CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF LAND TENURE IN THE UNITED STATES

by
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INTRODUCTION

America uniquely among Western societies is relatively young in culture and land tenure. Rather than America possessing a single culture, however, a mosaic of cultural systems exists, each piece unique to people in a specific place. Historically the mosaic of cultures emerged as a product of who settled a place, when settlement occurred, and what environmental factors --social or physical-- were met during the process. Over time a sequence of such conjunctions of people, setting, and time occurred in a geographic space. A distinctive cultural system emerged attached to the space as successive conjunctions left traces in assumptions people had for appropriate behaviors. Thus, distinctive cultural practices such as a kinship system, gender roles, inheritance customs, and attitudes toward land have roots in the original and subsequent peoples inhabited a particular space. A land tenure system, likewise, emerged as part of the local cultural system.

This review will consider land tenure as a process produced by various layers of culture. To begin, national ideals constitute a broad cultural context in which a specific cultural system operates. At the community level, cultural factors such as the meaning for land or land-acquisition goals originating with a group's ethnic origin shape a context for the domestic culture of the family. Finally, in the family culture is enacted and social relationships are reproduced in conjunction with the intergenerational transmission of land. Each cultural layer is affected by internal factors but also by external factors (from the other layers) as well as historical events. Land-tenure's characteristics in the suburban-rings surrounding metropolitan areas motivate a discussion about culture and homeownership. The suburbinization of vast tracts of formerly rural areas is a new frontier of land-tenure analysis.

Because the vast majority of the nation's land is in rural and agricultural use, this discussion of culture and land tenure inevitably focuses on agricultural land tenure. Furthermore, my expertise is Midwestern agricultural and community life and thus the discussion mainly concerns how tenure evolves where family farms dominate (Beale and Kalbacher 1989). In the literature, a family farm or the land market typically are defined according to economic criteria, scarcely taking social and cultural dimensions into account. The challenge is to show that culture matters to land tenure and is critical to an understanding who owns America's land.

Culture, Ethnic Identity and Land

How a group values, transfers, buys, or sells land constitutes its land tenure system. Those who control land in a community act within a cultural system derived from the national, and community layers described above. As a consequence, a community shares a particular repertoire of practices based on beliefs about the goodness of a person, a kin group member, a farmer in agrarian settings, and a way of life -- which frame how land ought to be handled. Together the shared set of beliefs constitutes a schema that serves as an interpretive framework

and a scenario for decision-making actions (Ortner 1990). Shared cultural practices typically are taken-for-granted and carried out without thinking. Thus, beliefs about-- whether the family or individual is a rightful land owner, who is responsible for intergenerational land transfers, or how much land provides sufficient family support--order fundamental decisions across a variety of lifecourse situations. This view of culture is heavily influenced by "practice model" anthropological theorists (Ortner 1984, 1990). Culture according to this model shapes what people do and believe, and also constrains options and regularizes the choices actors make, particularly in the myriad of repetitive and seemingly trivial aspects of daily life constituting the domestic order (Ortner 1984).

A land tenure system develops from the interaction of forces external to the community with responses by families (shaped by cultural beliefs and specific environmental constraints). By endorsing some family options and excluding others, land-transaction practices act as a mechanism that maintains a cultural system in its special configuration (Ortner 1984). Family practices that embody beliefs about land are therefore fundamental to maintaining family and community customary asymmetric relations of gender (men over women), generation (elder over younger), and status or wealth (larger landowners over everyone else). Family practices regarding land are acted on in ways that ultimately affect whether persistence in farming or continuity of ownership occur. Cultural systems in which land ownership, succession, and inheritance are valued differently cause local land-tenure systems to evolve in distinctive ways (Salamon 1992; 1993). For example, intergenerational transfer-customs either can create land scarcity or create land availability in a local land-market.

A community's boundaries are defined by land, and its land tenure system. Land serves thus as a component of a local identity. Land, is particularly suited as a unique and powerful force for perpetuating identity. According to Simmel (1898) land provides a concrete "material symbol" for the focus of family and community attachment. Because land is indestructible, as a symbol it can reinforce beliefs associated with it. Land thus has been a salient to the expression of ethnic identity. Historically, U.S. immigrants tended to cluster in settlements with those who shared an ethnic origin. Communities evolved as a consequence of chain migration (Conzen, K. 1980), or of church policy that established colonies toward which immigrants had both a duty and generally a desire to gravitate (Hollingshead 1937). If family farmers maintained continuity tied to land in a particular place, near others sharing an ethnic identity, ethnic communities persisted (Salamon 1992; Conzen, M. 1990). Land was so effective as a symbol of identity that ethnic groups maintained solidarity even in the absence of those experiences identified as reinforcing ethnic differences (Salamon 1992). For instance, given Midwestern checkerboard settlement patterns, ethnic islands were not thrown into competition for land with other ethnic groups; a process thought to enhance ethnic identity (Barth 1969).

Land and Social Structure

Midwestern agriculture has little corporate farming: the predominant enterprise form is the family farm, where the family makes the operational decisions, provides most of the labor,

and seeks to generate income toward the support of the household (Reinhardt and Barlett 1989; Johnson, B. 1983). Such factors as the size of farms, tenancy, absentee ownership, or fragmentation of land holdings define variables critical to the region's land tenure (Friedberger 1988; Kramer 1977). The nature of attachment to land, or land tenure--the complex of ownership, rental, farm size, and land transfers--provides the central logic for a rural community's economic and social systems (Bell and Newby 1971; Crocombe 1974).

Early mechanization and the costs of prairie farming made Corn Belt farmland particularly expensive, causing tenancy--where the operator does not own the land--to become common (Bogue 1963). In the Midwest, tenancy does not automatically mean low social-status and a marginal economic existence, as it often did in the South. Typically, most tenants and partowners farmed at least some land rented from relatives, who were commonly local or absentee landlords. In Illinois 43 percent of the landlords rent to tenants who are relatives (Johnson, B. 1972; Kloppenburg and Geisler 1985; Salamon 1992). Renting from a relative means that the relationship between owner and operator is fairly stable and is less likely to be exploitative. When a community has many absentee landlords, it is likely that outside investors' control of land was established early and maintained (Gilbert and Harris 1984; Salamon 1992). However, because a great exodus from farming occurred between the 1950s and the 1970s, the numbers of heirs living elsewhere increased for all Midwestern communities. Absentee owners may be good citizens and may be committed to preserving the infrastructure, but because they reside elsewhere they are not subject to the community's cultural system. Community identity or integrity may rank lower than profits for them. For this reason, increased absentee-ownership in land tenure can negatively affect community well-being (Mooney 1983).

According to Goldschmidt (1978), land tenure and farm scale account for differences in the quality-index of rural life--schools, infrastructure, and services. In two California communities where ownership was in moderate family-farm-sized units, by any objective measure the community was superior to communities where farms were larger than family-size, ownership was controlled by corporations located outside the community, managers ran the farms, and work was carried out by farm laborers. Regional agriculture in the United States is so varied that, even where absentee-ownership or farm consolidations dominate, an inevitable community outcome is precluded (Swanson 1988; Friedberger 1988). Farm consolidation caused the number of independent farm operators to decline and hired labor to increase. Agriculture based on hired farm-labor is associated with more stratified social structures such as the southern plantation system or the corporate farms of California (Pfeffer 1983). The relative absence of hired labor and corporate farms has meant that Midwestern social structure is less stratified, nonetheless, how much land is owned affects a family's relative position in the status hierarchy (Beale 1989b; Pfeffer 1983; Hatch 1975, 1979).

The distribution of farm size is an indicator of the social strata in a rural community. When farm size is homogeneous, the social strata are less divergent. When there are fewer farms, greater divergence exists between large and small operations, and greater social

distinctions are also evident.

NATIONAL CULTURE SHAPING LAND TENURE

Space is culturally constructed and thus Americans think about land in distinctive ways. How the nation was settled (mainly from East to West), how public lands were transferred to private hands, and how newcomers received vast amounts of land together shaped how Americans think about land (Johnson, H. 1976). Below is a list of American cultural themes associated with land. While not an exhaustive list, these ideal factors are central to the national culture: ideals for which land is simultaneously the instrument for attaining the ideal and the motivation for action. These ideals emerged from the interplay of peoples with the unique landscape features, and the character of the self-chosen immigrants to the new world.

The New World landscape and the subtle communal ownership of American Indians affected how successive waves of newcomers thought about land. Pioneer settlers from western and northern Europe encountered a landscape of a scale previously unknown to them, and one with objects of a grand size. Encounters with a vast continent with seemingly limitless horizons by peoples hungry for land, fostered the emergence of the first cultural theme that shapes American land tenure:

1) Bigger is better.

"A cult of bigness," in which "size is preferred even in things that might be better small" (Lowenthal 1968) motivates Americans to accumulate land, speculate on land, be wasteful of land, and even build big houses with immense front lawns (Jordan and Rowntree 1982; Zelinsky 1973). Communities spread out as railroads and then automobiles fostered expansion across the nation, logically extending the classic "main street" source of goods and services to the present "galactic city," covering vast areas (Hudson 1985; Lewis 1995).

Abundant lands influenced adoption of the rectangular land survey used to survey much of the nation's regions. The grid system has influenced the way Americans view the land, plan their communities, and perhaps realize dreams to control more, bigger places and things (Johnson, H. 1976). Close to three-quarters of the land in the forty-eight contiguous states and some of Alaska was divided by the rectangular survey. This survey system greatly facilitated the rapid transfer of vast amounts of land to private ownership because it:

> made possible the unambiguous description of land tracts and guaranteed security of ownership. The system made it simple to transfer land, which aided in the success of claim associations, and incidentally, that of speculators, it also contributed toward the attitude that land is a commodity, not a common good under the stewardship of its owners (Johnson, H. 1976: 219).

The U.S. did not invent the rectangular survey, it is known as early as the Romans, but the survey method is particularly well suited to level, relatively uninterrupted landscapes. Engraved on the old agriculture college building of the University of Illinois campus is an epigram that captures the reverence held for the land, "The wealth of Illinois is in her soils." Yet farmers exploited the resource, some say influenced by the notion that good farming

regardless of the slope or contour of the land became measured by the straightness of the furrow (Johnson, H. 1976: 196-200;204-5). The soil loss due to wind and water associated with the straight, deep plowing following the grid is considered by conservationists to be a mining of the soils.

Abundant land meant that nineteenth century native-born farmers diverged dramatically from Europeans who farmed land as a scarce resource. Native-born farmers historically were not considered good stewards of the soil. Though fertility-maintenance methods were known, the abundance of available land encouraged farmers to discard such practices as impractical and unnecessary. By the 1840s because farmers neglected such practices as manuring fields some Ohio soils showed the same depletion as those in the East pioneers had left behind. Depleted soils were abandoned as farmers followed the frontier west to new, more fertile land (Danhof 1969).

Jeffersonian notions of how democracy is best supported, infuses another cultural belief affecting American land tenure.

2) Ownership of land (or homes) is better for society (Bellah et al 1985) as well as a citizen's right (Griswold 1948).

Jefferson's vision of an ideal democratic society was agrarian; landownership by the citizenry was the bulwark of democracy. Owning land was seen by Jefferson as the means to economic security and a means to freedom. Of course, Jefferson thought government should protect the right to property and the immensity of land available beyond the frontier made such a right feasible (Griswold 1948).

The nation's value of farm or home ownership is connected with a cultural belief that democracy is best assured by ownership, just as Jefferson argued (Griswold 1948). That is, the general welfare of the nation and communities is best served by farmers owning their land (Strange 1988) or families owning their homes (Hummon 1989; Fitchen 1989). A newspaper's real-estate headline quotes Abraham Lincoln sounding like Jefferson: "The strength of the nation lies in the homes of its people (cited in Fitchen 1989: 320)." Our public policies, as early as the Homestead Act of 1863, reflect ownership considered as an entitlement. A homestead deeded to a citizen who occupied and cultivated the allotted acreage for five years was "the imprint in law of a concept of land that had emerged gradually with the growth of the Republic: that each head of a family was entitled to a home or farm" (U.S. Department of Interior 1976: 56). Ownership has become firmly embedded in the nation's economy and serves important societal goals (Perrin 1977; Fitchen 1989).

Ownership in the U.S. incorporates notions of an exclusive relationship to land (Fiske 1991). Owning land or property has come to mean defending the inviability of privacy and private property. Outcomes of these culturally shaped relationships to land are apparent in land use and inheritance patterns. Typically an American individual or family depends substantially on an inheritance of land from ancestors to achieve status, but professes being self-made (Clignet 1988; Salamon 1992). Property rights are relatively unlimited in the U.S.

and carry no obligation for wise-use of the land (Strange 1988). Environmental degradation by farming, ranching or mining that takes place on private property is therefore largely ignored; U.S. land is not considered a public resource or common property (Jorgensen 1984). "Land is a commodity that you can own and if you wish willfully destroy" (Strange 1988: 202). Currently landlords own 70 percent of U.S. farmland and rent out nearly two-thirds of their holdings (Gilbert and Beckley 1993). Majority control of community-land thus may be with owners who live elsewhere, and have no vested interests in community services (or other indexes of quality) supported with real estate tax-dollars.

Despite industrialization and urbanization the nation maintains agrarianism as an ideal. Farm Aid concerts can tug on national heartstrings with the message that families are losing their farms. Agrarian imagery permeates our society equating goodness, virtue, beauty and honesty with the countryside (Goldman and Dickens 1983). Agrarianism, however, has been transposed from the independent farmer to the American dream of land ownership embodied in the "single-family-detached house-type" (Perrin 1977). Our agrarian vision of the wholesomeness of country life for a family is linked to the preferences of Americans to live in rural or small towns rather than in cities (Hummon 1990). Such a vision fueled the national rural turnaround migration that has lasted with few exceptions since the 1970s (Beale 1989a). The vision also has suburbinized regions adjacent to metropolitan areas throughout the nation.

Land as a commodity underlies a third cultural ideal that of social mobility. Our individualistic and capitalistic society is based on the notion that if you work hard you can get ahead; do better than your parents did. Government policies such as The Homestead Act of 1863, inheritance laws that favor equal opportunities to all heirs, or the income tax system bias toward home owners, exemplify the national value placed on land ownership as the means to attain the American dream (Strauss 1971; Perrin 1977).

3) Social mobility is a realizable goal symbolized by land ownership.
The symbolic ladder of upward mobility is climbed by property ownership, or conversely moved downward without it. Property is a measure of status, viewed as a source of economic security, and a measure of a worthy citizen (Strauss 1971; Tocqueville 1990: 288-330).

A hierarchy of landownership is transcended through progressive stages of the life course, if one achieves the American dream (Perrin 1977). One moves from tenant status to that of ownership of successively larger farms or homes, according to the ideal of social mobility. Land and home simultaneously provide status as well as shelter or livelihood. Land ownership, especially in earlier historic periods allowed people to use property mobility to attain social mobility without a change in occupation (Thernstrom 1968). Immigrants pursuing the American dream, in particular, through painstaking accumulation of property holdings have improved their social standing. American Indians living on reservations likewise recently utilized land holdings for resorts, gambling, or natural resources to enhance the well-being of tribal peoples. Property ownership, however, is also an indicator of whether mobility is achieved by being symbolic of income differentials, racial inequalities, or geographical

differences (Hacker 1983; Perrin 1977).

Jefferson was opposed to achieving social mobility and perpetuation of wealth that prevailed among the English with their systems of entail and primogeniture inheritance (Griswold 1948). When he first drafted Virginia's laws, Jefferson's aim was to prevent an aristocracy from emerging by mandating an equal division of family property during intergenerational transfers. By such means Jefferson hoped to perpetuate his ideal, small farm-system that allowed more an equal chance to achieve individual liberty and equal opportunity. That is, there was a moral basis to his small-landowner system, but ultimately Jefferson had an agrarian goal that was a political and social ideal rather than an economic one(Griswold 1948).

Inheritance practices reproduce familial relations and the rank order of groups within a community and the wider society (Clignet 1992; Salamon 1992). Prior to the U.S. industrialization land was the most important source of wealth. Clignet argues that Americans downplay the importance of inheritance, although it is important to social status in the society, because "inheritance offends their belief in mobility and their desire to be liberated from the past (1992: 189)." Land, a form of "mechanical" inheritance remains especially important to enterprise reproduction when families are self-employed (farmers are an example). Land is also a stable resource, carrying little risk to heirs and its inheritance enhances the ability to accumulate other assets. Yet, when land comprises the bulk of the estate it is less likely to be divided equally among heirs than other assets (Clignet 1992). Conceivably inheritance of land acts differentially for each sex and thus can perpetuate gender differences in mobility and in the status hierarchy for families and communities. Ethnic origin, or cultural difference is a critical dimension of social reproductive processes, for ethnic groups possess distinctive motives for acquisition of land, possess distinctive beliefs regarding risk, and distinctive inheritance practices (Clignet 1992; Salamon 1992).

Bigness, ownership, and social mobility combine to form a national cultural framework, what Strauss (1971) terms "a context of relevance" that orients people to land. This cultural framework was encountered by the various ethnic groups who came in successive immigrant-waves to settle rural America. The ideals motivated many to come and helped shaped new ethnic identities (hyphenated-Americans), and in turn the interplay affected land tenure where each group settled. (See Figure 1).

ETHNIC COMMUNITIES AND LAND TENURE

Land tenure has two manifestations, geographical/physical and customary practices/social, both shaped by culture. In this section the visible geographical features of the landscape are first discussed and then the customary practices of families, not so easily discernable, are outlined. Geographical features such as the layout of a community or the surveying of a territory in the U.S. are heavily influenced by the culture of the original inhabitants. In turn, the everyday surroundings of farm and village constitute an aesthetic of the landscape, what is taken-for- granted about how the world should look. That is, culture shapes the physical world and correspondingly culture is acted on by what it created.

Land Tenure and Landscape: Visible Cultural Dimensions

Contemporary rural landscapes are best understood starting with the past, the source of culture that shaped them. Each region of the nation was settled differently and became dominated by particular ethnic groups. Ethnic population concentrations today reflect the intersection of European and United States historical events at immigration time. For example, Germans migrating in greatest numbers coincided with the opening of agricultural opportunities in the Midwest. Groups remain in 1980 where they originally settled in significant numbers (Leiberson and Waters 1988). As a consequence of the intersection of the cultural systems, historical moment, and the land available at settlement, the agricultural landscape, community plan, and land tenure differ among ethnic groups. Families farming in the same region, with similar soils, could be expected to have farms of similar shape or size. Operating according to differing cultural schemas, however, signifies differing conceptions for farm and village, as well as differing land- acquisition incentives or intergenerational transfers (Salamon 1992).

American Indians, the original rural inhabitants, accounted for the frontier features encountered by subsequent settlers. Whether an aboriginal population lived in permanent settlements as along the Mississippi and the Southeast, or were nomads as in the High Plains speeded or slowed the inexorable spread of immigrants. European-American's adaptation to the local ecology involved adoption of some American Indian cultural traits: names for places and species, indigenous foods, native medicinal plants, crops and farming practices.

From the early seventeenth until the mid-eighteenth century four different waves of English-speaking settlers brought ways of life that began the formation of distinctive regional cultures: Puritans from eastern England to Massachusetts; Royalist elite and many indentured servants from southern England to Virginia; a largely Quaker movement from the North English and Welsh Midlands to the Delaware Valley; and from the border areas of north Britain and northern Ireland to the Appalachian highlands. Migrants from these cores fanned out across the East, South, Midwest, and Southern Highland respectively (Fischer 1989). Because in the early period labor was in short supply (especially in the South and far West), racial minorities were used-- African-American slaves or Chinese and Japanese recruited as low-paid laborers--to develop the nation's economy. In just fifty years during the mid-nineteenth century the Midwest was settled through one of the most extraordinary transfers of land and people the world has known. While the settlers were white, had Christianity, farming, and Northern and Western European peasant backgrounds in common, their cultural differences led the Midwest particularly to be termed an ethnic mosaic. As a result of the Mexican-American war Mexicans living in what is now the Southwest were granted citizenship. Their cultures interacted with the Pueblos and other tribes to form the distinctive Southwest landscape (Conzen, M. 1990).

Ethnic groups as a consequence of events in their native lands, such as the Irish Potato Famine, arrived at historical periods when particular areas of the nation were opening. The immigrants came from Old World places having land tenure systems that had evolved for

centuries. Cultural notions about property rights were imposed on America where land was in abundance. Spanish, French, Dutch and English dealt differently with the tribal peoples and their communal attitude toward land (Hart 1975). Newcomers left a distinctive cultural mark on the landscape of settlement patterns and land survey systems. (See Figure 2.) The English set the policies for much of the Northeast with nucleated villages and fragmented farms. The Dutch in the Hudson valley used more of a feudal system of large land grants to individuals. In Texas, Spain, New Mexico, Colorado, and California the Spanish granted land in large blocks, Indian pueblos --the land they already used, or farming villages in irrigable valleys of the Rio Grande. The French distinctively used the "long-lot" system of land division wherever they settled. In this system all holdings are set at right angles to road or river frontage providing access to transportation or fishing, and extended backward through tillable land to a wood lot (Hart 1975).

Culture affected how people farmed the quality of life they experienced. Whether farm families lived near neighbors or more dispersed in the countryside had implications for mobilization of labor, exchanges and the support women felt (Salamon and Keim 1979). Farms in the United States, in contrast to European fragmented farms, are more often contiguous unit-blocks. The checkerboard dispersed pattern of the Midwest is a good example. Geographers explain the unit-block pattern as connected with conditions such as prevailed in much of the U.S.: peace and security of the countryside, settlement by individual families rather than cohesive groups, agricultural private enterprise, well-drained land with water available (Jordan and Rowntree 1982). (See Figure 3) Unit-block farms in the U.S. neither are uniformly rectangular nor resembling the long-lot pattern. Rather in many instances irregular shapes result from the metes and bounds surveying-system which makes use of natural features such as trees, rocks, and streams. Metes and bounds surveying dominates the eastern part of the country. Ohio, served as a testing ground for several surveying-system experiments in preparation for the Northwest Territory platting. About one-sixth of Ohio was laid out unsystematically without a plan in the Virginia Military Survey area. It is interesting to note that the latter area has more property litigation over boundaries than the rest of the state combined. The township and range system used in northwestern Ohio was extended to the Territory and is responsible for farmers reckoning their land in fractions of 640 acre sections (Hart 1975). The Northwest Territory system dominates most of the country. (See Figure 4.) Culture thus modified the environment producing a highly varied agrarian landscape across the nation.

The Spanish, the French, the Germans, the British and other groups also left a distinctive cultural mark in the form of village land tenure patterns (Hart 1975: Jordan and Rowntree 1982). What geographers call the "cultural landscape" reveals traces of "ethnic imprints" that explain the distinctive regional character to the American landscape. Ethnic groups in addition to the land division described previously had preferences for house, farmstead, barns, communal facilities, church, and village styles. The grid survey and homestead laws favored dispersed settlement patterns, but nucleated village plans emerged in some locals, particularly in association with religious-based communities (Conzen, M. 1990).

Michael Conzen (1990: 239-241) clusters many factors that favored an ethnic imprint on the landscape: volume of immigration sufficient to form a significant spatial cluster, relative isolation for a long period, sufficient economic resources, and strong shared values. In contrast the combined factors least likely to produce an ethnic imprint on farm and village landscape are: "heterogeneous migrant streams, dispersed destinations, little tendency to cluster, lack of success in colonization (leading to geographical mobility), and the pull of the new culture (Conzen, M. 1990:241)." A distinctive ethnic imprint to the rural landscape, once denigrated, is now ironically used to attract tourism, for economic development purposes.

Land Tenure and Families: Less Visible Cultural Factors

After settlement a dynamic process took place in which culture, history, and context interacted to shape new ethnic types among the pioneers. Each American ethnic group now differs culturally from that in their ancestral homeland, and from that brought by immigrant families founding the original community. Because behaviors vested in the family changed more slowly than, for example language, the emergent cultural structure retains continuity with the past (Salamon 1992; 1993). U.S. farm families, like farmers worldwide, mesh the domestic order with work so that kinship considerations form the context for most actions. As these households go about reproducing family and farm the cultural system undergoes change: some aspects are altered rapidly and others more slowly. Among farmers the vested interests of those who control land and thereby dominate families and communities, are areas that change slowly because actors seek to preserve their social positions and that of their successors (Bloch 1985; Ortner 1990). For this reason, how land is handled reflects what families consciously want to reproduce for the future and maintain from the past.

In every generation, as owners age and prepare to die the ritual transfer of family land must be dealt with. As land control moves through families via intergenerational transfers or through communities via the land market, the transmission is a vehicle for recreating and re-enacting the cultural system, even while modifying it. Family relationships linked with land practices in general are taken-for-granted, carried out in an unthinking manner because "that is how we do things." Maintenance of a specific family relationship to land is the way people publicly re-endorse the compelling and meaningful beliefs that order their lives (Ortner 1984).

As a consequence of the lifecourse a normal intergenerational transfer of farmland occurs about once every twenty-five years, amounting to approximately a 4 percent annual turnover. Because some land is transferred within families through inheritance, gifts, or preferential sales only a small amount reaches the open market. Over the span of a generation, however, 4 percent a year can amount to a considerable proportion of land in a rural community (Reiss 1976). As families carry out intergenerational transfers of land and farms, their choices are shaped by cultural beliefs and specific environmental constraints. These factors also shape how they contend with forces external to the community. The local land tenure system evolves as a community's families, who share an ethnic identity, make similar choices over time. Ethnic-group differences pivot on practices derived from beliefs about what land confers, whether the family-lineage or the individual fundamentally owns

land, whether siblings cooperate, and whether community allegiance is a commitment associated with the family farm. Cultural distinctions are played-out as consequences from the processes of land- and farm- concentration.

Cultural Dimensions of Family Factors Affecting Agricultural Land Tenure

Family relationships, shaped by cultural beliefs about who should control land, are central to the reproduction of family farms. The kinship system (kin obligations, priorities, and rights) is fundamentally how the ethnic group perpetuates a distinctive identity. The anthropologist Francis Hsu categorizes kinship systems by linking kin beliefs with family interaction patterns (Hsu 1965, 1971). He argues that a single, primary relationship in the nuclear family--husband-wife or father-son, for example--is dominant, valued, by being relied on to perpetuate the group. Accordingly, the other family dyads are subordinated or viewed negatively. When aggregated at the community level these subtle differences have had implications for how a particular local land tenure system develops. Intergenerational transfers of land, shaped by culture, can thus be the engine for agricultural land tenure by affecting: persistence in farming, fragmentation of land holdings, and concentration of farms (Salamon 1992, 1993).

Three family-land dimensions, framed as questions below, emerged as pivotal for land tenure issues in cultural systems. Culture shapes how land is handled and in turn the handling of land shapes the nature of family and communities. Each of the questions must be viewed as answered according to a cultural schema, by the kinship system, in the nuclear family context, and by land practices. The pivotal dimensions of family-land connections are as follows:

1) **Who owns "family owned" land?**
   How this question is answered shapes relations between couples and between parents-children, and is evident in practices of farm management, succession, and retirement. Reproduction of family gender inequalities and secondarily inequalities between generations are a product of how land is transferred and ultimately such practices have implications for the concentration of land ownership

2) **Is the group or individual welfare held in highest priority?**
   How this question is answered shapes family priorities and levels of cooperation among siblings and between generations, and is evident in practices of inheritance of farmland. Reproduction of gender inequalities and gender patterns of ownership in families and communities are particularly linked to this dimension.

3) **Are strong connections between the household and community valued?**
   How this question is answered shapes access to land and thus has implications for which families (and who in families) maintain continuity in farming. These practices are particularly linked to the reproduction of community-status and gender inequalities which have implications for land acquisition.

Families of a specific ethnic group answer the above questions with typical land practices that aim at reproducing existing inequalities in the family and community. Subtle practices repeated over generations effect whether a successor is produced, a viable farm kept intact by intergenerational transfers, or continuity of ownership maintained. Such processes affect the availability of land and thus access to farming in communities. Family decisions thus provide the link between a cultural schema and distinctive outcomes of a local land tenure system. The key family-land dimensions identified are likely to be pivotal to land tenure systems in agrarian societies elsewhere and can be the basis for comparative research (Goldschmidt and Kunkel, 1971).

Dimension 1) Who Owns Land: Reproduction of Gender and Generational Inequalities

Cultural beliefs can assign control of family land to the male head of household, to both parents, or to parents and children according to which dyad in the nuclear family is valued for reproduction of the family and farm (Hsu, 1965). Typically among white, middle-class Americans, the sexual bond between husband and wife is emphasized and the intergenerational bond between father and son is de-emphasized (Schneider 1980; Hsu 1965). The American pattern is the reverse of the father-son bond dominant in patrilineal kinship systems, most commonly associated with agrarian societies (Goldschmidt and Kunkel 1971). Dominance of either dyad is implemented through greater control over land (in the context of the lifecourse in agrarian societies) and therefore more power over the lives of other family members.

When the husband and wife dyad is dominant, exclusiveness expressed by an unwillingness to share resources, and a dedication to individualism prevails (Hsu 1965). A married couple who characteristically term themselves business partners expect children to leave the marital household, spurn parental authority, and make their way in the world independently. Household and farm resources in this schema belong primarily to the parents, and are rightfully the children's only after parents die. Because the farm is their personal property, parents feel little obligation to involve children in management or plans. The father and son relationship may be competitive and acrimonious because the son is not the instrument valued for continuity. The husband and wife bond as the dominant dyad creates a family structure less patriarchal both with respect to same- or intergenerational-relations. However, production of a successor is not assured by this system particularly because the generational inequalities often make the successor role demeaning for sons. Such a kinship emphasis was found associated with farming communities whose ancestry can be traced to the Protestant British Isle (Salamon 1992).

Continuity, according to Hsu (1965), is central to the dominance of the father-son dyad. When continuity is a high priority, the preference for a son to farm means that each father and son relationship forms a link in an unbroken chain of such relationships. Because of the intergenerational dependence inherent to the dyad, hierarchical lines of authority are clearly drawn. Parents need sons (or a child) to assure continuity of the family farm, and the successor is dependent on the father who controls the entrance to farming. Authority is male

centered, and the son, who embodies continuity by virtue of carrying the family name, is favored over daughters. A successor is more assured by this cultural system and generational and gender inequalities are reinforced. Such a kinship emphasis was found associated with farming communities whose ancestry can be traced to Germany (Salamon 1992). Because Germans and Protestant British Isles descendants are the major ethnic groups farming in the Midwest, their family patterns account for the majority of local land tenure systems in the region (Salamon 1992).

Dimension 2) Group versus the Individual: Reproduction of Gender and Generational Inequalities

Cultural schemes enhance the generation- and gender-hierarchies by whose rights to land are customarily favored. Uniformly on Midwestern grain farms, men are acknowledged as the farmer though men always say, "You can't farm without a wife." In addition to being the farmer, men market the family grain and thus control distribution of what is produced (Rosenfeld, R. 1985). Because the producer-manager is the highest family status in farm communities, men control the means for maintaining a superior position in the family's and the community's hierarchy (Friedl 1975). Moreover, inheritance patterns and the legal system have combined historically to maintain the dominance of males in families and communities through their perceived control over land, regardless of actual ownership.

Inheritance is the final intergenerational transfer and kin ideals cast the family as a social context. Married siblings are torn between the demands of their procreative and natal families and even so basic a collective goal as the continued viability of the farm may be contested. At the time of parental estate settlements sibling rivalries may culminate over financial support owed the successor to the farm versus pursuit of the nonsuccessors' self-interests. When heirs keep all land inherited and show a reluctance to sell a tenure pattern of land fragmentation occurs (as found among German-Americans). When most children leave farming or the community the potential for sibling conflict is dampened. A willingness to sell land and less commitment to continuity is linked with fewer fragmented land holdings, more concentration of farms, and more rental land held by absentee owners (as found among Americans whose ancestors came from the Protestant British Isles) (Salamon 1992).

Farm families planning intergenerational farm transfers confront a dilemma: how to treat all members according to the American ideal of equity without destroying the farm in the process. Female heirs present a particular problem for family-farm continuity (Salamon and Davis-Brown 1988). A son is a potential farmer, but a daughter may either marry a farmer or marry a non-farmer and leave agriculture. Either way, any land she inherits could be lost to the natal family before the next intergenerational land transfer. Among some American farm families, however, continuity has become secondary to the goal of equality in intergenerational transfer of farm resources. Shifting to absolute equal treatment among children reflects the historic emergence of a U.S. ideal for providing each children with equal resources and an equal opportunity in the world (Farber 1973; Clignet 1992), and an emergent child-rearing philosophy minimizing differences from age, sex, or education (Rosenfeld, J. 1979). The

changing customs result in American daughters in urban and rural contexts inheriting equally with sons, regardless of ethnic origin (Clignet 1992).

Despite equal inheritance values and the enhancement of women's right to hold property, the amount of farmland controlled by women in the nation has not increased substantially. As an illustration, only 17 percent of Illinois farmland is owned by women (Geisler, Waters and Eadie 1985). How did this seemingly illogical state of affairs develop? It may be what women do with the land they inherit or their discretionary freedom accounts for the continued national dominance of male owners. For example, an early Wisconsin tenure study documented a process whereby owner-operatorship moved out of families as intergenerational transfers were influenced by cumulative "natural" circumstances such as timing of retirement and children leaving the farm. The consequences of equal inheritance by both the farming son and the nonfarm siblings were generally negative for the successor (Salter 1943). Thus, the socialization of women, as a variation on a Salter natural circumstance, may shape a woman's commitment toward herself (or family of procreation) versus her natal family - as symbolized by the farm or family land. How women choose or are socialized to choose to use their farmland contributes to distinctive land tenure patterns among certain religious groups (Salamon and Davis-Brown 1988) or ethnic groups (Salamon 1992).

Another explanation for the dearth of women farmland owners (Geisler, Waters and Eadie 1985) may lie in the discriminatory probate customs that prevailed in the nation until the late 1970s. Although a married couple worked together, and together bought land and registered the farm in both names, the courts prior to reform of the law considered the male real-owner. Ownership and operation of the farm were equated (Rogers and Vandeman 1993). If she died before him, a husband paid no inheritance tax. If he died before her, however, a widow was responsible for paying inheritance tax. Even on jointly held land, historically, it was and is common for women to have life-use rather than full title to land, so that an income is for them and a tax savings for heirs are secured (Rogers and Vandeman 1993). As a consequence, although a woman might have her name on land or life use, families and communities have viewed males as the true owners of farmland (Salamon 1993; Salamon and Keim 1979). Finally, the practice of men being the farmer and women historically leaving the farm may mean that urban-women are more willing to sell off an inheritance than are their rural brothers.

Equal treatment of female heirs, when land is transferred from one generation to the next, favors the individual over the group. When a woman controls land in her name, she is able to wield power by controlling others' lives and influencing the course of events. Control over land is visible to the community and her family. Women who do not inherit land, nor control that they do inherit, have less power in U.S. farming communities (Salamon and Keim 1979; Salamon and Davis-Brown 1988). It is interesting that commitment to gender equality has been found greater among those whose estate is stocks and bonds rather than those whose estate is mainly land (Rubinstein 1980; Clignet 1992). Such preferences are central to

reproduction of a gender hierarchy in families.

Dimension 3) Household and Community: Reproduction of Status Inequalities

The land tenure system underlies the social divisions in rural society (Goldschmidt 1978; Salamon 1992; Newby 1980). When farms are more concentrated, a few wealthy families control most community land-resources. This system is inherently hierarchical, and differences are expressed through striking contrasts in management and living styles. When land resources are distributed more homogeneously and most farms approximate the average in size, a community's social structure more nearly approaches a democratic, egalitarian system envisioned by Jefferson (Griswold 1948). In this latter context, less differentiated strata prevail since families control relatively equivalent resources and qualities other than wealth can shape the community's social hierarchy (Salamon 1992).

Success, according to bigger is better standard for land owned and farm size, automatically confers higher status in farm communities. Farm and land consolidation opportunities are linked to stratification of the community's social structure (Schulman, Garrett, and Newman 1989). Social status effectively limits economic options and along with a family's farm size, its operation type, and its settlement history. All households in a community lack equal access to land due to their social connections. Market information, for instance, flows through social networks and a family's placement in a network either fosters or hinders its access to land. Those families with the longest legacy and the largest proportion of the community land base, are in the best position to accumulate capital for consolidation purposes. Thus, the local land market has tended to facilitate farm-concentration, as large part-owner operators grow bigger at the expense of tenants and smaller owners. An example of this process, is the tendency of farm managers to favor large operators over small, and absentee owners or their agents seeking a quick sale follow the same logic. Furthermore, large farm size is wielded to gain a management advantage. Farm managers are impressed with quick planting and harvesting. Landowning families, because land holdings confer power, can buttress their position by making use of preferential opportunities made available to those with a privileged position in stratified social networks (Salamon 1992; 1993).

Strange (1988) argues that the federal tax-favoritism given landowning-families actually accelerates farm and ownership concentration. Strange cites Jefferson as the proponent of a progressive property tax to guarantee that land does not become concentrated in the hands of a few, but remains distributed in a more egalitarian manner. To assure the ideal of a Jeffersonian democracy based on small, independent landowners Strange proposes a progressive inheritance tax on farmland that would assure that every generation would have to pay for the land by farming it (1988: 274-75). Of course, this proposal violates cultural ideology that bigger is better for economic as well as status ends.

Status differences based on farmland ownership likewise differentiate property owners in urban and suburban America. Renters have less status than do a homeowner, and larger and more ostentatious owned lots and homes are of higher status yet (Perrin 1977). "Making-

it" as indicated by the social ranking of dwellings, commonly measures social mobility (Hummon 1989). Success connected with property is good business for the nation. The construction industry's "housing starts" of single-family dwellings typically measures the health of the economy while interests rates are typically evaluated by the affordability of a home mortgage. Perrin (1977), in a Jeffersonian tradition, posits a cultural equation between home-ownership and good citizenship. A recent report (Rossi and Weber 1995) supports this equation. A study of 13,000 households interviewed once and another 1,500 household interviewed annually between 1988-93 found that owners are more involved in the local community than are renters. Owners are more likely to actively serve in local improvement organizations, attend meetings of the group, and lobby elected officials on issues that concern the community. That is, homeowners are better citizens in the Jeffersonian sense. Perhaps as a consequence of citizenship, found the study, homeowners' children are less likely to drop out of school, be adolescent parents, or be arrested regardless of income level or race. The down-side of ownership was that the burden of household chores was greater. Thus, culture and state encourage home ownership and such citizens help to reproduce the culture and state desired by ideology.

HOME AS LAND IN A POST-AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

Agrarianism is deeply rooted in the American consciousness although farmers represent less than 2 percent of the population (Beale 1989b). Agrarianism, however, was shifted to new contexts as the nation was transformed by urbanization and industrialization. Owning one's own home is agrarianism translated, by industrialization and rising population, from farm landownership to home ownership of urbanites and especially suburbanites. Among urban and suburban populations a home (that combines land with a dwelling) represents achievement of the American dream as does control of farmland in rural areas (Hummon 1989). That the American dream of even owning a modest home is threatened for average families, by rising costs for housing and land, is considered a national tragedy.

Housing-architecture, like land-surveying and town-plans, reveals the intersection of geography, history and ethnicity. Geographers have long known that ordinary house-types reveal migration streams in a region and thus patterns of diffusion and cultural variation (Kniffen 1965; Conzen, M. 1990). American housing, like farmland, follows the national ideals of bigness, ownership and social mobility. Lavish uses of space - for large homes and large lots-- distinguish American housing from that of Europe or Asia (Zelinsky 1973). Further, a decided preference exists for the freestanding owned home on its own land and a disproportionately small fraction of the population living in apartments or other types of multiple dwellings, typically in or around major cities (Perrin 1977). In fact, when Americans achieve wealth typically the symbol of upward mobility is a bigger home on a larger lot. Our use of housing is indicative of our national high geographic and social mobility. Few expect to live their entire lifetime in the same house. Finally, the grand American front-lawn, a nonfunctional show piece, characterizes our extravagant use of space and the importance of the home as a symbol of affluence and achievement (Zelinsky 1973: 88-94).

A home represents a necessity of life, but Americans rarely nor does any other society for that matter, treat homes just as a necessity. These critical possessions are symbolic of us, family, way of life, and social rank. As such homes are expressions of identity-- who we are, what we value (Hummon 1989; Fitchen 1989). Just as land contributed to perpetuation of an ethnic community and ethnic identity, dwellings that are culturally significant can support a group identity and community (Conzen, M. 1990; Hummon 1989). Gender differences similarly are perpetuated by cultural ties between women and home (Hummon 1989). Domesticity, despite women entering the paid labor force in great numbers, is associated with women. Responsibility for home-upkeep in the form of domestic chores likewise remains women's work in spite of her working outside the home. Class differences exist for how homes are used, the meaning of neighborhood and the symbolism a home has for identity (Hummon 1989; Salamon and Tornatore 1994). Such differences can bring families into conflict. Because a home is the major investment of the middle-classes when home values are threatened by another's actions, one's basic identity is also assaulted (Fitchen 1989; Salamon and Tornatore 1994).

RESEARCH AGENDA FOR CULTURAL ASPECTS OF LAND TENURE

Ethnic Mapping of People and Places

We know that land tenure is a local issue. Because a land tenure system is shaped by culture, it is important to understand our national patterns of cultural variation. Such information is accessible in rural settings because ethnic groups remain today where they originally settled in significant numbers, based on studies of the 1980 census which was the first to obtain data on ethnic ancestry (Lieberson and Waters 1988; Salamon 1992). Detailed mapping of ethnic stocks to provide explanations for economic behavior-variation is actually an old idea. George Hill (1941) called for adding a "nationality map" to the soils and agricultural maps used as standard reference materials having observed the significance of ethnic origin for influencing behavior. He remarked:

> Farm-investment people have told us that one farm had a higher per acre loan value than another, even though the two were located side by side and apparently alike in every respect; crop people were stumped in giving an answer to the variability of crop cultivation in similar soil-type areas; economists found difficulty in explaining the extreme variation in tenancy patterns in single locations; and sociologists and welfare workers were perplexed with their dissimilar caseload distributions from town to town within counties. In all these fields differences in culture types help explain the divergences (Hill 1941: 43).

We now have census data on ancestry to facilitate such mapping. However, census data are most appropriate for constructing large-scale, county-level maps, but are not accurate for rural ethnic groups, which typically settled in non-conformance with township and county boundaries. Geographers term the level of mapping needed for detailing ethnic location "medium-scale." Such maps depend on data compiled from numerous sources, limited only by the investigators ingenuity. Techniques reported to locate ethnic groups incorporate plat maps, interviews, telephone, church directories, and local agricultural professionals as sources

(Hill 1942; Raitz 1978; Salamon 1992). State-level data collected with such techniques are relatively rare because the collection process is labor-intensive. Raitz (1978) in a valuable review of rural ethnic maps identified existing maps for: Missouri's Ozark region (Gerlach 1976), Minnesota (Marshall 1949), Michigan (Thaden 1946), Wisconsin (Hill 1942), Texas (Jordan 1970) and Kansas (Carman 1962). More recent ethnic maps are of North Dakota ethnic groups (Sherman 1983) and Appalachia (Raitz, Ulack and Leinbach 1984).

Distribution of Ownership/Operators of Farmland

Increasing absentee ownership of farmland means that community land-tenure control potentially shifts to those not involved in the local social system (Gilbert and Beckley 1993). Absentee ownership or even absentee-operatorship (those that travel in to farm and leave immediately) are land-tenure elements crucial to local social-welfare and environmental concerns. For example, if absentee-owners or absentee-operators control the land in a watershed, but do not use the water, little incentive exists for adoption of environmentally sensitive cultivation and chemical farming systems, nor to adequately fund a local school system. Traditional forms of social control are irrelevant to such owners. Continuation of the Agricultural Economics and Land Ownership Survey (AILS) is an urgent land-tenure database need (Wunderlich 1988). It would be particularly useful if AELOS were combined with cultural indicators such as ethnic origin, to provide a data base for understanding national social and cultural land-tenure.

Land Use in a Post-Agricultural Rural Society

Although Midwestern villages today may have changed little physically from a time when life was focused on farming, distinctive nonagrarian social structures have emerged. Residents of "post-agricultural" communities are unrelated or only tenuously connected, economically or socially, to the families that operate the surrounding farms. Such communities have arisen as a consequence of farm concentration, dwindling population, and reduced economic opportunities in the Midwest. Post-agricultural communities are essentially residential. Thus, issues of status, image, identity, and style consequently are focused on property. Dwellings in these communities, unlike in agricultural communities, become a vehicle for differentiating symbolic boundaries, reinforcing privacy, domesticity, consumption, social production, and respectability (Hummon 1989; Salamon and Tornatore 1994). We know little, however, of the ways status differences are expressed through homes in the post-agricultural community nor how to separate symbols of class from the absence of zoning and a high level of self-employment.

Post-agricultural communities are emerging in different forms (depending on who moves in) and the transformed communities differ from when the social structure of the small-town Midwest and other regions was based on a farming-dependent land tenure system (Salamon and Tornatore 1994). Class tensions have always existed in rural communities but were muted when people shared an agricultural identity, ethnicity, and lifelong residence. Post-agricultural communities chart a new course for rural society, for its residents are defined not by occupation, shared history, or family background, but by residence. We need to look

at the land tenure changes that result when a shift occurs from an agricultural-land use to a residential or industrial use. Whether social rankings are increased, decreased or in other ways fundamentally altered is unknown. Furthermore, we need to examine whether small towns will operate according to the cultural ideals of the past --volunteerism, cooperation, and egalitarism --now that the social structure and land tenure look more like urban or at least suburban America.

Physical Construction of Communities and Homes as a Culture of Land Tenure

The home is well studied as an embodiment of identity, status, security and mobility. Hummon (1989) says existing research about, "the specific cultural codes transmitted by different housing forms and styles of decoration, is rudimentary, even for the dominant middle-class culture. We know even less about the meanings of dwelling place and identity within the subcultures of the less powerful, such as children or poor urban blacks or Hispanics" (Hummon 1989: 223). The effects of the built environment such as a slum (Suttles 1968) versus a townhouse development, the implications of crowding in rural areas (Fitchen 1991) on the well-being of poor families are fruitful areas of land tenure study about which we know little. We do know the recent federal take over of the Chicago Public Housing Authority publicly acknowledged a planning failure. The announced remedy for the human created urban disaster is the building of single-family homes to create lower-density community-like neighborhoods.

Land Tenure Shapes Culture

Culture and land tenure interact. Culture, as we saw previously, shapes land tenure. Just as important but little understood is the process whereby land tenure shapes culture. This discussion will cite a few case studies that focus on how a land tenure system affects the way people think and feel about themselves and their community. Striking changes in land tenure can alter fundamental taken-for-granted cultural notions about the meaning of land, property and community. Very little research has dealt with such issues.

Case Study 1: Roosevelt's New Deal policies are considered a direct legacy of the Jeffersonian ideals for a good society (Griswold 1948). A New Deal resettlement program carried during the late 1930s and early 1940s had as its goal to provide ownership opportunities to black Southern sharecroppers so that their lives would be improved. In a pathbreaking study (Salamon, L. 1979) of Holmes County, Mississippi and other counties where the government resettled landless farmers on land taken-over during the Depression, the long-term effects were dramatic. The resettlement program created a permanent cadre of black middle-class landowners who because they were economically independent became central to democracy's spread in the deep South during the 1960s.

Case Study 2: Smaller landowning-farmers, in the Jeffersonian tradition have the security of ownership and lack of financial risk that encourages adoption of more sustainable farming systems (Bird et al.) and concern about preserving the environment (Rendziak 1995). Operators of smaller farms, who owned most of their land are more likely than large operators

dependent on rental land, to rank protection of a nearby river over short-term economic returns.

Case Studies 3 and 4: Along the eastern corridor of the nation the increase ownership of second-homes in rural areas has dramatically altered local land tenure and civic government (Fitchen 1991). Tensions are created, in communities no longer dominated by agriculture, by the inmigration of middle-class exurbanites with more wealth and education than the established rural residents (Spain 1993). Newcomers demand more services than did old timers and the building of upscale homes or renovation of older ones inflate taxes and land prices. Old timers or their children cannot afford the housing market in the communities whose ambiance they originated (Fitchen 1991). In a different change scenario, stratification can intensify when lower-income families move into deteriorated, surplus rural housing. One Midwestern village became a highly contested territory in which the struggle for community control came to be symbolized by conflicts over property between newcomers and the old guard. While newcomers and the old guard alike idealize small-town life, neither trusts the opposing faction to hold similar priorities regarding the appearance and use of real estate or domestic property (Salamon and Tornatore 1994).

Shifting from an agricultural land use structure to a residential one in rural areas -- a change linked to the automobile and road building - has fundamentally changed the look of the landscape and the cultural notions of land use. Urban America is now invading rural America in larger numbers and commercial development has followed closely behind (Lewis 1995). We need to learn more about the emergent patterns of land tenure, social structure, and cultural systems that are accompanying the transformation of vast tracts of farm fields to suburban America.

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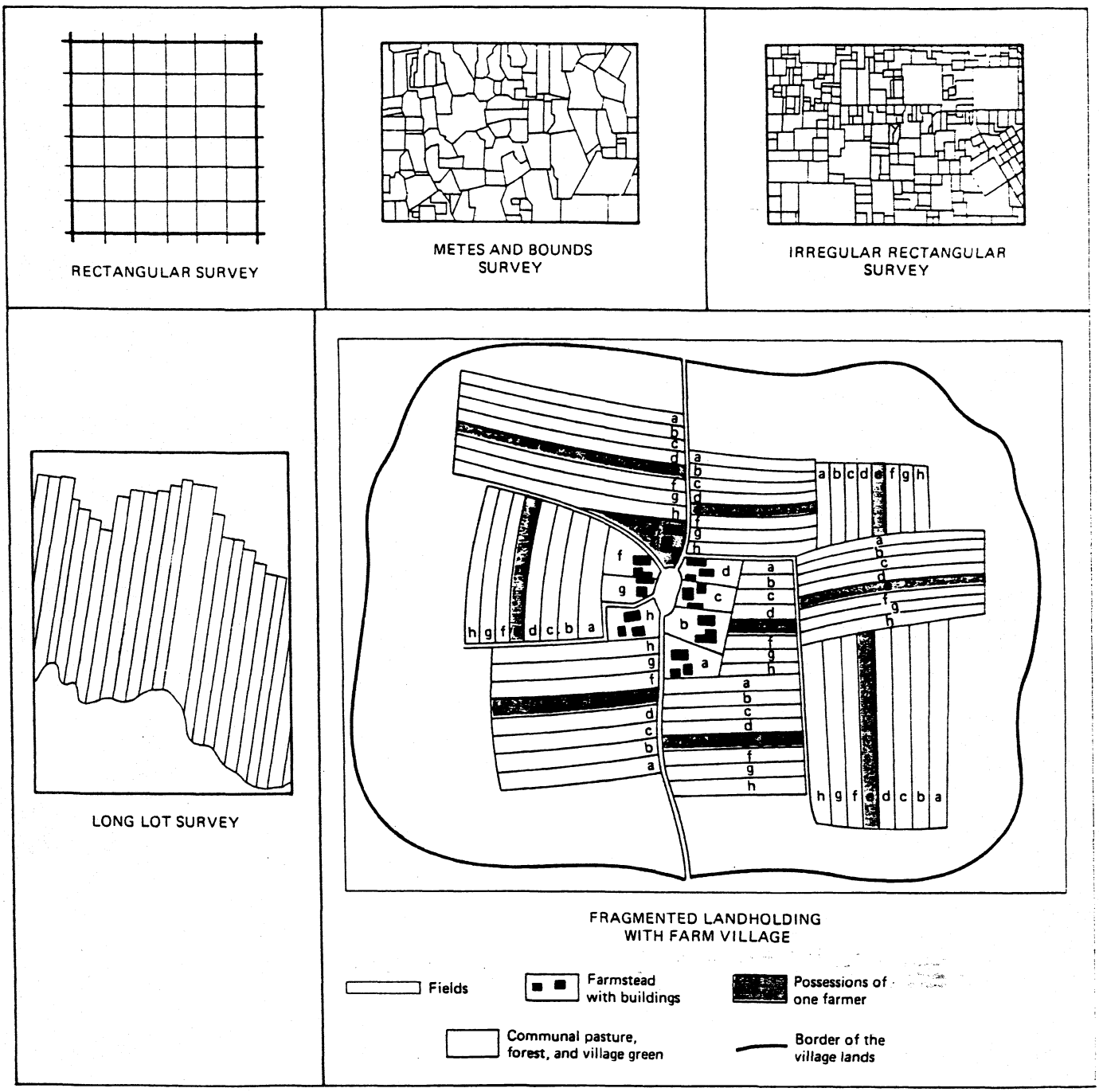

Figure 1. Various ethnic groups divided the landscape into farms differently. (Source: Jordan and Rowntree 1982: 98.)

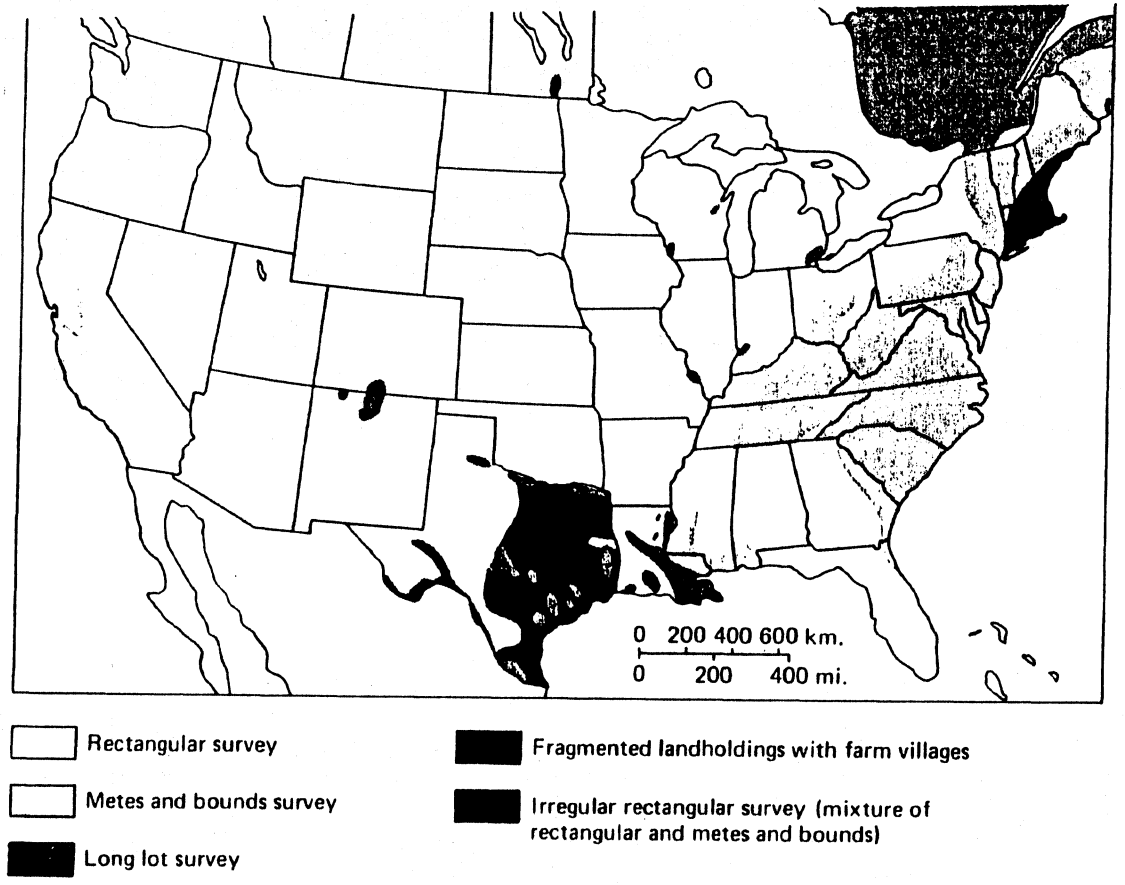

Figure 2. Original land survey patterns in U.S. and southern Canada. Patterns associated with particular ethnic groups.
(Source: Jordan and Rowntree 1982: 99.)

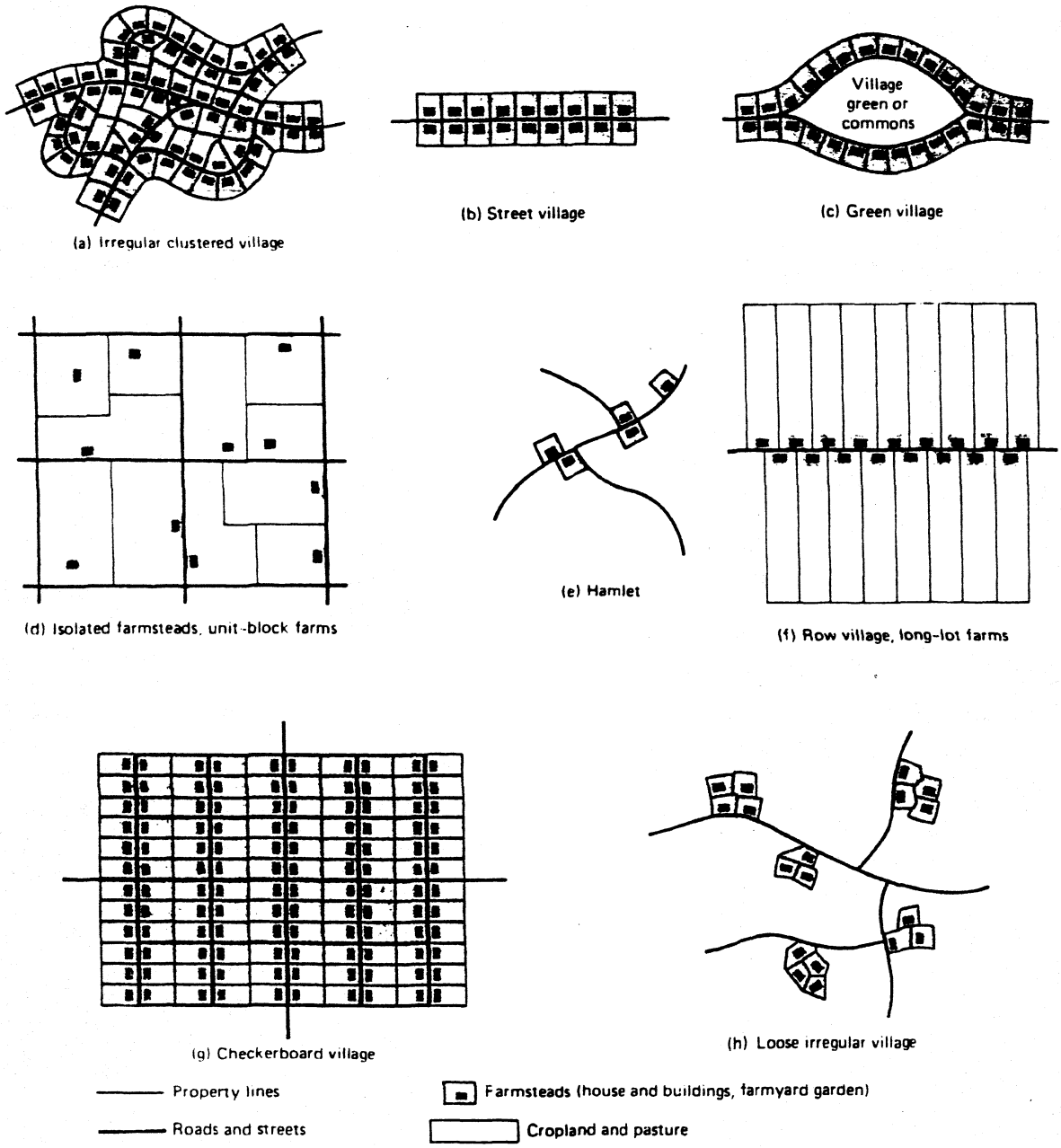

Figure 3. Where farmsteads were originally located related to the place of ethnic origin and conceptions of village life brought as cultural baggage. (Source: Jordan and Rowntree 1982: 60.)