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 152 | 45 | 0 | business owner | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 153 | 45 | 0 | clerical | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 154 | 53 | 0 | teacher | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 155 | 55 | 0 | education | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 156 | 77 | 0 | teacher | 1 | 0 | 0 |

# Vita

Timothy C. Brown grew up in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. He attended Louisiana State University for the full extent of his college and graduate career. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in history with a minor in sociology in 2002. He received his Master of Arts degree in sociology in 2005. He will receive his Doctor of Philosophy degree in sociology at the summer 2010 commencement.