TIES, NETS AND AN ELASTIC BUND;

THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY IN

THE POSTMODERN CITY

Published as (1996) "Ties, nets and an elastic bund: The concept of community in postmodern society" in Community Development Journal July 1996 (Oxford UP)

by Greg Smith

ABSTRACT

This article attempts to clarify some of the many value laden meanings of "community" found in the discourses of politics and community work in Britain in the 1990s. It examines some historical developments in society and sociological understandings of "community" down to present "postmodern" times, majoring on the concepts of Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft & Bund and the insights of community studies. Finally the paper will seek to set the notion and practice of community work within a value system derived from the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and to spell out the implications for community work in urban Britain at the end of the 20th Century.

Greg Smith is the Research Officer at Aston Charities Community Involvement Unit and an Honorary Visiting Research Fellow at the University of East London

contact address Aston CIU, Durning Hall
Earlham Grove
London E7 9AB, U.K.

tel. 0181 519 2244

fax. 0181 519 5472

Email Greg3@uel.ac.uk

COMMUNITY ... THE SACRED WORD

Of all the words in sociological discourse community is the one that most obviously comes from Wonderland, in that it can mean just what you want it to mean. It is in the words of our title elastic indeed. In 1955 Hillery listed 94 different definitions and suggested that the only thing in common was people. It is a fine example of a "purr" word, even a "God" word in that like "family", "motherhood" and "apple pie" it produces a warm glow in the listener and elevates the speaker to the moral high ground (Donnison 1993). Being "sacred" opens the way for its use by priests, philosophers and politicians alike, and it will be no surprise if this paper slides from the sociology of community, to the sociology of religion and even the theology of community as the discussion is developed.

However, the notion that "community" is an intrinsic good has occasionally been challenged, for example in a newspaper article by Rev. Edward Norman (Times 19/11/94). Norman argues that traditional community was oppressive, that it brutally enforced moral tyranny and that the transition to urban living, despite some disagreeable social problems has produced the greater benefit of individualism. While his position is coherent in terms of liberalism, and as a defense of post-Enlightenment, rational modernity it is curious coming from someone known as a traditionalist in church matters. Indeed Norman turns his criticism on the established church, and in particular on the parish system and the Faith in the City report's support for community work (ACUPA 1985), implicitly suggesting that community is of no Christian value. Even in a short article one could have hoped for some empirical evidence about present day community or lack of it, and some philosophical / theological justification for abandoning the community ideal, but Norman gives neither. This article was conceived as a response but has grown to embrace the wider aim of laying foundations for an approach to community development relevant for Britain today.

COMMUNITY AS IDEOLOGY & UTOPIA

Even in the UK in the 1980s, when individualism and privatisation were all conquering, and where a Prime Minister denied the existence of society, the language of community remained alive. Policies such as community care, and community policing were introduced and praised by government, (Wilmott 1989). The churches and voluntary sector sponsored numerous community projects, especially in urban areas. Health and social services were being delivered by "community" practitioners and local authorities became enablers, drawing up community development and partnership strategies. "Community Capacity Building" is now an essential feature of funding bids for urban regeneration.

David Lyon pointed out in (1984) how "community" was used in both ideological and utopian ways. Community can easily (and in many cases correctly) be defined and mobilised as the

opposite to the coercive state, or exploitative big business. For instance the British coal strike of 1984 was seen in many quarters as an attack on the traditional mining "communities" (Gemeinschaft ; sic!). The solidarity and support networks generated in the coalfields were portrayed as a triumph for community development, despite the defeat of the strike and the annihilation of the industry. More generally says Lyon the warm collectivist glow of "community" can be used by the Left to justify almost any local political action, and the attempt to build almost any type of alternative, utopian collective life.

In contrast the Right have used "community" ideologically to soften welfare budget reductions and mask growing inequality. By pushing responsibility for care back into the "community", but in practice onto unpaid female kin, the state can make monetary savings in a politically marketable way. The notion of "community" was even used to sanitise the most unpopular, most individualised local taxation scheme that Britain had seen for centuries. However, in this case the ideology was unmasked as the "community charge" became almost universally known as the "poll tax", provoked massive unrest and non payment, and helped end Margaret Thatcher's political career.

ETHNICITY & COMMUNITY

Recently the ideology of community / Gemeinschaft has emerged to bolster far right nationalism, in opposition to the liberal individualism which underpins Western Capitalism (De Benoist & Sunic, 1994). The potential value of the language of community, for a sociobiological, genetically determined racist ideology is yet to been seen, but the prospect is alarming, not only in Eastern Europe, but in ethnically diverse urban areas in the UK, and across the world. There are already hints of this in the emerging debate about the racialised "underclass" of the USA.

In urban communities in the UK the concept of community also has racist undertones. Where a neighbourhood has received migrants from overseas the established residents (usually in Britain the white working class) are likely to feel their territory has been invaded and that the culture and bonds of their community have been eroded. Such fears were played on by Conservative politicians such as Enoch Powell in 1968 and Margaret Thatcher in her 1978 "swamping" speech. The opportunity for neo-Nazi political groups will be greatest when the indigenous community is close knit, where the deprivation endured is at its worst and when large scale neighbourhood change is being imposed from the outside, for example in London Docklands in the early 1990's. (Husband 1994)

However, the same language of community, ethnicity and nationalism is often employed by the centre and Left, both to endorse pluralism, and in mobilising excluded groups, in their struggles for social and economic justice. Hostility and discrimination from the dominant / majority group (Cooper & Qureshi 1993) may well have the effect of strengthening community relationships and ethnic identity where previously they were weak. Arguably the growing

significance of Islam as a marker of ethnic / community identity in Britain is a result of this process (Samad 1994, Knott & Khoker 1993). Although the dominant group may wish to lump all the newcomers together as "them" or to see minorities in terms of a small number of fixed categories or permanent groups, labeled as "communities" (e.g. the Asian Community, the Chinese Community), networks, boundary definition and community building among migrant groups are likely to be in a state of flux (Saifullah Khan 1982, Smith 1983). For example, some younger black radicals wish to define all people from ethnic minorities as members of a single "black community" on the basis of a shared experience of racist oppression (NMP 1991). Others (mostly older, conservative, Asians) define their community in terms of nationality, language, and religion, ultimately based on the categories of the South Asian caste system. Still others negotiate the boundaries of their ethnicity, and will claim to belong to various communities and groups, according to the context (Wallman 1978).

GEOGRAPHICAL APPROACHES TO

COMMUNITY STUDIES

Hillery's 94 definitions of community fell mainly into two categories. In the first were those with a geographical reference, where the main concern was place or neighbourhood, and only secondarily people and their relationships. The other group of definitions focussed on the notion of relationship, of solidarity or communion, of interaction, which may or may not be centred in a particular location. It is almost impossible to handle the concept today without taking into account both aspects, as indeed some of the most recent contributions to the debate such Davies & Herbert (1993) and LPAC (1994) have done. However, many have preferred as Stacey suggested in 1969 to abandon the notion of community as a myth, and concentrate instead on the study of local social systems. Indeed in British sociology Stacey's article and the books by Bell & Newby (1971; 1973) represented the climax and the end point of "community studies" as a genre. They were critiqued and often rejected as atheoretical, as idiosyncratic and non cumulative, as poor research and as imprisoned in the unsatisfactory paradigm of structural - functionalist social theory. Despite occasional attempts to revive the activity (e.g. Bulmer 1985) the focus of analysis moved onto locality studies (Cooke 1989) and the nature of restructuring in local economies, often based on Marxist or other forms of conflict sociology. (see also Day & Murdoch (1993).

Nonetheless, sociological terms have a way of establishing themselves in everyday thinking, and myths are powerful, both as ideological control mechanisms and utopian inspirations. "Community" cannot be discarded, although it is best to see it as a problematic, a sensitising notion that at least focuses our thoughts on an important social issues.

THE CLASSICAL SOCIOLOGICAL

APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY

In sociology, the notion of community as "solidarity or network" rather than as neighbourhood has been the centre of discussions since the concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft were introduced by Tonnies (1887). Fundamentally he was concerned with the nature of human networks and relationships which were being transformed by accelerating technological change, and urbanisation. In the idyllic (but perhaps imaginary) village life of two centuries ago community (Gemeinschaft) was a natural state of affairs. Interaction was on a human scale and people largely lived with, worked alongside, married, worshipped with, traded with, quarreled with and were even oppressed by, people who they had known face to face all through their lives. Inevitably status was ascribed rather than achieved and there were therefore many constraints on the ability of individuals, especially the poor, females and outsiders to achieve prosperity, power and personal fulfilment or chosen lifestyle. Relationships between people were multiplex, i.e. the same people were linked by a multi-stranded pattern of roles. Tonnies (Romantically) argued that this produces intimacy, social cohesion and sympathy between the participants.

Industry, urbanisation and improved transport eroded this pattern of community life, so that people resided in one place, worked in another and took leisure elsewhere. The appropriate description of modern urban society was associational (Gesellschaft); here people might meet with far greater numbers of people, but each contact was likely to be fleeting, instrumental, and involve a single role relationship. Organisational life would also be segmented, limited companies and unions for the work place, residents associations and groups for women, children and the retired in the neighbourhood, with special interest associations such as sports clubs, arts and drama groups, religious groups, disability support groups, serving a "community of interest" often spread over a wider catchment area.

An important, though much neglected critique of this duality comes from the German sociologist Schmalenbach (Hetherington 1994). Crucially he introduces another (usefully elastic!) term "Bund", often translated into English as league or federation, to cover a conceptually (but not necessarily historically) intermediate form of association. Here individuals covenant to bind themselves together into a collective which develops greater levels of solidarity / communion than the transitory associations of Gesellschaft. Unlike Gemeinschaft, status and role relationships are not based on birth, tradition or ascription, but tend towards either radical egalitarianism or dependence on charismatic leadership. The concept of Bund has been applied to communities as diverse as kibbutzim and the Hitler Youth, and clearly has some value in the description of religious sects, orders and "intentional communities", and of collectivities such as street gangs, military units or Japanese style industrial work teams. While Bund structures

have been known in both ancient and modern periods of history, they seem by nature to have only short term stability, resolving towards Gesellschaft if they break up in the earlier stages or Gemeinschaft if they can be sustained into the second and third generation.

Hetherington cites Schmalenbach to argue that the Bund as an ideal type of grouping has particular relevance for the postmodern period, in which social fragmentation, de-centring of identity, and the wide range of options for lifestyle, combined with romantic nostalgia for past times, push many people into experiments with alternative forms of community. While communes with Bund characteristics do emerge they are more unstable than ever before, according to Sennett (1977) because psychological narcissism condemns their members to seeking "destructive Gemeinschaft".

COMMUNITY, LOST SAVED OR LIBERATED

Tonnies' concern with Gemeinschaft betrayed his conservatism and fears for social cohesion and control in an urban world increasingly divided by class conflict. He and his contemporaries would probably identify the projection of trends they described in the growing fragmentation and lack of solidarity in present day Western society. Their fears that there would be nothing left in society except "anomie", a state of normlessness where there is complete social breakdown, might well have come true. They could cite as evidence increasing family breakdown, decreasing political and community activity, rising crime, mental illness, suicide and drug abuse rates. The pattern of social changes of the last 200 years does indeed suggest a continuum between the traditional/ folk / rural society through the modern / industrial urban form to the rapidly changing information society of today, though this analysis when pursued in detail is far from problem free.

Most of the 20th Century research on urban communities has explicitly or implicitly taken Tonnies' distinction as a starting point. Whether the methods used have been participant observation, sample survey or social network analysis the recurring question is whether Community has been "Lost", "Saved" or "Liberated". (Craven & Wellman 1973; Wellman 1979, Willmott 1987, Bell & Newby 1971 & 1973). The community lost hypothesis is the "commonsense" or rather received wisdom one, that there is no sense of community any longer, while in the old days everyone helped each other and left their front doors open without fear of crime. Sometimes in contrast the "community saved" hypothesis is brought to bear, when empirical work seeks to show that neighbourhood and kinship based helping and support networks remain strong in a particular locality. More usually though ambiguous findings in urban research push the researchers to argue for the "community liberated" hypothesis, which recognises that neighbourhood networks may not be strong, yet people generally are far from isolated, and maintain a wide range of supportive and enriching relationships. Mobility and telecommunications has allowed the growth of geographically dispersed networks of friendship, kinship and practical support, based more on community of interest, shared ethnicity or religious belonging. The upkeep of such

relationships is increasingly based on personal choice than on birth.

MODERNISATION

& THE POST MODERN

The current debate about modernity and postmodernity leads some writers to use phrases such as the "end of history", or these "new times", while others wishing to stress continuity will only speak about the crisis of modernity (Wagner 1994). It is important to outline some of the key trends in this crisis period as they have major impacts on our understanding and practice of community. In doing so we will find many complexities and contradictions and features which in turn alarm and excite. It is difficult to impose a coherent analysis on what is happening, for there are many different perspectives which may throw light on the subject. It is precisely this impossibility of grand narratives and unambiguous theories that is the central "big idea" (sic!) of those who call themselves postmodernists.

Globalisation of the market economy, and culture on the one hand is complemented by technologies which bring diversity, fragmentation, invidualisation, and privatisation, especially as TV channels and interactive information networks proliferate. Transport technologies increase commuting, tourism and migration while information technology and telecommuting may have some potential for countering the suffocation of the planet by petrochemical smog. New flexibility in product specifications, mean that within broad general constraints, consumers are overwhelmed with choice. Sub-cultures spring up and mark their boundaries by styles of fashion or music, and manufacturers make huge profits from selling images and designer labels. The pick and mix approach to life is seen especially in the consumption of arts and leisure products, but also extends to the realm of values. In the New Age environment where all is relative, even religion or belonging to a community becomes a matter of consumer choice (O'Neill 1988). In philosophy, sociology and literature "all that is solid melts into air" in Karl Marx's phrase, into a plethora of narratives and images, drawn from a treasure chest of earlier styles, and stuck together in a meaningless collage, where the possibility of a unifying truth or universal aesthetic is discounted. (Kellner 1988, Baumann 1988) Individualism is exalted as never before. Self realisation or "doing ones own thing" (especially in the private spheres of domestic life, sexuality and leisure) is the flip side of the enterprise culture, where making money in a deregulated and flexible market is the primary goal. The yuppy of the 1980's was the icon of this value system.

Increasingly market values dominate sectors which previously were seen as non-commercial, not for profit, such as health, education and the voluntary sector. Commodification threatens, even the classic British example of the gift relationship, blood donation (Titmuss 1970), while human organs, semen, in vitro fertilisation and surrogate motherhood have already been offered in the market place.

One area which continues to hold out to the incursion of market forces is housework and family care, where unpaid female labour is still the norm. In this case, despite feminist demands, and the growth of paid child-minding, the market mechanisms do not compete, for the costs would be beyond what the state, or the profitability of capital could bear. The same economic rationales apply to the community sector, where unpaid effort is both economically essential and central to the ethos. Being a good neighbour, running the local scout group, sitting on the management committee of the community centre, or being active in local politics, will be among the last activities to warrant payment. However the employment of staff, the introduction of management techniques and the growing contract culture are signs of commodification in the voluntary sector. Although the voluntary ethos is unlikely to perish, it is clear that a two-tier system of not for profit organisations versus unfunded grass roots groups is emerging in the UK.

Another problem for a society driven by the market is that of social polarisation. While it may be possible for the market to keep two thirds of the population in the growing affluence to which they have become accustomed, and

therefore politically compliant, others are excluded. For these people the image of a postmodern world where all imaginable choices are possible is a cruel fantasy; they may have time to spare but leisure is a commodity they cannot afford. A basic welfare safety net, coupled with repressive surveillance and policing, and the fragmentation of this "underclass" into ethnic and lifestyle sub groups may be enough to forestall revolt. One feature of the polarisation process may disturb the picture. There is growing evidence of increasing geographic segregation of the "underclass" population from affluent neighbourhoods. As deprivation becomes concentrated in regions of economic decline and in public housing estates, people struggling with poverty, are more likely to have social networks consisting mainly of people like themselves (Green 1994). The silver lining is that there are in these circumstances increased possibilities for the growth of communal solidarity and for socio-political mobilisation . However, these possibilities will remain theoretical, without a massive input of community development and community education resources.

A CRISIS FOR COMMUNITY WORK

If fragmentation is a fact of life, there are major implications for community policies and community work initiatives. One fears that broad based collective action for social change can never succeed, because there is no overriding class interest. Community action is reduced to neighbourhood battles on a small range of immediate issues (eg. stop the motorway, Tenants against the Travellers site), or specialist single issue campaigns and social movements (anti-nuclear, feminism, gay liberation, animal rights, Green campaigns) involving self selecting interest groups. Often such groups will be in conflict, and despite

commitment to "networking" it is on rare, specific occasions that they can be brought into wider "rainbow" coalitions.

The complexity and contradictions of the notion of community, its ideological and utopian use, and the rapid changes of our globalising, market driven society, produce a crisis for community work. In this context community workers need to re-examine and reaffirm the values on which their involvement is based.

While the debates about modernity and postmodernity can give useful insights into the nature of the society in which community work takes place, postmodernism's philosophical approach is likely to prove barren. A praxis which merely revels in the fragmentation, enjoys pick and mix culture, and indulges itself in electronic global networking is no answer for excluded and marginalised people. Indeed one of the strongest critiques of postmodernist thinking is that it lacks any firm ethical base, or notion of social justice on which political action might be built. What is needed is a strengthening of face to face communities to meet psychological needs of belonging, practical needs of mutual care, and the political need for participation and campaigning for rights and resources. In practice such communities need to be built up both at the local neighbourhood, and community of interest (including ethnic and religious) level. Wherever possible they should be networked together into a democratic broad based movement for social justice. Although the Alinsky tradition of broad based organising from the USA (Alinsky 1972) may have much to offer here, the evidence about its use so far in the U.K. suggests that more appropriate culturally relevant approaches are needed. (Farnell et al 1994). In American community organising much was made of the common heritage of a Judaeo - Christian value system, and the strength of churches and synagogues as a base for organising. Clearly religious groups could be a major factor in such a movement in Britain but their numerical weakness and the wider diversity of value systems needs to be taken into account.

VALUES FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

To conclude we will sketch some core values around which people of many faiths and none might engage in community work and community organising. For some these values will have a clear religious or philosophical basis, for others the they are those of common human decency. But the following will be held by most who see community work as a worthwhile and important task. Whether they will come to be held by the majority of citizens, or ever become dominant in political life is less certain.

1) humanity / personality; People matter, indeed they matter more than things or money. Community work therefore needs to value the dignity, potential, opinions and contribution to society of every person, and to resist the trend to be dominated by the market.

2) collective relationships; People are not by nature

isolated individuals but only find meaning, purpose and fullness of life in relationship with others. Community work therefore values building relationships, collective life and group action while recognising the ambiguities, compromises and conflicts which community entails.

3) neighbouring; Community work presupposes some value in the ancient Judaeo-Christian concept of neighbour love. Whether this remains at the level of treating neighbours decently purely on the basis of self interest and mutual obligation, or extends to self sacrificial altruism, neighbourliness reaches out to others, especially to those in need, and even to those who are not natural friends or in-group. The parable of the Good Samaritan remains relevant, and is well known outside Christianity, although it needs to be guarded from idiosyncratic interpretations such as Thatcher's homily on the need for wealth creation!

4) justice / equality: Community work would not be needed in a world where the distribution of resources was universally recognised as just, and in which equality of opportunity was available to all. Therefore the values and practice of anti-racism, anti-sexism and other aspects of social justice are central to the enterprise, although the detail must remain open to debate.

5) peace .. conflict; Community work inevitably walks a tightrope here as much of it takes place in the arena of social and political conflict. While the concern for justice often polarises conflict, concern for neighbouring and the very notion of community pushes in the direction of harmony. It is obvious that community workers will take different ideological positions over the role of conflict, and that even an individual worker may respond in pragmatically different ways in specific conflicts (e.g. only confront on "winnable issues"). However, in all but the most extreme cases most community workers and the people they work with will prefer to explore democratic, negotiating, constructive strategies before embarking on confrontations which have the potential for violence and destruction.

Strangely these values seem premodern, irrational and unmarketable, therefore ill at ease in a modern world. In a postmodern world, if that is what we are in, they may be more at home if only as romantic nostalgia for the imagined communities of yesteryear, or as harbingers of the New Age. They seem at the same time both conservative and revolutionary. Perhaps their true significance is that they are of eternal value, based as they are on a tradition and a book which allegedly is the work of one who was there in the beginning and will be there at the end of time.

4145 words

Bibliography

ACUPA - Archbishop's Commission on Urban Priority Areas (1985) "Faith in the City" Church Information Office

Alinsky S. (1972) Rules for Radicals, New York, Vintage Books

Bell C & Newby H (1971) "Community Studies" London: Frank Cass

Bell C & Newby H (1973) "The Sociology of Community; a selection of readings" London: Frank Cass

Bauman Z (1988) "Is there a postmodern sociology?" in Theory, Culture & Society Vol 5; Nos 2-3 June 1988, London Sage Publications

Bulmer M. (1987) "The Social Basis of Community Care", Allen & Unwin

Cooke P. (1989) "Localities", London, Unwin Hyman

Cooper J & Qureshi T., (1993) "Through Patterns Not Our Own; a study of racial harassment in East London", New Ethnicities Research & Education Unit, University of East London

Craven P and Wellman B. (1973) "The Network City", Sociological Inquiry 43 p 57-88

Davies W.K.D. & Herbert D.T., (1993) "Communities Within Cities; An Urban Social Geography" London, Belhaven Press.

Day G. & Murdoch J. (1993) "Locality & Community" Comming to terms with place" in The Sociological Review 1993

Debenoist, A; interpreted by Sunic, T (1994) "Gemeinschaft And Gesellschaft - A Sociobiological View Of The Decay Of Modern Society" Mankind Quarterly Vol- 34, No- 3 Pg- 263-270

Donnison D. (1993), "Listen to the voice of the Community" article in the Guardian 10/9/93.

Farnell et al. (1994) "Broad Based Organising; An Evaluation For The Church Urban Fund." CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University

Green A (1994) "The Geography of Poverty & Wealth" Centre for Employment Research, Warwick University

Hetherington K. (1994) "The contemporary significance of Scmalenbach's concept of the Bund", in The Sociological Review, 1994

Hillery G. (1955) "Definitions of Community; areas of Agreement" Rural Sociology p117 ff.

Husband C.T. (1994) "Following the Continetnal Model; Implications of the recent Electoral performance of the British National Party." in New Community Vol 20 no. 4

Kellner D."Postmodernism as Social Theory" in Theory, Culture & Society Vol 5; Nos 2-3 June 1988, London Sage Publications

Knott K. & Khoker S. (1993) "Religious and ethnic identity among Young Women in Bradford" in New Community 19(4) July 1993

Lyon D. (1984) "Community as Ideology & Utopia" University Quarterly, Culture Education & Society, Vol 38 no 3 Summer 1984

(1994) "Postmodernity" Open University Press

LPAC (London Planning Advisory Committee) / Middlesex University (1994) "Place & Local Identity; A Study Of Factors In Local Spatial Identity". LPAC, 8-10 Eastern Road, Romford RM1 3PN.

Norman E. (1994) "Modern values expose myth of Community" article in the Times 19/11/94

N.M.P.(Newham Monitoring Project (1991) "The Forging of a Black Community Asian and Afro-caribbean Struggles in Newham", London, Newham Monitoring Project\Campaign Against Racism & Fascism.

O'Neill J. (1988) "Religion & Postmodernism" in Theory, Culture & Society Vol 5; Nos 2-3 June 1988, London Sage Publications

Saifullah Khan V (1982) "The role of the culture of dominance in structuring the experience of ethnic minorities" in Husband C (ed.) Race in Britain: Continuity and Change, London, Hutchinson Educational

Senett R (1977a) "Destructive Gemeinschaft" in Birnbaum N. "Beyond the Crisis", New York Oxford University Press

Samad Y (1992) "Book Burning and Race Relations: Political mobilisation of Bradford Muslims" in New Community 18 (4) July 1992.

Smith G. (1983) "Christian Ethnics; Church Growth in Multicultural Britain", occasional paper 1, British Church Growth Association, Bedford

(forthcoming) "Virtual Communities.. face to face networks and the Information Society" ... contact the Author for further details.

Stacey M (1969?) "the Myth of Community Studies, British

Journnal of Sociology, Vol 20 No 2 pp 34-47

Titmuss R (1970) "The Gift Relationship; from human blood to social policy", London Allen & Unwin

Tonnies F. (1887) "Gemeinschaft and Gessellschaft" Berlin. (selections translated into English appear in Worsley P. (1970) "Modern Sociology Introductory Readings" Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Wagner P. (1994) "A sociology of modernity; Liberty & Discipline", London Routledge

Wallman S. (1978) "The Boundaries of Race; Processes of Ethnicity in England" in Man 13;2

Wellman B: (1979) "The community Question; the intimate networks of East Yorkers" in American Journal of Sociology vol 84 no 5 pp 1201-31

Willmott P. (1987) "Friendship Networks and Social Support;a study in a London suburb" Policy Studies Institute

(1989) "Community Initiatives", London Policy Studies Institute.