Barth's theory of transactional analysis is applied to the community of Tiller, Oregon and its reaction to a development proposal. Community behavior patterns vis-à-vis the development proposal are examined from a processual point of view to determine how these patterns are generated.

The community's history and contemporary situation are described. Data derived from bibliographic and field research are presented to illustrate transactions involving reciprocity in the community. A generative model is formulated to depict the constraints and incentives channeling decision-making in the transactions.

It is concluded that a transactional analysis is an appropriate tool for examining the community development process and for specifying critical elements in development. The analysis revealed cultural evaluations and therefore provided an indirect means for engaging citizen participation and for assessing the development proposal.
Transactional Analysis Applied to a Community Development Issue

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Two major themes are encompassed in this thesis: community and community development. A prerequisite to the formulation of community development efforts is an understanding of the community to be affected. This is a two-fold operation which concerns itself first with a description of the community and second with a determination of how the various elements of the community relate and fit together. The analysis should also be of a diachronic nature, taking into account the origin of behavior patterns and change over a period of time. An historical perspective gives a deeper comprehension of the present-day community and why it became the way it is. Perception of the community and its environment enables one to consider the direct and indirect impacts of a development proposal, to consider the proposal's total communal effect to a greater degree.

Community can be viewed as an aggregate of people within a spatial dimension. It represents a shared commonality, some degree of affection, interaction or interdependency on a level broader than familial but more intimate than societal. In a study of community one must first determine what are the boundaries of the community. The community might be no larger than a couple of neighborhoods or it might include an entire town. An accurate description clearly denotes the aggregate involved. In this research the delineation of community was determined from the responses of people interviewed. Of substantial importance was the
manner in which individuals reflected upon what they considered to be their community and its effect on their lives.

The main points included in this community study are now briefly summarized. Following an historical overview is a mapping of the community's location and physical features. Notation is made of settlement and land use patterns, the topography of the area, spatial movement patterns and also of any communal assembly points. Assembly points frequently play an important role in communication activity and therefore are included as part of the community description (Dégh 1969; Albert 1972). The composition of community membership is affected by economic activities. An inventory of occupations, differences in wealth and the system of distribution and the exchange of goods are included. This research endeavor stresses the social life of the community and special note is made of family life as observed during the interviews. The political side of humans cannot be bypassed (Leach 1954; Firth 1959; Dole 1966). The existence of politics on the communal level is detailed in this study. Besides economic and political associations, mention is made of any that are social, religious or cultural. The functions these organizations perform in a community and who may or may not become a member have proved to be fruitful in previous studies (For example, Presthus 1964; Hogg 1965; Jackson 1969). Last, relations with outsiders are described. This topic often intertwines with the previous ones, but note is made where applicable.

Development is a dynamic concept with various meanings to different people. It involves aiming for a betterment, a growth (commonly equated with an economic growth), an increased range in human choice, or, in the words of Ghandi, "the necessary conditions for a universally
acceptable aim, the realization of human personality" (Seers 1970:3). Development is difficult to achieve, especially when it is a larger undertaking involving more than a single community. And even when based on a sound study of the community or communities most affected, many development projects fail or bring on negative repercussions. One of the problems eluding resolution today is the ascertainment of why a program succeeds or fails. This seriously hinders the possibility of making adjustments, of knowing whether to try a successful program elsewhere or, inversely, it can bring about an unwarranted end to a "failure."

This study examines the community of Tiller, Oregon and its involvement in a community development issue. As can be noted in Figure 1, Tiller is located in the southern portion of Douglas County, a county abundant in natural resources. The eastern boundary line of the county is the summit of the Cascade Mountains while the Pacific Ocean washes its western shores. Mountain ranges separate it from the Willamette Valley to the north and form a dividing line from the Rogue River Valley in the south. Within these boundaries is the basin or valley of the Umpqua River. It is not a typical valley as there are few tracts of really level land. The Umpqua River begins on the west slope of the Cascades and winds westward throughout the county, emptying into the Pacific Ocean 211 miles from its origin. The river and its tributaries cover a great portion of the county. Other natural resources include agricultural produce, timber and minerals.

Tiller has received its share of the county's bounteousness. The route east from Canyonville along Highway 227 which follows the winding South Umpqua River has a quiet splendor. The forest and hills along
Figure 1. Douglas County
the highway are dark and rugged; in some areas they seem overwhelming. When the visitor arrives in Tiller, the sky opens up. The sun is shining, the air is sweet and the river flows in a steady, continuous ripple. Local residents call Tiller the "Banana Belt" because here the sky may be clear while the remainder of the valley is overcast. It has a temperate maritime climate with moderately warm summers and wet mild winters (State of Oregon 1973).

The substantial number of logging trucks passing through Tiller, as many as twelve an hour in the summer according to one resident, reflects Tiller's pivotal location. It lies at the confluence of the South Umpqua River and Elk Creek, and at the junction of Highways 227 and 27. There is no other town north or east of Tiller for many miles. Tiller is also located on the edge of Umpqua National Forest; it is approximately equidistant from the two outermost points, Goolaway Gap and French Junction, in the Tiller District of the Umpqua National Forest.

The community is currently thrust in the middle of a heated debate about the possibility of damming the South Umpqua River. The dam will flood Tiller proper and many people living near the river will be forced to relocate. People living south towards Drew along Elk Creek or north towards Jackson Creek will for the most part not need to relocate. Those living in Tiller, except for the restaurant/tavern area, and west along the South Umpqua River towards Milo will be the most severely affected by the dam's construction. The sewage treatment plant at the ranger station in Tiller will be forced out of operation and it will not be possible to maintain the station as it is. Such alterations will induce serious changes within the community.
This research considers the community and its relationship with the development proposal from a processual viewpoint. Such a viewpoint is of necessity historical. It enables a deeper temporal perspective from which to consider change and can function as an indicator of community response to change derived either internally or externally. The generative model employed in this processual analysis (See Theoretical Context) focuses on community behavior with respect to the development proposal. The model's pertinence and ultimate value require that it be confirmed by historical and present community descriptions.

**Theoretical Context**

The concept of process is pervasive throughout the sciences. In the social sciences process refers to a manner of happening. It denotes an ongoing movement that is relational in nature. Process has been defined as a "series of interlinked events" which commence and conclude under certain defined conditions (Beals 1967:6). Radcliffe-Brown views process as consisting of an "immense multitude of actions and inter-relations of human beings, acting as individuals or in combinations or groups" (Radcliffe-Brown 1952:3). Shaping and reflecting these actions and interrelations are the values held by the individual or group. Behavior and value systems can be analyzed as guiding social life, as the major elements determining process.

The study of process as outlined by Fredrik Barth in "Models of Social Organization" allows for a determination of how a social unit, in this case a community, operates in and of itself and how it came to be. Not all features of the community's social life are pertinent to
the analysis. To be of value the concept of process should apply to those features of social life which are repetitive and purposive. Process relates to those behavior and value structures which enable a community to act and react, to maintain itself. The researcher seeks to determine what are the ecologic and strategic constraints and incentives affecting such behavior. How are these constraints and incentives translated into behavior patterns? One means of ferreting out these patterns is in considering the analytical possibilities of undertaking a study of process, a study of "necessary or probable interdependencies which govern the 'course' of events" (Barth 1966:2).

The implementation of a model provided a constructive approach to this study of process. A model can be described as a systematic set of conjectures about real world observations (Lave and March 1975). As a research tool in the social sciences it has been useful in the structuring of research designs, in directing attention to similarities between theoretical entities and empirical facts and in the presentation of the data and analysis.

However, a model can be no better than the procedures carried out in the research effort. In some cases models can be detrimental in overemphasizing form or symbols or in a premature closing of ideas or data gathering; they can also contribute to a crystallization of thoughts too early in the research process (Kaplan 1964). Models can also constrict our understanding in forcing data to conform to the model. Factors that do not "fit" may become "inconsequential" or depicted as being random—even though they might not be in reality.

The generative model presented by Barth is well suited to an analysis of process. Barth looks to Von Neumann and Morgenstern's
Theory of Games and Economic Behavior (1947) as a prototype for a processual model in the social sciences. Although game theory is most commonly applied to coalition analysis and to behavior in conflict situations, its fundamental logic can provide insight into other forms of social behavior. A generative model employs a limited set of assumptions to explain how an outcome--or in Barth's model, repetitive, purposive behavior or behavior patterns--is generated. It is assumed that behavior patterns are the result of humans exercising choice. Behavior is rational in the relating of means and ends; it is designed to further one's interests or utility. Similar to game theory, Barth looks to the individual in order to arrive at the behavior of a unit. The assessment of individual strategies and values can then be compiled into an aggregate behavior pattern.

The model attempts to be analogous to standardized behavior patterns in the community. Through the use of distinctive features, those components distinguishing elements in a grouping, these patterns are generated. Only those elements necessary to produce the behavior patterns are employed. The determination of necessary features is based on the description of the community and an analysis of transactions (to be explained later in this section) with reference to this description. The operations performed on the model should show in what way they depict empirically verifiable process (Barth 1966:25). Briefly outlined, the method designed to employ this model will (Ibid:31):

1. Formulate an hypothesis specifying the empirical determinants and processes affecting behavior patterns. In this case, one such behavior pattern is vis-à-vis a development proposal.

2. Construct a generative model which depicts the determinants
and operations illustrating the processes.

Individuals are characterized initially on the basis of status and role positions within the community. Status refers to the rights and duties an individual has with respect to others. It is a static concept synonymous with social position. An individual occupies several status positions, such as female, sister, wife, student, etc., but all of them do not operate in the same situation (Honigman 1959). A combination of statuses are selected in response to others and the social situation. Concomitant with status is its dynamic counterpart, role. Role is the putting into effect the rights and duties associated with the respective status(es) (Goodenough 1965).

In order to construct rules for the combining of statuses within the generative model it is necessary to understand the interconnection between statuses (Barth 1966:3-4). One form of behavior accessible to observation and to the illustration of interconnections between statuses is that of exchange. Through an analysis of reciprocity, a form of exchange, it may become apparent which statuses are complementary and which most affect interaction. Reciprocity can be termed a between relation, the action and reaction of two parties (Sahlins 1965). It involves two basic elements: actors—individual or collective—who engage in an interaction, and some object or value (need not be tangible) that is exchanged between the actors.

In a classic study of exchange Marshall Sahlins (Ibid) differentiates three types of reciprocity. Generalized reciprocity is altruistic in nature. The obligation to respond is vague and indefinite. For example, A offers prestation\(^1\) x to B without a clear stipulation of the prestation B will offer in return or when he will
return it.

\[ A^X \rightarrow \rightarrow B \quad \text{Generalized Reciprocity} \]

A balanced reciprocity on the other hand stipulates a return within a certain period. In contrast to generalized and negative reciprocity, it exhibits an intolerance for a one-way flow of prestations.

\[ A^X \leftarrow \leftarrow B \quad \text{Balanced Reciprocity} \]

A final form, negative reciprocity or "the unsociable extreme," is an example of where A strives to receive a net advantage in the exchange. Actors A and B have opposed interests and each attempts to maximize his return at the expense of the other. If there is an exchange it is only superficial. This form often arises when one actor is in an inferior position and has little ability to affect the outcome of the exchange.

\[ A^X \leftarrow \leftarrow B \quad \text{Negative Reciprocity} \]

Reciprocity is a key concept in Barth's theory and in social exchange theory. The discussion of reciprocity presented here is by no means exhaustive. This format constitutes a clear and concise presentation of the term as utilized in this theoretical context. The interested reader is referred to Gouldner (1960) or Blau (1964) for further reading on reciprocity as exchange in dyadic relationships and to Lévi-Strauss (1969) for a discussion of reciprocity in multiple

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1 Prestations are those objects, values, etc. which are transmitted in the exchange.
exchange relationships.

Transactions may be defined as those sequences of interaction governed by balanced reciprocity (Barth 1966:3-4). From a structural viewpoint transactions can be considered a game of strategy. Exchange takes place with reference to a set of values and a matrix of statuses. Although the exchange account tends to balance, each actor nonetheless attempts to gain as much or more than what he loses. Therefore

\[ A \text{ seeks } x \preceq y \text{ and } B \text{ conversely desires } x \succeq y \]

In the transaction the values for prestations \( x \) and \( y \)--not only the prestations in and of themselves--are compared, made commensurate and therefore exchangeable.

Within this framework for the study of social process one can glean significant insight into the values held by a culture. Culture consists of behavior patterns acquired and transmitted by symbols. In defining culture Kroeber and Kluckhohn maintain that "the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i. e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values...." (Kluckhohn 1962:73). Values are abstract standards that reflect people's principles and means for evaluation that are relatively stable over time. Community-held values guide members on what is acceptable and permissible as well as what is unacceptable and prohibited. Within this context values can be "weighted according to the force with which they govern action, bearing in mind their positive desirability and the negative costs which must be paid to achieve them" (Belshaw 1965:112). As a result, values are very important to an understanding of culture and community life; therefore, they are a key part of the generative
model employed in this research endeavor.

Through transactions values are made known and cultural evaluations are revealed. This affects the selection and comparison of prestations in the exchange. The comparison of values can have a feedback effect towards greater valuational consistency among diverse standards within a culture. It can also lead to greater social integration through the creation of "bridges" between separate individuals and groups and disparate value orientations. Of significance are the strides transactions allow in the clarification and prediction of future actions.

In conclusion, the study of process in this research is based on the theory that social behavior is the result of people making choices. Within parameters of status and value a person's choice is based on the expectation that the value received or gained will be equal to or greater than the value given or lost. With respect to a development proposal, it is hypothesized that those who expect to gain will assume a favorable attitude and act in such a way as to further or support the proposal. Those who expect to suffer or lose will have a negative outlook and will in some form be active against the proposal.

### Transactional Analysis and Its Application

The theory of transactional analysis as expounded by Fredrik Barth has only recently been utilized to any degree in research efforts in the United States. Until the last two years its widest application has been in the field of sociolinguistics. Studies of verbal behavior

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2 Many publications on transactional analysis are presently available only in Norwegian. For a partial listing consult Paine (1974: 31-33).
have supported Barth's assumption that regularities in behavior can be analyzed through a series of individual choices made under specifiable constraints and incentives (Barth 1969; Pride 1971; Blom and Gumperz 1972). These studies have primarily been cross-cultural, focusing on the selection of language or language varieties when at least two are possible.

A number of authors have considered the theory of transactions and its application in empirical research. Schneider (1974) discovered that a transactional analysis offers a fruitful approach to elucidating behavior in African studies. The author contends that Africans are "economic men," that they do seek as equal or better prestation in an exchange. The case of pastoralists in East Africa is offered to support this contention. Schneider asserts that pastoralist peoples have resisted change because they incur a greater status loss than non-pastoralists. Opportunity through livestock is far greater than through the scarce and economically immobile commodity of land.

Skvoretz and Conviser (1974) applied Barth's theory to determine features relevant to the problem of alliance formation. After the application of exchange rules related to explicitly formulated categories of interests and a mathematical reformulation of the generative model, the authors confirm the validity of a transactional approach. The theory's "generality" is deemed a factor permitting a wide range of application.

In a case similar to one forwarded by Barth, Prattis (1973) considers status and role behavior on a fishing vessel. The author cites Barth's neglect of the multidimensional nature of status. He also finds Barth's explication of extraneous power and the integration
of values inadequate. The value of Earth's theory is seen to be in its facility to be incorporated in other theoretical approaches.

A formal critique of Barth's "Models of Social Organization" agrees with Prattis' allegation that the issues of power and value are not sufficiently treated in the analysis. Paine (1974) argues that power is a salient factor that must be taken into account if individuals A and B are not equal—equal status, equal information, equal influence, etc. Power is seen as a mediator in the transaction, as a determiner of the value of prestations. If there are power differentials between A and B, Paine contends the "bargains arising out of transactions are likely only to be the best under the circumstances" (Paine 1974:8). In other words, the choice of prestations is severely altered if one individual is in an inferior position. The subjective value of prestations themselves and the ability to "record" exchanges over time are also questioned.

In discussing the role of values in transactions Paine relies heavily on work by Blau (1964). Blau's distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic values is considered a necessary refinement to Barth. Paine then questions whether all values are exchangeable and whether values need to be made known and commensurate. He concludes that intrinsic values, such as love or friendship, are moral values not present in transactions and claims that Barth has neglected them in analyzing social organization. If one accepts Paine's conclusion that intrinsic values are extraneous to the model, then Barth's remarks on value integration through transactions are also placed in doubt.

This research has applied Barth's theory to an examination of a community development proposal. It merits special attention in those
projects formulated by an organization or agency foreign to the community. It is believed that a transactional analysis may offer greater insight into the people of the community we are working with, enabling us to take their requirements and their aspirations better into account. It could also be employed to obtain citizen input into the planning process or at least before the project is approved and/or implemented.

In the application of a transactional analysis and the construction of the generative model the individual and the community are simultaneously characterized. General knowledge of the community is fundamental to a description of its inhabitants and this description in turn allows for insight on the community as a whole. Once this has been accomplished, the research is able to consider the development proposal. The proposal is viewed through the eyes of the individual. Individual purposive, repetitive behavior with respect to the proposal is pertinent to the formulation of the model.

In this case behavior involves an exchange between the community, i.e. individual members, and those associated with the development effort, i.e. the federal and state government. The nature of the exchange and the prestations offered are greatly affected by the two parties involved. It is believed that the exchange exhibits a balanced reciprocity. Behavior is therefore analyzable via the generative model. The model is constructed as previously outlined, utilizing aggregated individual behavior patterns as representative of the community.
II. METHODS

Selection of Site

The primary factor influencing the selection of a site was its involvement in a community development project. The community selected is one of many affected by a water resource development project proposed by a federal government agency. The project is currently in the proposal stage, pending final approval for construction.

Additional factors were present in the selection of the site. Tiller is small (approximately 400 persons) and relatively isolated. It was hypothesized that the community could be easily circumscribed, but this did not prove to be true. Only after most of the interviews were completed was it clear what constitutes the community. Another important attribute was the availability of historical references. There is not a large body of written material on Tiller but some of its early pioneers were available for interviews. These persons presented a unique and invaluable source of information.

Personal interest in Tiller began while working on a research project in the Oregon State University Department of Anthropology during the Fall of 1975. Under a contract with the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers the department was engaged in a study (herein referred to as Hogg & Honey) designed to evaluate the social effects that would result from the construction of the Days Creek Dam on the South Umpqua River. A questionnaire was administered to over 300 persons in what were considered primary and secondary impact areas in Douglas County. Tiller is located in the primary impact area. This area
included "Canyonville and upstream to Jackson Creek within the confines of the upper South Umpqua River basin" (Hogg & Honey 1976:11).

Data from the Hogg and Honey study was incorporated into a supplemental report on Tiller (Manolescu 1976). Tiller was of special interest because of the Umpqua National Forest Ranger Station situated in Tiller. The report explores attitudes toward community, the area, the ranger station and its future should the dam be approved for construction. It contributed a basis from which to consider more intensive research in the community.

**Selection of the Sample**

The sample interviewed for this study was selected on the basis of two criteria. The first persons interviewed were chosen through referrals by past and present community residents. Most of these people were noted for their knowledge of the history of the community. A few were consulted because of their interest and activity in community affairs. Together these persons comprised nearly one-third (11 or 16 persons) of the total sample (32 or 45 persons). An additional four people who lived in Tiller during its early days were interviewed. They provided valuable historical data but are not

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3 My first contact in the community was an employee from the ranger station who is interested in the history of Tiller.

4 Interview tabulation will be presented in two different formats. Where possible, both husband and wife were interviewed. In a number of cases differing opinions were expressed, making individual responses rather than a "family" response more reflective of sample attitude. A total of 45 persons were interviewed, representing 32 different families. The nature of the issue determined whether family or individual response was most appropriate. In all cases it will be explicit which is being presented.
considered part of the sample in that they are not presently living in the community.

The remainder of the sample (21 families or 29 persons) was selected to include people from all geographic locations in the community. After interviewing key informants and people living in Tiller proper it was possible to begin understanding what was meant by the community of Tiller. Each respondent was asked to indicate what he considered to be the Tiller community. A part of this response required some attention to "boundaries." Beginning in the center, Tiller proper, it was then expedient to branch out in three directions, along Highway 227 (south towards Drew and west towards Milo) and along Highway 27 going north. Responses dictated how far in each direction interviews were sought. There is a fairly even distribution of residents interviewed in Tiller and along these arteries (See Table I).

TABLE I. DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY RESIDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiller Proper</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiller - Milo Academy</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiller - Drew</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiller - Jackson Creek</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>45</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are major boundary markers indicating direction only. Interviews were conducted beyond all points mentioned. Chapter III will outline and describe the present community in detail.

It should be noted that the selection of informants in many cases was affected by the location of an individual's house. Many homes are visible from the road but many are not. An effort was made to seek out
persons living back in the hills, but it is believed that they are not adequately represented in the sample. Some roads were impassable by the car utilized. Numerous roads are unimproved, suitable only for pick-ups and trucks. There also are people living away from road access. One such individual was interviewed at the home of a friend.

Sample selection was also affected by the time of day. A few incidents had occurred in the area that served as a caution to someone alone. For this reason all but seven interviews were conducted during the morning or afternoon. In an effort to reach those persons home only in the evening on week days, interviews were also conducted on the weekend.

**Characteristics of the Sample**

This section will detail the social profile of this sample\(^5\) and compare it where possible to two other recently taken samples of the community. The Hogg & Honey study included 14 persons living in the Tiller community as part of its sample. These persons were randomly drawn from customer billing registers of Pacific Power & Light Co. Similar to the Hogg & Honey study, Tiller was a small portion of the area investigated under the auspices of the Oregon State University Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics. Ten persons were canvassed in the Tiller community during the Summer of 1976 to respond to an employment and income impact study questionnaire. This study (herein referred to as Flacco) randomly selected people from post office box listings. It seeks to discover the impacts of a decreased timber

\(^5\) This sample was not randomly selected and therefore does not make any claims of representativeness.
harvest throughout Douglas County. Special note will be made when assertions refer to or are based on these two studies. They contribute to a fuller survey of the community and serve as a kind of check on this research's sample.

The sample reflects the wide range of statuses found in the community. Twenty persons are male and twenty-five are female. (From the Hogg & Honey data nine are female and five are male.) Two persons are of American Indian descent and the remainder are White. All but one has been or currently is married; two are widowed, two are separated and one is divorced. In the Flacco data fully half are not presently married, while in the Hogg & Honey data two are single.

All age groups are found in the sample. Table II indicates that sample distribution is similar to that found in the Hogg & Honey data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in Years</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Hogg &amp; Honey</th>
<th>Flacco*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 70</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number (N)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Estimated from year of last grade in school and the number of years completed. Spouse is included.

The Flacco data contains an unusually large percentage of persons at both the youngest and oldest categories and an irregular distribution within the age brackets compared to the other two samples and also to county figures (State of Oregon 1973).
The educational attainment (See Table III.) achieved by the sample was widespread, with one-fifth not finishing more than ten grades. In the Flacco data the proportion was one-third. The paucity of persons completing more than 12 years of education in the Flacco study reflects the high percentage of youth and elderly in its sample. Those not completing high school frequently fall in the older age brackets.

The level of education reflects the job positions (Refer to Table IV.) available in the community. Unless one commutes, only teaching and certain positions at the ranger station require a college education. There are relatively few jobs open to women apart from teaching, working in the store or tavern or at the ranger station.

Retirement is an ambiguous term. In Tiller, for example, many people "retire" for the Winter. Age has little to do with a person's work habits unless it causes disability to perform physical tasks. In fact, no male interviewed had completely "retired." Older men simply reverted to part-time jobs--while being classified as retired because of age. One man in his fifties had "retired" from one job to ranch. Even older women who once held regular employment might still help out on

### TABLE III. EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT IN PERCENTAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years Completed</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Hogg &amp; Honey</th>
<th>Flacco*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17+</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes spouse
the ranch, babysit, etc.

**TABLE IV. EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION IN PERCENTAGES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Hogg &amp; Honey</th>
<th>Flacco</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With Forest Service</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumber and/or Wood Products</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranching</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail and/or Service</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>53*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N= 45</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*There is no differentiation between housewives and unemployed

Note: All samples include spouse.

The number of unemployed is not a good indication of year-round employment possibilities. Many of the jobs in the community are seasonal. For example, the Forest Service hires approximately 20 persons part-time plus an additional Summer crew of 40. Logging and other forest-related jobs do not extend over a 12 month period either. Also, a number of women who are classified as housewives might in other circumstances be considered unemployed.

One group which may not be adequately represented in this community profile is the so-called "hippie" population. By accounts of local residents there are numerous such persons living in the forest. As with the general populace, it is quite difficult determining how many

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6 Hippies are thought of as persons maintaining an alternate lifestyle from the norm. They were referred to by the sample as long hairs, freaks, counter-culture people or troublemakers.
there are, even if one could construct an operational definition of
the term. From comments heard throughout the course of these interviews,
it would be reasonable to assert that the majority of the "hippies" are
unemployed or seasonally employed.

This sample does not include income data because it is an
uncomfortable topic for the interviewer. The Hogg & Honey and Flacco

TABLE V. ANNUAL INCOME IN PERCENTAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reported Annual Income</th>
<th>1975 Hogg &amp; Honey</th>
<th>1976 Flacco</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-$ 3,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ 3,000 - 4,999</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000 - 7,999</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,000 - 9,999</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 - 11,999</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,000 - 14,999</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,000 - 24,999</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000 - 49,999</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Won't Say</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N= 14</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

studies do, however. The figures from these studies, as noted in
Table V., will be supplemented by in-the-field observations of the
manner in which people live in Chapter Three.

The incomes obtained from the Hogg & Honey and Flacco data are
strikingly dissimilar. The Flacco data incomes are so low because a
high percentage (53%) of the sample is below age 20 and above age 60.
It is believed that the Hogg & Honey data contains a higher proportion
of professionals (including career Forest Service personnel) than are
in the community. Over one-fifth of the Hogg & Honey sample, for
example, has at least 17 years of education. Neither study would seem
to be reflective of incomes in the community as a whole. Average
incomes would come somewhere between these studies. Incomes are adequate to provide for the basic physical requirements but many would certainly fall below state and national averages.

Origins of people can be an indicator of compatibility, especially if the regions represented are similar. In the case of Tiller residents, a large percentage come from rural or farming regions. The sample from this research, similar to the Hogg & Honey study, contains a high percentage of Midwesterners and people from Oregon and Washington. In this sample (45 persons) over one-third (36%) are native Oregonians, three born and raised in the community. Nine percent are from Washington, sixteen percent from the Midwest, sixteen percent from California with the remainder from the mountain states (13%), the South (9%) and the East (2%). The Hogg & Honey study includes five native Oregonians (36%), six Midwesterners (43%) and one each (7%) from Washington, the mountain states and the East. The Flacco data does not address this question; however, it does reveal that of the ten respondents, six came directly from California while the rest came to the community from Oregon.

It should again be pointed out that the community population is believed to be more diverse than these studies indicate. One youth mentioned during an interview, for example, that there are over 20 people from Massachusetts alone living in the forest. The existence of quite a few Easterners, confirmed by other respondents, does not show up in any of the samples.

Length of residence in a community can have a profound effect on attitudes and relationships. The average length of residence in Tiller is 12 years, according to the three studies. In this sample, people
have lived in the community for as few months as three and as many years as 68. One-fourth have been in the community for two years or less and one-fourth have remained in Tiller for 20 years or more. Interest in historical events may have led to a slightly high proportion of long-time residents in this sample.

It is instructive to note why people came to a particular location. It is often surmised that employment or the prospects of employment motivate the greater number of relocations. With those interviewed this is not the case. Less than half of this sample (42%) move to Tiller for economic reasons, 84% of these specifically because of a job. Thirty-six percent moved because they liked the area, the countryside. Of this 36%, 38% phrased it as a move out of the city. Although 11% came to Tiller through marriage, no one mentioned coming to be near family and/or friends. The above results parallel the Hogg & Honey study, the only difference being that approximately one-fifth were attracted to the area because of kin relations.

The family size revealed in the sample is reflective of the national trend towards smaller families. Over one-fourth (28%) of the sample does not have children, while 44% have one or two. Twenty-two percent have three or four children and only six percent have more than four children. One-half of the sample has children living at home and of these seven have children attending Tiller grade school, eight have children enrolled at Days Creek and one family sends its children to school at the Milo Academy.

Nearly 100% of those interviewed for this study felt that they have a number of friends in the community. The only exceptions to this were people who consider themselves loners or older persons who have
lost friends through moving or death.

Although it was frequently mentioned that "everyone up here is related," this was not confirmed by the sample. Fully 68% of the respondents do not have relations in the community and 66% do not have relations in the area. In the Hogg & Honey data this is confirmed; 78% do not have relatives in the community. This is a significant contradiction to the image Tiller residents have of their community.

**Data Collection**

The collection of data for this research began in the Spring of 1976. This included a consultation of available publications and discussions with members of the Oregon State University Department of Anthropology research team who had interviewed and collected data in the area.

In July, 1976 the first of three field trips to the community was undertaken. Since the closest lodging available was in Canyonville, it was necessary to commute daily to Tiller. Two subsequent field trips took place in August, totaling eleven full days in the field.

An average of three open-ended interviews was accomplished daily. The duration of an interview ranged anywhere from 45 minutes to over two hours. Apart from biographic data necessary to present a social profile, an attempt was made to channel the conversation to the topics of community and the Days Creek Dam proposal. Of interest was a description of community life, respondent participation in the community and attitudes toward the community. With respect to the proposed dam, questions focused on the proposal's effect on each individual and how, in turn, the individual responded to his situation. Throughout each
interview special attention was given to those factors which seem to
influence decision-making. When possible these perceptions were checked
with the respondent in an indirect manner. In most cases, however, only
a careful analysis immediately following the interview resulted in
inferences of constraints and incentives guiding decision-making.

A few persons were reticent in talking about various issues, but
as a whole the sample was most cooperative and informative. The
community is proud of its heritage and many persons are knowledgeable
about historical places, events and people. On occasion an informant
would comment on an issue and then request not to be quoted. This was
in accordance with interviewer assurance that the interviews would be
confidential. A small notebook was utilized to register biographic and
historic data during the interview. Behavioral and attitudinal data
were for the most part recorded after the interview. This procedure
placed the interview in a more natural, conversational setting, helping
to free the respondent of any reservations and allowing the interviewer
to concentrate fully on what is being said.

Additional information accrued through fieldwork in the community.
Notes were taken on the physical environment, the setting of the inter-
view (most often the individual's home) and the attitudinal dimension
that is evident through tone of voice, gestures and comments not direct-
ly related to any particular issue or question. It was also fortunate
that two persons in the community were able to spare a few hours to
indicate points of interest in the community. These tours contributed
greatly to understanding the sense of the history and natural beauty of
the area.
Measurement

Measurement is fundamental for scientific inquiry. It has provided a means for evaluating theories and hypotheses. It allows for descriptions and a means of comparison. It should be kept in mind that measurement yields "not a property intrinsic to the object being measured in isolation, but a relation between that object and others serving as standards of measurement" (Kaplan 1964:212). Measurement is meant to enrich our analysis, not to hinder our understanding in a quest for "concrete" data that is not always possible.

This thesis deals with human behavior. Intrinsic in the measurement of human behavior are a number of problems. Barth's theory, for example, assumes that behavior is the result of decision-making, that it is intentional. Unfortunately purposes, like goals and values, are not single and/or simple (Kaplan 1964). Neither are they observable. It is believed that behavior can be understood through an examination of the "measurement process" inherent in transactions. Based on an individual's statuses and value premises, prestations are selected and exchanged and transactions are entered into over a period of time. It is not always possible to give specific values to the prestations involved. They can be described and enumerated, but their intensity of worth is a function of the individual and the exchange.

The theory of transactions is tested through the veracity of the analysis. Perhaps tested is not an accurate word to describe the "measurement" of behavior patterns in this method. The theory detailed in Chapter One essentially presents a means of analytical description. It attempts to construct a model reflective of the empirical system.
To the extent that the model does reflect the behavior patterns in the community, it has validity and is useful. If the model does not reflect the empirical system it may signify either that the theory is inaccurate, that the hypotheses about determinants of the model are incorrect or that the data brought to bear on the analysis is incomplete and/or inaccurate.
Tiller is profoundly affected by its environs and its history. The history of the community is very alive today in the lives of its citizens. Numerous people expressed an interest in the area's prehistory and history. People are aware of many events that transpired and of persons who were influential in the community and its development. Even newcomers offered information and referred the interviewer to oldtimers more knowledgeable than they. No one person in the community was mentioned with more respect that a man whose family homesteaded in the community around the turn of the century, a man who has spent his entire life in the community. Two persons in the sample are members of the South Umpqua Historical Society. Many attend and participate in Canyonville's annual Pioneer Days, a week long celebration of the South Umpqua Valley's history. Quite a few individuals are interested in the native American history of the area and have noted or collected artifacts on their property. It is believed that a tracing of Tiller's historical development will contribute to an understanding of contemporary life while affording an assessment of how it came into being.

Prehistory

Little can concretely be asserted about the prehistory of the Tiller area today. A number of factors have contributed to this state of affairs. First of all, the area has not been part of any signifi-

7 In this thesis prehistory refers to an accumulation of available information on the area's native Indian peoples.
cant research efforts. Most of the bibliographic material available includes this area as part of a survey or as being tangent to an area where research was conducted, such as Gatschet's detailed study of the Klamath Indians (Gatschet 1890). One reason for this may have been the scarcity of people. The population of the area does not appear to have been sizable, especially in comparison to the Columbia River and Willamette River valleys. Those inhabiting the area suffered severe decreases in number due to smallpox and other epidemics in the latter half of the 1700's and the early part of the 1800's and also due to losses sustained in the Rogue River Wars of the 1850's (Mooney 1928). The relocation of many on reservations has resulted in few persons claiming Indian descent in the area today.

There is considerable confusion over Indians due to language. Tribal names have been changed and spelled differently, almost at will. The U. S. Government Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, for example, lists over twenty different spellings for the "Molala" tribe (Hodge 1907). This has undoubtedly hampered efforts to clarify the position of native peoples. The lumping together of tribal names and referring to them by geographic location has also been a barrier to further understanding. It may be convenient but not always accurate.

Two studies undertaken in the Sixties point to the research potential of the area. In 1965 Patricia Marchiando did an analysis of Upper Umpqua River artifacts. The artifacts were believed to indicate inhabitation over a long period of time. The Indians were depicted as an isolated small group having a distinctive language. A year later the archaeological potential of the area was surveyed by Thomas Newman and Daniel Scheans for the U. S. National Park Service. The artifacts
found by local collectors were for the most part within short distances of the South Umpqua River and its tributaries. The projectile points examined were believed to be characteristic of other portions of the Northwest, their presence "highly suggestive of wide connections in the Northwest... (having) implications for the study of migration patterns in southwestern Oregon and adjacent areas" (Newman and Scheans 1966). These two reports further indicate the need for clarifying the position of native inhabitants.

It is not within the scope of this thesis to detail Tiller's prehistory to any great extent. It does have relevance in understanding how early pioneers established roots, in appreciating the importance of historical events to Tiller residents and in furthering our knowledge of this history. Two area sources believe their ancestors to be Mo-lal-a-la-la peoples. For this reason attention will center on these people, most often referred to in the literature as Molalas. A brief summary of other area tribes is included in Appendix A.

The Molalas are believed to have populated the upper reaches of the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. They lived off the abundant fish and wildlife, bulbs dug out of the earth and the plentiful supply of berries. Berries were dried in order to allow for year-round consumption. Trails to berry patches are still evident today. Shelter was made from animal skins, bark covering and matting woven together. They usually were concentrated on a clearing or knoll close to a water supply where there was good drainage. Since the valley is narrow and there are

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8 The majority of information in this and the following paragraph on Tiller area Molalas comes from a person who is a descendant of these people. He has lived in the area all his life and has sustained a strong interest in its history.
few large locations suitable, only a few teepees could be placed together. It is believed that the Molalas numbered around 100 persons.

The Molalas may have been a nomadic tribe, traveling as far north as Canada. They are believed to have traveled through such diverse areas as Klamath, Warm Springs, Grande Ronde, Walla Walla, Colville (Kettle Falls), the Columbia River and the Willamette Valley. Their relationship with some tribes on the Rogue River seems to have been quite close. Although a peaceful people, it was this relationship that led them to participate in the Rogue River Indian Wars and to startling losses in population. Early settlers in Tiller acclaimed the peaceful character of these Indians. In fact, no one questioned could recall anything special about the Indians because "they were just like the rest of us." Of course by this time many of the Indians in the area were of French Canadian descent and spoke English and French.

Numerous sources mention the Molala Indians. According to James Teit, the Molala were located west and northwest of the Upper Grande Ronde on the middle Deschutes and Warm Springs and into the mountains to the west (Teit 1928). They were separated by the Snake Indians sometime after 1750, driving the southern half southward on the western side of the Cascade to the headwaters of the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. The northern band settled around Mt. Hood and Mt. Jefferson, west of this on the Upper Santiam and the drainage basin of Molalla Creek west as far as Oregon City (Berreman 1937). In 1853 Joel Palmer (quoted in Coan 1922) wrote:

While on my late expedition I came to the knowledge of the existence of a tribe of Indians inhabiting the country on the upper waters of the North and South forks on the Umpqua and the headwaters of the Rogue River called the wild Mo-lal-la-las. The name so nearly resembles that of the
Mol-al-ias of the Willamette that they have been confounded with that tribe; but the information I have obtained satisfied me that they are a distinct tribe, speaking an entirely different language, and having no connection whatever with them. They have had but little intercourse with the whites, being located in a mountainous region off the line of travel from Oregon to California. They roam sometimes as far east and southeast as the headwaters of the Deschutes and the Klamath Lake.

At one time the Molala may have been part of the Cayuse tribe (Swanton 1971; Mooney 1928; Hodge 1907). Both the Molala and the Cayuse constitute the Waiilatpuan division of the Shapwailutan linguistic stock (Swanton 1971). No other tribe in the Umpqua River area belongs to this linguistic stock. The name Molala has been traced to Molalla Creek in the Willamette Valley as its origin.

In southwestern Oregon it appears that the Molalas had frequent relations with members of Klamath Lake Indians. Albert Gatschet mentions that in mixing with the Rogue Rivers and Klamath, some "Molales" adopted the Klamath language (Gatschet 1877). In a publication thirteen years later Gatschet makes the following comments on these people (Gatschet 1890).

A few families of hunting Molale Indians, cogeners of the 'Old Kayuse' Indians near Yumatilla River were formerly settled at Florence Rock on the headwaters of Rogue River, and farther north in the Cascade Range.

Gatschet translates the name the Klamath gave the Molala as "service berry tract."

Although bringing into clearer perspective some issues, the above material raises many questions. How long the Molalas have lived in the Tiller area is something that can only be surmised. Archaeological work must be accomplished to begin to determine the area's cultural history. Their existence and the migrations that occurred are still
matters of speculation today.

History

The first white men to travel up the South Umpqua Valley probably did so shortly after the turn of the 19th Century. The earliest people were fur trappers. Trapping was a profitable business on the frontier. The Hudson's Bay Co. sent trappers in the Umpqua Country until 1843 and had constructed a fort there in the 1830's (Anderson 1966; Schlesser 1973). Other persons with early interests in the area were missionaries.

The two major thrusts to settlement of the Tiller area were donation land claims and the discovery of gold. A land claim settler staked out his property, paid a few dollars, made improvements on the property which were confirmed by a witness and then the land was his. Two of the earliest know land claim settlers in the area were Alexander Dumont in 1852 (Moore 1976) and Aaron J. Tiller in 1853 (U. S. Census Bureau 1860). In 1860 the Tiller family included wife Rachel and children Jim, Aaron, John, Thomas and Jessie.

Gold was discovered in California and in Jackson and Josephine Counties in Oregon in the late 1840's. Ten years later gold was discovered at Jackson Creek, a tributary of the South Umpqua River just upriver from Tiller. Although mining was not profitable for large numbers in the Tiller area, it drew many settlers. Placer mining in the streams and copper and cinnabar mining were the most common.

The gold rush dramatized the need for a California-Oregon route. A road was completed in the late 1850's and a railroad line was built in 1872 (West Shore 1888). The gold discovery brought new life to
Wood was cut off the flat where the ranger station is now located and at the Poole ranch 5 miles above Days Creek.

Ira Poole Collection

Figure 2. Wood Drive in Tiller, 1888.

Courtesy The Douglas County Museum
Oregon as some that passed through Oregon remained or returned; many came north from California. One such case was that of the William P. Thomason family. The Thomasons were on their way to a mining camp in California when a cholera epidemic forced them to halt in 1865 (Shaffer 1968). They settled in the Elk Creek Valley near Drew. Son Robert discovered the Rainbow Copper Mine on Drew Creek in 1898 (Ibid).

Life was not easy. Those first years were spent clearing land, building homes, ranching and some small scale farming. People worked together in these endeavors, as can be noted in Figure 2. The valley does not have large areas available for farming but the cultivable soil is rich. Berries and fruits, most notably apples, peaches and prunes, were plentiful. Grains produced included wheat, oats and barley. Most vegetables suitable to temperate climates could be grown, too. Pasturage on the hillside was very good, allowing for the grazing of sheep and cattle. To supplement this food supply wild animals were hunted and trapped (Applegate 1931; West Shore 1888).

The beauty of the area also attracted settlers. The love of these hills shines through the poem below by John Hamlin, whose family homesteaded off Elk Creek in 1915. John's father thought it was "hog heaven" there.

The Oregon Hills

In the Oregon hills are many thrills,
To drive dull care away.
A breeze from the West just doing its best,
To intrigue and to ask you to stay.

A musical stream, invites you to dream,
Yet your slumber is quite restful too.
If you awake with a start, or a pounding of heart,
There still is a wonderful view.
As you hike or you ride, 'round a green mountain side,
Many lessons of wild life you learn.
And with time running out, there is never a doubt,
For the mountains you always will yearn.

Any man of the mountains will say that it's true.
There was never a place, that was better for you.
So where I have had, there remains lots of thrills,
And I'll cast my vote for, "The Oregon Hills."

John R. Hamlin
2-11-56
(Hamlin 1973:2)

Industry came to the area during its formative years. In the following picture (page 39) of an oxen-drawn sawmill one catches a glimpse of the future of the area and of the county. In 1891 James Pickett and James Overstreet built Tiller's first sawmill.

William Marquam's "Memories of the Tiller Area" (Marquam 1971) is an informative introduction to Tiller between 1901 and 1907. Marquam was then the young son of Alfred Marquam, a man who purchased the A. J. Tiller Homestead in 1902 for $600 (Abstract of Title #7380). A one room store was built here in 1902 on the South Umpqua River near the mouth of Elk Creek. This building served as the post office, too, with A. B. Marquam having the distinction of being the first postmaster. In honor of Aaron Tiller, the property's first settler, the post office was called Tiller. A larger store and a house which doubled for a hotel were next constructed on ground that required a year's labor to clear. The blond haired youth standing in front of the new store next to his parents in this picture (Figure 4, page 40) is William Marquam.

Much of Tiller's past is reflected in its schools. The school has been a focal point in the community throughout its history. In 1904 school was held in the Zachary House about one-fourth mile from the
Figure 3. First Sawmill in Tiller, 1891

Ira Poole Collection  Courtesy of the Douglas County Museum
store (Erlebach 1961). From the picture below (Pioneer Days in Canyonville 1969:11), twenty students were listed as attending class. Classes were held for three months in the Fall and for one month in the
Spring. By 1906 a new school was built along the river closer to the hotel and store. Then as today school programs were a vital part of the community's social life (Marquam 1971).

It has been estimated that approximately fifty families homesteaded in the area at this time (Erlebach 1963). A good number of them lived up the South Umpqua River above Tiller where a road had not been constructed. Due to difficulties in traveling a school was started here on the Rondeau Homestead near the present Red Butte Road in 1909 (Ibid). A new school as built in 1925 and utilized until the early 1930's when the Rondeau and Tiller districts consolidated. In 1948 Drew, which had a school even before Tiller, consolidated with Tiller, also. The loss of a school and its related activities and functions was rarely welcomed. People valued having their "own school" within a close proximity.

Probably no other factor affected the development of Tiller more than the ranger station servicing the southern portion of Umpqua National Forest. The national forests were created under then President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907. The land set aside did not affect the established homesteads. Pioneer family names have been perpetuated in the form of geographic names in the national forest, such as Dumont Creek, Rondeau Butte, Jackson Creek, etc. Many of these early homesteads have remained as private enclaves within the forest.

Charles Jackson was influential in locating the ranger station in Tiller. According to a U. S. Forest Service report (Cow Creek Ranger District Report, n. d.), the first ranger headquarters for the south end of the Umpqua Forest were at the Summit Guard Station. Jackson was the district's first ranger and served in that capacity until 1916. Former
Forest Service employee Ursis McLaughlin recalls assisting Jackson in building the ranger station in Tiller in 1910 (Interview 1963). It is believed that Jackson moved down to Tiller between 1912-1914 (See also Poole 1963). At that time S. C. Bartrum was the forest supervisor out of Roseburg. Bartrum was also part-owner of the Tiller general store at that time. The picture on the next page (page 43) is dated ca 1915.

There are no records indicating why Tiller was chosen as the site for the ranger station. Marquam, Jackson’s brother-in-law, indicates that the location was more convenient (Marquam 1971). It was at the end of the road, more accessible to electricity and transportation and also before the beginning of good timber.

The Forest Service was an important source of supplies and a boon to employment in early Tiller. Four of the "oldtimers" interviewed had "packed" for the Forest Service. Men would be out as long as two weeks at a time delivering mail and supplies (See Figure 8, page 44). Before the Thirties mail came via stage and those that lived too far to come to the post office very often depended on Forest Service personnel and neighbors to bring their mail. Tiller has always functioned as a supply center, a point of gathering and dispersing. Besides the ranger station, the store and post office were crucial to the community’s social and material well-being.

Although there was only one permanent man employed at the station until the late Thirties or early Forties, many were hired to pack, fight fires and to service the lookout and guard stations. Former ranger Horace Cochran recalled that while he was at Tiller (1918-23) there were six guard stations and some lookouts (Interview 1963). The depression years were especially bad for fires. It was a period of
Figure 6. Tiller General Store, ca 1915

Leland Marks Collection

Courtesy of the Douglas County Museum
Figure 7. Packing Supplies for Homesteaders, 1922

Courtesy Bud and Jane Porter
incendiary fires that provided employment for many area residents. One former employee estimated that during this period there was an average of 80 fires per year (Interview 1976). The photo album at the Tiller Ranger Station includes a picture of 92 men at the Tiller Training Camp in 1932. On the Rondeau Burn of 1939 over 400 men reportedly worked to put out the lightning-caused blaze.

By all accounts Tiller was a lively place during its early days. It used to be called the "bad lands" because criminals took refuge in the hills. One respondent said that people knew if someone was hiding out and if the authorities came, that person would be forewarned. Another respondent agreed, adding that everyone was related to one another. People fought among themselves but maintained a tight front against outsiders.

An occasion for fighting and romancing was the community dance. In approximately 1916 a dance hall was built two blocks from the store. A fiddler and pianist played to the enjoyment of people as far away as Canyonville. The entire community turned out every other week, weather permitting. The hotel, which had 7-8 rooms, was always full. If you could not get a room and you lived too far away it would be an all-night affair according to Tiller pioneers. Tiller even had a boxing club with matches held in the dance hall!

Other community events included an annual rodeo held for many years, 4th of July celebrations such as the one illustrated in Figure 8 on the next page, horse races, ball games and picnics. Such gatherings undoubtedly had a strong effect in bringing people together. They also must have fostered goodwill and a neighborly spirit. Three persons recalled how people would leave their doors open when they were
gone. Someone passing by was welcome to come in and help himself. Cattle did not need to be fenced in nor would horses be stolen very often. A group of peers was effective in providing the control needed for harmony.

Considerable growth occurred in the Thirties and especially in the Forties. During the Thirties a large Civilian Conservation Corps camp was located at Tiller. Crews were as large as 250 men. They were respected by the community and the respondents who were in Tiller at that time looked upon that period with pride. Many roads, trails and telephone lines were built. They also worked to expand the ranger station and helped fight fires. Purchases of land from the Henry Archambeau homestead (1½ acres in 1927 and 12 acres in 1936) enlarged
the site to allow for the construction of additional buildings (U. S. Forest Service Records in Tiller).

The boom of the Forties was in direct response to timber. Now timber had value as a commodity. The first large mill to operate in the Tiller area was the Southern Oregon Sugar Pine Mill started by Elton Jackson. Portions of the mill can be seen in Figure 9 below. The mill began operation in the early Forties on part of Aaron Tiller's old homestead above the store. It was a steam-powered old band saw mill. Sugar pine was abundant and the mill employed 25-50 men in

sometimes three shifts a day. As can be seen in the above picture, a number of homes were built to house mill workers. The mill operated into the 1950's. At this time it became too costly to procure the sugar pine and then move it to the railroad at Riddle.

Transportation costs to the railroad proved to be the downfall of
two mills which opened in the Fifties. Between Tiller and Jackson creek Scott's Mill employed approximately 20 persons and operated for nearly ten years. Above Jackson Creek a peter plant and stud mill opened in the late Fifties and employed 40-50 people for a few years. It had a large wigwam-type burner which is standing today.

The influx of people led to changes in the community. In the 1940's a community church was built from donations. The Drew school consolidated with Tiller in 1948 and from 1953-56 a gymnasium and classrooms were added to the Tiller school. One classroom was never finished or utilized because with the mills closing and no employment available, families moved from the community. Enrollment dropped considerably in 1956 (Lilligren 1963).

The Sixties was a period of relative stability. The ranger station continued to expand in size and personnel. Thirty-two acres of land were purchased from the land that used to house the Southern Oregon Sugar Pine Mill in 1965 (U. S. Forest Service Records in Tiller). The most dramatic change came in the consolidation of schools with Days Creek. This was bitterly contested, especially since the community had just invested in enlarging the school house. Due to financial reasons and the promise of a better education for its youth, Tiller began bussing grades 9-12 to Days Creek. The school still remained a hub of social activity with parent-teachers meetings, dances and basketball games being held there. In 1962 an independent kindergarten began at the school (Lilligren 1963). This is the only kindergarten in the valley besides one in Canyonville. Supportive funds for the kindergarten are raised in part through the annual Shoot-N-Fest which features pioneer events and contests.
The Community Today

Settlement in the Tiller community is concentrated along the South Umpqua River and to a lesser extent along Elk Creek. From Milo to Tiller the land along the river is wider and flatter than from Tiller upriver or south to Drew. There is some farmland, a few ranches and noticeably more houses. Along the South Umpqua River to Jackson Creek and further upriver the valley narrows. Some homes are not far from the road but they are situated among trees on steep hills. Aside from one ranch between the highway and the river, open spaces are not visible from the road. The highway following Elk Creek south is much more rugged, almost as if cut through the mountains. The valley is very narrow until you get closer to Drew. The only clue to homes in some areas is the mailbox along the road.
Much of the land in the community is covered with trees. It is within Douglas County's principal forest zone at an elevation of 2,000+ feet. Coniferous species of Douglas fir, western hemlock, western red cedar, ponderosa and sugar pine and true firs prevail (State of Oregon 1973). The environment also sustains a large number of animals: deer, elk, bear, beaver, muskrat, coyote, bobcat, rabbit, mink, marten, raccoon, squirrel, badger and cougar (Marchiando 1965). Game birds in the area include grouse, quail, pheasant and pidgeon. The streams provide spawning grounds for chinook, steelhead, silver salmon and cutthroat trout (Ibid). Exclusive of alterations caused by heavy logging and man's inhabitance, much of the area remains in a "natural" state conducive to the preservation of flora and fauna.

Apart from some small-scale farming and ranching, land use
reflects the presence of the forest. The major uses of forest land are for commercial timber, outdoor recreation and watershed protection (State of Oregon 1973). Land ownership falls to three major groupings in the community: the U. S. government, private individuals and lumber companies. Some land has been purchased as an investment by people living elsewhere. In the sample six persons (11%) rent or caretake for an owner living in California, for example.

The sketch below provides a general outline of how this sample defined the Tiller community. Residents were for the most part canvassed up to the Milo Academy, slightly beyond Drew and approximately ten miles upriver. These "boundaries" were the result of interviewer analysis of sample response during fieldwork. As a check on this delineation, persons outside this circumscription were interviewed, also. These persons confirmed that the community would not go beyond the hypothesized boundary.

The entire sample included Tiller and upriver (along the South Umpqua River towards Jackson Creek) as part of the Tiller community. From that point responses (28%) tended to correspond to the school district arrangements. Children from Drew and Milo attend grade school in Tiller. Days Creek, the site of the community's high school, was included as part of the community by former students and parents of high school age children (13%). Two "hippies" and one newcomer considered the entire South Umpqua Valley to be the community (9%). A number of persons would limit the community's membership to Tiller, upriver and Drew (25%) while only 9% would add Milo to Tiller and upriver. For a summation of how the sample outlined the community, refer to Table VI. on page 53.
Figure 12. The Tiller Community

LEGEND:

SCALE: 1 inch = 2 miles

- Dirt roads
- Paved roads
- Small creeks
- River, creeks
TABLE VI. SAMPLE DESIGNATION OF COMMUNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation of Community</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiller &amp; Upriver only</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiller, Upriver &amp; Drew</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiller, Upriver &amp; Milo</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiller, Upriver, Drew &amp; Milo</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiller, Upriver, Drew, Milo &amp; Days Creek</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entire South Umpqua Valley</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N= 45

These attitudes toward the Tiller community do not necessarily reflect respondent length of time in the community, although oldtimers\(^9\) (34%) have a narrower definition of the community. Only 9% of the oldtimers would include Tiller-Drew-Days Creek-Milo and only 18% would consider Tiller-Drew-Milo as part of the same community. More sensitive respondents mentioned that although they would include Drew or Milo as part of the community, people in Drew or Milo might not agree. This was found to be true. The further away from Tiller the weaker the ties tended to be. In the case of Drew, many residents there consider themselves separate although this separatism has broken down with the loss of the post office and school. The closer a respondent lived to Milo, the more his responses indicated an affiliation with the Milo or Days Creek community.

Based on mail estimates, the community's population is in the

\(^9\) This "category" reflects more than number of years in the community; however, this is a prerequisite to inclusion. The oldtimers have attitudes that readily set them apart, such as a more defined view of the community and a stronger sense of community affiliation. One respondent had lived in Tiller for nine years, for example, but had not been a part of the community and would not consider himself an "oldtimer." In fact, one oldtimer referred to this person as a retired (not true) newcomer!
neighborhood of 400. An unpublished survey recently conducted by a local resident indicated as many as 1,000 persons live in Drew, Tiller and upriver. One of the difficulties in obtaining census information is the number of persons living in the forest. There appears to have been a movement of persons into the forest in the last few years. According to local residents these persons are mainly "hippies."

The make-up of major buildings in the community has not changed much over the years. The hotel went out of operation in the Forties and the dance hall has been torn down. Two gas stations came and one is still in operation. The church, gas station, school and general store/post office are located on the north side of the South Umpqua River; the ranger station is situated where the South Umpqua and Elk Creek converge; and the tavern/restaurant is on the east side of Elk Creek. Two smaller general stores are located in Drew and near the mouth of Jackson Creek. People periodically assemble at the church and school while the restaurant/tavern and general store/post office are frequented on a daily or more regular basis. The restaurant is the only eating establishment within a 24 mile radius and many loggers and residents patronize it regularly.

The ranger station has grown tremendously over the past 50 years. The administration building has been enlarged and there are now 13 houses and four trailers on the site. The station is responsible for covering nearly 350,000 gross acres, the largest district in the Umpqua National Forest and one of the largest districts in the nation. Timber cut averages 14.7 million feet per year. Personnel (78-80 full time, 20 part-time and approximately an additional 40 in the Summer) are engaged in a wide variety of activities. The regulation of timber
cuttings and the administration of timber sales require many man hours. This is accompanied by a reforestation program and studies of the fish, animal and fowl populations to insure a livable habitat. Other activities include: a range program which entails establishing the amount of land available for grazing purposes; upkeep of recreational facilities; road building and maintenance; fire control, the manning of lookouts; slash burning; and the policing of the forest. Personnel act as a liaison with the police when incidents such as poaching occur on federal lands.

Occupational diversity in Tiller has remained basically as it was 70 years ago. Today fewer people hunt or trap for a living while more work in forest or lumber-related positions. The greater number of occupational positions are still manual with a considerable amount of job time spent out-of-doors. Few jobs apart from the ranger station maintain a year-round eight hour day. Logging and ranching, for example, require long hours in the Summer with a lull or much less effort in the Winter.

The status associated with jobs in the community is on a relatively equal basis. No one status appeared to be coveted or more powerful than the rest. Differences related more to the individual than to his job. The Hogg & Honey study found this to be true in smaller communities in the South Umpqua area. It characterized such social structures as "reticulated" or undifferentiated. This indicated a certain equivalence of jobs and people's roles within social groupings (Hogg & Honey 1976:87-88). Social relationships thus begin on an "equal" footing, breaking down a common barrier to communication.

There are differences in wealth among community residents. Other
than through the ownership of land, such differences are not highly visible. There are few new stylish cars and homes tend to be modest and simply decorated. Housing in the area is in short supply and newcomers are usually pleased to find anything. Generally people fall in the lower income brackets but do not seem concerned about it. They value hard work and self-sufficiency, but they also value leisure and the freedom to enjoy their leisure time. A peaceful life in the country is considered more important than amassing large sums of money.

It should be noted that there is a striking difference between housing at the ranger station and in the rest of the community. Ranger station houses, located behind the administration building off the bank of the South Umpqua River, are much newer and neater looking, comparable to general city housing. The cars are newer, sportier and some persons have boats. This sets the ranger station residents somewhat apart from the rest of Tiller.

There is an informal system of exchanging services in the community. All but three persons in the sample (96%) felt they have a number of friends in the community. They may not socialize frequently, but most residents feel that they can count on each other to help out when in need. Ten persons (25%) mentioned this when talking about the community and the people in it. Three oldtimers felt that people used to help one another more before. One mentioned that today people have so many interests outside the community that they do not cultivate the community relationships that existed in earlier times.

Tiller is an acephalous community (Bartel 1976) without a formal political structure. There has been very little political activity until the past year when interest over the proposed Days Creek Dam

10
heightened (See Chapter 4). Generally Tiller residents have preferred to take care of their own problems. Previously problems requiring outside help were channeled through the general store because it had a telephone before many other people in the community. Problems are sometimes channeled through the store today. Issues that relate to Forest Service land go through the ranger station. The nearest sheriff is in Riddle, 32 miles away. The area is patrolled in a limited way but most people consider their police protection adequate. The complaints heard related to the laws and not to those who enforce them. The most frequent complaints centered around the activities the "hippies" supposedly engage in, such as polluting the streams, cultivating marijuana, poaching cattle, etc. The agencies that could be contacted regarding these complaints are in Roseburg, 40 miles away.

Local residents do not generally consider the "hippie" population part of the community. Their presence is acknowledged but many have lifestyles and values separating them from the rest of the community. They began settling in Tiller 5-6 years ago and aroused a great deal of animosity, some of which has subsided while some has not. Five persons (11%) feel the "hippies" are accepted more today and most of this is attributed to their efforts against the dam proposal. Those that believe the "hippies" are acceptable are generally under 30 years of age. No one over fifty felt they are acceptable. The 36% expressing disapproval of the "hippies" cited the following motivations: unstable, shiftless; do not work and are on welfare; dirty, smelly; thieves, poachers; grow and use illegal drugs; go around nude; do not

---

10 Within this thesis political refers to an activity that is public, goal-oriented and involving a differential of power.
own land. Some are so against this segment that they favor the dam to get rid of them. Those not expressing an opinion about the "hippies" tended to be either newcomers or persons who kept to themselves. Con-

TABLE VII. ATTITUDE TOWARDS "HIPPIES"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional Acceptance</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Comment</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ditional acceptance indicated that attitude depended on the individual "hippie" in the above table.

Tiller residents do not join freely in organizations. This coincides with other residents in the South Umpqua Valley (Hogg & Honey 1976). Only 11 persons (24%) belong to an organization other than a church. Of these 11, five belong to only one organization and four attend meetings and functions infrequently. The six persons that are involved are active in an average of four organizations, often as officers or members of boards or directorships. Nearly one-third of those holding membership live south of Tiller towards Drew and only two of the total are women. The organizations listed include the Masonic Lodge (located in Canyonville), the South Umpqua Historical Society, ranching associations, outdoor recreation associations, educational associations and associations related to Indian affairs. In general people expressed that there are few organizations of interest in the area and/or they do not want to be tied down. The organizations mentioned have little effect on the community as a whole
and many people are unaware of their existence. Ranchers in the Drew area seem to participate actively in ranching associations. One in particular, the Umpqua Grazing Association, functions as a liaison between ranchers and the Forest Service. It presents an opportunity to discuss the needs of the ranchers and the forest and helps nurture a positive working relationship.

There are numerous community activities available and well over half of the sample (64%) participate. Church was invariably mentioned as an activity rather than as an organization and 27% indicated participation (not all at the Tiller church). The second largest avenue of participation was through school activities. Eighteen percent are now involved in school activities while another 16% of the sample was at one time involved. Most of the activities are seasonal or yearly, such as the annual Shoot-N-Fest. The politically oriented

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percentage of Individuals Participating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School - Present</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School - Past</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team Sports</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoot-N-Fest</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milo Co-op</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th of July Picnics</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canyonville Days</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politically-oriented</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classes at Tiller School</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: This table does not total 100 because some individuals participated in more than one activity.

activities, disregarding Days Creek Dam activities to be discussed in Chapter Four, included land use meetings, precinct committee activities
and work on the voting board. For a summary of community activities, please refer to Table VIII.

All respondents agreed that participation is open to everyone. It is suspected that there is a schism between "hippie" and oldtimer activities, however. The veracity of this assumption was not probed during the research effort.

There are few broken families in the community. The sample contained only two instances of one parent raising children. In two parent families the female is generally responsible for the running of the household and the male for supporting the family. Both appeared on an even par, the most domineering or outspoken being a function of personality rather than specific male-female roles. Children were sometimes present and in some cases offered an opinion, too.

Each respondent was asked about his attitude to the community and the area, generally the South Umpqua River Valley. People overwhelmingly spoke highly of their community and the area they live in. Forty-five percent said they like the community and another thirteen percent said they love the community. Please refer to Table IX for a listing of additional attitudes noted.

The mention of friendliness in the community is revealing of change in the composition of community membership. Long-time residents who were not native to the community mentioned that it "took awhile to break into" the community. Two mentioned being a foreigner the first ten years. Since many pioneers have passed away or moved, the community seems to be more open to newcomers. Only one respondent mentioned that people are snotty and antagonistic. Many felt acceptance was based more on the individual than on his extended period of
residence; i. e. if you were friendly, everyone else would be, too.

Eleven percent mentioned that it is inconvenient to live so far from town, from the services the town offers; however, of those indicating this inconvenience, 60% felt it was worth it to live in Tiller. The special report on Tiller (Manolescu 1976) revealed that it is an inconvenience to live in Tiller with respect to food procurement. Forty-seven percent of that sample traveled 100 miles or more for groceries while 40% drove 50-100 miles and 13% traveled less than 50 miles. Staples are available in the general stores, but respondents expressed the need to go elsewhere, primarily Roseburg or Medford, to complete their food supply. This inconvenience has not lessened the appeal of the area to most community members.

Attitude toward the area paralleled that of the community. In this case, 60% like the area and another 24% love it. The most often mentioned features motivating such an attitude were: country atmosphere, the weather and the availability of outdoor recreation,

TABLE IX. SAMPLE ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMUNITY AND AREA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Percentage of Individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like it</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love it</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Atmosphere</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Crowded</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too Far From Town</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People Friendly, Interesting</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends Help Out</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor Recreation Possibilities</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favorable Weather</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Neither columns total 100 because many expressed more than one thought.
especially fishing. Not one respondent mentioned anything negative about the area.

The above table may indicate a stronger sentiment towards the area than towards the community. Eighty-four percent like or love the area while 58% responded likewise with respect to the community. These attitudes will be re-examined in view of responses to the dam proposal in the next chapter.
IV. THE DEVELOPMENT PROPOSAL

The Proposal

The most recent proposal to harness the South Umpqua River was presented in 1971. The proposal outlined the creation of Days Creek Lake, a reservoir to be located one mile upstream from Days Creek and continuing upstream another 15 miles to and including Tiller. The lake will flood 4,340 acres, including 30 miles of the South Umpqua and its tributaries (U. S. Government 1976). Land required for the entire project is approximately 7,600 acres plus an additional 1,200 acres for wildlife mitigation. Of the total 8,800 acres only 975 or 11% are federally owned (Ibid).

Authorization to study the possibilities of damming the river began with the River and Harbor Act of 1928. This congressional resolution allowed for a study of the Umpqua River "with a view to determining the advisability of providing for navigation, in connection with power development, control of floods and the needs of irrigation..." (Ibid: 1-1). The ensuing years have resulted in studies considering numerous sites.

Projects such as this one are subject to congressional approval on the basis of projected benefits and costs. This benefit to cost ratio is then compared to other projects pending approval. In the Days Creek project, a number of benefits are listed, such as a number of areas designated for recreational purposes. Other benefits expected to accrue include: flood control; municipal and industrial water supply; irrigation; low flow augmentation; hydroelectric power; area redevelopment; and fish and wildlife enhancement (Ibid). It is
believed that these benefits would affect the entire county. Costs would also affect the entire county, at least as far as taxes and financing the dam's construction. Numerous other costs will be borne by those living in the area where the lake will be created (herein referred to as the primary impact area). There will be: loss of private land, some of which has passed through families since the 1800's; loss or displacement of people; a disruption of social and environmental arrangements; adjustment necessary to accomplish construction; and the irreversible alteration of the river's natural course and appearance.

This thesis will not engage in analyzing the pluses and minuses of the project. Suffice it to say that those living within the primary impact area will be the most severely affected by the dam. These persons will be the ones forced to move or, if they can stay, their social and physical environments will undergo substantial change. The "country" atmosphere will undoubtedly become a "touristic" one. The composition of inhabitants may be different. The period of construction and the accommodations accompanying it will last approximately five years. In the light of the above benefits and costs, this chapter will explore how residents react to the proposal. How do people within the Tiller community perceive the proposal's effect on their personal lives?

Community Reaction

A look at how Tiller people have observed and noted previous dam proposals allows for a better comprehension of present-day attitudes and behavior. According to some local residents, "dam" has been a
topic of discussion for over 45 years. Talk seems to come and go, the
intensity reflecting the political climate according to four observers.
More serious proposals recalled include: a site upriver called the
Tiller Dam; the Boots River Site; the Dompier Creek Site; and also a
Butte Dam on Elk Creek. According to one oldtimer, all the sites were
rejected because they proved to be in slide areas. The Dompier Creek
Slide has become well known since the earth shifted in 1962 and tore
down four million board feet of timber, as can be seen in Figure 13.

Figure 13. Dompier Creek Landslide Area

Many oldtimers also feel that the present site from Days Creek to
Tiller is poor because of slides in the area.

One-fourth of the sample has been aware of a dam proposal for
over 25 years. Thirteen percent first heard of a dam in the Sixties
and the rest of the sample (61%) was confronted with a dam proposition
in the Seventies. Often it was first considered a rumor. The rumor would die away or become formalized and then die away. Few took these proposals seriously until the last year, year and a half. Forty percent indicated that now people are taking the present proposal seriously and many have become active against it.

Each respondent was asked to assess how the dam proposal has personally affected him. Forty percent felt that the proposal has had no effect whatsoever; they have not been involved in any way with the proposal and see no reason to be. Only two persons or four percent of the entire sample had very little or no knowledge of the dam proposal. The remainder, 96% of the sample, was informed of at least the general details concerning the proposal. This is indicative of the proposal's current impact on the community. Residents do not view this proposal as another rumor.

The possibility of putting in Days Creek Lake has affected the personal planning of one-third of the sample. Of this one-third, two-thirds or ten persons would need to relocate. Four persons or nine percent of the sample are prepared to make improvements on their property but do not see any sense in it because the dam would flood them out. Another seven percent mentioned that the planning of family and friends has been affected also. These effects on planning were considered negative by respondents. Things are kept at a standstill. One person is waiting to buy land and another to buy livestock. Another nine percent will not be within the primary impact area but they would nonetheless move rather than live with the dam and its predicted negative impact on the area and the community.

Twenty percent of the sample indicated an emotional response to
the proposal. This response has been a negative one, attributed to an attachment to the area (four percent), to a concern for the future of the community (13%) and also to a concern for historical landmarks (2%).

TABLE X. SUMMARY OF PERSONAL EFFECTS FROM THE PROPOSED DAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of the Effect</th>
<th>Percentage of Individuals*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active For Dam</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Against Dam</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Must Relocate</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would Relocate</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family/Friends</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attachment to Area</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern for Community's Future</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern for Historical Sites</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial (Will Cause)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detrimental</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficial</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esthetic (Will Cause)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Because some respondents indicated more than one effect, the percentages do not total 100.

Note: These effects were mentioned by 56% of the sample (N=45).

In the case of relocatees, many of them undoubtedly have experienced emotional effects from the proposal. Many are deeply concerned and upset over the potential loss of their homes. This was not included in the above table because no relocatee (person who will be forced to move) expressed the proposal's effect in these terms.

The remaining effects mentioned are those foreseen from the
construction of the dam. The major portion of these were financial. Seven percent of the sample believed relocation will cause severe financial stress for them. One case in particular was that of a retired person who had lived in the area for over 25 years and enjoyed a very low rental rate. Others had invested their savings in their property and did not feel government reimbursement would be adequate compensation. Eleven percent viewed financial effects through an increase in property values. Of this group, 60% think the increase will accrue to their property. In no case was this property to be flooded or used as a recreation area. Esthetic aftermaths from the dam's construction were mentioned. Negative effects were foreseen by seven percent.

A group of people as independent and apolitical as Tiller residents have become politically active in the face of impending approval of the Days Creek Dam. These persons have taken a stand and have participated in some activity against the dam. There are those, too, who are apathetic. In the Tiller community these persons are a small percentage of the total sample (nine percent), reflecting the severity of the issue and its wide range effects.

Political activity took on various forms within the community. The table presented on the following page illustrates community activity with respect to the proposed dam. The highest percentage, nearly half of the sample, attended hearings or meetings about the proposal. It is interesting to note that in only one case was this a single activity or indicator of attitude with respect to the dam. A surprisingly high percentage helped to raise money. The community is quite poor and still over one-fourth of the sample donated money
or time to help raise money to express themselves through this avenue. Citizens also donated time to distribute petitions in the community. Activity was not restricted to any particular segment of people, such as loggers, foresters, etc. Neither was participation limited. Twenty-seven percent of the sample participated in more than one category while 22% selected more than two avenues of participation. In the cases of meeting attendance or communication with a congressman, these were often repeated. A total of 47% engaged in some activity opposed to the dam.

**TABLE XI. ACTIVITY VIS-A-VIS THE PROPOSAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percentage Participating*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attend Hearings/Meetings</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak/Write to Congressman</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help Raise Money to Fight the Dam</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sign Petitions</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend Movie on Dams</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages do not total 100 because many respondents participated in more than one activity.

Note: 51% of the sample engaged in the above activities.

Money was raised in part to send a person representing those opposed to the dam to Washington, D. C. In August of 1976 persons from the area testified at the Senate Resources Subcommittee Hearings ("Canyon Creek Current" August 12, 1976). The county provided for a spokesman to represent those in favor of the dam but did not furnish funds for the trip from the opposing side. A factor brought out in these hearings was the unavailability of land in the valley for relocation. People also expressed serious uncertainty over the validity of the ratio of probable benefits (1.25) to costs (1.) (U. S. Govern-
In the sample four percent have participated in activity to support the dam while an additional nine percent favor its approval. Another four percent would favor the project if it is proven to be beneficial for the county. Many feel the Army Corps of Engineers' study of the project has thus far been inconclusive. For the 13% favoring the dam, the reasons are varied. Four persons support the project because the county needs flood control and two are interested in the recreation opportunities the dam will create. One individual supports the project because it is viewed as an opportunity to rid the area of the "hippies." Only one person favors the dam because of expected financial gain. Although others mentioned the possibility of the dam moving the "hippies" out of the community, this was not sufficient motivation to support the project.

It should be noted that no person destined to relocation felt he would gain in any way, especially financial. No one felt the government reimbursement schedules would cover their total losses or enable them to find a comparable home. Those with no available homes to relocate to in the valley were quite distressed. They felt they were paying for others' gains while receiving none in return.

The Model

The generative model outlined in Chapter One will now be constructed. The model will stipulate the minimal number of constraints and incentives channeling choice or individual decision-making. These choices determine the behavior or behavior patterns depicted in the previous section on community reaction to the development proposal. The
model does not represent attitudes unless they have been translated into behavior. Therefore, while 13% of the sample favored the dam, only four percent are included in the model because nine percent did not engage in any activity vis-à-vis the proposal.

There are essentially three avenues of behavior available to individuals with respect to the dam proposal. On the basis of one's status and concomitant role behavior and those values operant in this issue, an individual will:

1. Be opposed to the project and behave in a manner detrimental to its approval
2. Favor the dam and act in a supportive manner
3. Remain neutral or not engage in any action with respect to the proposal

Option three is really non-behavior as defined in the model. It is included because it is an option available to the community. Exclusion of this choice would result in an incomplete depiction of the community and its reaction to the development proposal, especially in view of the fact that 49% of the sample are included in this category.

The behavior exhibited under any of the three choices is repetitive and intentional. In most instances it has taken place over a year to year and a half span. Some inhabitants have been involved with the project since it was first proposed in 1971. Meetings and hearings have been held, the issues have been written about in local newspapers and people have debated and discussed many of these issues. The movie shown at the Tiller school was initiated to further inform people of what it means to construct a dam. Throughout the interview period only two persons (four percent of the sample) were uninformed about the
proposal. The remainder were well informed, had formulated an opinion which, in most cases, was expressed in a straightforward manner.

In constructing the generative model it is hypothesized that the minimum empirical determinants required to explain the three possible behavior patterns fall into two groupings. The first grouping includes three status postures: location of home; length of time residing in the community; and occupational position. The second grouping reflects the values comprised in the model: community continuation; environmental preservation; county prosperity; and political activity. It is further hypothesized that the process of transactions is operant within this matrix of determinants.

It is believed that every behavior noted during fieldwork is represented in this model. The plus indicates that the factor on the left does have an effect, is a determiner of the behavior (non-behavior) associated with the respective column; a minus signifies no effect.

TABLE XII. THE GENERATIVE MODEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Empirical Determinants</th>
<th>Against</th>
<th>For</th>
<th>None</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location of Home</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcomer to Community</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Continuation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Preservation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Prosperity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Activity (Valueless)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...
Inclusion under one status or value listed could suffice in determining an individual's behavior. The most prevalent example of this is under the status "location of home." If an individual's home will be negatively affected, i.e. under water or within an area designated for recreation, this alone would channel behavior for 90% of those falling within this category. The remaining 10% are individuals who have an alternative home and/or property in the vicinity which would not be affected by the project. This status also reflects the high value placed on one's home and indirectly on the home's physical and social environment. Location of one's home did not suffice to motivate behavior for the dam by anyone interviewed. Even people who expect their property value to increase did not become active because of this expected gain.

A newcomer to the community is defined as one who has lived in the community for a relatively short period of time. Of more importance is the attitude that denotes a newcomer. A newcomer is not part of the community and he is neutral or indifferent to it. Persons falling within this designation did not engage in any activity versus the proposal unless they fell within another category motivating behavior. Such categories affecting newcomers were location of home, occupational status and the value placed on preserving the environment.

The status of occupation did not affect many persons. Indirectly some individuals losing a home may also lose their means to a livelihood. This thought never surfaced during interviews. Undoubtedly these individuals associated government compensation with another ranch, farm, etc. The occupational status most often applied to an individual's sensitivity to his job security. Activity was perceived as jeopardizing
current means of livelihood, thereby forcing the individual to inactivity or to a posture of neutrality.

The value placed on community continuation is associated with a strong attachment to the community. This determinant alone was sufficient cause for individuals to participate. It was most prevalent among oldtimers. Few individuals in the community for less than ten years indicated a sense of attachment to the community or associated the dam's construction with a loss of community.

The value listed as political activity reflects a negative evaluation of participation. These individuals felt behavior for or against the proposal would be fruitless, that their activity would not precipitate approval or rejection. Others considered the result, i.e. approval, inevitable. Four percent specifically expressed a sense of powerlessness with respect to government. Also included under this heading is the apathetic individual.

When county prosperity was considered above that of the community an individual supported the dam. This opinion was expressed primarily by those with family and friends located downriver, persons who expect to benefit from the proposed dam. Few persons in the Tiller community expected to gain from the dam. Participation favoring the dam was done in a quiet manner. Debating or advocating the dam's approval was not done publicly in the community because of a sensitivity toward those who believe they will be adversely affected.

The final value included represents a concern for the natural environment. An influx of people such as recreationists are considered a serious hazard. In most cases this mirrored a desire to preserve the environment in a natural or as close to natural state as possible. It
is closely associated with the maintenance of the country or rural environment in Tiller. This value was most widely a motivating factor among persons under 30 and newcomers to the area. These individuals were among the most adamant and outspoken opponents of the dam.

Transactions have been defined as sequences of interaction governed by a balanced reciprocity. In this study the actors involved in the interaction are community members and those persons or agencies associated with the federal or state government, such as a congressman, the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, etc. The exchange of prestation in the interaction occurs within a certain time period, depending on the nature of the prestation. Neither the nature nor the quantity of prestation are prescribed. Both actors have a number of options to choose from and both are able to seek an equal or better exchange in the transaction.

An example of balanced reciprocity noted in the field occurred as individual A (a citizen of Tiller) expressed an opinion regarding the proposed dam to individual B (a congressman). In return, individual B acknowledged A's opinion and its validity. In the case noted individual A felt a sense of satisfaction in expressing his opinion and a sense of relieving some frustration. Individual B might have been pleased to note A's interest and believed his expressed concern will garner him a vote in the next election. This could be considered by both to be a positive approach to a political issue.

Behavior vis-a-vis the project resulted in a variety of prestation offered by Tiller residents, specifically time, money, services or a combination of these (See pages 68-70). In exchange, the prestations received significantly varied. They could include: a sense
of personal satisfaction; cause for hope (in whatever position taken); an opportunity to socialize; a sense of being "part of" an effort; and, most importantly, cause to believe that the prestation offered affected a postponement or a decision to approve or reject the proposal. The final prestation mentioned is primary to those active in this issue, but it is not the sole prestation received. The value of the various prestations for both actors is subjectively determined. This determination is also affected by social norms and conventions about means and ends in the democratic process (Lindblom 1965).

Actors associated with the federal government are cognizant of this reciprocal relationship. The individual or agency may offer prestations such as: expression of opinion; information; expression of support; and most importantly, influencing (via a vote, for example) those involved in deciding the fate of the project. In return B might receive: an expression of support; an expression of legitimacy; a vote in an upcoming election; satisfaction that the "best" decision under the circumstances was made; and, possibly pleasure at noting the benefits to be derived from constructing the dam or a sense of relief in the rejection of a project opposed by constituents.

The exchange of prestations is affected by the actors involved. In the case of interaction between a congressman and a citizen of Tiller, for example, there is a differential in status. A congressman represents many individuals and in his official capacity would have a higher status. One needs to question whether this is indicative of inequality in the interaction. It could be argued that both A and B maintain equality of freedom and equality of rights. The opportunity to be influential is not aligned solely to these status positions.
either. A Tiller resident could enhance his civilian status through an ability to influence others via debate, speeches, etc., or through numerous other avenues.

A factor limiting biases emanating from some actors associated with the federal or state government is the impermanency of elected positions. A congressman cannot demand unilateral prestation over a period of time without endangering his or her position, for example. This would not hold true for interaction between an individual from the community and the Corps of Engineers. In this exchange, however, most individuals sought information. Only four percent of the sample expressed the belief that the Corps was a force pushing for or against the dam, that activity against the dam might also be against the Corps.

Scrutiny of the findings presented in the model discloses that many Tiller residents place a high value on their present living circumstances. Concern for their physical and social environments was strong enough to overcome typical modes of behavior. Chapter Three characterized Tiller inhabitants as an independent, relatively isolated, loosely organized and apolitical group of people. While 49% remained inactive, 51% became active through various avenues and with a surprising intensity in terms of time, money and effort.

The model presented in this thesis is valid in the sense that it is believed to be descriptive of the Tiller community. If it is reflective of the processes affecting behavior patterns, similar or alternative studies will confirm this. Another check can be accomplished in reversing the procedure. In other words, the empirical case can be compared to the model—not the model derived from the empirical case. A cross-cultural comparison could be effective in evaluating
this analysis, also. Unfortunately this writer was not able to find a suitable study for comparison.
Interpretive Summary

In examining a community development issue this thesis has emphasized the necessity of understanding and appreciating the community to be affected. An anthropological approach to a study of community was undertaken. It preceded on the belief that an historical foundation is fundamental in assessing the present community. History forms part of the thoughts of living men and part of the social life that can be observed. It allows us to better evaluate some of our assumptions about the community.

A transactional analysis of behavior patterns within the community also affords an opportunity to check assumptions made about the community. A determination of the constraints and incentives channeling behavior patterns reveals cultural evaluations. It is believed that these evaluations need to be taken into account in the formulation of development projects in order to determine the project's feasibility and its compatibility with the community. Development is not an easy undertaking. It is difficult if not impossible to devise a project that will not have some negative effects. This is why it is important to focus on the community(s) to be affected, to attempt to engage these individuals in the decision-making process. Development must be gauged on the values a community deems requisite to its health and its welfare (Goulet 1971).

It could be argued that the Tiller community has changed little since its inception. Although improvements have been accomplished, its physical appearance is essentially the same. The community has the
same appeal that attracted early pioneers. The natural beauty and freedom of the area still foster the rugged, independent spirit. The number of pioneers living in the community has dwindled but people are very much aware of the area's prehistory and history; they are proud of it and want to cultivate it. The economic base has remained basically as it was 50 years ago. The ranger station has expanded, mill workers have come and gone, and many people still work outdoors with non-conventional work hours. The value placed on not being tied down by employment obligations, organizational memberships, etc., can be correlated with the relatively low value placed on wealth. In general people do not come to or stay in Tiller to live comfortably through material means.

The changes that have occurred in many respects are a reflection of the larger contemporary society. People are more mobile today and do not often view themselves as permanent residents. This can have significant effects on social relationships, especially if people view themselves as "transients" and do not seek to interact within the community. In Tiller this was observed among persons who came to Tiller to raise a family, to get away from the city and to work on an impermanent basis. These persons do have interests outside the community and are not as apt to exhibit a strong concern or attachment to the community.

The Days Creek proposal would not be conceived of as a "development" effort to many residents in Tiller. For the most part those persons not participating in activities for or against the dam (49%) are neutral. They are not personally affected and they noted both pluses and minuses with regard to the effects the dam would have on the community, the area and the county. For the remaining 51% all but two
persons engaged in activity against the project. These persons do not view the proposal as offering an opportunity for betterment or growth. They view the dam as bringing a negation of these conditions for individuals and the community as a whole.

Not all those against the Days Creek project are against a dam per se. Those motivated by environmental concerns would be most apt to oppose any dam. The sample as a whole, however, felt that some means of water control would be beneficial. A big dam such as the one proposed was not considered the best means by anyone in the sample. The present location is considered especially poor because it is in a slide area, and because it will disrupt too many homes, public facilities and historical sites. As an alternative to the Days Creek Dam many believed smaller dams further upriver merited consideration. Cow Creek was frequently cited as causing more damage downriver than the South Umpqua River. Individuals questioned why Cow Creek was not recommended as a site.

Conclusions

An application of a processual analysis to a community development effort has been the overriding issue of this thesis. It is concluded that the approach does provide an effective means for obtaining critical information about those affected by development. It offers an opportunity to receive input from the community about its cultural evaluations. In this application the analysis confirmed assumptions made from the description of the community’s history and current position. Residents deviated from past behavior patterns in attempting to preserve their present physical and social environment. This provides persons
engaged in planning development projects with the means to assess the project's impact and therefore predict success or failure within the community.

The model analogized community behavior vis-a-vis the Days Creek Dam proposal. It could also be utilized to examine behavior patterns within the community. In Tiller it would be of interest to probe the reciprocal exchange noted with respect to helping out fellow neighbors and friends in time of need. This would indicate more about social interaction within the community and would serve to test the assumption presented about the relative equality of status positions within the community. A study of reciprocal exchanges among North American agricultural operators (Bennett 1968), for example, disclosed a great deal about the community's economic and social life. This study would be useful to consult regarding development efforts. It parallels the type of study that a transactional analysis would accomplish.

The shortcomings Barth's model may have with respect to status and especially status differentials were not encountered in this endeavor. No one status or combination of statuses within the community was found to be more influential or more powerful. In response to criticisms mentioned in Chapter One, it should be pointed out that status differentials excluding the prospect of a balanced reciprocal exchange would not be applicable to the analysis. They would likely be viewed as an example of negative reciprocity and therefore not scrutinizable via a transactional analysis.

The importance of the exchange being "balanced" is clearer when value premises are considered. If choice is not possible within the exchange or if an individual is not able to "strike a bargain" according
to his subjective evaluations, given the limitations of the exchange, there will not be an accurate indication of that individual's values. Multiplied in other exchanges, the analysis would not be an indicator of cultural evaluations.

In this analysis the inclusion of values in the generative model was especially effective. It is believed that the values deemed significant in channeling behavior patterns do reflect those held within the community. Contrary to assertions made by Paine (1974), the analysis can reveal intrinsic or moral values. In this study moral principles were often at the heart of behavior. Residents believed, for example, that the present project does not justify taking away the homes of so many people, the destruction of social relationships or the alteration of highly valued lifestyles. These values were made known in the community through the behavior patterns adopted.

Behavioral activities opposed to the dam have opened communication among diverse members and groups in the community. Values have been revealed and compared in this process. Similar circumstances, similar evaluations have strengthened relationships in the community. People have been drawn closer together in working for the same objective. Although some individuals have not joined in the effort as intensely as they would have desired because of the "hippies," more have come to accept these people as they work together. The communication gap has been bridged for those persons who value their present lifestyle more than the expulsion of the "hippies." This has been a giant step for some members of the community. It has also opened communication with a broader range of people outside the community.

It was stated that the comparison of prestations and the values
attached to them would tend to make these values commensurate. The values motivating behavior against the dam have been compared and to a large degree they have become commensurate with one another among the persons assuming this stance. One value is not stronger or more significant than another. It would be difficult if not impossible to state that prestations x and y between A and B have been "equalized." For Tiller residents there is believed to be a lot at stake. Approval of the proposal would undoubtedly be an unequal and unacceptable exchange to many. At this point the process of transactions would most likely end. There will be exchange between Tiller residents and the government, but it remains to be determined whether residents would consider these exchanges examples of a balanced reciprocity.

It is concluded that a transactional analysis is suitable to analyzing a broad spectrum of issues. It is suitable to studies in the field of community development and it is particularly viable in filling a gap in our understanding of the peoples implicated in change. Also encompassed in the effort is an indirect but nonetheless pertinent manner of garnering individual input. This input should be essential in the formulation and evaluation of development proposals. The study of process within community(s) is not a quick, effortless one, but neither is the development process itself. A transactional analysis could be an invaluable component in the multi-disciplined efforts to secure "the realization of human personality."

Recommendations

Within this study a theory designed to explicate behavior patterns and how they are generated was applied to a community development issue.
It is believed that the theory was instrumental in characterizing a community and its reaction to a development proposal. This exercise, however, did not put the theory to a complete test. The role of the concepts of status and power in an exchange were not fully examined. The exchanges in this study were bound to the American political system—limiting the effect of status and power differentials.

Additional research needs to be accomplished in examining the nature of reciprocity, its broad range of reference and, of considerable importance to the researcher, a clearer specification of behavioral data that may be relevant to the analysis. The examination of process is firmly rooted in the respective social unit but it is believed that there may be considerations general to its usage.

The theory has promise with respect to our understanding of institutions. It is recommended that a transactional analysis be carried out to help determine those features that lead to the creation of our institutions. If we know how and why an institution came into being, we might be better able to adapt or change it. This is most relevant in the case where an institution or part of an institution has become irrelevant, insufficient or even detrimental to the people it affects. Barth's theory could also indicate the means whereby institutions can be created for use in development efforts. His discussion on the behavior of an entrepreneur or the issue of brokerage could be useful in this instance (Barth 1966:17-21).

It is recommended that, wherever possible, some of the hypotheses and results of this study be tested and verified by means of statistical analysis, further study in the Tiller community or the application of this theory to another community engaged in a development proposal. It
is believed that there are many likenesses between Tiller and neighboring communities in the South Umpqua Valley. A similar study in one of these communities should, in part, confirm this analysis.

Implications

In every community there exists some form or forms of exchange. The theoretical basis of this research stems from the belief that an examination of this exchange will reveal information relevant to an understanding of the people of the community. This information can then be applied to issues concerned with the implementation of change within the community.

The nature of the exchange dictates the method used in studying the exchange(s) and the amount and kind of information disclosed in the analysis. The design is not simple and the study, to be carried to its fullest implications, can be very costly in terms of the consumption of time and financial resources. This study, for example, could have detailed the specific prestations exchanged by both actors A and B in all the exchanges noted. These exchanges would then have been observed over a period of time, such as from the beginning of the formal Days Creek proposal.

A community is tied in many diverse ways to other social units and to other communities. Development efforts would therefore affect those external to the community. In the issue contained in this thesis, the effect is very widespread. Numerous communities are directly and indirectly concerned with the damming of the South Umpqua River. To assess the current proposal via a transactional analysis would entail a study of at least a representative sampling of other communities
A transactional analysis might not be an appropriate means to study and/or assess all development issues. The availability of time and money might preclude the application, especially in urgent cases. Another factor which enters into the discussion is rooted in the purpose of the project. In some development projects it may not be critical to understand the people involved. If there are two or more goals, there must be a determination of priority. In many cases a transactional analysis would only be part of the development effort.

It is believed that the people most involved, the people whose institutions and sociocultural norms will be affected, should in some way take precedence over those less affected. At the very least an effort should be made to include those most affected in the planning process. This study indicates that a transactional analysis can provide a means for obtaining citizen input in the formulation and assessment of many development undertakings. This could supplement the means for citizen participation presently operative and could also suffice as a tool to use in solving the political problem Leo Marx refers to:

The power of these fables to move us derives from the magnitude of the protean conflict figured by the machine's increasing domination of the visible world. This recurrent metaphor of contradiction makes vivid, as no other figure does, the bearing of public events upon private lives. It discloses that our inherited symbols of order and beauty have been divested of meaning. It compels us to recognize that the aspirations once represented by the symbol of an ideal landscape have, and probably cannot, be embodied in our traditional institutions....The resolutions of our pastoral fables are unsatisfactory because the old symbol of reconciliation is obsolete....To change the situation we require new symbols of possibility, and although the creation of those symbols is in some measure the responsibility of artists, it is in greater measure the responsibility of society. The machine's sudden entrance into the garden presents a problem that ultimately belongs not to art but to politics.
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2. Anton Erlebach
3. Horace U. Cochran
4. Ira D. Poole
APPENDIX A

The following is a brief description of tribes settling in and around the Tiller area, focusing on Umpqua River basin peoples.

Lower Umpqua or Kuitsch. These peoples were located from the coastal area and up the Umpqua River some distance above Scottsburg (Berreman 1937). In 1890 twenty-one Kuitsch villages were located on the Lower Umpqua River (Dorsey 1890). Together with the Siuslaw to the north they were part of the Yakoan linguistic family. For a cultural description see Fratchenberg, 1922.

Figure 15. Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon, 1840-1850 (Adapted From Berreman 1937)
**Umpqua or Upper Umpqua.** The Upper Umpqua inhabited the central part of the Umpqua River Valley, beginning east of the Kuitsch, with a northern boundary not exceeding the Calapuya and Elk Creek drainages and the southern boundary near the upper reaches of Cow Creek (Hogg and Honey 1976). As speakers of Athapascan, they were related to the Shasta Costa, Upper Coquille, Galice and Applegate Creek, Tolowa, Chetco and Tututni Indians (Berreman 1937).

Umpqua is an Indian word which may mean thunder water. From Mace Tipton, an Umpqua chief, and the Honorable Binger Herman, a student of Indian lore, a former U. S. Forest Service employee (Perkins 1938) learned that the inspiration for this notation came from the Caps Illahee district, the "mountain home" of the Umpqua Indians. The many high waterfalls and steep rapids in the district make a deafening roar which from a distance resembles the rumbling of thunder.

The central location of the Umpqua and the settlement of the valley by pioneers around the beginning of the 1800's led to a rapid population decline. In 1780 Mooney estimated that the Upper Umpqua together with the Galice and Applegate Creeks and Nahankhoutane tribes totaled approximately 3,200 persons (Mooney 1928). Due to the contracting of the white man's diseases, their numbers dwindled to 400 in 1846 (Hale 1846) and only 43 in 1937 (Swanton 1971).

**Yoncalla.** Yoncalla peoples resided north of the Upper Umpqua and Molalas on tributaries of the Umpqua River, Elk Creek and Calapuya Creek. They represent the southernmost tribe of the Kalapooian linguistic stock (Swanton 1971). The major body of Kalapooians occupied the Willamette Valley.

**Takelma.** Occupying a large territory south of the Upper Umpqua
and Molala are the Takelma. Their region included the upper middle courses of the Rogue River, the upper course of Cow Creek and extending south to the California boundary (Berreman 1937; Sapir 1907). The Takelma were divided into an upland and lowland group. They are noted for the distinctiveness of their language. No morphologic or phonetic traits resemble either their Athapascan or Sahaptan (Klamath) neighbors. In 1780 Mooney lists the population of the Takelma at 500 (Mooney 1928). For a detailed description of their culture and speech, see Sapir 1907 and 1909.

**Galice Creek or Taltushtuntude.** These Athapascan speakers were settled along Galice Creek in the midst of Takelma territory. The earliest population estimate found was a reported eighteen persons living on the Siletz reservation in 1856 (Swanton 1971). It has been suggested that these people may have assimilated with the Takelma and/or the Shasta of California (Hodge 1907; Berreman 1937).

**Applegate Creek or Dakubetede.** The Dakubetede are also Athapascans, speaking a dialect similar to the Taltushtuntude who are located to the northwest of Applegate Creek. They, too, are an isolate within Takelma land (Swanton 1971; Dorsey 1890).

**Klamath.** Klamath Lake Indians settled along Upper Klamath Lake, Klamath Marsh and the Williamson and Sprague Rivers. Their territory is tangential to that of the Molala and Takelma to the west. Those residing on the eastern shore of Klamath Lake were believed to have been in contact with the Molalas (Gatschet 1890). Swanton lists that the Klamath called the Molalas "Kuikni" (Swanton 1971).

The Klamath are members of the Sahaptan linguistic stock. Early population estimates include 800 in 1780 (Mooney 1928) and 1200 in 1930.
(Spier 1930). For an ethnographic study of the Klamath, refer to Spier 1930 and Gatschet 1890.