REGIONALISM AND COMMUNITY ARCHETYPES:

FILLING THE ANALYSIS GAP

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(ABSTRACT)

With declining federal revenues, state governments are facing budgetary constraints that restrict the finances of local governments. The states' answer to requests of local governments for aid has been to encourage neighboring communities to join in regional efforts so as to economize in providing services. Some states have gone as far as to develop programs of economic incentives and disincentives that induce regional cooperation.

This dissertation is based on the premise that state efforts to foster sub-state regional cooperation have been largely ineffective because of an "analysis gap" that restricts the scope of the inquiry to rational, economic considerations only. The intent of the examination is to broaden the arena of analysis by showing that a holistic approach is needed that takes into consideration the many other diverse factors that influence regional cooperation. The study applies Carl Jung's theory of archetypes to a subject community for purposes of showing how the analysis

arena can be broadened and how practical strategies for attaining regional cooperation can be developed.

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alternative approach to my topic. Dr. Neves provided me with the methodological tools necessary to approach the research. Finally, my friend and committee members, Dr. James A. Davis was a source of support and encouragement throughout the project. The support received from all my committee members will always be remembered.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my best friend, my wife

Katherine Swisher Shendow

`without whose love and understanding my long journey could not have been successfully completed'

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> If analysts and operators are to increase their ability to achieve desired policy outcomes, they will have to develop ways of thinking analytically about a larger chunk of the problem.
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Regionalism and the Virginia Experience: A Background Sketch

In A Statement To The Task Force On State-Local Relations of the National Conference of State Legislatures, Richard C. Hardman, Executive Director of the National Association of Regional Councils, referred to regions as "the real communities of the future." Regions, he said, are the real communities because they are the economic market places and social and cultural centers that will be the focus of future growth (Hardman, 1987:2).

Executive Director Hardman's remarks come at a time when sub-state regionalism is at a critical juncture in its evolution. They follow a period of over twenty years wherein the federal government and more recently state governments have presented initiatives designed to encourage sub-state regional cooperation. These initiatives were begun in the mid-60s by the federal government in response to the

failure of institutional reform in many metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas and the inability of some local governments to meet the increasing demands for more and better public services.

As a result of these initiatives eleven federal agencies were created to fill the institutional void at the sub-state level. They were given the responsibility of administering nineteen different programs. This action by the federal government brought into existence and nurtured more than 1,800 limited-purpose area wide planning and administrative bodies, 600 regional councils, and 450 clearing houses responsible for handling the A-95 "review and comment" process. This process called for a regional review of applications for grant funding to determine the regional impact of projects (Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Vol. I, 1974:12).

Basic general area wide planning responsibility was given to regional councils through Section 204 of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, and the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968, which broadened the 1966 act. The first act required that certain national grant applications be reviewed by certified metropolitan area wide "review and comment" agencies. The subsequent act also required area wide review and comment, by what came to be known as A-95 agencies, after the implementing of Federal Circular A-95. The 1968 act extended

review responsibility to non-metropolitan areas, increased the number of covered national programs, requested that national departments use agreed-upon sub-state regional councils in program delivery, and encouraged states to set up a uniform sub-state system (Atkins, 1985:3-5).

Through the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the regions which came into being as a result of federal legislation were provided with the necessary funding to establish a regional planning structure and those structures were endowed with the requirement to carry out the A-95 "review and comment" process. With both their structure and process backed by the power and funds of the national government, regional councils grew from 375 in 1967 to 671 by 1979 (Ibid., 5).

Virginia's recent experience with regionalism dates from 1967 and the report of the Virginia Metropolitan Area Study Commission, better known as the Hahn Commission Report after its chairman T. Marshal Hahn, Jr., President of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. The report, entitled Metropolitan Virginia: A Program for Action, recommended a more proactive role for the state in fostering regional cooperation. It proposed some basic changes in the relationships and functions of state and local government in order that "the state, their localities, and the proposed new area wide agencies form effective partnerships to establish the procedures and resources needed to resolve the

increasingly complex problems of urban Virginia" (Cooper and Morris, 1976:360).

The commission based its proposal on the theory that local government was by no means wholly local, that the state had a responsibility to see that there was a healthy and orderly regional system, and that a state agency and new mechanisms were needed to promote such a system (Ibid., 360). The agency the Hahn Commission envisioned was to be "far reaching" and "innovative." If the commission's recommendation was adopted by the Virginia General Assembly in one fell swoop the administrative process would supplant the judicial process in the determination of such issues as annexation, incorporation and the formation of special districts. It came as no surprise that the administrative agency that the commission envisioned would decide on such issues did not survive debate in the 1968 General Assembly session (Ibid., 362-363).

All, however was not lost for proponents of regionalism in the Commonwealth. The General Assembly did adopt that year a number of the Hahn Commission recommendations in the form of the Area Development Act of 1968. Among the major proposals enacted into law as a result of this act was the establishment of a state-wide system of planning districts. The planning district boundaries were to be drawn initially by the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs after public hearings. Final determination was to be the

prerogative of the Governor. The twenty-two districts as approved by the governor came into existence on July 1, 1969 (Ibid., 364).

Virginia's experience with regional planning districts was comparatively well received. All but a handful of localities throughout the state chose to participate in one of the twenty-two planning districts. Nationally, states and local governments were at best lukewarm in support of federally-initiated regionalism efforts. Most state and local governments were silent partners in these efforts. They neither discouraged sub-state districting activity initiated by Federal legislation and guidelines, nor attempted to coordinate and systemize the development of area wide bodies (Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Vol. I, 14).

State and local support of sub-state regionalism was lukewarm for a number of reasons. Generally, proposals for a stronger regional council role were opposed by both state and local government officials for political reasons. Regional councils were viewed by local government as another layer of bureaucracy and a threat to their efforts to garner additional responsibilities. State and local officials saw federally-initiated regional councils and the A-95 review process as yet another intrusion into their constitutionally prescribed responsibility under a federal system of government (Atkins, 19-20). As one executive director of a Virgi-

nia regional planning district noted,

> Hundreds of local officials across the country sat in regional council meetings on a monthly basis during the 1970s and collectively observed the largess of the federal government. . . They were amazed at the number and budgets of federal programs (Cristofel Letter).

Most council members felt it absurd that they were being asked to "review and comment" on federal grants which they neither understood nor supported and which, if approved, would in many cases benefit localities over which they had no jurisdiction (1).

Ronald Reagan brought to the Office of the President a new perspective on the relationship of the national government to state and local government. In his inaugural address he said, "my administration is committed heart and soul to returning authority, responsibility and flexibility to state and local government" (A Report from the President, 1981:1). What President Reagan didn't say, but was implied was that this policy of New Federalism (as it was later dubbed) meant not only less involvement of the federal government in the affairs of state and local government, but also less federal support for programs such as those devised to foster sub-state regionalism. The change for regionalism was quick and dramatic. The number of regional councils in the United States according to the National Association of

(1) This is the author`s perspective and is based on his experience while serving on the Lord Fairfax Planning District Commission from 1976 until 1980.

Regional Councils peaked at 671 in 1979. By 1982 this number had decreased to 612. Those regional councils "most attuned" to national government regional policies diminished as a group by 69 percent from 1977 through 1982 (Atkins, 9).

The demise in number of regional councils was paralleled by a overall reduction in the federal government's contribution to state and local budgets. The federal government's share of state and local government revenues peaked at 22 percent in 1978, and declined to 18.5 percent by 1983. The 3.5 percent reduction was absorbed by the states, 1.7 percent, and local government, 1.8 percent (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1985:274). Coming at a time when there was an increasing demand for public services, state and local government coffers both felt the strain of New Federalism.

The response of state governments to cuts in federal funding was to look at alternatives that provided greater efficiency and economies of scale in the delivery of constituent services. In increasing numbers state capitols turned to sub-state regionalism as an alternative to replacing the federal funds formerly earmarked for local government. State policy-makers reasoned that if local governments would cooperate on a regional basis, public services could be delivered in a more efficient and cost-effective manner, thereby reducing not only the need, but also the demand for additional support of local governments.

The renewed interest of state governments in sub-state regionalism has been consistent and widespread (1). In Virginia since the mid-1980s there has been a constant refrain from government officials and state-appointed commissions emphasizing the need for sub-state regional cooperation. The 1984 Report of the Governor's Commission on Virginia's Future called for a bold realignment of local government boundaries to consolidate many rural communities. It included two recommendations aimed at promoting sub-state regionalism. Recommendation number 45 of the report states that "state officials should become more aggressive leaders in promoting regional solutions to regional problems." This is followed by a recommendation, number 46, that "state government review current state aid to localities to find ways to reward regional cooperation . . ." (Report of the Governor's Commission on Virginia's Future, 1984:37-38).

In 1988, a task force of local government attorneys reported to Governor Gerald L. Baliles that "state leadership must pave the way for inter-local cooperation" (Report of The Local Government Attorneys of Virginia, Inc., 1988:13). In the same year the Virginia Assembly on Public Policy consisting of sixty-five distinguished Virginians from both the public and private sector of the state, pro-

(1) In California more than fifty bills relating to sub-state regionalism were introduced during the 1989 legislative session (Ward, Doris M., "Regional Governance Issues in California: Citizen and Policy Implications." Nation Civic Review. March-April 1990.

duced a report entitled "The Quest for Community in a National Republic: A Bicentennial Reappraisal." The report concluded that "the state should provide incentives for adjacent local political jurisdictions to cooperate with one another (Center for Public Service, April 1988:11)."

Recently support of regionalism in Virginia has come from the office of the Governor as well. In a July 22, 1989 speech before the Annual Meeting of the Virginia Association of Planning District Commissions, Governor Gerald Baliles said voluntary "cooperation alone is simply no longer enough." In an obvious reference to the need for structural changes to foster regionalism, Governor Baliles went on to say that "the regional challenges facing Virginia cannot be addressed without formal regional cooperation by our localities." After citing numerous examples of the need for regional cooperation throughout the Commonwealth, a seemingly frustrated Governor Baliles concluded by promising "that if local government failed to lead the way to regional cooperation the state will step in." He suggested that the failure of Virginia communities to cooperate on major regional matters could prompt the General Assembly to use economic incentives as part of a carrot-and-stick approach to obtain cooperation. The Governor reasoned that this was necessary "because our citizens and taxpayers expect and deserve the very best that state, local and regional approaches to solving public problems can provide (Speech of

The Honorable Gerald L. Baliles, July 22, 1989)."

Prior to Governor Baliles remarks, Virginia's General Assembly, sensing renewed support for a sub-state regionalism initiative, established a commission during its 1989 winter session to study among other facets of local government the need "to encourage cooperative endeavors among local governments (Public Hearing Notice of the Commission on Local Government Structures and Relationships)." The commission under the chairmanship of Delegate George W. Grayson of Williamsburg began holding a series of public hearings across the state in the fall of 1989. The recommendations were put forward in HB 550 during the 1990 winter session of the General Assembly. Among the many aspects of the bill is a provision designed to provide "incentives for local governmental integration and for certain joint undertakings of local government (HB 550 Article 15:1-21.2)." The bill provides for only one specific incentive, a fund to be administered by the state Commission on Local Government. Localities would be able to draw from this fund to implement regional projects (Ibid., Article 15:1-21.6).

The disposition of the Commission's recommendation will not be known until the General Assembly reconvenes for the 1991 session. Because the bill contains a funding provision, it has been referred to the Appropriations Committee of The House of Delegates. Even if the bill is adopted as proposed, its success in prompting regional cooperation

among local governments remains in doubt. If the past is any indication, efforts to promote regionalism based solely on economic incentives may receive a cool reception at the local level. To date, the state's regionalism initiatives have won few converts, particularly in non-metropolitan Virginia.

The Issue and Its Significance

Why, in the light of the obvious economic advantages of regionalism, have Virginia's non-metropolitan communities been slow to respond to calls for a cooperative approach to regional problems? Could it be that among Virginia's non-metropolitan communities, economic considerations of efficiency and cost effectiveness alone are an insufficient reason for localities to move toward regional cooperation? Is there an "analysis gap" that needs to be filled by analyzing what Graham Allison refers to as a "larger chunk of the problem"? It is the principle contention of this study that there is such a gap and it seeks to help fill it thereby laying the foundation for a comprehensive understanding of factors that affect a non-metropolitan community's receptivity to regional cooperation.

Developing such a comprehensive understanding is an important first step for those interested in fostering inter-community cooperation. This is particularly true

today in states like Virginia which have limited resources to pursue a regionalism strategy. Therefore, before committing resources to a specific approach, it behooves state government to examine the effectiveness of the existing rational-economic inducements and possibly to explore alternative approaches toward understanding and fostering sub-state regionalism.

Rationale and Purpose of Study

This dissertation grows out of my witnessing the ineffectiveness of the narrow approach to sub-state regionalism adopted by those elected and administrative officials most interested in promoting it. Due to either a lack of understanding of other approaches or a reluctance to deal with explanatory variables that are beyond the reach of rational analytic methods, these officials have rigidly utilized a unitary approach dominated by economics and its rational model . . . a model that treats communities as centrally coordinated, purposeful entities whose decisions are based on maximizing utility. Like many analysts (i.e., Frank Fischer, Politics, Values and Public Policy; Deborah Stone, Policy Paradox and Political Reason and Graham Allison, Essence of Decision), I do not find this model a convincing description of the world. For all its intuitive appeal, the rational decision-making model leaves much unexplained,

obscuring as much as it reveals.

In place of a purely rational, economic approach to understanding sub-state regionalism, this study starts from a model of political community that depicts individuals as being confronted with a multitude of conflicting value judgments. According to this model, community decisions are the result of controversy, negotiations, and bargaining among officials and groups with different interests and perspectives. This process is not limited to considerations of utility maximizations and it is not "rational" in the economic sense. Such a political model is not new. Social scientists like those mentioned previously have, since the 1970s, put forward such alternative models and developed them to the extent that they are accepted as a creative and valuable lenses by which analysts can view the governmental decision-making process.

The study's contribution to policy analysis is to help remedy the deficiencies of the rational-economic and political models when applied to a policy of regionalization. It begins where these models leave off. The study seeks to provide a better tool for understanding the full range of diverse factors that create a web of conscious and unconscious dependencies, loyalties and associations that account for how people get their images of the world and how these images affect their response to policy initiatives.

The aim of this study is to demonstrate the need for a

holistic approach to regionalism that not only expands the scope of policy analysis, but provides a strategy by which this expanded approach can be used to influence the community decision-making process. In pursuing this purpose, the study uses Carl Jung's theory of archetypes so as to move analysis to a different level, a level that has practical implications for policy analysts and proponents of regionalism as well as offering a more comprehensive understanding. The study demonstrates the practical implications of Jung's theory of archetypes by showing the importance to policy analysis of understanding how efforts to attain regionalization creates a reaction in the collective psyche of the community . . . a reaction capable of decisively influencing the community's decision-making process.

By emphasizing the practical implications of Jung's works, the study intends to show the need for a shift from a purely rational-economic perspective to an outlook that encompasses a larger conception of reality, one that includes those unconscious forces that exert a considerable hold on the behavior of communities. Jung's archetypal theory is, therefore, introduced as a way of showing that with the use of an holistic approach that includes structural, unconscious factors as well as traditional "rational" considerations, one is able to better understand the dynamics of community decision-making that relate to regionalism.

The argument developed in the course of the study is

not that rational theory is wrong, invalid, or useless. This is certainly not the case. The argument asserts rather that an economically-based, rational theory cannot adequately explain the factors that affect community decision-making and should not be relied upon, therefore, as the only approach to analyzing the process of regionalization. The study rests on the thesis that from the synthesis of such diverse theoretical perspectives, as rational-economics and Jung's theory of archetypes, will come a more effective analysis of the complex issue of regionalization.

II. COMMUNITY DECISION-MAKING: MYTH AND REALITY

Why have intercommunity cooperative efforts failed to live up to the expectations of regionalism advocates? While there are a number of reasons, this study maintains that most can be traced to the limited perspective held by those policy makers and analysts whose job it is to devise and implement policies which foster regionalism. They have undertaken their responsibility under the myth that rational-economic considerations are pervasive in man's individual and collective decision-making. By focusing on rational-economic considerations, they have effectively limited consideration of other approaches to regionalism.

Rational-Economic Approach: The Dominant Paradigm

The rational-economic approach is based on reasoning by calculation of costs and benefits. It rests on estimating the consequences of actions, attaching values to the consequences and calculating which action yields the best results (Stone, 1987:307). According to this approach human beings are consciously rational in their reasoning, ordering their behavior so it is "reasonably directed toward the achievement of conscious goals (Downs, 1967:4)."

A crucial dimension of economic rationality is the con-

cept of efficiency. Efficiency is the ratio between valued inputs and valued outputs. Those who hold to the rational-economic model of decision-making maintain that a decision is rational when it is most efficient. This is to say that mans' decisions are rational to the extent that they are consistent with the efficient accomplishment of pre-determined goals (Ibid.).

Political economist Anthony Downs says the rational-economic approach is derived from a model of reasoning which can be traced to traditional economic theorists. Downs asserts that "economic theorists have nearly always looked at decisions as though they were made by rational minds . . . . . Economic theory has been erected upon the supposition that conscious rationality prevails (Ibid.)."

Deborah Stone in Policy Paradox and Political Reasoning (1988) supports Down's conclusions by referring to the model of society which is dominated by economics as a market model. According to Stone this model views society as a collection of atomized individuals who have little sense of community and act only to maximize self-interest. In this model man has no community preferences, only individual preferences. Social interaction, like a market, consists entirely of individuals trading with one another to maximize their own well being (Stone, 1988:7).

The rational-economic perspective was given its earliest and most forceful presentation for organizational life

in the work of Herbert Simon on public organizations and decision-making theory. In an endeavor to develop a more scientific approach to the study of public administration, Simon put forward in an essay entitled "The Proverbs of Administration" which appeared in his book Administrative Behavior (1945) the notion that rational decision-making is at the very core of administration of public policy (Denhardt, 1984:80). He further maintained that the primary task of administration is to create an environment which will best enable the policymaker to achieve the highest degree of rationality. In an ideal environment the policymaker is able to be completely informed of both the goals of the organization and to determine the best available alternative for maximizing the efficient achievement of those goals (Ibid.).

While the concept of rational decision-making as it applies to public policy came under immediate attack in the world of academia (1), today there remains general agreement among public policy analysts that the rational-economic approach is the dominant paradigm. By offering an alternative to this approach, recent works of Frank Fischer, Politics, Values and Public Policy: The Problem of Methodology (1980); Deborah Stone, Policy Paradox and Political Reason (1988) and Graham T. Allison, Essence of Decision (1971)

(1) See Robert Dahl's The Science of Public Administration (1947) for a critique of Simon's rational-economic approach to decision-making.

support this conclusion.

What are the implications for policymakers given the pervasiveness of the rational-economic approach? Policymakers using only the rational-economic paradigm would view the community as a rational system. Decisions in their view would be framed as a question of what achieves the most efficient and cost-effective delivery of services. According to Deborah Stone the image of this policymaking process resembles a production line with decisions made in an orderly, rational sequence. "An issue is placed on the agenda and gets defined; it moves through the legislative and executive branches of government where alternatives are proposed, analyzed, legitimized, selected and refined (Stone, 7)." The administrator`s role in a "community bureaucracy" is one of managing the process to assure the successful achievement of pre-determined goals.

Regionalism in this schema is seen by community decision-makers as an administrative instrument to effect the delivery of public services in an efficient and cost-effective manner. The taken for granted assumption is that community leaders communicate clearly and purposefully in terms of carefully calculated economic interests of the community. In this scenario each participant possesses a unity of purpose and action in responding to the other's initiatives. The decision process is wholly instrumental. The prediction following from this model is that regionalism

proposals will be adopted when they serve to maximize utility. When it is reasoned that economic interests of a community are not served, regionalism will be rejected.

The Myth Of A Rational-Economic Approach

Simon's rational-economic approach to decision-making has had its detractors ever since it was introduced. Its practicality has been questioned on numerous grounds (1) that all lead to the proposition that it is impossible to construct a purely rational process of decision-making for anything but the simplest, lowest level decisions. Among the major defects suggested by critics of such an approach are the impossibility of distinguishing facts from values (2) and of analytically separating ends and means; the impossibility of obtaining agreement among decision-makers on pre-determined goals and the changing and ambiguous nature of administrative goals (Denhardt, 1984:152-157).

While critics are in general agreement on the reasons for the limitations of a rational-economic approach, there is a disagreement as to its overall usefulness. Some find a

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(1) A discussion of the practicality of the rational-economic approach should include references to Charles Lindbloom's The Science of Muddling Through (1959), Anthony Down's Inside Bureaucracy (1967) and Aaron Wildavsky's The Politics of the Budgetary Process (1974).

(2) As part of his thesis Herbert Simon had maintained that such a separation was not only possible, but necessary in the decision-making process.

rational-economic approach to understanding human behavior totally irrelevant (Aron Lecture Notes, September 27, 1988). Others representing a far larger number of observers believe that a rational-economic approach has merit as one of a number of ways to view human phenomena. Graham T. Allison is a representative of this latter group of observers. Allison, in Essence of Decision, says the contribution of the classical model to our understanding is "considerable (Allison, 252)."

> It does permit a quick, imaginative sorting of a problem of explanation or analysis. It serves as a productive shorthand, requiring a minimum of information. It can yield an informative summary of tendencies, for example, by identifying the weight of strategic costs and benefits (Allison, 254-255).

Having established the usefulness of such an approach, Allison goes on to make a point that is the basis for unity among critics of a rational-economic approach. He says that the rational model "is not itself a full analysis." It leaves too many gaps. As an explanation of human behavior "it cannot stand alone (Ibid., 255)."

I. M. Destler in Presidents, Bureaucrats and Foreign Policy (1972) reaches a conclusion similar to that of Allison.

> Rational policymaking may be sanitary as an ideal and reasoned analysis may be able to improve policymaking at many points. But there is no way for reason alone to overcome the diversity of goals and means that are inevitable among policymaking participants. Goals are based on value preferences as well as rational analyses. And even dif-

> ferences as to the means of achieving common goals cannot be resolved by reason (Destler, 1972:56).

Deborah Stone in Policy Paradox and Political Reason (1988) is less complimentary in discussing the value of a rational economic approach to policymaking and policy analysis. She says for all its intuitive appeal, "the rational decision-making model utterly fails to explain . . . (Stone, 5)." Stone "does not find the market model a convincing description of the world" she knows (Ibid., vii). In a direct reference to the issue of community decision-making, Stone says the rational-economic model "fails to capture what she sees as the essence of community decision-making (Ibid., 7)."

Politics And Community Decision-Making

If a rational-economic approach is not the key to understanding community policymaking, what is? In addressing this question there seems to be a growing recognition that there are other factors which impinge upon community decision-making. Foremost among these other considerations is politics. Allison in Essence of Decision (1971) says that leaders of a community are not a monolithic group. "Rather each individual in this group is, in his own right, a player in a central competitive game. The name of the game is politics." Players in the political game make deci-

sions not by a single rational choice, but by the "pulling and hauling" that is politics (Allison, 144).

Community decisions are political decisions, made by politicians. Therefore, it is important to understand how a politician looks at community issues. In general, politicians are concerned more about distribution than efficiency (Verdier, 1984:421). This leads invariably to such questions as who should get what, what is important and what ought to be.

Politics, then, is the process by which these judgements are made and values are allocated throughout the community. The process commences, according to Frank Fischer in Politics, Values and Public Policy: The Problem of Methodology (1980), when players (community leaders) have two or more conceptions of goals or values. If these conceptions cannot be carried out at the same time, they conflict and constitute a political issue. The political process is the activity, the "pulling and hauling," by which an issue is agitated and ultimately resolved (Fischer, 1980:101).

The Role Of Values

Competing values are the substance of politics. It is value preferences that drive the political process in the community. Political decisions about fundamental values establish the framework within which subsequent reasoning

about goals take place. Efficiency is a fundamental value (1) in administration. However, in the real world of political decision-making it is but one of many such values that compete regularly to be the basis of public policy goals.

Because values play such an important role in determining how community issues such as regionalism are resolved, it is important to understand what they are and from whence they come. A community value can be defined as an abstract and generalized behavioral idea to which members of a society "feel a strong, emotionally-toned commitment and which provides a standard of judging specific acts and goals (Theodorson, 1965:455)."

Some who define the word use norms interchangeably with values. Sociologist Robert A. Nisbet, in his book Social Bond (1970) sees no difference between values and norms. He says it is simply a matter of different words referring to the same aspect of social behavior (2). If there is a difference, it is not substantive, but one of usage (Nisbet, 1970:232). Frank Fischer, on the other hand, maintains that even though they are related, norms serve as the criteria for assessing the validity of values. Empirically, norms

(1) Dwight Waldo in The Administrative States (1948) takes issue with this proposition maintaining that efficiency cannot itself be a value because it must always be defined in terms of the particular purpose being served.
(2) The authors of Habits of The Heart (1985) use a third word, "mores," to describe "consciousness, culture and the daily practice of life" that influence one's actions (Bellah, 1985:80).

are more concrete, situation-bound specifications that mediate between action and values and as such tend to be more imperative than values in the social world. Normative statements prescribe specific rules or principles of conduct against which behavior ought to be judged and approved or disapproved. Fischer gives as an example of a value the concept of honesty while norms are those practices designed to insure the value of honesty (Fischer, 67).

Whether one accepts the distinction between values and norms or recognizes them as inherently the same (1), there is little disagreement as to their effect upon human behavior individually and collectively as a community. Nisbet says "all behavior is normatively directed. From the very beginning of life one's interaction with others is normatively bounded, normatively inspired and normatively maintained (Nisbet, 1970:222)." Having considered the relationship of values to the concept of community, Roland L. Warren in The Community In America (1963) concludes that the notion of values held in common goes a long way toward understanding the concept of community and the reasons for differences in communities. According to Warren, communities exist when there is a homogeneity of shared values. Where there are discontinuities of values boundaries are drawn separating one community from another (Warren, 1963: 32-34).

(1) This is the author's view.

If one accepts the importance of values as a key to human behavior both individually and collectively, then it follows that one must examine the source of values to have a comprehensive understanding of their influence on community decision-making. Where do values come from and how do they infiltrate man's decision-making process? For answers to these questions we shall first turn to the concept of culture.

Culture: An Alternative?

Culture and values are interrelated in a community. The concept of shared values is that which makes a community's culture distinctive. Culture is the means by which values are shared and transmitted in a community. Either individually or jointly with other values, culture is the most frequently offered alternative to rational-economics as an explanatory model of community behavior (Gastil, 1975: 40). Those who support culture's primary role in influencing community behavior maintain that understanding the cultural basis of community values in the best insight into the "whys" of community decision-making (1).

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(1) Culture, is in the classic definition of nineteenth century English anthropologist Edward B. Tylor, "the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society (Nisbet, 1970:59)." More simply put, "the concept of culture is used in social science to denote the

Proponents of the importance of culture believe that community leaders do not enter the decision-making process as "pieces of putty." They are not mere tools sharpened to some professional purpose such as efficiency, as the proponents of economic-rationalism would have one believe. Decision-makers are carriers of culture. They bring with them their whole cultural conditioning, a conditioning that reflects the community institutions of which they are a part (Waldo, 1978:181). This cultural conditioning process begins in the very formative period of community development and continues throughout the history of a community. Cultural influence is primarily transmitted in this process through a tradition of social interaction and the sharing of common experiences (Fischer, 66).

The authors of Habits of The Heart (1985) place heavy emphasis on the importance of the process by which culture is transmitted throughout generations of community inhabitants. They refer to a real community as one which has a "community of memory," which does not forget its past. According to them, communities of memory are continually involved "in retelling its story" and in so doing offering examples of men and women who have embodied norms worthy of duplicating. These stories of collective history and exem-

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entire complex of beliefs, and the way of doing things in a society (Waldo, 1978:178)."

plary individual behavior play an important part in transmitting community culture (Bellah, 1985:153).

Culture not only affects how community residents react to one another but also, most relevant to our study, how they view and interact with those outside of their own community. Community traits of language, history, religion, customs and practices are distributed geographically among inhabitants of a community. Culture reflects patterns of learned behavior that differ demonstrably from one community to another (Gastil, 40).

Just as communities are a geographic fact, they are also a fact of culture. Sharing a common culture enables people to understand one another and it usually makes it easier for them to trust one another. It therefore makes it considerably more likely that individuals will be receptive to entering into meaningful relationships with others belonging to the same culture. As Antony Black, in State, Community and Human Desire (1988), points out, sharing a common culture "does not mean that any particular individuals are to like or love one another." It does, however, mean that there is "a pool of potentiality" for cooperation (Black, 1988:76).

It is by contrast, that we learn the influence of culture on intercommunity relationships. Just as a common culture is a pool of intracommunity cooperative relationships as Black suggests, by contrast, not sharing a common culture

is a pool from which intercommunity conflict can spring (1).

Black says "only rather outstanding individuals can form relationships across cultural boundaries (Ibid.)." While outstanding may not be the appropriate adjective, much the same can be said of communities. Rather than reaching out to those of different cultures, the propensity is for community residents to retrench within their own culture and defend it from outsiders. If there is any outreach, it is for purposes of imposing one's own culture at the expense of others. Rare are efforts at mutual beneficial cooperation among different cultures. Even more rare are examples of successful cooperative efforts (Ibid., 75-76).

The Political Culture Model

Growing recognition of the influence of culture has made it the most identifiable alternative to the prevailing

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(1) A good illustration of how culture plays a role in intercommunity cooperation at the sub-state level is chronicled in Warren Hofstra's book entitled A Separate Place (1986). In his book, Hofstra relates how cultural differences led to the creation of Clarke County, Virginia from Frederick County in 1836. In the chapter entitled "Two Worlds" Hofstra says that when Frederick County was established in colonial times, it incorporated people from two very different cultural backgrounds, small farmers mostly of German and Scotch-Irish stock who had come from Pennsylvania and the landed gentry settlers of English descent who came from the more southern parts of Virginia. Hofstra maintains that the cultural differences of these two groups of settlers were a major contributing factor in the ultimate division of the original county into two separate counties (Hofstra, 1986:24).

rational-economic explanation of community decision-making. Interest in the role of culture in the formation of values coalesced around a category of theory known as political culture. In general, political culture is understood to deal with the beliefs, values and attitudes found in people which shape their political behavior in a given society (Berger, 1989: 2). An investigation of political culture is of importance here so that we can see if it offers the prospect of understanding, in a broader way than the rational-economic model does, why people create or shape political systems the way they do, how different political systems function and why people make the political choices they do . . . such as to regionalize or not. It is particularly relevant to a study of sub-state regionalism because it would seem that an understanding of the distinctiveness of a community's political culture might go a long way towards predicting how a community might respond to regionalism.

Under the common heading of political culture a number of significant studies gained widespread attention in the 1960s. They were diverse and had little in common other than a belief in the importance of culture as an influence on political choices (Gibbins, 1988:2). For purposes of our study the work of Daniel J. Elezar entitled American Federalism: A View From The States (1966) is particularly significant.

Elezar begins his study with the premise that despite

the sharing of a general political culture, "the national culture is itself a synthesis of three major political subcultures which jointly inhabit the country, existing side by side or even overlapping one another." According to Elezar, each subculture is strongly tied to specific sections of the country, reflecting the currents of migration that have carried people of different origins and backgrounds across the country in more or less orderly patterns. Elezar calls these three subcultures individualistic, traditionalistic and moralistic. The name given each subculture reflects the central characteristic that governs each pattern and respective centers of emphasis (Elezar, 86-86).

Elezar traces the three political subcultures to "very real sociocultural differences found among the people who came to America over the years, differences that date back to the very beginnings of settlement in this country and even to the old world." He says because the various ethnic and religious groups that came to these shores tended to congregate in the same settlements and because, as they or their descendants moved westward, they continued to settle together, the political patterns they brought with them are today distributed geographically. Elezar concludes that it is the geographic distribution of political cultures as modified by local conditions that has laid the foundation for American regionalism (Ibid., 94). Elezar admits that the overall pattern of political culture is not easily por-

trayed. Having said this, he then proceeds to develop such a portrayal in the form of a sketch which depicts "with reasonable clarity" the nationwide geography of political culture based on the three major subcultures he identified (Ibid., 95).

Elezar's study of political cultures throughout the United States serves heuristic purposes. While his identification of subcultures are subject to question, Elezar's work is relevant to the study of substate regionalism because by demonstrating the process by which culture influences political decision-making, it offers an alternative model to the dominant rational-economic paradigm. Though the focus of his study is on regions within the country, it is no less relevant for communities within regions. There is nothing in Elezar's study which rules out the existence of cultural differences among communities within regions. Communities within a region may share many cultural similarities, but each possesses a distinctiveness of culture that can lead to a quite different response to policy initiatives such as regionalism.

Elezar's conclusions as to the importance of political culture as a determinant of political decision-making was endorsed as recently as 1986 by no less than the distinguished scholar than Aaron Wildavsky. In an essay entitled "Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions: A Cultural Theory of Preference Formation" prepared for his inau-

gural address as president of the American Political Science Association, Wildavsky discusses the formation of individual and collective political preferences. He concludes by singling-out culture as the primary determinant of political preferences. Commenting on Wildavsky's conclusions in his book, Political Culture and Public Opinion (1989), Arthur Berger says that if he is correct the political culture model should assume a position of centrality in the study of politics (Berger, 1989:4-5).

Limitations Of The Rational-Economic And Political Culture Models

Though their differences have been enumerated earlier in this chapter, the political culture model is not unlike a rational-economic approach in many important respects. These two models share not only similarities, but also limitations. These limitations become clear as one examines the similarities of these two models. Burrell and Morgan's functionalist paradigm provides an underlying unity for both the rational-economic and political culture approaches (1). Both are positivist and rational in their perspective to the extent that they believe human behavior can be rationally explained by searching for regularities and causal relation-

(1) See Burrell and Morgan's Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis (1979) for a complete description of the functionalist paradigm.

ships between constitutent elements. Similarly, both approach their subject matter from mainly an objective point of view.

The common strain evidenced in both a politcal culture and a rational-economic approach to understanding does not end with epistemological similarities. Both focus primarily on the role of exogenous forces as a determinant of those values that most influence community decisions. In addition, both hold to the proposition that these values are learned in the course of human development (1). Proponents of these approaches maintain that the whole experience of growing up is essentially the assimilation and internalization of values and ways of behavior that are in existence when one comes in the world (Nisbet, 1970:59).

While the collective influence of both political culture and rational-economics is substantial, using them as a shorthand approach towards understanding sub-state regionalism is to oversimplify what is a complex issue and to stop short of using a full complement of heuristic tools. Contrary to their major proposition, human behavior cannot be fully explained by either cultural norms or economic utility. As the sole explanatory variable, these approaches leave too much unexplained.

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(1) The author supports the contention of Hall and Nordby (A Primer of Jungian Psychology, 1973:40-41) that man has innate values which are not culturally-based, but their development and expression may depend upon exogenous influences of man's experience and cultural environment.

Political culture and rational-economics as explanatory model fail to take into account those patterns of instinctive preferences that are inherent in man's unconscious and that frequently surface to influence his individual and collective behavior. These inbred endogenous forces are the very stuff of man's unconscious (Campbell, 1971:61). Through the ages these factors have been acknowledged in history, myth, religion, art, and other components of our cultural heritage. According to Jung, they are always at work everywhere, continually, influencing our thoughts, feelings, and actions (Jung, 1980:79). Unlike the conscious approaches, the influence of these forces are not learned. They are innate. Also, unlike political culture and rational-economic considerations, these forces are cross cultural. They exist as influencing structures beneath the surface of man's consciousness in all races and civilizations (Shelburne, 1986:129-130). The question is how do we render an account of the dynamics of these forces? To do so we turn now to a description of a structural analytical approach that can broaden the scope of analytic possibilities for policy analysis.

Table 1.

Comparison of Approaches to
Understanding Human Behavior

	Rational/Economic	Cultural	Archetypal
1. Source of influencing Forces	Exogenous	Exogenous	Endogenous
2. Method of Acquisition	Learned Behavior	Learned Behavior	Instinctive Behavior
3. Method of Transmission	Reason	Social Interaction	Neurological
4. Method of Study	Quantitative Empirical	Quantitative/Qualitative Phenomenology	Qualitative Phenomenology/ Symbolic Interaction
5. Dominant Discipline	Economics	Sociology	Psychology
6. Epistemology	Positivism Objective	Positivism Objective	Anti-Positivism (Structuralism) Subjective
7. Normative	Administrative Efficiency	Sociological Norms	Instincts
8. Awareness	Conscious	Conscious/ Personal Unconscious (1)	Collective

(1) The personal unconscious, according to Jung, is that part of the unconscious that has been experienced, but has slipped beneath one's consciousness. Jung makes a distinction between the personal unconscious and the collective unconscious, which is the source of ones unlearned, instinctive behavior. This distinction became the major point of departure between the views of Freud and Jung (Progoff, 53-57).

III. CARL JUNG'S THEORY OF ARCHETYPES I: A STRUCTURAL APPROACH

> As in the case of the cathedral, the structural foundations are not discernible to the beholder or intelligible to the untrained eye, but this does not disprove their existence or their vital function (de Laszlo, 1958:xx).

Value Of A Structural Approach

Gareth Morgan's chapter entitled "Organizations As Psychic Prisons" in Images of Organization (1986) is helpful to understanding the value of a structural approach to the study of community behavior. In this chapter Morgan makes a case for expanding our analysis of individual and collective behavior to include an examination of those non-rational or, as he calls them, irrational forces (1) that influence man's actions and decisions. Morgan says man celebrates the rational aspects of his actions for purposes of security, a sense of being in control. In doing so, he maintains that man overlooks the significance of those irrational forces that operate beneath the surface of his consciousness and influence action (Morgan, 1986:229). In making his case Morgan sides with those psychoanalysts who maintain that "a full understanding of the significance of what we do and say

(1) Morgan uses the term for those forces we cannot order and control.

in going about our daily business must always take account of the hidden structure and dynamics of the human psyche (Ibid., 203)."

In Images of Organization (1986) Morgan uses the metaphor of the psychic prison in a structural, beneath the surface approach to grasp the reality of man's "taken for granted world (Ibid., 228)." The metaphor of a psychic prison puts forward the notion that an expanded understanding of reality can be achieved by digging beneath the surface of man's consciousness to unearth those "unconscious processes and related patterns of control" that trap man in a mode of existence (Ibid.)(1). According to Morgan, the metaphor of a psychic prison provides an impetus for understanding the significance and coping with the consequences of our actions in a more informed way (Ibid.).

Morgan's metaphor of a psychic prison is consistent with the thesis of structuralists that there are fixed channels within man's mind which serve to direct psychic energy into one's consciousness in a way that influences behavior. According to structuralists, when one perceives the world he does so without knowing that what he sees is the superim-

(1) The notion that people create worlds which then imprison them has proved a popular theme in social thought stretching back to Plato. It now receives its most forceful treatment in the works of Freud, Marx, and other contributors to what Burrell and Morgan have described as the radical humanist paradigm. For an understanding of the philosophical tradition of radical humanism see Burrell and Morgan's Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis (1979) pages 279-308.

posed shape of his own mind. Entities can only be meaningful in so far as they find a place within that shape. Therefore, understanding reality begins with an understanding of those structures that compose the patterns of man's mind (Hawkes, 1977:13).

The archetype, as defined and explained by Carl Gustav Jung, is the basic unit of the mind's structural organization. Marie Louise von Franz, in C. G. Jung: His Myth In Our Time, refers to archetypes as innate structural predispositions which order and arrange representations of reality into certain patterns (von Franz, 1975:125). A central assumption of this study is that archetypes are useful tools in understanding man's collective and individual behavior. So as to gain a perspective on Jung's theory of archetypes, we shall first take a look at its author.

Carl Gustav Jung

Carl Gustav Jung was born in 1875 in Switzerland. The greater part of his childhood was passed near Basel. Jung's father was a clergyman. From an early age, he was exposed to a great deal of religious discussion and practice. Early in his life he experienced visions and dreams of a religious kind which did not fit in with the conventional teachings of the Church. His attempts to discuss his doubts with his father were always repudiated. Jung had to keep his unor-

thodoxy to himself, but remained true to his own vision in spite of the guilt and sense of alienation from his family that it produced (Bennett, 1983:ix).

Jung studied medicine at the University of Basel. In 1900, he began his career in psychiatry by becoming an assistant physician at the Burgholzli mental hospital in Zurich. Here he carried out a great deal of experimental work with patients, using word-association tests. By means of these tests, Jung was able to demonstrate objectively that individuals were influenced by mental contents of which they were entirely unaware. It was the first experimental demonstration of Freud's concept of repression. In 1907, Jung published a book on schizophrenia which owed much to Freud's ideas. Jung sent the book to Freud. This led to their meeting and subsequent collaboration until 1913 (Ibid., ix-x).

Although Jung always acknowledged his debt to Freud, he was never an uncritical disciple. Jung eventually felt compelled to rebel against the dogmas of Freud (1). This separation was bitter and led to Jung's experiencing so severe a mental upheaval that Jung feared he was "menaced by a psychosis (Ibid., x)." At the time of his parting with Freud, Jung was thirty-eight years old. His insistence that the

(1) See E. A. Bennett's chapter entitled chapter entitled "The Parting of the Ways" in his book What Jung Really Said (1983) for an analysis of the reasons for Jung's separation from Freud.

mid-life period was a kind of turning point in psychological development took its origin from his own experience. It is because of that experience that Jung's major contribution to psychology concerns the field of adult development (Ibid., xi).

Marie Louise von Franz calls Jung one of the great doctors of all time and one of the great thinkers of the century (von Franz, 1975:15). As a doctor Jung's goal was to help men and women to know themselves, so that by self-knowledge and thoughtful self-use they could live full and productive lives. Jung was the first to apply psychoanalytic ideas to the study of schizophrenia.

As a thinker many of his ideas and some of the terms he introduced have become incorporated into psychology without recognition of their origin. He introduced the concepts of "extraversion" and "introversion," and the terms "complex," "individuation," and "collective unconscious" (Bennett, vii). One of the most distinctive features of his work and that which is most relevant to a study of community behavior was Jung's emphasis on the role of archetypes (Morgan, 223).

Theory Of Archetypes

The Collective Unconscious

A necessary beginning for an analysis of Jung's notion of the archetype is his concept of the collective uncon-

scious. This concept was a contributing factor in Jung's break with Freud. From his investigation of the objective evidence in dealing with his patients, Jung was convinced that not all of their usual experiences could be explained on the basis of their personal history or the repression of ideas, as Freud maintained (Bennett, 64). Those experiences that were a personal acquisition or which had existed in the conscious and were repressed, Jung attributed to the personal unconscious. Those universal experiences that had never been in one's consciousness and that had their origin in heredity, Jung said were the result of a second psychic system of a collective, universal and impersonal nature. This system was identified as the collective unconscious (Campbell, 59-60) (1).

The contents of the collective unconscious formed patterns of personal behavior from the day the individual is born. Jung believed that like the body the mind has its pre-established definiteness, namely forms of behavior (de Laszlo, 1958:xv). He said "the form of the world into which man is born is already inborn in him as a virtual image" (Hall and Nordby, 41). The virtual image comes into conscious reality by identifying itself with corresponding objects in the world (2). Thus, the contents of the collec-

(1) Jung said that the hypothesis of the collective unconscious is no more mystical than to assume there are patterns of instinctual behavior (Campbell, 61).
(2) This is the "canalization" process which is explained later in this study.

tive unconscious are responsible for the selectivity of perception and action. We easily perceive some things and react to them in certain ways because the contents of the collective unconscious are predisposed to them (Ibid.). The contents of the collective unconscious are what Jung calls archetypes.

Archetypes

Jung did not coin the word archetypes. It comes from Greek. Literally translated it means "prime imprinter (Jaffe, 1971:15)." The word has been used for centuries to indicate the original pattern or prototype from which copies are made. Just as Jung did not coin the term, neither did he, of his own admission, first develop it as a psychological concept. According to Jung's personal secretary, Aniela Jaffe, his concept of the archetype was synonymous with Plato's concept of the "idea" (Jaffe, 17). Jung readily acknowledged the prior existence of the archetypal concept and the influence of Plato on the concept (Campbell, 55-56). Indeed, in his writings Jung frequently refers to archetypes as "living ideas (Morgan, 223)." Much like Plato's concept of the idea, Jung saw archetypes as inherited, living dispositions in the unconscious that continually influence man's thoughts, feelings and actions. Also, like Plato's concept of the idea, archetypes have a spiritual nature that goes to the limits of the bounds of psychological and scientific

knowledge (Jaffe, 16-17).

Although Jung neither introduced the term nor the concept, he spent much of his life developing an archetypal theory (Hall and Nordby, 4). He first used the term in 1919. In his earlier writings, Jung used the term "primordial image" to describe the concept. Other terms used by Jung to identify the concept were "inherited pathways" and "deposits." Jaffe says Jung dropped the use of all these terms in favor of archetype because they implied something that had gradually been built-up, whereas Jung had come to see the phenomena as structural elements inherent in man's nature from the start (Jaffe, 17).

While Jung did reduce some of the confusion over the concept by settling on the term archetype, for many it remains an elusive concept. Almost every commentary on archetypal theory begins with a slightly different definition. Variations are due in part to one's interpretation of Jung's works. Equally important is the level of the unconscious in which archetypes are encountered. Some hold to the belief that at their inception in the unconscious, archetypes are little more than energy (1).

While understanding archetypes as energy is helpful, greater elaboration is needed for a working definition. This is provided by a number of sources. This writer found

(1) For a detailed discussion of the origin of archetypes see Walter Shelburne's Mythos and Logos in The Thought of Carl Jung (1986) pp. 49-55.

the elaboration provided by Aniela Jaffe, Jung's personal secretary, to be particularly helpful. In her book entitled The Myth of Meaning, Ms. Jaffe refers to archetypes as "typical dispositions in the unconscious that are ingrained in man's makeup" which "constantly arrange the contents of consciousness in accordance with their own structural form (Jaffe, 15)."

Ms. Jaffe's use of the term archetype represents a composite definition with the possible exception that commentaries on the concept of archetypes vacillate between the word dispositions and instinct to describe the psychic forces in the unconscious. Jung himself uses both terms synonymously with archetype. Jung held that,

> "instincts form very close analogies to archetypes -- so close, in fact, that there is good reason for supposing that the archetypes are the unconscious images of the instincts themselves; in other words they are patterns of instinctual behavior (C. G. Jung, Vol. 9:43-44)."

In an earlier volume from his collected works, Jung refers to archetypes as "functional dispositions to produce the same or very similar ideas (Ibid., Vol. 5:102)."

The difference between the use of disposition and instincts in a definition of archetypes is not significant and reflects no more than a difference as to when these forces are encountered in the unconscious. In their dormant stage in the unconscious the term disposition is more appropriate. When they are activated and intervene in these

structural forces in the unconscious, they are best described as instincts (1). For purposes of this study the terms are used interchangeably and Ms. Jaffe's definition is accepted as a working definition.

Instincts And Archetypal Images

Just as efficiency represents the pervasive value in a rational-economic approach and social norms constitute the dominant values in a cultural approach to understanding human behavior, instincts are the determinant of human behavior in Jung's theory of archetypes. Hall and Nordby in A Primer of Jungian Psychology refer to instincts as "psychic values" (Hall and Nordby, 60). They maintain that the value of any given instinct is a measure of psychic energy that is committed to bringing the instinct to consciousness. When a high value is placed upon instinct it means that a considerable amount of psychic energy is directed towards influencing and directing one's conscious behavior (Ibid.). Hall and Nordby maintain further that while the absolute value of psychic energy that is invested in an instinct cannot be determined, its value relative to other values can be assessed. One can, therefore, weigh or

(1) While Jung's work seems at times to make a distinction in the unconscious between inborn forms of intuition (dispositions) and instincts, he concludes that at the very "bottom they determine one another" (Campbell, 52-53) and are essentially "aspects of the same vital activity (Ibid., 58)."

compare psychic values (instincts) against one another and determine their relative strengths.

Understanding archetypes as instincts with varying degrees of value still leaves much unexplained. It does not tell us what "triggers" the instinct or determines the amount of psychic energy behind it in bringing it to the surface as a determinant of human behavior. To understand these aspects of archetypal theory Jung introduces the concept of the archetypal image or analogue. For Jung the archetypal image is the conscious manifestation of the archetype. Though never perfect it is a conscious attempt to represent an archetype (Ibid., 116). The difference between the archetype and archetypal image is the distinction between the thing itself and its representation in the phenomenal realm (Shelburne, 56).

Psychic Energy And The Canalization Process

The force which propels archetypes from the unconscious into consciousness is psychic energy (1). This energy results from tension in the psyche. In general this tension is caused by the conflict between conscious and the unconscious forces. More specifically, and more relevant to our study, this tension frequently occurs when man's primitive

(1) Jung also used the word "libido" for this form of energy. His use of the word libido is not to be confused with Freud's definition of libido. Jung did not restrict libido to sexual energy as Freud did (Hall and Nordby, 59).

unconscious instincts conflict with his conscious, more developed rational behavior (Odajnyk, 4).

Under normal conditions psychic energy regularly flows from the unconscious to the conscious side of the psyche giving "voice" to the psyche's unconscious instincts (Progoff, 182). When, however, the conscious attitude becomes too dominant the flow of energy from the unconscious is inhibited (Hall and Nordby, 73). This energy is turned away from the consciousness and regresses into depths of the collective unconscious. There it activates archetypes. As this energy builds, archetypes surface. Some of this energy can be released through fissures when there are breaks in the conscious attitude. Where the consciousness is excessively strong and the unconscious is not able to express itself at all, tension builds to the point that psychic energy is released in a sudden outburst. This phenomenon is best described as a flooding process in which the consciousness is literally inundated with excess instinctual energy. This can be the impetus for the sudden surfacing of archetypes which are new to consciousness (Progoff, 201-204). The flooding of consciousness can also be the impetus for a dramatic change in individual and collective behavior. Odajnyk in Jung and Politics (1976) uses mass movements in which the unconscious takes possession of a people as an example of how behavior can be affected by the flow of excessive psychic energy into the consciousness (Odajnyk,

25). According to Jung, modern man is particularly susceptible to such possession because his psyche is overdeveloped on the side of consciousness (Progoff, 206).

Though more dramatic, the flooding phenomenon is the less frequent way for instinctual energy to enter consciousness. The most frequent way is a process Jung calls canalization. This is when archetypal images trigger unconscious instincts causing them to surface in man's consciousness in specific ways (Hall and Nordby, 76).

According to Jung, psychic energy, like physical energy, becomes channeled, converted, and transformed or to use Jung's term, "canalized." The canalization of instinctual energy is achieved by analogues of the object of the instinct (C. G. Jung, Vol. 8, 42). Thus, when one encounters an archetypal image that has an archetypal counterpart in the psyche, the appropriate archetype is immediately activated and its psychic energy projected (canalized) onto the external images (Odajnyk, 26).

It is impossible to list all types of archetypal images that draw forth psychic energy. Jung held that their existence is a product of the combined influence of the originally given structure of the psyche and of the deposits of constantly repeated experience of humanity. Their formation and constellation is influenced by cultural as well as individual inheritance and conscious dispositions. Nevertheless, there are certain categories of manifestation which

because of their repeated experience have become particularly important to the canalization of archetypes. These are archetypal figures, ideas, situations and symbols (Odajnyk, 16-17) (1). Of the four, symbols seem to have special importance in the study of the role of archetypes in community decision-making.

The Symbol

> Developing out of the dynamics of the depth of the unconscious, they (symbols) are intuitive representations, autonomous glimpses into phases of reality that are not otherwise known (Progoff, 186).

The symbol is something that hints at that which does not exist as a thing or matter immediately perceptible to the senses. It is a means by which that which is not immediately perceived is made sensible. With symbolization we give things, events and actions meanings which mean more than things, events and actions themselves, as such. In symbolization immediate reality and the experiences from it

(1) In addition to general manifestations, Jung believed archetypes sometime show a distinct personality. The most common of these are the shadow, the anima and animus. The shadow is a representation of the personal unconscious as a whole and usually embodies the values of those held by the unconscious personality. The anima archetype appears in men. It represents man's biological expectation of women, but also is a symbol of man's feminine possibilities. The animus archetype is the analogous image of the masculine that appears in women. Notable among other archetypes that appear in personified form are the Old Wise Man, The Hero, The Great Mother, The Earth Mother, The Divine Child and the archetype of The Self (Odajnyk, 17).

are not expressed as such, but are sublimated with crystal_ lized symbolic expressions for the definition of the deeper essence of reality (Gibbons, 1989:134).

According to Ira Progoff in Jung's Psychology and Social Meaning (1985), the symbol as defined by Jung does not come from the world of outer experience. It is expressed in society but does not develop out of social intercourse. This conception eliminates the possibility that symbols arise as a result of intellectualization. Symbols come into man's conscious not by reason, but autonomously by the direct force of "revelation or intuition." They cannot be deliberately and consciously developed, nor can it be intellectually worked-out and rationally believed-in (Progoff, 186-188).

Symbols emerge through the autonomous process of symbol formation in the psyche, what Jung refers to as the canalization process. They are, therefore, prior to sensory experience. Developing out of the dynamics of the depths of the unconscious, symbols come into man's consciousness pregnant with meaning. They give us a glimpse of phases of reality not otherwise known, the very essence of man's collective unconscious (Ibid., 186).

Symbols are at the very core of Jung's archetypal theory because of the revelation they provide of those instinctive forces at work in man's unconscious that influence his individual and collective behavior. They play a

particularly important social role in Jung's theory of archetypes. For Jung the symbol was the bridge between man and society. Symbols serve to draw man into the social process. According to Jung, psychic energy developed through the tension between instinctual energy and society. It was the symbol that drew energy to the surface, thereby structuring man's behavior (Ibid., 181).

The importance of the symbol is emphasized by Hall and Nordby in their book, A Primer of Jungian Psychology (1973). They say that "it would not be an exaggeration to say that Jung's two most important concepts are the archetype and the symbol (Hall and Nordby, 111)." The two concepts are intimately related. Symbols are the outward manifestation of archetypes. Archetypes can only express themselves through symbols, since the archetypes are deeply buried in the collective unconscious, unknown and unknowable to the individual. Nevertheless, the archetypes are constantly influencing and directing the individual and collective behavior of man (Ibid.).

It is only by analyzing and interpreting symbols that one can obtain knowledge of the collective unconscious. How is this possible if the knowledge contained in a symbol is not directly known to man? Jung addressed this question in his book Symbols of Transformation (1911). The method identified in this book by which man can decipher the meaning of symbols Jung called amplification (Ibid., 117).

Amplification And Proof

The knowledge contained in a symbol is not directly known to man. One must decipher its meaning through a process Jung calls amplification. The amplification process calls for the mental collection of images from one's cultural environment which appear to project the same basic theme. When the collection of analogues is complete, an interpretation follows that is aimed at connecting the images to a psychic experience. Jung admits the amplification process is more an art than a science. An interpretation is never absolutely right, but will have, to a greater or lesser degree, an illuminating effect. Though the process can be aided by one's experience (1), amplification is best achieved by the use of one's intuitive powers (von Franz, 131).

The amplification process over time helps to determine what images provide a pattern of distinctive meaning (Jung, 1964, 107). If as a result of intuitive perception, instinctive meaning does not flow forth from an image into one's consciousness, then in all likelihood that which is being observed is not an analogue of one's unconscious. Only when the light of consciousness falls on an archetypal

(1) Hall and Nordby maintain the "more experiences we have the greater the chance that latent images will become manifested." That is why a rich environment and opportunities for education and learning are necessary for individuating (making conscious) all aspects of the collective unconscious (Hall and Nordby, 41).

manifestation does one intuitively know that which is being observed represents something far greater than its conscious reality. Unless one experiences their numinous presence, images are only images, not symbols. To this extent the archetypal can be said to be in the eye of the beholder. Symbols come into one's consciousness through the emotional experience of perception (Samuel, 1985:53).

The reliance on intuition and emotion in the amplification process is the basis for much of the criticism leveled at Jung's archetypal theory. What good, critics ask, is a theory which relies on emotion and the subjectiveness of man's intuition to ferret out unconscious influences on human behavior. Where is the proof? What prohibits a Jungian from interpreting archetypal manifestations at will and ascribing all human behavior to the influence of archetypes (Shelburne, 1986:125-127).

Jung readily acknowledged his critics, but was quick to point out that the questions raised were not appropriate to archetypes themselves (1). He took considerable care to emphasize that archetypes are structures which can be isolated only relatively. He warned that "it is a well-nigh hopeless undertaking to tear a single archetype out of the

(1) Shelburne dedicates a chapter in Mythos and Logos in The Thought of Carl Jung (1986) to analyzing criticisms of Jung's views of archetypes. Shelburne concludes that most of the criticism is the result of taking Jung's writings "out of their proper content or without regard to what is said in other writings (Shelburne, 69)."

living tissue of the psyche (Jung, Vol. 9:302)." He admitted that there is a certain lack of clarity to archetypes, owing to what he calls their contamination. They overlap to an extraordinary degree, so that in practice it is possible to establish associations of meaning and motifs, even of identity, between every archetypal symbol and every other one (von Franz, 129). He says this has lead some to ascribe everything to archetypes, causing some analysts to drown in a sea of ambiguity (Ibid., 132).

Jung maintained that most criticisms of archetypal theory are the result of the critics overlooking the "feeling tone" which is peculiar to each archetypal manifestation. In the absence of a feeling tone, manifestations become mere words or images. Jung said, "those who do not realize the special feeling-tone of the archetypes end with nothing more than a jumble of mythological concepts which can be strung together to show that everything means anything or nothing at all (Jung, 96)."

Despite the subjectiveness of archetypes and their conscious manifestations, Jung steadfastly maintained his concept of the archetype was neither speculative or philosophical, but an empirical matter (Campbell, 62). He attempted to construe a theory compatible with scientific understanding. Jung liked to compare his study of archetypes to that of comparative anatomy. "My scientific methodology is nothing out of the ordinary, it proceeds like comparative anat-

omy, only it describes and compares psychic figures (Shelburne, 123-124)."

The extent to which Jung was able to establish the scientific nature of his study remains debatable. Walter Shelburne after a lengthy analysis of this issue in a chapter entitled "The Study of Archetypes as a Scientific Discipline" in his book Mythos and Logos in the Thought of Carl Jung (1986) concludes that probably the best that can be said for the theory is that "Jung's theory (of archetypes) is not unscientific (Ibid., 127)." He goes on to say that this in no way detracts from the theory's heuristic value in helping man to understand the role of the unconscious upon human behavior. According to Shelburne, even if Jung's theory exceeds accepted boundaries of scientific inquiry, it is no less insightful . . . only different in its approach (Ibid., 93). Archetypal theory remains man's best hope of making sense out of his experience when no rational, scientific approach will do.

Archetypes And The Community

Because of its particular relevance to our study, we conclude this analysis of the archetypal process by changing the focus from the individual to society and how Jung's description of the process contributes to an understanding of community behavior. In doing so we find that knowledge

of archetypes is as important to an understanding of the community as it is for the individual. After all, social relationships in a community are primarily psychical relations, relations of minds. It is psychical drives that bind man to man and creates a community (Maciver, 1936:98). Jung believed that understanding the individual was not possible unless one first understood the society in which he or she lives. Society, according to Jung, is the primary reality. The community was the main supplier of the contents of the individual psyche. The individual, therefore, was understood first and foremost as a derivative of society (Progoff, 160-163).

For Jung a community was more than a group of individuals with common interests. Communities have a shared reality with little or no perceptible difference among its members in matters of thought, feeling and behavior (Odajnyk, 7). According to Jung much of this shared reality comes from a collective consciousness of inherited instincts that result from the archetypal process. This process serves to organize images and produce community symbols (Ibid., 16). These symbols are the primary manifestations of the archetypal process at work in the community. The communication of shared symbols helps establish community identity. Jung maintains further that it is slowly evolving symbol formation that is responsible for the development of community behavior (Ibid., 6).

The implication of Jung's theory is that the community eventually begins to reflect and live out its symbols in practice. It follows then that how a community responds to a given situation might be as much or more due to the manifestation of a dominant archetype as to rational-economic reasoning and cultural norms. It is, therefore, important to understand the working of the archetypal process in a community and the role of the symbol in this process if one is to fully understand community behavior and how the community might respond to an appeal for regional cooperation. Before doing so, it is necessary to first demonstrate how the archetype or archetypes that seem to be dominant in governing the collective life of a community can be identified.

IV. IDENTIFYING COMMUNITY ARCHETYPES: METHODS AND A CASE STUDY

The Process of Identification

With knowledge of archetypal theory how does one proceed to identify the presence of an archetype at work in a community? As noted in the previous chapter of this study, the process is far from scientific, more an art than a science. One commentator put it this way:

> The existence and working of Jungian archetypes seems more difficult to demonstrate operationally. One can define objectively particular stimulus features or combinations of these, and can say whether or not they are present, but the Jungian archetypes have no clearly defined essential features by which their presence may be unequivocally established . . . (Fischer, 1963:256).

This researcher and even Jung would essentially agree with this observation. However from Jung's works and the interpretation of his works by Jungian scholars, one is able to develop a plausible approach to establishing and identifying the presence of an archetype in the affairs of a community. While other techniques are suggested, the approach is largely dependent upon the process Jung calls amplification. As defined earlier, amplification is the mental gathering and interpretation of analogous motifs until it becomes apparent that the different motifs are really only a different facet of the same basic theme. Jung said "whenever we

meet with uniform and regularly recurring modes of apprehension we are dealing with an archetype (Campbell, 57)." The ability of historical parallels to provide an explanation of the meaning of otherwise unexplicable content is a crucial factor in the identification of archetypes at work in a community (Shelburne, 58).

The amplification process requires the researcher to gather all the knowledge about analogous motifs to include his own experience with the motifs, available information about the person or persons who produced the motifs and those who experienced them. While this process requires considerable scholarship and erudition on the part of the researcher, it is far from a totally academic exercise. A merely intellectual identification is never satisfactory. One does not identify an archetype at work in the community as a result of a rational process that scans existing symbols and selects the most frequently mentioned theme as a dominant archetype (Samuels, 53).

According to Jung an archetype cannot be satisfactorily identified unless one experiences it. Both the views of introspection and extraspection are necessary to verify the presence of an archetype (Shelburne, 58). Jung said the appearance of archetypes is conditioned by the observer's overall knowledge and experience of the phenomenon (Jung,

Letters, Vol. II, 490) (1). Jung maintained that archetypes are units of distinctive meaning which could only be apprehended intuitively. They are observable as a result of the emotional experience of the individual. The feeling factor, therefore, is an important one in determining the presence of an archetype (2). If one does not intuitively sense its presence, in all likelihood, it does not exist. To this extent, archetypes exist in the mind of the beholder.

Based on Jung's works, one is led to conclude that for the researcher sensitive to the role of unconscious in the affairs of man and the community, archetypes can be identified intuitively. They emerge in the consciousness of the observer as a plausible explanation for that which would otherwise be inexplicable. If after the amplification process one does not intuitively sense that the phenomenon being experienced is part of a distinctive pattern of meaning in the community's history, it is not archetypal.

The unwillingness to accept archetypal theory on a personal, experiential basis is the biggest reason many reject the theory as unscientific (Shelburne, 93-94). This is the

(1) Ira Progoff, Jung's Psychology and Its Social Meaning (1953), echoed this conclusion saying in order to understand an archetype one must experience it first hand. An archetype must be "at least partially lived through and validated existentially before it can be thoroughly grasped on a conscious level (Progoff, IX).
(2) In discussing psychology as a discipline, Jung said it is "the only science that has to take the factor of feeling into account because it is the link between psychical events and life (Jung, Man and His Symbols, 1964:99)."

case despite the growing emphasis placed on the perspective of the observer in qualitative methodology. Indeed, it is the researcher's opinion that the methods for identifying archetypes at work in a community are not very different from those data gathering techniques suggested by the theoretical perspective associated with the qualitative approach. Theoretical perspectives such as ethnography, phenomenology and heuristic inquiry, which are prominent contributors to qualitative methodology, all emphasize techniques similar to amplification and other approaches suggested by the works of Jung and interpreters of Jung's works (1).

In an ethnographic-oriented study emphasis is on the beholder and his or her experience of the phenomenon. The researcher gathers data in such a study by observing and if possible experiencing the phenomenon. Likewise, in phenomenology emphasis is on the importance of observing and experiencing the phenomenon in order to understand it. In phenomenology that which is important is the perspective of those who experience the phenomenon. The core meaning of a phenomenon is best understood through empathy, a keen sense of observation and, if possible, by experiencing the phenomenon for oneself. Heuristic inquiry emphasizes the researcher's personal experience and interest in the phe-

(1) See Appendix B: Methodology for a comprehensive analysis of the qualitative research methods used in the development of this dissertation.

nomenon. According to heuristic inquiry, it is the combination of personal experience and interest that yields an understanding of the essence of the phenomenon (Patton, 66-73).

The techniques associated with the qualitative theoretical perspectives identified above have much in common with the Jungian approach to identifying archetypes. Their commonality centers on the participant observer technique. Significantly this is also the technique most closely identified with the study of communities (Poplin, 291). Dennis E. Poplin, Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research (1979), says "the popularity of participant observation as a method of studying the community lies in the fact that it can, when skillfully used, reveal aspects of community structure and process that cannot be uncovered in any other way (Ibid., 292)."

Participant observation actually involves the use of several research techniques. Direct observation is the core technique used in participant observation. In a community participant observation draws its strength from the fact that the researcher observes community behavior and manifestations of that behavior, for example symbols, on a first hand basis. In case studies it is often the only way the researcher can gain a full appreciation of the subtleties of community life (Ibid., 193).

Direct participation is another basic technique used by

the participant observer. Direct participation is different from direct observation, in that the researcher assumes a role within the study group. In a case study it requires that the researcher be an active participant in the community. Such an approach is not without its pitfalls. The researcher chances becoming so closely identified with the community that he or she loses objectivity. The participant observer must, therefore, recognize the danger of his or her personal involvement and work on the process of suspending judgment of a phenomenon until such time as it has been adequately observed and evaluated (1). Despite the potential for danger, proponents of qualitative methodology believe that direct participation is one of the only ways the researcher can capture the full meaning of community behavior (Ibid.).

Other research techniques used in participant observation of community behavior include interviewing and the examination of relevant documents. McCall and Simmons, Issues in Participant Observation (1969) describes the type of interviewing best suited for participant observation as informant interviewing. In this type of interview the researcher attempts to get at meaning not only from what is said, but also from what is inferred (McCall and Simmons,

(1) The process by which judgment is suspended by the participant observer phenomenologists call epoche. For an analysis of this process see Michael Quinn Patton's, Qualitative Evaluation and Research Method (1990), pp. 406-407.

1969:4). Qualitative methodologists believe that an understanding of how this can be accomplished proceeds from a phenomenological perspective which requires the researcher to assume the perspective of the interviewee (Patton, 69-70). This type of interviewing is used frequently in participant observation because the researcher cannot directly observe everything that happens or always make sense out of what he or she observes. For much the same reason, document analysis can be an important technique for the participant observer. In many cases documents are the participant observer's only source of information pertaining to certain types of events. This is particularly true of events from the community's past (Poplin, 294-295).

Much like critics of C. G. Jung's amplification process, the techniques of participant observation are vulnerable to the criticism that rarely do they produce quantifiable data. This is of course true. Indeed this criticism could be levied at the bulk of research connected with a qualitative methodological approach. This does not make qualitative methodological techniques any less valuable as a method of analyzing phenomena that do not lend themselves to quantification. Participant observation should be evaluated in terms of the uses to which it is put. In the opinion of this researcher, knowledge of participant observation techniques coupled with an understanding of Jung's process of amplification gives one an excellent insight into how to

identify community archetypes. To illuminate the process of identification further, the study continues with a case study of a subject community, Winchester-Frederick County, Virginia.

A Case Study: Winchester-Frederick County, Virginia

Communities are more than a contiguous population occupying a specific geographical area. For a community to exist a people must have some ties that unite them and provide a sense of identity. Much of this bond comes from sharing a common historical experience. History is the main supplier of the contents of a community's collective psyche (Progoff, 163). Therefore, equipped with the knowledge of the amplification process and those qualitative methodological techniques associated with participant observation, it is to the community's historical roots that the case study turns first in search of those unconscious forces that have left an imprint on the community's collective psyche.

When one looks at Winchester-Frederick County, Virginia's past, what does one see? One sees a community rich in its historical experience (1). Recounting its past in any detail would be an exhaustive enterprise, far too comprehensive for this study. To simplify the task for purposes of

(1) Winchester, chartered in 1752, is the oldest city, among the thirteen original colonies, west of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

an analysis of how an archetype plays a role in shaping community behavior, the study focuses on six historical figures. These figures are George Washington, Daniel Morgan, Stonewall Jackson, Charles B. Rouss, Judge John Handley, and Harry Flood Byrd.

These figures are not chosen at random. They are clearly six of the most recognizable names from Winchester-Frederick County's past (1). As will be shown in the course of the following case study, to the extent that their lives and deeds are indelibly imprinted on the psyche of the community, these individuals represent archetypal figures for Winchester-Frederick County. They are all very different individuals and come from different periods in the community's past. Viewed separately, they tell us little about the archetypal forces at work in the community. It is only when their role in the community's past is viewed collectively as part of a pattern that one begins to understand their significance. We begin our quest for an understanding by placing these archetypal figures in their appropriate historical context.

Archetypal Figures: A Historical Perspective

Early History: Washington and Morgan

(1) This is confirmed not only by the researcher's personal observation, but from interviews of community leaders. When asked to identify figures most closely associated with Winchester-Frederick County's past, these figures were clearly mentioned most often.

Winchester-Frederick County was once a Shawnee Indian campground. At the crossroads of the Great Wagon Trail south and the Cumberland Corridor west, Winchester's location made it a hub of pioneer activity and an ideal military outpost during the mid-eighteenth century. Abraham Hollingsworth, a Pennsylvania Quaker, is considered to be the area's first settler. Hollingsworth built a cabin in 1729 near a small Shawnee Indian village on the east side of modern-day Winchester (Ebert and Lazazzera, 1988:17). The City of Winchester dates its existence from 1732, making it the oldest city west of the Blue Ridge Mountains and the second oldest city in Virginia. The town was originally named Frederick Town after the father of King George III of England. Later the name was changed to Winchester after the ancient English capital (Ibid., 24).

By 1752 when the city was first chartered by the Virginia House of Burgesses, the Indians were gone, but their threat to the early settlers of the area was ever present. Recognizing the strategic importance of Winchester-Frederick County to the security of Virginia's western frontier, Royal Governor Robert Dinwiddie entrusted the defense of the area to a young colonel in the Virginia militia, George Washington. Washington was familiar with the area, having resided in Winchester while serving as a surveyor in the employment of Lord Fairfax. Washington made Winchester his headquarters during the French and Indian War. There he directed the

construction of Fort Loudoun and a chain of frontier forts. Washington played the role of a protector of the community during this period. After the war in 1758, the citizens of Winchester-Frederick County showed their gratitude by electing Washington to be their representative to the Virginia House of Burgesses. It was the first public office to be held by Washington. He was re-elected in 1761 (Ibid., 26).

While no Revolutionary War battles were fought in the area, Winchester-Frederick County, nevertheless, played a significant role during the revolution. Though Washington had gone on to assume command of the Continental Army, other leader's emerged. The area's most noteworthy Revolutionary War figure was Daniel Morgan. Morgan was quite different from Washington. He was a large, backwoodsman with a fiery temper who despised the British for their arrogance. When pressed into service by the British during the French and Indian War, Morgan rebelled by knocking an abusive British officer off his horse. His disrespect earned him five hundred lashes from which he bore scars for the remainder of his life (Ibid., 31).

Morgan was to get revenge against the British. When the Revolutionary War started, Daniel Morgan formed a county unit known as Morgan's Riflemen. The unit saw its first action when it came to the aid of a beleaguered Washington in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Morgan's Riflemen were the first Virginia unit to see action during the revolution.

The unit's unorthodox, Indian-style tactics struck fear in the hearts of the British and proved to be very successful. Morgan was captured at Quebec, but later pardoned. Morgan formed another unit which distinguished itself at the Battle of Saratoga in 1777 and at Cowpens, South Carolina a year later. In this later engagement, Morgan's unit was credited with capturing one-third of the entire British force stationed in the southern colonies. Many historians believe Morgan's victory at Cowpens made possible the British defeat at Yorktown. For his role, Daniel Morgan became known as the Hero of Cowpens (Quarles, 1988:184).

The period between the Revolution and the Civil War was a period of general growth and prosperity for Winchester-Frederick County. Because it was at a crossroads, the community quickly became a hub for commercial activity. Unfortunately, the very factors that made it a hub for commercial activity also made the area one of strategic military importance. The strategic importance of the area was never more clear than when, with the Civil War, the enemy was Federal troops garrisoned in Washington, D. C., not more than seventy miles away.

The Civil War and Stonewall Jackson

The Civil War brought death and devastation to Winchester-Frederick County. During the heated debates leading to the war, there was not much enthusiasm in the community for

dividing the nation. The area was made up of small businesses and farms. There were a few slaves, most of whom were domestics. There were also few plantations. Thus, the area did not have a large economic stake in the institution of slavery. When war broke out, Winchester-Frederick County was forced to take sides. The large majority of citizens supported the Confederacy. There were, however, a number of neutral Quakers and even some Northern sympathizers. The State of Virginia divided over the Civil War not more than fifteen miles from Winchester (Ebert and Lazazzera, 52).

The City of Winchester and neighboring county of Frederick became a pivotal point for opposing forces. At the entrance to the lush Shenandoah Valley, Winchester stood as a sentinel guarding the South's critical agricultural resources. Situated along a major network, the community was a natural invasion route to the north. The area was literally at the back door to the industrial and agricultural might of the United States, as well as to its capital of Washington, D. C. (Ibid., 52).

It was no surprise that both sides fought hard to control Winchester-Frederick County. The City of Winchester changed hands numerous times in the course of the war. In all, six major battles were bought in Winchester-Frederick County. Many area residents died, others were left homeless and penniless as Federal troops looted and destroyed the homes and businesses of Confederate sympathizers (Ibid.).

Just as their ancestors appealed to Colonel Washington for protection from the Indians, area residents sought out one who might protect them from the devastation wrought by the northern invaders. They found such an individual in General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson. On more than one occasion Jackson's famed Stonewall Brigade, consisting of many Winchester-Frederick County native sons, liberated the city. To provide the community some protection, Jackson made Winchester his headquarters from November 1861 to the spring of 1862 (Ibid., 56).

Winchester's respite from the war was brief. Jackson left in the spring of 1862 to conduct what is now known as his famous Valley Campaign. With Jackson's departure Winchester once again became involved in a bloody tug-of-war between armies. Though the devastation ended with the South's surrender at Appomattox, Winchester-Frederick County remained devoted to the memory of Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson.

The Civil War left Winchester-Frederick County in ruins. Like the entire state, the community's economic infrastructure had been destroyed. The Shenandoah Valley lay in waste, must of it scorched as part of a plan to starve the Confederacy into surrender. The devastation of the area can not be weighed in economic terms alone. Over three thousand Confederate soldiers, many of them natives of Winchester-Frederick County, are buried in what has been

named the Stonewall Cemetery. Across the street another five thousand Union soldiers are buried in a national cemetery (Ibid., 66).

Restoration: Rouss and Handley

The road back from the devastation of the Civil War was a long one for Winchester-Frederick County. The period of restoration was facilitated by the generosity of two men who shared little in common except a fondness for the community. Collectively their contribution to the community was significant, not only in helping Winchester-Frederick County to rebound from the economic and psychological depression which followed the War and Reconstruction, but also in helping to re-establish the community's distinctive identity.

Though not native born, Charles Baltzell Rouss' family grew up just twelve miles from Winchester in what was then Berkley County, Virginia (now West Virginia). His father's frequent trips to the town's market square familiarized young Charley Rouss with Winchester and the ways of commerce. It was there that he first sought employment at the age of fifteen. Just three years later Rouss opened his first general merchandise store. His unique marketing techniques brought him immediate success. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Charley Rouss was easily the leading merchant in Winchester (Mullin, 1974:4-11).

Like so many merchants Rouss lost everything in the

war. Undaunted, he went to New York City. There he raised enough money to open a chain of stores. These he later lost in the business panic of 1875. Once again, Rouss was forced to start anew. He opened another chain of stores and began what is recognized today as the first mail order business. His business acumen paid large dividends.

Lacking a family, Rouss shared his wealth with the community that had nurtured him as a young entrepreneur. His contributions to the Winchester-Frederick County area were numerous. They included money to build a city hall and a fire station, both of which bear his name. He also made donations in support of a local hospital, cemetery and waterworks. Coming at a time when local government was strapped for funds Charley Rouss' contributions to the Winchester-Frederick County were particularly significant (Ebert and Lazazzera, 70).

A similar contribution to the Winchester-Frederick County community was made by non-native John Handley. Handley came to the United States from Ireland. He settled in Pennsylvania where he studied law. Upon graduation from law school Handley was elected to a judgeship. His business ventures in real estate and coal mining earned while serving as a judge made Handley a small fortune (Ibid.).

Judge Handley became acquainted with the Winchester-Frederick County community while visiting friends. He was impressed by the beauty of the community and the courage of

its citizens as they set about to rebuild after the Civil War. Though he never lived in Winchester, Handley adopted the community as his own and resolved to help it out of its post war economic doldrums. On trips to Winchester, he counseled Winchester residents on economic measures that needed to be taken. Upon his death, Handley bequeathed sufficient money to build a public library and high school. Both buildings are architectural masterpieces that contributed not only to the community's economic resurgence, but also to re-establishing community pride (Ibid.).

Harry Flood Byrd: The Twentieth Century

Harry Flood Byrd was born in 1887 into a community scarred by the Civil War. Byrd's boyhood experience paralleled the hardships of the community. When he was fifteen he was forced to leave school to try to salvage his father's bankrupt newspaper, the Winchester Evening Star. There he learned the difficulties of struggling to get out of debt. By the time he was twenty, Byrd had converted the newspaper into a profitable operation. Byrd began investing profits from the newspaper into the apple business. He bought orchards and put together investors to build what was heralded as the largest apple growing and processing enterprise in the world (Quarles, 51).

In 1922 Byrd decided to follow his father, a former speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, into the world

of politics. His influence on Virginia politics was pervasive until his death in 1966. During Byrd's forty-four years of involvement in Virginia politics, he served as Democratic party chairman, Governor and finally for thirty years, U. S. Senator (Ibid., 52). During this period the most important post he held was not an elected office, but rather his position as the patriarch of an informal organization which was known as the "Byrd Machine." In this capacity Byrd was literally able to control politics from the courthouse to the state capital. Rare was the politician who chose to run for local or state office without the endorsement of the Byrd Machine (Wilkinson, 1968:7-8).

The Byrd Machine was unlike most political machines of the day. While its tightly controlled hierarchy of power resembled other political machines, it was perceived by Virginians as not being corrupt. It had both an aristocratic and incorruptible image. Even its critics did not challenge its honesty. Though recognized as a closed, tightly-controlled organization, most Virginians lent it their support as the best possible standard to which to conform (Ibid.).

All eras come to an end. The era of the Byrd Machine was no exception. In the mid-sixties a combination of events conspired to cause the demise of the Byrd Machine. Changing demographics prompted a greater voice for the more urban areas of the state. They demanded more services and

were less concerned about public debt. The state Democratic party and politicians were changing too. They began to mirror the national party. The Republican party, which was almost non-existent during the Byrd era, began to field competitive candidates. So dramatic was the changing face of Virginia that when Senator Byrd died in 1966, the once venerable Byrd Machine was but a shadow of its former self (Ibid., 342). Though his son, Harry F. Byrd, Jr., was appointed to fill his term in the United States Senate and subsequently was elected for two full terms, the influence of the political machine that bore the Byrd name continued to decline in influence at the state and local level.

Images From The Past: A Patriarchal Pattern

As a boy I can remember going to the Capital Theatre on Saturday morning to see the latest western. There I was introduced to Lash LaRue, Roy Rogers, Gene Autry, Randolph Scott and other cowboy heroes. As I waited with anticipation for the show to start, invariably my eyes would focus on a mural high above the stage. Depicted on the mural was, what I believed to be, a colonial soldier, rifle in hand, seated atop a beautiful white horse. Surrounding the man on the horse were townspeople: a woman on her knees, head bowed toward the ground; an old man balancing on a crutch and a mother holding her child. All the figures in the mural seemed in awe of the man on the white horse. They

seemed, also, to be pleading with him. Why, I didn't know at the time. When the lights dimmed and the movie started, the mural faded from view, but the image remained.

It was years later that I first learned the identity of the man on the white horse. It was George Washington, the father of our country. The scene was not from the revolutionary period, but more than twenty years earlier at the outset of the French and Indian War. The people surrounded Washington were citizens of Winchester-Frederick County. They were imploring Colonel Washington for help in defending their community against the Indians who were being incited by the French to make life on Virginia's western frontier unbearable for the settlers (Ebert and Lazazzera, 26).

The Capitol Theatre has since been torn down. The mural was salvaged and restored. It now hangs in the lobby of Winchester-Frederick County's largest bank. A copy of the mural is also prominently displayed in the local library. In addition, the scene depicted in the mural is used frequently in publications detailing the early history of Winchester-Frederick County. It is now known that the mural was based on a drawing by Felix O. Daley. It first appeared shortly after Washington's death in a book entitled The Life of Washington by Washington Irving (Ibid.) (1).

Jung tells us that archetypal images, such as the

(1) See Photo Exhibit Number 1 on page 95.

mural, that can be traced to a community's founding are particularly powerful expressions of the collective unconscious. Once an early impression is made, according to Jung, there is a tendency towards replication (Cohen, 1975: 109-110). Daley's drawing of Washington supports this hypothesis. For the image projected by the mural has been used time and time again in detailing the history of Winchester-Frederick County.

What is the meaning of this image? Does it, in fact, reflect an archetype at work in the community? If so, what is the archetype? Alone the mural has little meaning. However, when considered as part of a pattern of images, figures and events over the past 250 years of the community's history, the mural takes on meaning. From the days of its founding an archetype has been at work in the Winchester-Frederick County community. The archetype is that of the patriarch. While not the only archetype at work in the community during this period, the patriarch archetype has been dominant in the affairs of the community. Because of its pervasiveness, it serves today as an excellent example of an archetype at work in a community (1).

(1) Examples of other archetypes which might surface to dominate a community's consciousness are the creative child and the shadow. The creative child is one of many manifestations of the child archetype, a recurring theme in Jung's works (Mitroff, 67). The creative child is a paradox in that the unconscious is dominated by feelings of inferiority and helplessness while its consciousness compensates with behavior which reflects flights of fantasy, superiority, and delusions of grandeur (Progoff, 196). The shadow archetype

Webster defines a patriarch as a venerable male leader, whose presence commands respect and reverence (1). The patriarch projects a father image. He is a dignified leader of a people who turn to him for decisions affecting their safety and overall well-being. The presence of a patriarch or a representation of him dominates the collective consciousness of a people.

George Washington was a manifestation of a patriarchal archetype for the residents of Winchester-Frederick County. His presence came at a formative time in the development of the community's psyche. The man on the white horse in the mural projected an image that was indelibly stamped on the collective consciousness of the community. The patriarchal image of Washington became a part of the community's core culture. It made the community receptive to future archetypal figures who projected a similar impression. Upon reflection, it is apparent that Washington was but the first of a number of patriarchal figures who played a significant role in the development of the community's consciousness.

Though Daniel Morgan did not have the same spontaneous

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surfaces in the collective consciousness of a community as a result of the suppression of the unconscious (Ibid., 108). The behavior which surfaces as a result of this archetype generally reflects traits opposite of that which is normally associated with the community (Shelburne, 62). These archetypal traits, which are more often than not negative, are frequently projected on to others for no apparent reasons (Odajnyk, 94).

(1) For a detailed accounting of theories on the origin of patriarchy see pages 65-76 of Marilyn French's book entitled Beyond Power.

psychological impact on residents of Winchester-Frederick County as Washington, he too was a patriarchal figure. In gratitude for his service during the Revolution, Morgan was elected to represent Winchester-Frederick County in the U. S. Congress. Morgan was, however, not totally woven into the collective fabric of the community consciousness until 1951. This was the year when Winchester-Frederick County almost lost the remains of its Revolutionary War hero to the town of Cowpens, South Carolina whose representatives claimed that Morgan was not receiving just recognition in his native Winchester. Cowpens' claim was ultimately denied (Ebert and Lazazzera, 32).

The dispute with Cowpens, South Carolina over the remains of Morgan was an archetypal event that served to reinforce the patriarchal image that Washington had established at the time of the community's founding (1). Today, largely as a result of this event, Daniel Morgan's memory is kept alive by Morgan's Riflemen, a local re-enactment group that dresses in period clothing and is ever present as "defenders of the community" at special events.

A patriarchal archetype evolving out of a community's founding is not unique to Winchester-Frederick County. Many communities that trace their heritage to colonial times had a patriarchal figure prominent at the time of their founding. What makes Winchester-Frederick County experience dif-

(1) See Photo Exhibit Number 2 on page 96.

ferent is the extent to which the patriarchal theme has recurred, emerging at critical times in the growth and development of the community's consciousness. While other communities may have had a fleeting experience with a patriarchal archetype, Winchester-Frederick County experienced archetypal figures and events regularly and at critical times throughout its history. As a result, patriarchal instincts were never far from the consciousness of the community.

The Civil War served to reinforce patriarchal instincts of the community by producing another individual and an event that had lasting impact on the community's collective consciousness. The patriarchal figure was "Stonewall" Jackson. The event was the First Battle of Winchester. The event is best described by Jackson himself. In a letter to his wife, Jackson describes the scene of his triumphant entry into the city this way,

> I do not remember ever having seen such rejoicing. It was one of the most stirring scenes in my life. Men, women and children were shouting, `Thank God, we are free. Thank God, we are free once more.' The whole town was one great scene of uproar and rejoicing . . . (Cooke, 1978:121).

The scene that Jackson described served as an inspiration for a painting by William Washington in the 1870s (1). The painting now hangs in the Valentine Museum in Richmond (Ebert and Lazazzera, 56). A more recent painting by

(1) See Photo Exhibit Number 3 on page 97.

nationally-known artist Mort Kunstler depicts a very similar scene (1). This painting hangs in the offices of a local bank, not far from the mural of George Washington. The site where the paintings of Washington and Jackson are displayed is not the only similarity of the two paintings. They are in fact remarkably similar in other ways. Though the emotions of the townspeople depicted in the paintings are different, both Washington and Jackson are on horseback surrounded by the citizens of Winchester. It is clear that both men are viewed as saviours.

Though Jackson's actual stay in Winchester was relatively brief, his role in perpetuating the patriarchal archetype was significant. To this day, Jackson is revered in the community. His memory is kept alive in numerous ways. His picture adorns the walls of local government offices. The cemetery in Winchester where Confederate soldiers are buried bears his name.

The devastation of the Civil War and the dark days of Reconstruction which followed conspired to make Winchester-Frederick County receptive to yet another patriarchal figure. The community did not have to wait long for such a figure to emerge. Emerge he did in the form of a man the

(1) According to Jung, paintings provide a good means of identifying the collective unconscious at work in a community. He says ". . . the artist has at all times been the instrument and spokesman of the spirit of his age." "Consciously or unconsciously the artist gives form to the nature and values of his time. . . " (Jung, 1964:250).

residents affectionately called "Our Charley" (Mullin, 1974: 57).

"Our Charley's" real name was Charles Baltzell Rouss. By the time had made a fortune in New York, Rouss dropped his middle name in favor of Broadway. Charles Broadway Rouss' story was known not only in Winchester-Frederick County, but throughout the United States. His was truly a Horatio Alger success story and when he returned to Winchester by train, which he did at every possible opportunity, between the late 1880s and early 1890s. Rouss was welcomed as a conquering hero.

Rouss' return to Winchester was an archetypal event that clearly stirred the emotions of the community. Author Larry Mullin in The Napoleon of Gotham writes, "his visits to the town were not unlike those of the medieval baron who came home from the fields of triumph or down from the castle high on the hill to accept the homage of the manorial peasants (Ibid., 67)." A parade was generally held in his honor. Charley rode in a open carriage with former Governor and Winchester native Colonel F. W. M. Holiday. Speeches commemorating him and his philanthropy would then be made by local officials. Then the millionaire, with refreshments provided and shipped to the town at his own expense, would feed those in attendance. Often as he departed Rouss "would scatter large amounts of small coins to the laughing children who followed him to the edge of town (Ibid.)."

It was a sad day indeed for the community when "Our Charley" died on March 3, 1902. Flags were lowered to half mast, stores and public buildings were draped in black and bells were tolled (Ibid., 77) (1). In his lifetime it was estimated that Rouss contributed over $200,000 to the benefit of Winchester-Frederick County (Ibid., 57). Many of the municipal buildings and works made possible by his generosity are visible today as is the statue of Rouss which was erected in appreciation by the townspeople and which stands in the city hall that bears his name (2).

Out of gratitude for his many contributions, the community continued the practice begun prior to his death of honoring Rouss on the anniversary of his birth. The Rouss Anniversary was the top social event in the community for many years (3). The event included a parade and banquet. At the banquet the people of Winchester would gather to show their appreciation to, in the words of the toastmaster of the 1895 celebration, "not Mr. Rouss, nor Charles Broadway Rouss, but Charley Rouss -- Our Charley (Ibid., 73)."

Though he was not as revered as Rouss during his life-

(1) Charles Broadway Rouss was interred in Winchester in what was described by the Winchester Times in 1901 as "the largest private mausoleum in America and the handsomest (Mullin, 74)." It was within sight of the grave of Revolutionary War hero, General Daniel Morgan, where Rouss in his youth had spent many days sitting and contemplating his future career ((Ibid., 6).
(2) See Photo Exhibit Number 4 on page 98.
(3) The Rouss Anniversary celebration continued in Winchester until 1967.

time, another father figure emerged during the period of Winchester-Frederick County's restoration who has had an equally important impact on the community psyche. He was Judge John Handley. While Rouss' contributions to the community were made during his lifetime resulting in his being personally honored, Handley's contribution was not fully appreciated until after his death. It was only then that he became recognized as "Winchester's great benefactor (Northern Virginia Daily, May 24, 1990:11A)."

As mentioned, funds left by Handley enabled the townspeople to build and complete in 1913 a library which was named for him. The remaining money in Handley's bequest was used in accordance with his instructions to build a school for "education of the poor." This amount, approximately $1.2 million, allowed community leaders to set up an endowment to build and maintain a truly magnificent school on a 72 acre campus. Like the library, the school bears the name of the great benefactor (Ibid.).

Ever since the erection of the John Handley School, the townspeople have adopted a tradition of a school year ending processional of Winchester students to pay homage to Handley. Until the early 70s, the processional would begin at John Handley High School and proceed through the town to Handley's gravesite memorial in Mount Hebron Cemetery (1). Along the way the children in grade school throughout the

(1) See Photo Exhibit Number 5 on page 99.

community would join the processional. All students were required to be neatly dressed and to carry flowers which were collected at journey's end and laid on the grave of Judge John Handley.

While the entire student enrollment is no longer required to make the school year end pilgrimage, representatives from all city schools still participate in the ceremony. Significantly, the ceremony is held immediately across from the Stonewall Cemetery. The location of the gravesite was not determined by chance, but rather was predetermined by Handley because of his great admiration for another archetypal figure from the community's past, Stonewall Jackson.

As a young man, Harry Flood Byrd witnessed the outpouring of affection and gratitude that the community showed towards its two great benefactors, Judge John Handley and Charles Broadway Rouss. Byrd was born in 1887. The period of his youth and young adulthood was spent experiencing the archetypal influence of these two men on the community. Though his profession and circumstances surrounding his emergence were different than Handley and Rouss, Harry Flood Byrd was no less of archetypal figure for Winchester-Frederick County.

Byrd was a product of the post Civil War depression. The threat posed to area residents during this period was not enemy troops, but rather the staggering debt from the

Civil War. It threatened to bankrupt not only the local community, but the entire state. This was the setting when Harry Byrd first ran for public office as a candidate for Winchester City Council. From the very outset of his political career, Byrd had the respect and devotion of the community. As a young man he had, after all, saved his own family business from bankruptcy. By applying the same principles to local government, townspeople felt he would now save the community from a similar plight. As events unfolded, the economy did turn around and Harry Byrd enjoyed a popularity unequaled in the community.

Harry F. Byrd was the epitome of a patriarch. He both looked and acted the role. He had a presence which made him stand out in a crowd. He was very distinguished looking and always the southern gentleman. The people of Winchester-Frederick County trusted him as they have no other public servant. There was something magical about the Byrd name. It was said reverently. For local residents it was almost as if Harry Byrd was bigger than life.

Byrd's biographer J. Harvie Wilkinson III captured the feelings of Virginians towards the Senator and the political organization that bore his name in his book entitled, Harry Byrd: The Changing Face of Virginia Politics 1945-1966. In this book Wilkinson says,

> The Byrd organization worked itself into Virginia psychology; it mirrored the Virginia virtues of honesty, gentility, and whispers worship of the

> past. The Byrd name bespoke an almost mystic communion with the state's folklore (Wilkinson, 343).

The image that stands out in my mind when remembering the late Senator Byrd is from a photo that appeared on the front page of the local newspaper. It was taken in 1964 at the funeral of the Senator's wife. The photo was of the Senator seated in the front of a limousine. The window was down and the Senator's hand is extended out from the window. His hand is in the grasp of the then President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson. President Johnson's head is bowed and his lips are pressed to the hand of the Senator in an obvious display of respect and deep affection (1). I thought to myself, what kind of man is this that even Presidents pay such homage. While respect for Senator Byrd extended beyond the confines of his native Winchester (2), nowhere was he held in higher esteem. If he was loved throughout the Commonwealth, he was worshipped in Winchester-Frederick County.

Winchester-Frederick County Today: A Community In Transition?

The death of Harry F. Byrd, Sr. in 1966 marked the beginning of a period of declining influence for the patriarchal archetype in the affairs of Winchester-Frederick County. Not only was its patriarch of forty years dead, but

(1) See Photo Exhibit Number 6 on page 100.
(2) Harry Flood Byrd, Sr. was also Virginia's political patriarch (Ebert and Lazazzera, 152).

other images that served to draw forth this community instinct were not as vivid in the mind's eye of Winchester-Frederick County residents. The full processional of students to the grave of Judge John Handley was discontinued in 1971. There is no longer a Rouss Anniversary celebration and the theatre which displayed the full length mural of Washington surrounded by the townspeople during the French and Indian War has since been torn down.

The growing influence of women in Winchester-Frederick County has also had a debilitating effect on the dominating psychic mold of the community. Most illustrative of this point is the growing acceptance of Winchester native Patsy Cline. Cline was born in Winchester in 1932. She came from most humble surroundings. Patsy Cline quit school at an early age to support herself and her family. Her passion was country music. As a young woman she spent much of her time performing at local dance halls (Ebert and Lazazzera, 174).

Patsy Cline was a very independent woman, very human with admitted character flaws that did not endear her to many townspeople. She was far from either a patriarchal or even matriarchal figure. She was what Jungians called a negative anima figure who characterized instincts and dispositions opposite of those reflected by the dominant patriarchal archetype. Her emergence into the consciousness of the community didn't just happen. It was the result of pent-up

instinctive energy bursting forth from the unconsciousness to balance the collective psyche after years of non-recognition by a community dominated by a patriarchal attitude.

Patsy Cline's rise to stardom as a country-western star is legendary. Cline's life and tragic death in 1963 were depicted in the 1985 film, Sweet Dreams. Despite Patsy Cline's many personal achievements during her short but meteoric rise to fame, she did not receive the local recognition many felt she deserved. It was only after a period of almost twenty years from the date of her death that Cline was able to penetrate the community's collective consciousness (1). As she has risen into the collective consciousness of Winchester-Frederick County, the patriarchal instincts of its citizenry has diminished.

Despite the emergence of Patsy Cline and others who do not fit the psychic mold (2) and the declining influence of some supportive symbols, there are still indications that the patriarchal archetype continues to have an influence on Winchester-Frederick County. While some archetypal manifestations have declined in the community psyche, others remain. The Washington mural has found a new home in the

(1) Patsy Cline is now honored at a fall event appropriately named "Celebrating Patsy." A film about her life is shown to visitors at the Winchester-Frederick County Visitor Center.

(2) After a lengthy period of patriarchal figures holding public office, Winchester now has a mayor and four council members who are women.

lobby of the largest local bank. Modern day Morgan riflemen still make appearances throughout the community. The original painting of Stonewall Jackson riding through downtown Winchester as a conquering hero has been given greater exposure with the recent painting of the same scene by Mort Kunstler and subsequent prints of Kuntsler's work. Even the Byrd name, though not having the mystique it once had, has been kept alive by Harry F. Byrd, Jr. who was appointed to be his father's successor in the U. S. Senate and his grandson Tom Byrd, editor of the Winchester Star newspaper.

Perhaps the most recent indication of the continuing influence of the patriarchal influences can be found in the person of Delegate Alson H. Smith, the community's representative in the Virginia House of Delegates. "Uncle Al" as he is referred to by many of his constituents has represented Winchester-Frederick County in Richmond since 1974. He is today chairman of the very powerful House Democratic Caucus and a member of the House Appropriations Committee.

Alson H. Smith influence is recognized throughout the Commonwealth (1). His fame stems only partly from his many years of service and important positions held. To an even larger extent it is a result of his role as chief adviser

(1) The Virginian Pilot newspaper poll of Virginia elected and administrative officials consistently ranked Delegate Smith as one of the ten most influential officials in the Commonwealth. In the latest poll conducted in January 1989 Smith ranked fourth among all of Virginia's elected and administrative officials (The Virginian Pilot, January 29, 1989).

and fund raiser for former Virginia Governors Robb and Baliles. Smith's ability to raise money for Democratic statewide candidates has earned him a powerful voice in the state's political process which carries over into the legislative process.

Winchester-Frederick County has been the beneficiary of Delegate Smith's influence. The list of "pork barrel" legislation that has benefitted the community is long. Winchester-Frederick County has consistently received more appointments (1) and funding for local projects than merited considering the community's size. Though not as revered as previous patriarchal figures, "Uncle Al" is looked upon as someone who "takes care of the community (2)" in Richmond.

With Al Smith considering retirement and no patriarchal figures on the horizon, the non-Jungian might ask whether the fading away of the community's dominant archetype is about to occur. As we will see in the following chapter, archetypes are not dependent upon the physical presence that represents them. As the case study has shown, they exist independently of external events. Such events only serve to call them forth. What the presence of a living patriarch does is to energize archetypes. In the absence of a living archetypal figure, the archetype itself simply becomes dor-

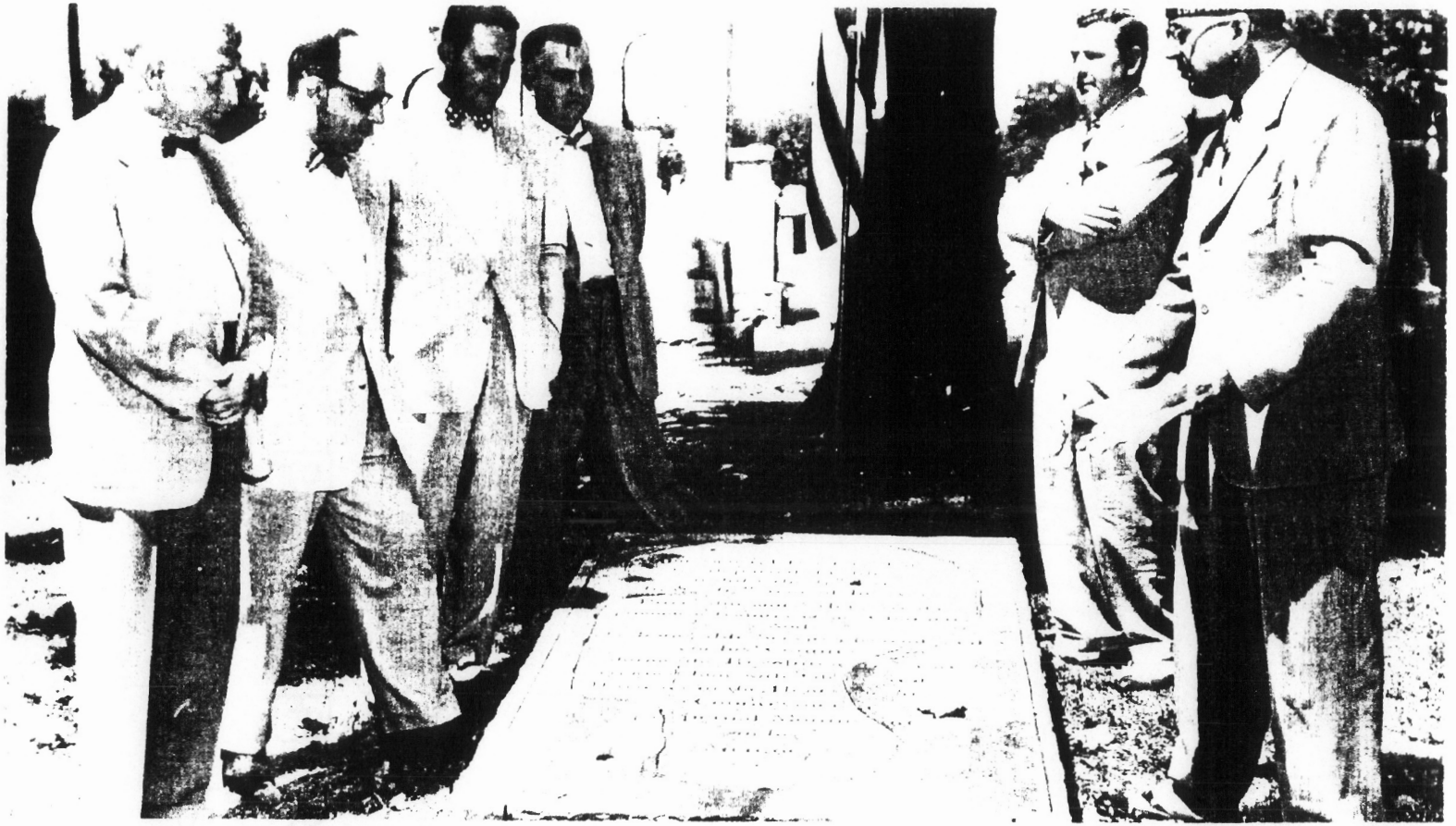
(1) Two department heads, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Director of Department of General Services, are from Winchester-Frederick County.
(2) Interview of former Winchester mayor, Charles Zuckerman on August 10, 1990.

mant, but no less powerful (1). Hence, those who seek policy support from Winchester-Frederick County on the issue of regionalism must concern themselves with the real possibility that this community can easily come under the influence of the aroused archetype of patriarchy.

(1) Ira Progoff in his book, Jung's Psychology and Its Social Meaning (1985), said the longer these instincts remain in disuse, "the further down they drop into the historical recesses of the psyche (Progoff, 198)."

Photo Exhibit Number 1

Long before he helped win the Revolutionary War and became the father of our country, George Washington was a defender of Winchester. This drawing by Felix O. Darley, first appeared in Washington Irving's Life of Washington.



In 1951, a delegation from Spartansburg, South Carolina arrived at Mt. Hebron Cemetery with picks and shovels, prepared to remove General Daniel Morgan's body to their city because they felt Winchester had not given Morgan the respect and honor he deserved. The general won his greatest victory at Cowpens during the American Revolution, near Spartansburg. Above is the confrontation between the Winchester defenders and the South Carolinians.

Photo Exhibit Number 3

"Jackson at Winchester" was painted by William Washington in the 1870s. It depicts the Confederate general being hailed by local residents at the time of the First Battle of Winchester.

Photo Exhibit Number 4

This statue of Rouss was erected by the people of Winchester in appreciation of his $30,000 donation toward Rouss City Hall, which was built in 1899-1901.

This photo, taken in June many years ago, shows Winchester students carrying flowers on their annual march to Mount Hebron Cemetery to pay tribute to their John Handley and John Kerr. For many years the trek, which has honored John Handley, John Kerr and others, took place on the last day of school. Handley and Kerr each provided money for schools bearing their names.

Photo Exhibit Number 6

President Lyndon Johnson is shown paying his respects to U. S. Senator Harry F. Byrd on the occasion of Senator Byrd's wife's funeral in 1964.

V. THE THEORY OF ARCHETYPES II: IMPLICATIONS AND BASIS FOR A STRATEGY OF REGIONALIZATION

> The implication (of archetypes) is that the community begins to reflect and live out its symbols in practice, and that symbols, therefore, are the formative agents of communities and supply both the psychic and organizational foundations of social life.
>
> Jung and Politics
> Walter Volodymyr Odajnyk

The Implications Of Jung's Theory Of Archetypes

What does it mean for a archetype to become activated in the collective life of a community? Ira Progoff, in Jung's Psychology and its Social Meaning (1985), says that the presence of an archetype in the collective life of a community does not mean it will influence all decisions. What it means is that it is ever present, ready to come into play in any aspects of a community's life which falls within the purview of its instincts. The archetype then is a "system of readiness for action (Samuels, 27)," ready to be dispatched to the consciousness when appropriately stimulated.

Archetypal stimulation, according to Jung, occurs when tension results from the conflict of conscious and unconscious forces at work in the psyche. Jung's works enumerate a number of examples of how such tension creates a psychic

environment conducive to the rise of archetypes from the unconscious. One such way which is relevant to a study of regionalism is detailed in Progoff's book. In the chapter entitled "The Psyche in Society and History" Progoff writes:

> Jung holds that when a culture becomes too highly rationalized, or when it becomes too thoroughly devoted to its conventional forms, its individuals are not able to experience the natural flow of unconscious materials. By following the precepts of ritual or propriety too closely, they focus their psyches toward the surface of consciousness so that the unconscious is not able to be expressed. What results is a condition in the psyche in which the upper and lower layers have no point of contact. The individual loses touch with the active forces in the unconscious and has to place his faith in the "conventions" which, in Jung's phrase, "are soulless mechanisms that never do more than grasp the routine of life." The psychological situation becomes over-balanced in this condition, leaning too far over toward consciousness. Psychic energy then accumulates in the unconscious. Since it cannot come to the surface, it finally bursts loose in uncontrollable upsurges without reference to consciousness (Progoff, 203).

According to Progoff, when psychic energy bursts forth from the unconscious it brings with it those unconscious instincts which are associated with archetypes and which heretofore had been trapped beneath the surface by conventional forms of expression. The unconscious energy associated with this psychic outburst is often so great that it engulfs a community influencing its acts and attitudes. Jung uses the German experience between World Wars as an example of this phenomenon (Ibid., 203-205)(1).

(1) Between 1936 and 1947, Jung wrote a number of essays dealing with the psychological developments in Germany. He collected and published these essays in a book entitled Essay on Contemporary Events (London: Keegan Paul, 1947).

The Eruption Of An Archetype: The Case of Nazi Germany

The Weimar Republic that ruled Germany between 1919 and 1933 was the epitome of reason and convention. Weimar Germany was a country "in the forefront of the rationalistic attitude toward life (Ibid., 206)." During this period, the German people came under, in Jung's words, "a dictatorship of reason" which served to repress the non-rational and emotional components of the collective unconscious (Odajnyk, 1976:164). By committing itself to a rational, civilized approach to social life, the Weimar Republic completely ignored Germany's primitivist past. By taking such an approach, the regime created a psychic environment that suppressed its past. This would lead to the demise of the advanced Weimar regime.

Not giving expression to those archetypal forces which had been present in varying degrees throughout Germany's history had a damming effect on its collective unconscious. The result was mounting tension in the German psyche. This tension was further heightened by the failure of the Weimar Republic's rational approach to deal with the chaotic and confused conditions of the period (1). The failure of a rational approach to bring stability and order served to weaken the German consciousness allowing the contents of the

(1) Jung said "when conditions not provided for by the old conventions arise, panic seizes the human being who was held unconscious by routine (C. G. Jung, The Integration of the Personality, 1939:195)."

unconscious to surface. When the unconscious finally exploded, the German consciousness was flooded with deeply buried symbols associated with a dominant archetype from Germany's past (Progoff, 204).

According to Jung, Wotan, a mythical Teutonic deity from Germany's pre-Christian past was the archetype which surfaced in the consciousness of the German people as a result of this psychic explosion. As one of the chief Teutonic deities, Wotan personified certain shadow attributes of the German psyche: the instinctual, irrational, dynamic, emotional, and inspirational aspects of the Teutonic heritage. Because of "the rationalism of enlightenment," Wotan had been repressed and existed only in the depths of the unconscious (Odajnyk, 87-88). However when rationalism and those conventions associated with this way of thinking began to lose their hold on German society and the psyche of its people because of their inability to satisfactory express their heritage, Wotan was "shaken out of its slumber" to once again "roam the earth (Ibid., 89) (1)." When Wotan burst forth into the collective consciousness of the German people it brought with it unconscious instincts which ultimately led to the demise of the republic and the rise to power of Adolph Hitler, who personified the irrational,

(1) Jung likens ancient archetypes to a riverbed which dries up when water finds new channels, only to be used again when the water returns to the old course (Odajnyk, 88).

inferior-feeling aspects of the German collective unconscious (Ibid.).

Jung's illustration of how the psychic condition of pre-World War II Germany conspired to bring forth an archetype from Germany's past is relevant to a study of the effects of regionalization on community decision-making. Regionalization, like the Weimar Republic, is predicated on a highly rationalistic approach to government. Like the example of pre-World War II Germany, the rationalism which surrounds a regional approach is capable of becoming so overbearing that it impedes the natural flow of unconscious energy. The result is a collective psyche vulnerable to the type of unconscious outburst witnessed in Germany. The author maintains that this scenario best explains how regionalism can give rise to a dominant archetype from a community's past.

We recount this illustration as a backdrop for assessing the potential that the policy of regionalism has for evoking archetypes from the collective unconscious of a community. Regionalism as was documented in the earlier discussion of it in Chapter I is clearly a policy that emphasizes a rational assessment of a community's situation. Also, since it has its source outside the community, it has all the elements of a policy that will likely evoke an archetypal response from the subject community. With its overemphasis on economic calculation to the exclusion of

other considerations, regionalism serves to deny the heritage carried in the collective unconscious of the community. The psychic blockage which results from this denial threatens to dilute the social-psychological bond which unites the community. The resulting tension weakens the collective consciousness of the community producing a "chasm" through which the dominant archetype in the community's psyche will erupt from the unconscious.

The psychological impact of regionalism on the collective psyche of a people is not unlike that which results from a military invasion. While with regionalism there is no physical threat, the psychological stress resulting from it is similar to that which is experienced when a community is invaded and governed by a military force. During such an invasion the community's collective identity, as expressed in its norms, laws, and organizational patterns, is supplanted by martial law. Decisions are made by outsiders without deference to community leaders. Those collective instincts that have been a part of the community since its founding are subjugated to the will of others.

Use of the military invasion metaphor to help explain the psychological dynamics of regionalism is particularly powerful for Winchester-Frederick County. As was described earlier, it is a community that experienced many such invasions throughout its history. During the Civil War Winchester changed hands seventy-two times. The occupying and re-

occupying of the community by invading armies had a traumatic impact on the collective psyche of the community. The trauma produced a psychic environment conducive to the emergence from the unconscious of latent patriarchal instincts. This archetype had existed in the community's unconscious since its founding, ever ready to burst forth into the collective consciousness when the community was threatened.

During the early years of its history the patriarchal instincts released into the consciousness of the community as a result of the threat of a military invasion were attracted to archetypal figures of such stature as George Washington and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. As discussed earlier, both emerged as father figures when the community came under attack (1). Both were either respected or revered (2). Both Washington and Jackson were looked upon by the residents of Winchester-Frederick County as protectors. They were perceived as men who genuinely cared about the community and who would lead it through perilous times.

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(1) Examples of a military threat propelling a father figure to prominence are numerous. We need look no further than our own nation's history. George Washington was the father of our country. Abraham Lincoln was the protector of the Union. More recently, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the guardian of democracy. All were leaders who attracted patriarchal instincts during times of crisis. As a result they held a special place in the collective psyche of our nation.
(2) Local historian Dr. Warren Hofstra believes Washington because of his aristocratic demeanor was more respected than revered by the early settlers of Winchester-Frederick County who were mostly small farmers and businessmen of German ancestry. (Interview with Dr. Warren Hofstra, Shenandoah University, September 12, 1990.)

The nature of the threat to the community changed after the Civil War. The threat posed to the community from Reconstruction and into the twentieth century became more of an economic and political threat. As was noted earlier, during this period the patriarchal instincts which surfaced from the collective unconscious were attracted to benefactors and political leaders, men like Charley Rouss, Judge John Handley and Harry F. Byrd, Sr. who restored a sense of pride in the community.

Today, Winchester-Frederick County faces a threat of a different sort, not a military or even an economic or political threat, but rather a threat posed to the community's collective sense of itself as a group of people. While the threat posed by a policy of regionalism is more psychological than previous threats, it is none-the-less real. It produces all of the preconditions to the eruption of an archetype. There is the suppression and accompanying tension. There is the sense of helplessness and dependence. It is predictable that the patriarchal archetype would emerge as a means of self expression in the collective consciousness of the community.

Winchester-Frederick County's experience with a patriarchal archetype is not unique. Indeed, many communities exhibit patriarchal instincts in the course of their history. Like Winchester-Frederick County many communities

trace their founding to a father figure who personified values associated with a patriarchy. Patriarchal instincts exist at varying levels of the collective unconscious for probably all communities. Therefore, when threatened it would not be surprising for other communities to react much in the same way as Winchester-Frederick County.

What makes the Winchester-Frederick County archetypal experience different is that it is more dramatic and vivid than most other communities because of the degree and extent to which the patriarchal archetype has been evoked time and time again at critical periods throughout its history (1). The extensive military activity that has threatened Winchester-Frederick County in the course of its history has been a contributing factor to the vitality of the patriarchal archetype in the affairs of the community. In time when the community has been threatened its collective instincts have been attracted to an archetypal figure who personified the characteristic most closely associated with a patriarch. For this reason Winchester-Frederick County can be said to be a prototype of a community whose response to an outside threat is influenced by a patriarchal archetype.

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(1) Jung said once the imprint of an archetype is made, it acts like an agent that tends towards the repetition of the same experience. He said further that all repeated situations, particularly if called forth by an intense emotional response such as a threat to the body or the psyche, give rise to an archetype (Odajnyk, 16).

The Archetypal Form: How Determined?

While there are no laws governing the specific form in which an archetype might appear, the archetype which arises out of such a situation is largely dependent upon two concepts. First, is Jung's concept of "psychic readiness (Progoff, 199)." According to this idea, the archetype which is evoked first is that which because of its historical repetition in the collective consciousness of a people is at the highest level of the unconscious. This is why the amplification process is so important to understanding archetypal theory. Archetypes and their degree of "psychic readiness" are best identified by examining those analogous motifs which have provided a pattern of distinctive meaning far greater than its conscious reality in the history of the community (Jung, 107).

The second concept which influences the type of archetype to surface is the nature of what "triggers" the archetype. Is its nature such that the latent archetype can instinctively sense elements of its own structure in that which is perceived? To illustrate the concept, Jung uses the example of how the yucca moth is attracted to the yucca flower. The yucca moth, according to Jung, carries an image of its structure which when perceived in other images "triggers" its instincts. Just as the moth recognizes itself in the structure of the yucca flower and is instinctively drawn towards it, the archetype is drawn towards the surface when

it instinctively perceives elements of itself in an image, event, idea or situation which has developed in the consciousness of a community (Campbell, 56).

The Patriarchal Archetype And Regionalism

For a number of important reasons the archetype to emerge in the subject community of Winchester-Frederick County could be none other than that of the patriarch. As noted in the Chapter IV case study of the subject community, patriarchal instincts had been a part of Winchester-Frederick County from the very outset of its history. They surfaced in the collective consciousness of the community time and time again throughout its history. The patriarchal archetype was, therefore, in the uppermost level of the unconscious, ready to surface once again when stimulated by the tension resulting from regionalism proposals from outside the community.

In addition, like Jung's yucca moth, the patriarchal archetype saw elements of itself in the situation resulting from state-initiated regionalism proposals. It sensed that the community's perspective of regionalism mirrored that of the father facing a challenge to his authority. Who was to decide for the collective family that is community? Would regionalism decisions be imposed upon the community or would the community fathers decide what was in the best interest

of their community? The structure of this issue was not unlike the authority issue experienced in the patriarchal family. Sensing this, the patriarchal archetype fitted the situation.

What is the significance of the patriarchal archetype surfacing in the collective consciousness of the community at a time when state-initiated efforts are underway to promote regionalism? Marie-Louise von Franz in C. G. Jung: His Myth In Our Time (1975) says when situations activate the unconscious the archetype is often accompanied by intense, emotionally-laden fantasies or ideas which take possession of the whole personality and motivate it psychologically, or `drive' it, in a certain direction (von Franz, 126)." The direction in which the personality is driven is towards those instincts embodied in the archetype. Carl Jung is quoted as having said that the psychological force of instincts associated with an archetype are of such strength that it is not uncommon for the unconscious "to take complete possession" of an individual or collective body and "determine its fate down to the smallest detail (Shelburne, 63)." The impact of the unconscious upon a given situation can either be positive or negative depending on the functional disposition of the archetype (Bennett, 79).

Gareth Morgan, Images of Organization (1986) describes the functional disposition of a patriarchal archetype as something resembling a psychic prison. He says, "patriarchy

operates as a kind of conceptual prison producing and reproducing organizational structures . . ." Morgan then proceeds to enumerate ways which patriarchal influences are evidenced in collective behavior. His list includes:

(1) Giving preference "to males and traditional males values." Thereby fostering "the rational, analytic, and instrumental characteristics associated with the Western stereotype of maleness (Morgan, 211)."

(2) Relying on "hierarchy of authority" relationships such as one might find in the patriarchal family (Ibid.).

(3) "Deferring to authority" resulting in dependent relationships such as a child has towards a parent (Ibid.).

(4) Resisting initiatives and establishing "the practice where people look to others to initiate action in response to problematic issues (Ibid.)."

(5) Establishing a "sense of duty" such as a father might expect from his son (Ibid.).

(6) Promoting the fathering role of leaders (Ibid.).

Tad and Noreen Guzie, About Men and Women (1986) expand on Morgan's treatment of patriarchy. They say that among the important manifestations of a patriarchy are respect of tradition and convention. The Guzies' say further that patriarchal societies are generally conservative. They are

committed to the status quo. "The right way to do things is the way they have always been done." Change breeds anxiety and is generally something to be avoided. Independent, creative thinking among members of the society is not to be encouraged (Guzie, 1986:31-35).

Knowledge of the characteristics inherent in a patriarchy provided by Morgan and the Guzies leads to a conclusion that the functional disposition of the patriarchal archetype is to oppose instinctively state-initiated regionalism efforts. In a community environment dominated by patriarchal values, the dominant authority is rooted in the hierarchal relationship found in the family. In such an environment the father, as head of the family, is in total control (Morgan, 211). Proposals by those outside the family, even those designed to serve utilitarian purposes, are considered hostile. It is the father's prerogative as head of the household to initiate proposals on behalf of the family. Attempts to dilute his authority in such matters are viewed with suspicion and distrust in the patriarchal family (Guzie, 32-33).

The father in a patriarchy is conservative. He is the guardian of tradition and convention. He sees himself as the custodian of family values. The father finds his identify in securing family values against outside influences. He is slow to change and accept new ideas. Therefore, where others would see regionalism as a creative idea to foster

efficiency, the father would find it to be disruptive (Ibid.).

A community under the influence of a patriarchal archetype would mirror the perspective of the father in the patriarchal family. Such a community would likely, therefore, be predisposed to oppose regionalism as a threat to the extended family. It would resent proposals that neither considered the hierarchal authority order of the community nor traditional community values. Indeed, a community trapped in a patriarchal mold of thinking might well see state-initiated regionalism as something akin to what Paul Hirsch describes as corporate rape (1). In an article entitled "Ambushes, Shootouts, and Knights of The Round Table: The Language of Corporate Take-overs," which appeared in Organizational Symbolism (1983), Hirsch says that a hostile corporate takeover has many of the same elements as rape, the invading of the corpus against one' will.

A Regionalism Strategy

Carl Jung was every bit as much a practioner as a theoretician. There was a close interdependence and inter-

(1) Hirsch's metaphor of corporate rape to describe hostile corporate takeovers is one of the examples used by Ian Mitroff in his book, Stakeholders of The Organizational Mind (1984), to describe how archetypes influence corporate affairs (Mitroff, 1984:115).

relation between the theoretical and practical in his psychological outlook (Shelburne, 108). Jung was "sensitive to the practical therapeutic as well as the strictly theoretical aspects of his work (Ibid., 103)." Jung was not only a great thinker, he was "one of the great doctors of all time (Jung, 1964:15)." His stated goal was to help men and women to know themselves so they could act on that knowledge and live productive lives (Ibid.). If follows that Jung fully intended for his theory of archetypes to have practical applications. His intent was not just for archetypal theory to improve our knowledge about phenomena, but for that knowledge to be acted upon to the benefit of society.

Jung and post-Jungians, however, agree that one type of action to be avoided was the manipulation of archetypes. Because they are a spontaneous phenomena, archetypes are not subject to man's will (Shelburne, 61). Like all numinous contents they are autonomous (Jung, 1980:40). They are beyond manipulation. Those that attempt to do so can never be sure of the outcome of such efforts. Therefore, attempts at controlling an archetype for one's advantage are foolhardy.

Though one cannot control archetypes, one can reflex with them (1). By reflecting on what has been going on in the collective psyche of the community, the analyst gains an

(1) Orion White uses the metaphor "dancing with archetypes" to describe the reflexivity process (Lecture, Orion White, April 11, 1989).

improved understanding of the influence of unconscious forces upon the community (Burrell and Morgan, 1979:244). By looking back at what has gone on before, the analyst is able to identify the presence of such forces at work in the community and to project how the traits contained in a particular archetype might predispose the community towards a given issue. To the extent, therefore, that Jung's theory of archetypes promotes greater understanding of the existence and influence of unconscious forces on community behavior, an analyst's capacity to structure a regionalism strategy is enhanced. In short, while knowledge of the unconscious does not produce a blueprint for action, it does provide one with a perspective that makes for more informed decisions (Morgan, 231). With this in mind, the study holds that a regionalism strategy can be developed based on an understanding of archetypal theory.

In formulating a regionalism strategy based on archetypal theory one needs to start with a reminder of what regionalism is and what it is not. Regionalism as defined for purposes of this study is simply the cooperative effort of two or more communities. A region is not a community, nor must it become one for regional cooperation to exist. Communities only need to be in close proximity to one another and share enough cohesiveness to be willing to resolve common issues and provide mutually beneficial services. For regionalism to be successful, communities need

not have the level of socio-psychological commitment to one another as exists within their individual community. This is not to deny that regionalism is made easier by a homogeneity of interests and other traits that characterize a community, but to emphasize the importance of the distinction between a region and a community in developing a regionalism strategy based on integration.

Understanding The Factors That Make For Integration

The concept of integration, though widely used to describe closely knit political and economic relationships, has not been precisely and consistently defined. Integration in a regional sense implies a degree of common identity between communities (Jacob and Toscano, 4). That is to say that communities are held together by mutual ties which give them some cohesiveness. Regional integration is present when communities within their region demonstrate a degree of cohesiveness through cooperative action. Put slightly differently, integration is a "state of mind or disposition to be cohesive, to act together, to be committed to mutual programs (Ibid., 7)."

Integration is a relative, rather than an absolute term. Instead of considering integration as a specific phenomena that does or does not exist, it is more useful to think in terms of inter-community relationships which are more or less integrated. Since the essence of an integra-

tive relationship is "collective action to promote mutual interests," a test of the degree of integration in a region might be the extent to which communities engage in cooperative activities (Ibid., 5-6).

A certain amount of integration must be present for regionalism to exist. Philip E. Jacob in The Integration of Political Communities (1964) said that for regional cooperation to occur between two or more existing communities requires "that the values shared within each become shared with each other, or at least that the area of shared values between communities become sufficiently great so that the principal differences between them do not block common action on common concerns (Ibid., 210)." This is generally not difficult in a sub-state setting where communities exist in close proximity to one another under the authority of a single state government. These factors alone make for a certain amount of cohesiveness.

The challenge is how to enhance inter-community cooperation among already integrated communities within the region without appearing to threaten the very uniqueness which makes for their individuality. A strategy which promotes regional integration without regard to the socio-psychological ties of a people to their individual community is likely to be counter-productive. Attempts at regionalism without recognition of either cultural differences or the prevailing community political structure may be met with suspicion or

even outright hostility (Black, 75-76). Still the integration of communities is a process that serves to promote regionalism. It is to an analysis of factors which influence integration that the study now turns with a particular emphasis on those approaches called for as a result of the study's focus on Jung's archetypal theory.

Two key factors that influence the integration process are linkage and diffusion. Together they are acknowledged as the main means by which inter-community integration is accomplished (Warren, 261). To understand linkage one needs to understand the difference between the community's vertical and horizontal patterns of relationship. The vertical pattern is that set of relationships that a resident of a community has to the larger society. On the other hand, the relationship one has within the community is defined as the horizontal pattern. Those positions which simultaneously involve individuals in both regional patterns constitute a linkage relationship, linking the community to the extra-community (Ibid., 251).

According to Roland Warren, Community in America (1963), linkage relationships are ever present and serve to encourage extra-community ties and inter-community cooperation. As a result of ties that individuals have to both the community and the larger society, they are more receptive to extra-community cooperation. It follows that a technique that fosters linkage relationships will have the

effect of promoting integration.

While linkage relationships encourage integration, diffusion is the process by which it happens. Diffusion is defined as the spread of ideas from an initiator to its ultimate users or adapters (Rogers, 1965:76). Since ideas invariably reflect values, it is equally correct to think of diffusion as the spread of values. Warren says "the larger culture gets into any particular community almost exclusively through diffusion (Warren, 261)." According to Warren, diffusion is either of the market type or the administered type. The market type of diffusion is the natural dissemination of an idea from the extra-community to the community without any deliberate effort on one's part (Ibid., 262).

Administered diffusion, on the other hand, is a result of systemic ties of local organizations to extra-community systems. The public school, the branch bank, the post office, and churches are examples of local public and private sector organizations with ties to extra-community systems. Each receives ideas from such systems which they incorporate in their local operation. Administered diffusion comes not only through ties of local organizations to extra-community systems but also through the personnel of these organizations as they interact with their colleagues from outside of the community (Ibid.).

Like those involved in dual (vertical and horizontal)

linkage relationships, individuals and organizations within the community who regularly receive ideas as a result of their ties to extra-community systems (diffusion) are more receptive to proposals aimed at promoting regionalism. Still, the diffusion of ideas such as regionalism is not an easy process. Local norms often times cause individuals to resist ideas from outside the community.

Research indicates that the communication element of the diffusion process is not a simple one-step or one-way procedure. Rather, information and opinion flow in several stages and steps from sources to influentials and influencees. One theory that has considerable support suggests that ideas spread from sources of new ideas via relevant channels to opinion leaders and from them by way of personal communication to their followers (Rogers, 213).

Community opinion leaders and the people whom they influence are typically very much alike. Their influence is related to the perception that they personify community values and possess the wisdom to know what is best for the community. In some communities opinion leaders are hard to identify. This is not the case in a community under the influence of a patriarchal archetype. For such communities, the patriarchal figure is the community's premier opinion leader.

As noted earlier in this study the patriarchal influence in the community is rooted in the hierarchical family

and the relationship of the father to the child. From the child's perspective this relationship is characterized by the deferral of authority to the father and the seeking of his advice when decisions are to be made. In turn, the father accepts the role as mentor and protector of the child (Morgan, 211). Tad and Noreen Guzie in discussing patriarchal relationships in their book, About Men and Women (1986), say the father enjoys his role in this relationship. He sees himself as a guardian, one whose advice provides his children safe passage as he or she confronts the uncertainties of the "wider world (Guzie, 32-33)." Applying this psychic mold to a community, it is easy to see how the residents of a community would look to a patriarchal figure for an opinion on proposals affecting the relationship of the community to the region.

The policy of regionalism, as was noted earlier, possesses characteristics that are likely to evoke an archetype from the collective conscious of communities where this policy is applied. It was also noted that, as was the case with Winchester-Frederick County, Virginia, it is predictable that in most cases the archetype that will arise will be the archetype of patriarchy. The main practical question involved in implementing regionalism then seems to be how to cope with this archetype.

Coopting The Patriarchs

What does knowledge of integration factors (linkage, diffusion, and opinion leaders) and the influence of a patriarchal archetype on the community suggest in the way of a strategy to promote regionalism? The answer is it all depends. It all depends on whether a patriarchal figure exists in the community. If there is a Harry F. Byrd, Sr. in the community then the only recourse for regionalists is to do what is depicted in photo exhibit number six of this study, namely to kiss the hand of the patriarch. Just as President Johnson kissed the hand of the late Senator Byrd knowing Byrd's cooperation was necessary if he was to achieve his legislative objectives, so must a regionalist pay homage to a community patriarch. A strategy which offers the prospects of achieving the support of a community patriarch is cooptation.

Cooptation is defined as "the process of absorbing a new element into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence (Selznick, 1949:13)." According to Selznick there are two forms of cooptation, formal and informal. Formal cooptation involves adding people to an organization for the purpose of lending it legitimacy, sharing responsibility for power rather than power itself. Informal cooptation, on the other hand, involves yielding to a source of power to garner support (Ibid., 13-16).

The cooptation technique lies at the core of Philip Selznick's discussion of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in TVA and the Grass Roots (1949). Selznick found in order to gain the support of certain influential groups and individuals in the TVA area, the authority's administration resorted to the stratagem of unofficially bringing them into the organization's policy-making process. The idea being that by yielding some control, much needed support would be gained (Selznick, 14). Though cooptation was seen as a technique for securing the support of potentially threatening groups in the environment, it is equally applicable as a means of eliciting the involvement of community patriarchs for regional cooperation.

While it is given less attention in recent literature than cooptation of the formal variety, informal cooptation is particularly relevant to an effort to solicit the cooperation of a community under the influence of a patriarchal archetype. Such a community is often times pre-disposed not to cooperate, but rather to cling to convention and the traditional way of doing things. It feels threatened by proposed changes to the status quo and is generally not amenable to accept independent thinking or new ways of looking at things (Guzie, 32).

Based on an understanding of how a patriarchal archetype influences community behavior, informal cooptation offers the prospect of breaking the psychic mold which det-

ers inter-community cooperation. If by appealing to the community patriarch's fatherly instincts to care for his people, he is involved in regionalism efforts the prospects of success are greatly enhanced. The key ingredient in such a strategy is his involvement. Patriarchal figures must be involved from outset of regionalism efforts. They need to have a sense that their involvement is instrumental to a successful regionalism effort. Their influence within the community should not appear to be threatened by such a effort. On the contrary, it should be demonstrated that their overall influence is expanded as more people beyond the community look to them for guidance (1).

If the patriarch's involvement is secured, regionalism will have been legitimized and the groundwork laid for the type of linkage necessary for inter-community cooperation. With the blessings of patriarchal figures from within the community, inter-community links are likely and a channel for the foundation for the diffusion process will have been established. The chance for the successful integration of communities will have been enhanced (2).

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(1) Since cooptation requires a certain amount of compromise, Selznick warns that it is important that the initiator of a cooptation strategy guard against the complete surrender of his or her policy objectives to the coopted party or said in another way that he himself not be coopted (Selznick, 1957:xiii).

(2) In the case study community examined in Chapter IV of this study, the clear implication is that the support of Delegate Alson Smith is a necessary component if regionalism efforts are to be successful.

The Participatory Process and "Sleeping Dogs"

While a strategy based on coopting patriarchs provides a valid approach to producing the degree of integration necessary for regionalism, what happens when community patriarchs are non-existent? What are the implications of Jung's theory of archetypes for a regionalism strategy when there are no community patriarchs to be coopted? What is the recourse in such a situation for the regionalist who understands Jung's concept of archetypes and recognizes their power to influence community behavior?

Though Selznick's formal cooptation concept is not helpful in supplying answers to the questions posed above, his notion of informal cooptation does provide a helpful insight into how, in the absence of community patriarchs, a cooperative strategy might be structured that produces the degree of integration necessary for regionalism (1). Unlike formal cooptation, which attempts to preserve the locus of significant decision-making in the hands of the policy initiator, informal cooptation introduces the concept of participatory decision-making and genuine power sharing (Selznick, 1949:13-16). Consideration of these concepts give

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(1) T. D. Thompson and W. J. McEwan in an essay prepared for the American Sociological Review said, "informal cooptation is an important social device for increasing the likelihood that organizations . . . will find compatible goals. By thus reducing the possibilities of antithetical actions by two or more organizations, cooptation aids in the integration of the heterogeneous parts of a complex society (Thompson and McEwan, 1958:28).

rise to a regionalism strategy the focus of which can be summed up by the metaphoric expression "let sleeping dogs lie." It is a strategy designed to elicit community support for regionalism, while not awakening the patriarchal archetypes which lie beneath the surface of a community's collective consciousness. It is based on coopting community support for regionalism through an effective participatory process involving a broad cross-section of community leaders.

Using the metaphor of sleeping dogs to describe archetypes has heuristic value. There are similarities. Like a sleeping dog, an archetype has the potential for destructiveness when aroused. This is particularly true in the case of a patriarchal archetype surfacing in a community where there is no father figure present. In the absence of such a figure, there is no way of knowing to whom patriarchal instincts will be attracted once they are released into the collective consciousness of a community. These instincts may well be attracted to a community figure who has little resemblance to a patriarch. Because such a figure would not have either the following of a community patriarch or his capacity to influence others, a strategy based on cooptation would not be as effective as when a strong patriarchal figure is present in the community. Being under the influence of a patriarchal archetype, such a figure would project the same negative instincts as a patriarch towards a policy that threatens the community's sense of

identity and self-determination. This being the case, in the absence of a community patriarch, the best strategy for regionalists is one which promotes inter-community cooperation without evoking a potential counter-productive archetype. Said metaphorically, the best strategy is one which "let sleeping dogs lie."

As mentioned, Selznick's concept of informal cooptation, which puts forward the notion of shared decision-making, provides an insight into how such a strategy might be developed. While informal cooptation provides an inkling of such a strategy, its theoretical basis can be traced more directly to the late 1960s and what became known as the New Pubic Administration movement (1). Though the movement came to mean many different things to different people, some themes stood out more than others. They included demands for relevance, social equity and participation in the administration of public policy (Denhardt, 1984:113). It is the latter theme of participation that forms the core of a promising strategy which fosters regionalization without arousing potentially counter-productive forces from a community's collective unconscious.

At the time of the New Public Administration movement participation was hardly a new theme. It can be traced back in public administration literature to Mary Parker Follett

(1) The New Public Administration movement began in 1968 with a conference held in the Minnowbrook Conference Center at Syracuse University (Denhardt, 1984:108).

and her notions of integration and the law of the situation (1). What was new was how the movement adopted the theme to contemporary issues and organizations (2). Adherents to the movement believed that the only way to achieve meaningful cooperation between participants within an organization was through open, non-manipulative communication and the functional distribution of power. For the most part, they believed that formal cooptation was a manipulative attempt to obtain support for a pre-determined position, rather than a genuine attempt to involve all participants in the decision-making process (Ibid., 113-114).

Like Mary Parker Follett, devotees of the New Public Administration perspective believed in the importance of process (3). They held that the quality of the decision-making process would ultimately determine the quality of the decision reached. For them how things got accomplished was as important as the actual accomplishment. Doing it the right way shared importance with such rationally-based tenets as efficiency and cost-effectiveness. To this

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(1) Fifty years prior to the New Public Administration Movement, Mary Parker Follett argued that the task of management was to promote the harmonious integration of individual development based on democratic concepts of participation and collective purpose (Harmon and Mayer, 1986:341).
(2) The participation theme was consistent with efforts during the period of Great Society programs to involve constituency groups in the decision-making process (Denhardt, 128).
(3) Follett is recognized as the first process theorist of stature in American Management thought (Harmon and Mayer, 1986:343).

extent, the participatory approach of the New Public Administration was in conflict with a purely rationally-oriented approach which presumed to identify objectively the most advantageous course of action without regard to how the process might impact the participants.

When the participation theme associated with the New Public Administration movement is applied to regionalism, a strategy emerges that offers a means of achieving inter-community cooperation without evoking the patriarchal archetype. The tactical principles embodied in such a strategy includes an open and honest decision-making process involving representatives from all participating communities. In this participative process decisions are reached not as a result of outside parties trying to persuade communities to their point of view, but rather from ground-up negotiations entered into freely in joint recognition of a shared purpose. Decision-making for the region is decentralized. This process is non-threatening and sensitive to the diversity of the individual communities.

A key element in a strategy based on a participative process is a coercion-free dialogue involving a broad cross section of community leaders. Such a dialogue is instrumental to the strategy because it contributes to the natural progression of psychic energy from the unconscious thereby preventing the blockage of psychic energy that results in an archetype suddenly bursting forth into the collective con-

sciousness to influence community behavior. A dialogue free of domination helps to maintain an equilibrium within the collective psyche of a community, permitting community representatives to consider the merits of regionalism more consciously. It follows that a participative process which emphasizes a free and open dialogue among community leaders would provide the kind of psychic environment necessary for the favorable consideration of regionalism.

Spillover and Positive Reinforcement

Another more general implication of Jung's archetypal theory for a regionalism strategy has to do with community symbols. As discussed earlier, canalization is the archetypal process by which symbols evoke a subconscious emotional commitment of community residents. An understanding of this process leads one to conclude that a regionalism strategy should not threaten those community symbols that are powerful enough to channel psychic energy . Regionalism strategists that tamper with archetypal symbols to which there are strong community ties are apt to find such resistance that their entire integration efforts are thwarted.

Instead, a strategy should be formulated based on setting modest objectives, proceeding slowly and then building upon the success of these modest gains. Those institutions that have strong archetypal ties in the community should be avoided. Applied to the case study community, it

follows that initial efforts of regionalism strategists should not be directed towards those community services or institutions with ties to past or present community patriarchs, i.e., John Handley School and Rouss Fire Company, but rather focus on those regional roles which do not appear to threaten the community's heritage.

Regionalism efforts should be directed at those issues least likely to evoke a psychic backlash in the community. Such efforts can benefit from the "spillover theory" that holds that the greater the number of inter-community agreements achieved, the greater the likelihood of future agreements. Smaller more easily obtained inter-community agreements lead to larger more difficult ones. The theory is based on the notion that frequency of positive reinforcement leads to habit strength (Jacob and Toscano, 257-259).

Training The Regional Facilitator

A final and most important implication of Jung's archetypal theory for regionalism has to do with the facilitator whose job it is to develop and implement inter-community cooperation. The regionalism facilitator job is most important. He or she must be well trained not only in community change techniques, but also in recognizing which techniques are relevant to a given community. The degree of integration necessary for expanded inter-community cooperation just does not happen. While there are limitations to what can be

done (1), a well-trained regional facilitator can be an effective agent for change in the region (Ibid., 239).

The task of the regional facilitator is not an easy one. He or she is preeminently the custodian of integration. As such, regional facilitators are expected to pull together the disparate elements from communities into a coordinated regional action. Their training is immensely important. As implied in this study, the facilitator must take a holistic approach to regionalism. He or she needs to be sensitive to all relevant social, psychological, political and economic variables which impinge on community decision-making to include archetypes which can predispose community decisions (2).

In many states, such as Virginia, the existence of regional councils provides a ready-made vehicle to facilitate regionalism. However, as regional councils have become more professionalized, there has been a tendency to follow the example of policy analysts and policy-makers noted earlier in this study and limit their focus to rational-economic considerations. In so doing, regional councils

(1) For example, many, including the author of this study, hold to beliefs that neither culture nor archetypes can be manipulated. They can only be understood. See Ira Progoff's, Jung's Psychology and its Social Meaning (1985), p. 199-200.

(2) Edgar H. Schein believes sensitizing the facilitator to the importances of process should be a part of his or her training. Schein's book Process Consultation (1988) provides an excellent resource for understanding the practical application of techniques designed to improve individual and intergroup processes.

have excluded all other variables which fail to meet their own rational standards of proof.

This study calls for the training of regional facilitators so that they will bring to their work a broader perspective that includes different levels of approaches to understanding the complexities that affect a community's response to regionalism. Regional facilitators invariably discover that resistance to their efforts is likely beyond all rational explanation. Barriers to cooperation include: ignorance, cultural differences, fear, disparity of power, psychic influences and a host of other non-rational, beneath the surface, variables frequently conspire to thwart regionalism efforts. It follows then that regionalism facilitators must be as versed in these variables as he or she is in rational-economic considerations.

An educational model for training regional facilitators which offers promise is provided by Amitai Etzioni, a professor at the Center for Policy Research at George Washington University. In his book, The Moral Dimension: Towards A New Economics (1988), Etzioni puts forward the notion that an investment needs to be put forth in advancing a new policy-making model which he hopes will serve to at least modify the prevailing rational-economic paradigm (Etzioni, 1988: 2-3). He does not advocate that the existing rational-economic model be replaced, only changed. What the model needs, in Etzioni's opinion, is a heavy dose of psychology,

political science and sociology to create a new discipline that recognizes more of the real world complexities in explaining the hows and whys of decision-making. This new discipline Etzioni calls socio-economics (The Washington Post, 11 January 1987).

Socio-economics differs from rational-economics on three fundamental points. Socio-economics assumes people have conflicting goals rather than neatly ordered preferences. Secondly, it recognizes the role of values and emotional instincts in decision-making. It takes explicit account of how and why instincts, habits and culture significantly influence behavior. Finally, socio-economics sees each person as a member of multiple communities rather than as a free-standing individual (Ibid.). It recognizes that individuals and the community make and require each other. "If individuals were actually without community they would have very few of the attributes commonly associated with the notion of an individual person (Etzioni, 9)."

Socio-economics favors a broader cross-disciplinary approach to understanding policy-making. An approach which is broad enough in its scope to recognize the psychological contribution of Jung's archetypal theory to an understanding of community decision-making (1). The socio-economics

(1) While Etzioni does not refer directly to archetypes, he does discuss the influence of "basic urges" on individual behavior and he calls on policy makers to deal with all major relevant factors to include "psychic" considerations (Etzioni, 238).

notion of blending elements of psychology, sociology and political science is exactly what regional facilitators need in their education. All too frequently, they get so wound up in the reasonableness of their cause that they fail to recognize that non-rational forces frequently drive community decision-making.

The major implication of Jung's archetypal theory is that regional facilitators must be educated to the value of a holistic, inter-disciplinary approach to an issue as complex as regionalism. In the absence of such an education, regional facilitators will continue to be equipped with less than a full complement of tools to accomplish their task.

With the knowledge derived from a multi-discipline educational approach will come not only a greater receptivity to a broader range of integration techniques other than those suggested by rational-economics (1), but also a greater understanding of how factors associated with other disciplines serve to influence decision-making affecting

(1) A purely rational-economic approach suggests a cost-benefit analysis as the primary technique to be used in influencing community decision-making. On the other hand, a multi-discipline, holistic approach prompts consideration not only of a technique like cooptation which was called for as a result of applying archetypal theory to the community in the case study, but also other socio-psychological techniques like sensitivity training, process consultation and cross unit training which are normally associated with organizational development in the private sector, but which can be equally effective in the public sector. For a discussion of organizational development techniques applicable to the public sector see Psychology and Community Change: Challenges of The Future (1989) edited by Heller, Price, Reinharz, Riger, Wandersman and D'Aunno.

regionalism. It is, therefore, the contention of this study that an investment in educating regional facilitators to the value of a multi-discipline, holistic approach is a good investment, one worthy of the consideration and support of state officials interested in facilitating sub-state regionalism.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

In a publication entitled "Future Regional Roles in Reality" prepared in May of 1988 for the 22nd Annual Conference of National Association of Regional Councils, the point is made that regional councils must promote the reality that sub-state regionalism offers communities the best hope for addressing the challenges of the future. It goes on to say that the success of their effort depends ultimately on how well proponents of regionalism communicate this reality to community decision-makers within the region. To assist in this communication effort, the publication delineates ten roles that regional councils can play in promoting sub-state regionalism ("Future Regional Roles in Reality," 1988:1).

As a guideline for facilitating regionalism, the ten roles are quite logical. The ten delineations all make economic sense. It is not the regionalism message or messenger that is the problem. The need for regionalism is a reality and will persist. There is a growing recognition of the need for regions to play a role in providing planning and public services. This realization comes from the practicalities of economic activity and governance that transcend community boundaries. Similarly, there is an increased awareness that there is a need for an organized effort, such as is provided by regional councils, to facilitate sub-state

regionalism.

The impetus for this study is the researcher's thesis that analysts have consistently and continually based their approach to regionalism on the notion that rational-economic considerations drive community decision-making. This approach to regionalism is not confined to regional councils, but is endemic among regionalism proponents at state and local government levels as well. All have appealed for support of regionalism based on the reasonableness of their message. Though results have been somewhat mixed, for the most part their appeal has been ineffective, particularly when considered in light of the effort that has been put forth.

The reason for the relatively unsuccessful effort of regionalism proponents is that while they have been couching their arguments solely in terms of rational-economic considerations, communities make decisions about regionalism for a host of other reasons. Many of these reasons have nothing to do with considerations of efficiency and cost-effectiveness. Due to either a failure to understand these reasons or a hesitancy to deal with approaches that cannot be readily quantified or proved, regionalism proponents have fallen into the trap of trying to provide a simple, clear, and concise approach to an issue, community decision-making, which is far from being either simple, concise or clear.

In a very real sense regionalism proponents reflect the

mindset of those who live in today's fast-paced society. We live in a world covered by a veneer of rationalism. As a people, Americans have sought shortcuts, always looking for simple answers to even the most complex questions. We are too busy for the complexities of the real world. Whether in the science laboratory or the public policy arena, we are attracted to those who simplify phenomena and supply uncomplicated answers.

For similar reasons, policymakers and policy analysts have been attracted to the rational-economic paradigm approach to understanding community policy. It provides answers that the consumers of information can readily understand. Man is essentially utilitarian. He makes decisions individually and collectively on the basis of that which maximizes benefits. Any other reasons for a decision is irrational and beyond the reach of scientific investigation, too "messy" for a serious inquiry.

The reluctance of those responsible for analyzing and promulgating policy to venture from the clear and neat approach of the rational-economic paradigm has produced a gap in our understanding of the many factors that influence an issue as complex as community decision-making relative to regionalism. Only recently have there been effective efforts at filling this gap. Most of these efforts have focused on a political approach to understanding public policymaking. Graham T. Allison, Frank Fischer, and Deborah

Stone are notable examples of scholars who, by emphasizing that policy decisions are value-laden, have been successful in helping to bridge the analysis gap resulting from the sole use of the rational-economic paradigm. They and their predecessors, who first took issue with a purely rationalistic approach to understanding decision-making, have demonstrated that the reality of public policymaking is not the clean, rational process portrayed by practioners of the dominant paradigm. By providing an alternative approach, they have enhanced our understanding and paved the way for alternative models.

Political culture is an example of one such model that builds on the political approach. The political culture model accepts decision-making as being value-laden. It attributes the source of values that influence decision-making to the collective culture of communities. The political culture model is based on the precept that political decisions are to a large extent predisposed by language, history, religion, customs, practices, and other cultural influences common to a community. According to this model, cultural traits are learned and transmitted as a result of social interaction and the sharing of common experiences.

The political culture model is the most frequently offered alternative to the rational-economic paradigm. When combined with rational-economic considerations, the model serves to further bridge the analysis gap. However, even

when these two models are considered together much remains unexplained about community decision-making. Not that these models are useless. They are enlightening. They just do not explain all the observed phenomena and, therefore, are insufficient for a comprehensive analysis of community decision-making. Those making community decisions are neither simply depositories of societal values nor free agents able to decide on the basis of utility alone.

It is incumbent upon those who seek a thorough understanding of the complexities of community decision-making to press on in search of a more holistic approach that further expands the arena for analysis. This study holds to the notion that a portion of the time and effort spent on analyzing phenomena through traditional lenses is better spent on developing new lenses which provides one with a different perspective (1). Jung's theory of archetypes is an example of a new lens through which one gains an expanded perspective. It epitomizes the shift from a conscious view of phenomena to an outlook that encompasses a larger conception of reality which includes the unconscious.

Archetypal theory is psychologically-based. Like political culture, archetypal theory supports the proposi-

(1) Amitai Etzioni in The Moral Dimension: Toward a New Economics (1988) writes, "it seems only prudent that some fraction of the effort dedicated to constructing theories, to guiding research and improving understanding . . . be invested in attempting to advance new paradigms that might synthesize the work of neoclassicist and other social scientists (Etzioni, 1988:xiii).

tion that collective behavior is largely pre-determined by values. However, unlike the political culture models, these values are not learned as a result of cultural-related experiences, but rather are psychic values which emerge from beneath the surface of a community's consciousness. Archetype are an inbred community orientation. They are innate instincts, inherent in a community's collective psyche. When stimulated they are drawn to the surface to influence collective behavior.

Jung's archetypal theory offers a different approach to understanding. Unlike rational-economics or political culture, it is neither positivist or objective in its epistemological orientation. Archetypes defy logical deduction. While the way archetypes are manifested in the collective consciousness reflects the cultural experience of a people, there are no scientific laws governing when or how they might appear. A researcher using participant observer techniques as part of the process Jung calls amplification can only say that given a certain socio-psychological situation, archetypes are likely to appear and influence community behavior.

Despite the highly unscientific and unpredictable nature of the phenomenon, archetypes are nonetheless real and deserving of consideration as an important influence on the community decision-making process. The way a community responds to a given issue such as regionalism might be as

much due to the presence and influence of an archetype as to pervasive cultural norms or considerations of rational-economics. To the extent that archetypes, acting like instincts, intervene sharply in the collective consciousness of a people by regulating, modifying and motivating their action, they are meaningful to an inquiry of community decision-making. Comprehending the influence of archetypes is, therefore, necessary in one's quest for a more holistic approach to understanding the dynamics of community decision-making as it relates to regionalism.

The challenge of understanding the significance of the unconscious in community behavior carries with it promise. By focusing on the beneath the surface, structural influences of collective behavior, archetypal theory holds the potential for understanding regionalism when no traditional approach will do. For example, archetypes might explain why, despite good intentions, cooperation between communities breaks down or why, contrary to all reason, communities distrust one another (1). It, therefore, behooves those who seek to understand the complexities of regionalism to be sensitive to unconscious, archetypal factors as well as the conscious forces at work in communities, not because they are a panacea for understanding, but because they provide

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(1) Gareth Morgan says the unconscious "explains why it is often so difficult to change organizational situations, even when the change seems logical and beneficial to all concerned (Morgan, 229."

another link in bridging the theory gap. As Jungian scholar Ira Progoff points out, "the merit of Jung's conception of the psyche and its contents is that it draws psychology and history together to provide a large and unifying perspective for understanding what may fill this vacuum (Progoff, 220)."

Sensitivity to archetypes begins with recognition. To fully appreciate the implications of archetypes for community decisions relative to regionalism, the researcher must first recognize their existence. Jung's theory provides guidance on what to look for. It has been said that archetypes are worn "like a suit of clothing (Guzie, 107)." While agreeing with the analogy to the extent that community archetypes like a suit of clothing reflect the collective personality of a people, identifying dominant archetypes is not as easy as one would infer from this statement. Nonetheless, dominant community archetypes are comprehensible to the researcher who understands Jung's theory, particularly the role played by symbols and the process Jung calls amplification, and who is willing to involve himself or herself into the community experience for purposes of obtaining a participant observer's perspective of phenomena that influences decision-making.

Comprehending a phenomenon and understanding its implications are not one in the same. Understanding the implications of an archetype for a given issue requires the researcher to first of all understand the behavioral

instincts associated with the archetype and then be able to relate that orientation to the issue under investigation. For example in the just concluded community case study, the researcher, using Jung's amplification process, determined that the recurring psychological theme throughout the subject community's history was one of patriarchy. A patriarchy is characterized by behavior which is male-oriented, dogmatic, protective, conservative, and dictatorial. When these traits are considered, one is able to plausibly deduce the likely disposition of a patriarchal community towards regionalism.

If, as is maintained throughout the study, one is able to understand archetypes and their influence upon community behavior, it follows that the possessor of that knowledge, being better informed, is able to act more effectively towards achieving a given objective relating to the community. This study holds that community archetypes have practical, as well as theoretical implications (1). Knowledge of community archetypes enables an analyst to develop a more effective regionalism strategy. This conclusion is not based on the analyst's use of this knowledge to manipulate archetypes. As noted earlier in the study, any attempt to manipulate the unconscious is fool-hardy. Archetypes will

(1) Commenting on the practical implications of archetypes, Gareth Morgan said knowledge of the unconscious gives one the capacity to "construct and interpret our realities and hence an enhanced ability to change them (Morgan, 228)."

"play-out" in a community regardless of man's attempt to control them. "The unconscious is by nature uncontrollable (Morgan, 231)."

A more effective regionalism strategy results from the analyst's increased awareness of the existence and functioning of archetypal forces at work in the community, not from the manipulation of archetypes. Through an increased awareness of archetypes, the analyst is better able to structure a strategy in relation to the flow of unconscious forces affecting the community. Regardless of the strategist's objective, no matter whether the purpose is to promote or thwart regionalism, the greater and more broadly-based one's knowledge of the forces at work in a given issue, the better able he or she will be to establish a posture relative to such forces and to structure an effective strategy. A strategy is, afterall, only as effective as the strategist's understanding of those factors that influence the issue under consideration. The strategy could be as simple as merely sensitizing communities to their archetypal differences. It could be more complex. For example, as used in this study, knowledge of the characteristics of a patriarchal archetype could lead a regionalism facilitator to a diffusion strategy based on cooptation techniques.

While a consideration of archetypal theory has practical implications for a regionalism study, in the final analysis the study's value lies mainly in its contribution to

the existing body of knowledge and the orientation it gives to policy analysis in general. To this extent, the study has value beyond the scope of regionalism. By focusing on the importance of unconscious forces upon policy decisions and offering Jung's archetypal theory as a means of comprehending such forces, the study's holistic approach provides the analyst with an increased capability to penetrate the complexities of an issue and achieve a greater understanding. To the degree that the study has been successful in broadening the arena for understanding, it has served to help fill the analysis gap and achieved its intended purpose.

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APPENDIX A. BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

The research began with a review of literature which served to frame the issue of regionalism. This literature is basically of two types. First, there is current information which relates specifically to Virginia's experience with regionalization efforts. Secondly, there is more general information that relates to the issue nationally. The researcher found that two of the best sources of regionalism-related information in Virginia are **The Center for Public Services** at The University of Virginia and reports from Governor or General Assembly-created commissions assigned the task of investigating issues relating to regionalism. Reports from The Center for Public Service of particular note are "The Quest for Community in a National Republic" and "The Need To Review Virginia's Local Structure." Both reports were released in 1988.

Other sources of information relevant to the issue of regionalism in Virginia are speeches and interviews of the state's top elected and administrative officials. The researcher found the speech of Honorable Gerald Baliles, Governor of the Commonwealth, to the annual meeting of the Virginia Association for Planning District Commission in July 1989 to be particularly noteworthy for its contribution to an understanding of the state's approach to regionalism.

Nationally, the researcher found that the best source of contemporary information about regionalism is The National Association of Regional Councils (NARC) located in Washington, D.C. Two reports by NARC in 1987 respectively entitled, "The Future of Regionalism in The United States" and "A Statement to the Task Force on State-Local Relations" contributed to providing a national perspective on the issue of regionalism. In addition, the reports of The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, a commission created by statute to study and make recommendations on "particular problem impeding the effectiveness of the federal system" are particularly helpful to framing the issue of regionalism at the national level. In its reports, approved in 1973, the commission "assessed the record to date, including the use and accomplishments of regional intrastate and interstate governmental bodies."

In order to understand the pervasiveness and limited scope of the current approach to regionalism, the research next turned to an investigation of the body of literature that establishes and critiques the rational-economic model as the dominant paradigm. Because they give primary consideration to the economic themes of efficiency and cost-effectiveness, many of the sources referred to earlier served this purpose. Supplementing these sources was a wealth of literature on decision-making and policy analysis which serves first, to provide an understanding of the

rational, economic paradigm and secondly, to critique the paradigm for restricting the scope of analysis.

The work of Herbert Simon, Administrative Behavior (1945), helped establish the pervasiveness of the rational-economic paradigm. While the works of Robert Dahl, The Science of Public Administration: Three Problems (1947) and Charles E. Lindbloom, The Science of Muddling Through (1959), provided the basis for a theoretical critique of a purely rational approach to decision-making. Recent policy analysis literature such as Graham T. Allison's book, Essence of Decision (1971); Frank Fischer's Politics, Values and Public Policy (1980) and Deborah Stone's Policy Paradox and Political Reason (1988) helped to build on the works of the early critics of a purely rational approach to decision-making.

Since the community is the primary unit for analysis in the study, the researcher familiarized himself with the concept of community, its many definitions and roles as set forth in the literature. Furthermore, since decisions affecting regionalism are, like most community decisions, political, research for the study included an analysis of the influence of politics on community decision-making. Floyd Hunter's classic Community Power Structure (1953) served both purposes. This book has been called the single most influential postwar study on the community and community power structure. It challenged long standing assump-

tions concerning local government and opened the door to social scientists having divergent orientations and different methods of community inquiry.

Much of the literature that followed Hunter's book emphasized the role of politics and the power structure in community decision-making. Community Politics: A Behavioral Approach (1971), an anthology edited by Charles Bonjean, Terry Clark and Robert L. Lineberry and The Community in America (1963) by Roland Warren are examples of such literature. A third book, Robert Dahl's, Who Governs? (1961) offered a theoretical alternative to his power elite model. Dahl's central thesis is a pluralistic conception of community power, one where several competing groups vie with one another for control of the community.

Community literature that followed Dahl's pluralistic approach began to pay greater attention to other variables such as socio-psychological forces that influence community decision-making. A book in this tradition is Robert Nisbet's Social Bond (1970). A second book of similar orientation which grew out of an academic interest in community psychology is Seymour Sarason's The Psychological Sense of Community: Prospects For A Community Psychology (1974). More recent books that exemplified a broader, socio-psychological approach to community decision-making include Psychology and Community Change (1984) by Kenneth Heller, Richard Price, Shulamit Reinharz, Stephanie Riger, Abraham Wandersman and

Thomas A. D'Aunno and State, Community and Human Desire (1988) by Antony Black. Other books that offer a similar perspective are Communities: A Survey of Theories and Research (1979) by Dennis Poplin and Arthur Berger's Political Culture and Public Opinion (1989). The latter book emphasizes the cultural influences in community decision-making.

Other sources of research material important to the study of socio-psychological forces at work in community decision-making were found in articles appearing in periodicals. The American Journal of Community Psychology and The Journal of Community Psychology were two periodicals which contained material that enrich the inquiry of community decision-making. Kenneth Heller's article entitled "The Return to Community," which appeared in Volume 17, November 1, 1989 edition of The American Journal of Community Psychology, is particularly worthy of mentioning for its contribution to the researcher's understanding of the socio-psychological forces that affect community decision-making.

Since the study maintains that its major contribution to the current body of knowledge is the application of Jung's theory of archetypes to community decision-making as it relates to regionalism, the research included a comprehensive examination of literature that relates either directly or indirectly to Jung's theory of archetypes. The researcher found literature about C. G. Jung to be exten-

sive. That literature which proved to be most useful for purposes of the study included: Walter Shelburne's Mythos and Logos in The Thought of Carl Jung (1986); Ira Progroff's Jung's Psychology and Its Social Meaning (1985); Volodymyr Odajnyk's Jung and Politics (1976); Aniela Jaffe's The Myth of Meaning (1970); Marie-Louise Von Franz's C. G. Jung: His Myth in Our Time (1975), The Portable Jung (1971) edited by Joseph Campbell; What Jung Really Said (1983) by E. A. Bennett, and Andrew Samuels' Jung and The Post Jungians (1985). The Samuels and Shelburne books were particularly relevant to research for the study because they include material on a methodological approach to archetypes.

In addition to the literature that contained material directly relating to archetypes, other sources were significant for their contribution to an understanding of the relationship of visual imagery to archetypes and the manifestation of the patriarchal archetype in society. Joseph Campbell's The Power of Myth (1988) with Bill Moyers was most helpful for the former purpose, as was Symbols of Community (1986) by Peter G. Stromberg and Jung's own work entitled Man and His Symbols (1964). These sources contributed to the researcher's understanding of the importance of archetypal motifs as a manifestation of the unconscious.

The latter purpose, an understanding of the patriarchal archetypes, was served by Dr. Anthony Stevens' book entitled

simply Archetypes (1982). Other literature that contributed to an understanding of the socio-psychological characteristics and significance of the patriarchal archetypes were Patriarchy as a Conceptual Trap (1982) by Elizabeth Gray, Patriarchs and Politics (1978) by Marilyn Marenski and Steven Goldberg's The Inevitability of Patriarchy (1973). Gareth Morgan's commentary on "Organization And The Patriarchal Family" in Images of Organizations (1986) contributed to an understanding of the constraints imposed upon a society when patriarchal influences are pervasive.

Because of the need to show how Jung's theory of archetypes plays out in a community, the researcher consulted provincial literature for an indication of the presence of an archetype in the subject community. Literature that was helpful in establishing the presence of an archetype in the study's subject community of Winchester-Frederick County, Virginia include: Frederick County, Virginia: From Frontier To The Future (1988) by Rebecca Ebert and Teresa Lazazzera; Some Worthy Lives: Mini-Biographies, Winchester and Frederick County (1988) by Garland Quarles; Stonewall Jackson (1978) by John Esten Cooke and Harry Byrd: The Changing Face of Virginia Politics, 1945-1966 (1968) by Harvie Wilkinson.

To establish the relevance of the inquiry, the researcher reviewed literature that would assist in developing a regionalism strategy based on those archetypal con-

cepts developed in the study and demonstrated in the case study community. Community change literature was particularly helpful in this regard. Note-worthy are those essays contained in The Planning of Change (1976) edited by Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth D. Benne, Robert Chin and Kenneth E. Corey, and The Integration of Political Communities (1964) edited by Philip E. Jacob and James V. Toscano. Psychology and Community Change (1984) by Kenneth Heller, Richard H. Price, Shulamit Reinharz, Stephanie Riger, Abraham Wandersman and Thomas A. D'Aunno was also helpful, as was Everret Rogers' book on diffusion and linkage entitled Diffusion of Innovations (1965) and Philip Selznick's commentary on cooptation which appears in Leadership in Administration (1957). Sources which proved to be particularly helpful in understanding the implication of archetypal theory for a regionalism strategy were Tad and Noreen Guzie's book entitled About Men and Women (1986) and Ian Mitroff's Stakeholder's of The Mind (1984).

Finally, to gain an insight into how the arena for analyzing regionalism could be broadened, the researcher reviewed literature that promotes a holistic approach. Among those sources that served to influence the researcher to take a multi-disciplined, holistic approach to the analysis of sub-state regionalism, the works of Amitai Etzioni stand out. Etzioni's recent book entitled The Moral Dimension: Toward A New Economics (1988) puts forth a policy

analysis perspective that integrates elements of psychology, history and political science as well as sociology with economics for purposes of broadening the arena for analysis.

Another source that influenced the researcher towards a holistic approach to the study of regionalism is William Dunn's treatment of an integrative approach in Public Policy Analysis (1981). A much earlier source that serves as the theoretical foundation for a holistic approach is the works of Mary Parker Follett as revealed in Dynamic Administration: The Collected Works of Mary Parker Follett (1940).

Before concluding a review of the literature for the study, mention needs to be made of those sources that were helpful in preparing an approach to the study. Though a more extensive analysis of methodological sources follows, two sources provided the framework for approaching the subject. These were Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods (1990) by Michael Quinn Patton and Qualitative Data Analysis (1984) by Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman. These sources were found to be particularly helpful as general sources of information about qualitative research methods. In addition, Jack Douglas' book entitled Investigative Social Research provided a valuable insight into fieldwork research strategies and Peter Manning's Semiotics and Fieldwork was helpful in understanding how symbols provide meaning.

Dennis Poplin's chapter on methods of community

research in A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research (1979) was also relevant to the study as was the previously-mentioned treatment of community research by Kenneth Heller, Richard H. Price, Shulamit Reinharz, Stephanie Riger, Abraham Wandersman and Thomas A. D'Aunno in their book entitled Psychology and Community Change (1984). In addition, an understanding of the application and limitations of a methodological approach to C. G. Jung's theory of archetypes was provided in Shelburne's Mythos and Logos in the Thoughts of Carl Jung (1986), Samuels' Jung and The Past Jungians (1985) and Dr. Anthony Steven's book on Archetypes (1982).

APPENDIX B. METHODOLOGY

Frame of Reference

The researcher's frame of reference is predicated on the belief that community decisions relating to regionalism are made in an environment of complex, intertwined relationships and multiple conflicting values. Such a complex issue as regionalism cuts across a variety of social science paradigms or frames of references. It follows that a single paradigm in the policy field shrinks the capacity to analyze complex issues. Hence, the researcher is drawn to a multiple frame of reference approach.

Policy writer Martin Rein in Social Science and Public Policy (1976) describes such an approach as a multi-paradgim with an "eclectic orientation." According to Rein such a frame of reference enables the researcher to bring to bear a full complement of one's analytical skills while resisting the pitfalls of "hopeless pluralism." The basis of this approach is what Rein calls storytelling. Storytelling mixes positive and normative statements. The policy analyst is eclectic to the extent that he or she draws pertinent insights from different perspectives while remaining uncommitted to any single frame of reference.

The work of psychiatrist Leston Havens lends support to a multiple frame of reference approach. In Approaches To

The Mind, (1973) Havens advocates systematic eclecticism. He sees the contending schools of psychiatric thought as a reservoir of available theories, techniques, and approaches to practice. From this reservoir the practitioner chooses elements of each based on their appropriateness to the issue under investigation. Like Rein, Haven's approach does not lead to the selection of one policy from among alternatives. It does, however, serve heuristic purposes by enriching the analyst's understanding of the many ways in which to view an issue, thereby increasing the availability of policy choices.

For purposes of a study which has as its purpose broadening the arena for analysis, a multiple frame of reference which permits the researcher to draw upon insights from various perspectives is deemed most appropriate. Such a frame permits the researcher to accept the value of a rational, economic approach to regionalism, while at the same time focusing on alternative, traditional socio-psychological approaches associated with interpretivism and non-traditional approaches associated with structuralism. In this way, the researcher is able to use a full complement of lenses and appropriate methodological tools to further the study's purpose.

Research Design

The research design for this study is primarily influ-

enced by what Quinn Patton describes as a paradigm of choices. A paradigm of choices rejects methodological orthodoxy in favor of methodological appropriateness. Methodological appropriateness means choosing a research design that is appropriate given the study's theoretical perspective or perspectives and the background of the researcher. The paradigm of choices recognizes that different methods are appropriate for different perspectives and researchers (Patton, 1990).

Given the focus of the study on questions of how and why of community decision-making affecting regionalism, an ethnographic case study which incorporates such qualitative techniques as direct observations, integration into the group and in-depth interviews provides the most appropriate research design (Yin, 1989). However, in keeping with the study's purpose of broadening the arena for analysis, the study adopts additional methods when appropriate for analyzing factors other than those socio-cultural considerations normally associated with an ethnographic approach. Indeed, to get at that which the study holds to be its major contribution, namely, the application of Jung's archetypal theory of human behavior to community decision-making, requires the use of methods peculiar to a number of theoretical perspectives.

Theoretical Perspectives

The research has its roots in a number of theoretical perspectives. Each contributes in a different way and prompts a particular methodological strategy. The diversity of perspectives is an indication of the complexity of the issue under investigation. Those theoretical perspectives deemed appropriate given the nature of the inquiry are: ethnography, phenomenology, heuristic inquiry, symbolic interactionism and holism. A brief description of how each relates and contributes to the study follows.

Ethnography: Ethnography is the study's largest contributing theoretical perspective. It provides the basic framework and research techniques that are used in the study. Ethnography, which focuses on the role of culture as an explanatory variable of human behavior, was first used in the latter part of the nineteenth century by anthropologists to study the cultural characteristics of primitive societies. While ethnographic studies trace their roots to the classic cultural-based works of Margaret Mead, Coming of Age in Samoa (1928) and The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe (1931), current researchers apply ethnographic techniques to psychology and education, as well as anthropology and sociology (Best and Kahn, 1989).

Ethnography brings to the study not only an approach to understanding the importance of culture which is indispens-

able to the study's analysis of alternative traditional approaches to regionalism, but also a number of qualitative techniques for examining a non-traditional approach such as Jung's archetypal theory. Data gathered for ethnographic studies come from extensive fieldwork designed to identify patterns of meaning in society from social interaction, societal records and artifacts. Among these ethnographic data gathering techniques relevant to the study are direct observation and informal in-depth interviews. In the former the researcher observes and if possible experiences the phenomenon under study in as free and natural an atmosphere as possible. In the later technique, responses are interpreted from the perspective of the interviewee -- how he or she views the phenomenon and how they interpret their own thoughts, words and activities individually and collectively as part of society (Patton, 1990).

Phenomenology: Since the study focuses on an analysis of the many factors that make for a community and influence its decisions affecting regionalism, a phenomenologicalist perspective that emphasizes understanding the essence of the phenomenon is an appropriate perspective for the study. Phenomenology, as a philosophical tradition, is associated with the works of Edmund H. Husserl (1913) and Alfred Schutz (1977). The works of phenomenologists have two implications that are important to the study. The first implication is

that what is important to know is the interpretation of those who experience the phenomenon, thus the relevancy of open-ended interviews as part of a methods strategy. The second implication of a phenomenological perspective is the belief that the only way for one to really know what another person experiences is to experience it for oneself. This leads to the importance of the participant observation technique. Both open-ended interviews and participation observation play an important role in the study's method strategy.

Heuristic Inquiry: Heuristics is a form of phenomenological inquiry that brings to the fore the value of the researcher's personal experience and interest in the phenomenon. The work of Clark Moustakas and Bruce Douglass (1984) is a notable recent example of this theoretical perspective. Their work emphasizes the two focusing elements of heuristic inquiry. First, the researcher must have personal experience with the phenomenon under study. Secondly, the researcher must have an intense interest in the phenomenon. According to heuristic inquiry, it is this combination of personal experience and intense interest that yields an understanding of the essence of the phenomenon. It is an appropriate perspective for the study because it recognizes the value of the researcher's broad experience and personal interest as a means of illuminating the community as it

relates to regionalism.

Symbolic Interactionism: Another major theoretical perspective appropriate to the study is symbolic interactionism. This social psychological approach is associated with the work of George Herbert Mead (1934) and Herbert Blumer (1969). The implication of this perspective for the study is that it serves to sensitize the researcher to the world of symbols and the significance of community symbols in revealing the collective consciousness of a people. From this sensitization comes the researcher's attention to the value of C. G. Jung's archetypal theory as a useful tool to understanding the disposition of a community towards regionalism.

Holism: Holism has its roots in systems theory. It maintains that phenomena cannot be wholly explained by a separate analysis of its individual parts. The value of a holistic approach gained prominence through the works of researchers John Dewey (1956) and Irvin Deutscher (1970), both of whom maintain that phenomena associated with human behavior is rarely if ever explained by an isolated variable. The holistic perspective is particularly appropriate to the inquiry because it supports the study's major premise that a singular rational, economic approach to regionalism produces an analysis gap. Furthermore, by emphasizing the

need to gather data on the multiple aspects of an issue, this perspective also supports the researcher's contention that a holistic approach is necessary to produce a comprehensive and complete picture of the dynamics of regionalism.

The Researcher

A second major consideration in determining the appropriateness of the study's research design is the researcher himself. What does he bring to the study in the way of experience, qualifications and preferences? What kinds of relationships does the researcher have with the people and issue associated with the study? The answers to these questions are important to determining an appropriate methodology.

Paradigm Preference

Paradigmically speaking, the researcher finds himself somewhere between logical positivism and social phenomenology. Though his preference is the interpretist perspective, the researcher, like Miles and Huberman (1984), believes that through the phenomenological device of verstehen, one can understand human behavior and social phenomena in an objective manner. This is why throughout the study such emphasis in placed on such qualitative approaches as participant observation and in-depth interviewing as a means of establishing an empirical basis for understanding the per-

Table 2.

Primary Theoretical Traditions Utilized In The Study*

	Perspective	Disciplinary Roots	Central Questions
1.	Ethnography	Anthropology	What is the culture of this group of people?
2.	Phenomenology	Philosophy	What is the structure and essence of experience of this phenomenon for these people?
3.	Heuristics	Humanistic Psychology	What is my experience of this phenomenon and the essential experience of others who also experience this phenomenon intensely?
4.	Symbolic Interactionism	Social Psychology	What common set of symbols and understandings have emerged to give meaning to peoples interactions?
5.	Holism	Systems Theory	How do the individual parts affect the phenomenon as a whole?

* This table is a modified version of that which is provided by Michael Quinn Patton on page 88 of Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods (1990).

spective of others.

Experience

The researcher is a native of the community, Winchester-Frederick County, Virginia, used in the study to demonstrate how community archetypes are identified and that knowledge is used to illuminate and enhance an analysis of sub-state regionalism. He served for eight year as a member of the Winchester City Council and for three years as the city's representative on the Lord Fairfax Planning District, a state-initiated organization that came in being for regional planning purposes. For the past four years, the researcher has served as director of two regionally-oriented organizations, the Winchester-Frederick County Chamber of Commerce and the Winchester-Frederick County Industrial Development Corporation.

The implication of the researcher's experience is that he is well acquainted with the constructs that make for a sense of community and regional cooperation. He is, also, well prepared to use those qualitative fieldwork techniques requiring empathy. One such technique is <u>participant observation</u>. It is the dominant methodological technique associated with community studies. Its popularity lies in the fact that it can reveal aspects of community structure and process that cannot be uncovered in any other way (Poplin, 1979).

The researcher has been a direct observer of and a participant in community and regional activities for approximately fifteen years. He has shared intimately in the life and activities of both the community and the larger community represented by the region. From this experience, the researcher has gained a valuable insider's view of the phenomenon of regionalism at different levels of community.

While direct observation is the core technique, participant observation is an omnibus data collection and reduction strategy that includes other methods. Another important method is informal interviewing. The researcher's familiarity with the community and its residents enables him to identify potential carriers of archetypes in the community and to conduct interviews in an informal manner that is conducive to getting at not only what the interviewee thinks, but also his or her unconscious feelings about the phenomenon under investigation (Douglas, 1976).

Finally and most relevant to a study of community archetypes, the researcher's knowledge of the community facilitates amplification, a method devised by Carl Jung to interpret symbols psychologically. Briefly, amplification involves taking a mental inventory of those symbols in a community which are analogous. Once these motifs are inventoried, the researcher reflects on them and intuitively interprets those that are analogous to determine if there is any connection of the images to psychic experiences which

are livable in the present. Different motifs with the same basic theme are an indication of a pattern of distinctive meaning . . . an archetype at work in the community (Von Franz, 1975).

The Issue of Credibility

The participant observer approach has both weaknesses as well as strengths, particularly when one is as close to the issue under study as is the researcher. While there are numerous advantages, as was enumerated earlier, to being personally involved in the issue, there is the ever present danger that one's personal involvement will lead to the introduction of bias and distortion. The researcher has, therefore, had to include in the research design processes aimed at insuring the credibility of the study.

As a first step to insuring a credible analysis of the issue under study, the researcher identified through introspection those personal opinions or bias that could affect data collection, analysis and interpretation. The process by which this was done is what the phenomenologists call epoche. Louis Katz defines epoche as a "process that the researcher engages in to remove, or at least become aware of prejudices, viewpoints or assumptions regarding the phenomenon under investigation." Essentially, epoche requires that looking precedes judgment. The suspension of judgment is critical for the participant observer. It requires the set-

ting aside of the researcher's personal viewpoint in order to see the experience for itself (Katz, 1987).

A second process used by the researcher to insure not only the credibility, but also the validity of the study was triangulation. This process involves the use of different data-collection techniques to study the same phenomenon. The process of triangulation is particularly useful in that part of the study where the researcher seeks to establish the existence of a dominant Jungian archetype in the model community and to demonstrate how knowledge of such an archetype can be used to foster regionalism. Among the multi-methods used by the researcher for the purposes of triangulation are observations, interviews and document analysis. By using such a combination of methods to validate and cross-check findings, the researcher hopes to foster the study's credibility.

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