

**“Orange you glad you live in Redlands”:
An analysis of civic community and social capital
in the jewel of the Inland Empire**



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Foreword and Introduction

Civic community is vital to economic performance and the performance of democratic institutions (Putnam 1994). As Putnam convincingly shows through his comparative study of Italy, regions with dense networks of associations and organizations and higher levels of individual engagement consistently produce stronger growth and yield governments that are more responsive to their citizens. The connection between civicness and these outcomes, Putnam argues, is social capital, a resource accumulated through participation in communal life and its networks that can be drawn upon to achieve collective goals.

But social capital is on the decline, raising important questions about the future of quality of democratic rule and perhaps economic growth (Putnam 1995). Even in the United States, which distinguished itself from early democratic states in Europe based on its high levels of civic engagement, levels of participation in the organizations and associations that produce social capital have declined dramatically since their peak in the 1960s. The rise of television and other media and increased skepticism of political institutions have led many Americans to pull back from longstanding groups like fraternal organizations, religious groups, and community associations. Americans are “bowling alone,” less tied to their communities and even their neighbors. While some organizations (like The Nature Conservancy or the American Association for Retired People) have grown in membership during this period of overall decline, groups showing increased participation tend to emphasize charitable donations over active participation – resulting perhaps in effective interest advocacy but not the creation of the reservoirs of social capital that made American democracy exceptional in the past.

The City of Redlands may still be exceptional. In May Term 2014, students in Political Geography performed a community-based research project coordinated by Professor Steve Wuhs of the Government Department. Their goal was to assess and explain the character of civic community in south Redlands; preliminary impressions suggested that Redlands defied current trends toward civic *disengagement*, but it was unclear why that might be. Through interviews with Redlands citizens, representatives of civic and religious groups, fieldwork in the community, and visits to pillars of the community, the

class learned about local civicness from the perspective of those engaged citizens: how they understood community history and its values, what the character of civic life was in Redlands, why individuals in Redlands joined organizations and became “citizens,” and how representations of common history bound members of the community together.¹

This report represents the cumulative learning of Political Geography. We hope that it serves not only as a record of one class’s collective learning, but also as a resource to members of the Redlands community, so that they understand themselves in a new way. The final section of the report pools the findings of the individual segments of this paper to draw some final inferences about what makes civic community work in the jewel of the Inland Empire.

The class would like to acknowledge the willingness of members of the Redlands community and the University of Redlands administration to participate in and support this project. Our community contacts and the time and energy they gave to this project were truly indispensable, and we are tremendously grateful to them all for their stories, their histories, and the introduction to the Redlands community they provided.

The Importance of Community History in Redlands

It is often said that history is what binds people together. This has arguably been the case for the United States as a whole, but what about its cities? As historical buildings go down and malls sprout up in cities across America, it seems as though the history of these cities is being forgotten. However, there are several cities that have chosen not to forget. Redlands is one of those cities. In each interview we conducted, there were constant references to the city’s past and during each field trip we took there was always a historical or preserved building to be seen. The community narrative is constant, with some exceptions, and constantly influences what people in Redlands do today. As a community, Redlands has chosen to not only care about the future, but the past as well, and this decision has molded what people do and say in the community to this very day.

In his article “A City’s Turning Points” in *The Atlantic*, James Fallows talks about critical points that have made Redlands into what it is today. We wanted to apply this model to every narrative that we heard regarding Redlands’ history, not just the common

community narrative. Critical points in historical terms are certain points in time that have a profound effect on a community as a whole and sets that community on a path that has similar goals to the critical point. (Fallows, “A City’s Turning Points”, The Atlantic) However, because Redlands has such a large amount of history that is chock full of critical points, we have decided to narrow them down and include only the ones that we felt were most relevant to the city and different narratives.

The first critical point happened in two stages and both concern Redlands’ sources of water. When Redlands was not yet a colony, Native Americans and missionaries inhabited the area and used it as a trading route. These missionaries built an outpost called Mission Gables, but in order for both the missionaries and Native Americans to survive, a water source had to be established. For this reason, the Zanja water ditch was built in 1819, using only the power of gravity to bring water down from the mountains. (Lexi, Field Trips, A.K. Smiley Public Library) The second part of this critical point has to do with Redlands’ early beginnings as a colony. During the late 1800s, there was a boom in the amount of colonies in California, but many disappeared because they had no water source. When Edward Judson and Frank Brown founded Redlands in 1881 as a colony, the need to secure a water source was critical. So Brown claimed the water in Bear Valley for Redlands and built a dam in order to collect the water. (Lexi, Field Trips, A.K. Smiley Public Library) This would be critical to the survival of Redlands for years to come. These two stages make up a critical point in Redlands history that were consistent throughout many of our interviews and seem to still be ingrained in the population today.

The second critical point in history also happened over a period of time, and concerns the Smiley brothers, the Kimberly’s, and other families that moved to Redlands in its early days from other parts of the U.S., predominantly from the East Coast. Each interview we conducted would always contain some mention of a family or individual that had come to Redlands from elsewhere and how they impacted the community. From the moment the Smiley brothers officially became a part of Redlands in 1890 upon permanently settling in the city, they started something that Dr. Nathan Gonzales told us about on our trip to the A.K. Smiley Public Library. “Chain migration occurred, and there was the greatest

amount of millionaires per capita in that time.” (Emily, Field Trips, A.K. Smiley Public Library) The term chain migration means that an individual or family moves to certain place and tells their friends about it, and then their friends move there as well. This process repeats over and over again, much like a chain. The Smiley brothers were not the only catalyst to this chain migration, but they did help it along. If this chain migration had not occurred, would Grace Stewart Mullen have founded the Redlands Bowl Summer Music Festival in 1928? Would Helen Cheney Kimberly have ever created the Kimberly Juniors in 1916? Most importantly, would people in Redlands remember their history so vividly? These individuals and families seem to have set a bar for community service and philanthropy that every citizen in Redlands strives to reach for, and it was evident in each interview we conducted.

Now, much like eyewitness accounts of a certain incident such as a car accident, there are different narratives to how Redlands’ history is told, and thus different critical points. There seemed to be some critical points in Redlands’ history that were more important than others to certain communities within Redlands. For example, when we interviewed Rose Palmer, former president of the Redlands Area Interfaith Council, and asked her about Redlands history, she focused more on the religious beginnings of the city. She mentioned how Mormon settlers had settled in the Redlands area in the year 1851 until the Utah War came about and many Mormons went back to Utah. Rose also brought up another critical point that explains the amount of churches in town. “Judson and Brown, the town’s founders gave land to churches and gave them a year to build a church, and because of this, everyone in town belonged to a church.” (Anju, Class Guests, Interfaith Council) These two pieces of history did not come up in any other interview we conducted with the same amount of emphasis, thus giving a unique narrative to the foundation of Redlands. However, there was one other narrative that included a different view of Redlands’ history, and Dr. Larry Burgess tells that narrative. With a different narrative comes different critical points, and in Burgess’ narrative focuses on the issue of race in Redlands’ history. On our tour of the business district near State Street and Orange Street, Burgess pointed out an area that used to be Chinatown. He went on to tell us that both the Chinese and Japanese population was pushed out of Redlands out of fear that they were going to take jobs away from the mainly Caucasian population. (Emily,

Business District, Larry Burgess) This critical point produced a larger Caucasian population that still exists today. This was the first mention of racial tension in any of our interviews and this critical point showed a completely different side to the city. These two different narratives pushed critical points in Redlands' history that completely differed from the commonly-accepted community narrative, and yet the three narratives as a whole produce a comprehensive picture to how Redlands came to be.

As a class we knew Redlands' community histories were relevant in the present day but discovered these histories served a larger role. They are essentially used as a lens through which the speakers and parts of the community view their identity, values and goals for the future. These community histories are not a comprehensive history of the city of Redlands but provide information to certain groups of the population. The common narrative serves nearly the entire community and the religious alternative narrative and Dr. Larry Burgess' narrative provides people who want to hear about what was not mentioned in the common narrative.

There are many important reasons to study these narratives. The first reason is they represent landscape ideals. The well-known political geographer John A. Agnew wrote that landscape ideals are not limited to the physical landscape in an effort for countries to define national identity. Common stories that are repeated also shape national origins and these stories commemorate successes and struggles that seek to tell of how the nation came to be as well as reinforce a common narrative of the past (Agnew 36). Redlands has both physical and narrative influences on its community identity and history. The narratives often took the form of factoids that many speakers and interviewees repeated. An example of a physical feature to describe Redlands' landscape ideal is its possession of water. Many speakers noted the importance of Frank Brown in building a dam in Big Bear to provide water to Redlands (Anju, Field Trips, A.K. Smiley Public Library; Andrea, Guest Speakers, Interfaith Council). This system is still used today. Many speakers repeated this factoid with pride, in addition to the fact that Redland has more water rights than its surrounding communities. Water is a physical feature that helped the town prosper but the description of its history reinforces Redlands' early destiny to succeed. One of the most common repeated factoids was strictly community history

focused and stated that Alfred Smiley borrowed money to build a structure for a public library (Lauren V., Class Guests, Gabriela Singh and Shelly Stockton; Lexi, Fieldtrip, A.K. Smiley Public Library). This factoid was used by speakers and guests to describe and reinforce Redlands' heritage and history of philanthropy. Both of these examples are part of the common community narrative. Although the commonly-accepted community narrative is described here by Agnew's ideas more than the two alternative narratives, all of the narratives join together different viewpoints that attempt to unify people around the values and incidents stated in the narratives.

Another reason to study Redlands' community histories is the search for reasons why the town prospered. One major example is the value of its homogeneous acceptance of landscape ideals. Agnew explains how communities with political homogeneity are also characterized by politics and people that revolve around and have a focus on the local community. These communities have also been described as very resistant to change from their unique and isolated cultures (Agnew 113). Although Redlands has many community narratives, they seem to compliment each other. They each have different foci and critical points and together present a broader picture of what the community is. In addition the presenters of the two alternative narratives did not discard or not mention the common narrative. Both Palmer and Burgess agreed with statements in the commonly-accepted narrative, especially the influence of wealthy residents (Lauren S., Business District, Larry Burgess). Although we did not discuss political view of people too deeply in this class, Redlands is overall homogeneous in its community history and values. The city follows Agnew's model of being focused on its community. The city also tends to isolate itself from surrounding communities, as Zach Tucker said at Redlands Community Hospital with regard to providing health care services (Bradley, Field Trips, Redlands Community Hospital).

An additional reason to study Redlands' community histories is because of the idea that local history builds better citizens. During our tour of the Heritage Room, the archival branch of the A.K. Smiley Public Library, Nathan Gonzales repeated a point he made in a film commemorating the 125th anniversary of the city of Redlands. In both cases Gonzales said the goal of the library, especially the Heritage Room, is to allow people to

understand local history and know they are a part of it. He claimed Redlanders are close to the history of their city and this serves to connect people to their community and to themselves. Gonzales stated a result of people's connection to local history is creating good citizens in Redlands (Emily, Field Trips, A.K. Smiley Public Library; Redlands: A Celebration of 125 Years 1888-2013). This interpretation of understanding Redlands' community history is directly related to pride in being a Redlands citizen and keeping the understanding of its history available for everyone, including those of future generations. Having a sense of place is a large part of this process. When the Redlands Area Interfaith Council visited class, Rose Palmer mentioned how Redlands fourth graders who take a tour of the city's landmarks feel they "have a buy-in" to the community and want to be a part of it (Bradley, Guest Speakers, Interfaith Council). Thus, understanding Redlands' community history is perceived as a process that forms connections to the community, which instills a sense of place and makes better citizens.

A final reason to study the narratives is because they are currently relevant to Redlands residents' understanding of their community's history. As previously stated, most people in Redlands seem to identify with the common narrative. Both the presence of water and wealthy residents who came through chain migration were essential points in the narrative and have caused the community to become a nationally recognized city with many wealthy residents and high levels of philanthropy. These critical points affect people's perception of Redlands' history in a couple ways. One is how the history is presented. As previously stated, many factoids of Redlands' past were observed in our interviews and all of them were from the common community narrative. Many of the people we talked to knew their history largely in the form of common factoids that can be easily dispensed. The common community narrative of Redlands' history is also relevant today in revering of the founders and early settlers, especially the wealthy and philanthropic settlers, and their civic vision. The early settlers, some who moved here permanently after years of being residents only during the winter months, had a vision of how to provide for and preserve a community. They inspired and passed the torch to future generations, including the present day. Whether the example is Judson and Brown founding a colony and providing a reliable water source or Alfred Smiley epitomizing the ultimate dedication to his community by borrowing money at two different occasions to

construct the public library, these examples have inspired people to constantly strive to reach these levels of commitment. Although people probably will not reach these levels, especially with regard to the borrowing example, that does not seem to be the goal. The bar set in the past seems to have been placed so high in the conscience of Redlanders that no one can reach it. The real goal seems to be being dedicated to the community and use people like Smiley as a motivation, inspiration and reason to continue making Redlands better than they left it. The civic visions of early founders and philanthropists seem to be sanctified in Redlands and continually pursued today. The importance of vision is so profound in Redlands that the phrase “Without Vision A People Perish” is etched on the Procellis of the Redlands Bowl.

One of the main reasons we included the alternative narratives was to offer incidents in Redlands’ history not mentioned in the common community narrative. One alternative narrative is the religious narrative presented by Rose Palmer. The major reason this narrative is relevant to our current understanding of Redlands’ history is the highlighting the presence of religion at the founding of the community. Palmer also noted Judson and Brown’s religious qualities in their insistence that churches be present. In an age when some consider religious liberties to be threatened, this alternative narrative provides a glimpse of hope for some members of the religious community that a city was built on a religious foundation. This viewpoint provides an alternative narrative with earlier critical points regarding the community’s founding that took the focus away from settlers who were not described in terms of denominational membership like wealthy settlers like the Smiley brothers and the Kimberly’s. The other alternative narrative is Dr. Burgess’ narrative, which provided many stories about the city that are not included in the common community narrative. One of the most notable incidents of this kind was the removal of Chinese and Japanese populations in Redlands. This critical point has create the current demographic situation as we know it today. This narrative is relevant today because in a town with a population that is mainly Caucasian, racial tensions and minorities that lived in Redlands in the past may not be well known to many people today, which could hurt future diversity.

Over the course of identifying different critical points and perspectives in the common community history and its two alternative narratives, we have a more comprehensive view of Redlands' history. While the community histories individually they are not incorrect, they do have selective foci that pertain to the values of each. The common narrative seeks to promote pride in Redlands, the religious narrative seeks to promote religion in the community's origins, and Dr. Burgess' narrative provides relatively unknown information about the community's past, including racial tension. All of these are full of critical points that set the community of Redlands on a path that leads to the present day. Although there are most likely more than the three narratives, the fact that there are any narratives at all shows that Redlands has refused to quit on its history because of how history has molded Redlands into the city it is today.

Community Geography in Redlands

This section, made possible through using ESRI software and with the assistance of Steve Moore, Director of the Center for Spatial Studies at the University of Redlands, has enabled us to look at the demographics of Redlands through several different factors. These maps have enabled us to see the differences between North and South Redlands. We have been able to better understand who and what is embodied in this town that can then help us explain its strong sense of civic community.

Redlands, CA and the Inland Empire

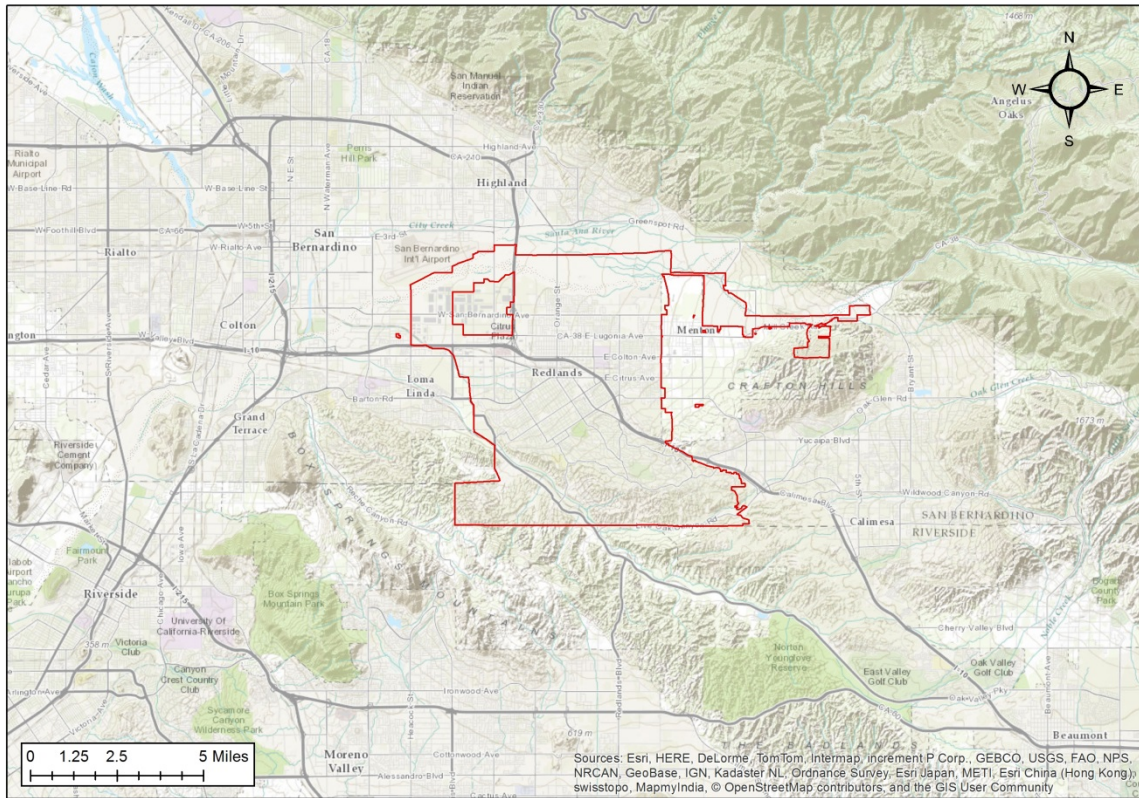


Figure 1. **Redlands, CA and the Inland Empire.** This map is showing the city of Redlands and its surrounding communities.

Redlands, CA

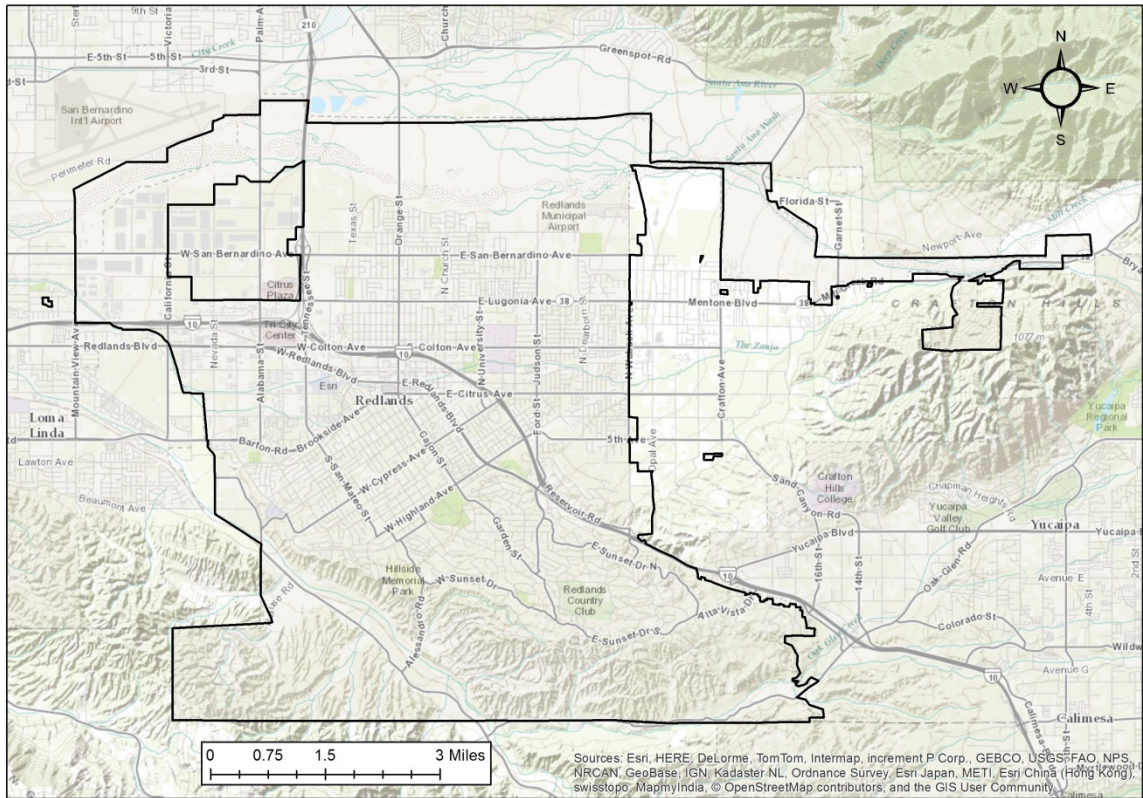


Figure 2. **Redlands, CA.** This map is demonstrating the area of Redlands and its boundaries.

Total Population in Redlands by Block Group (2013)

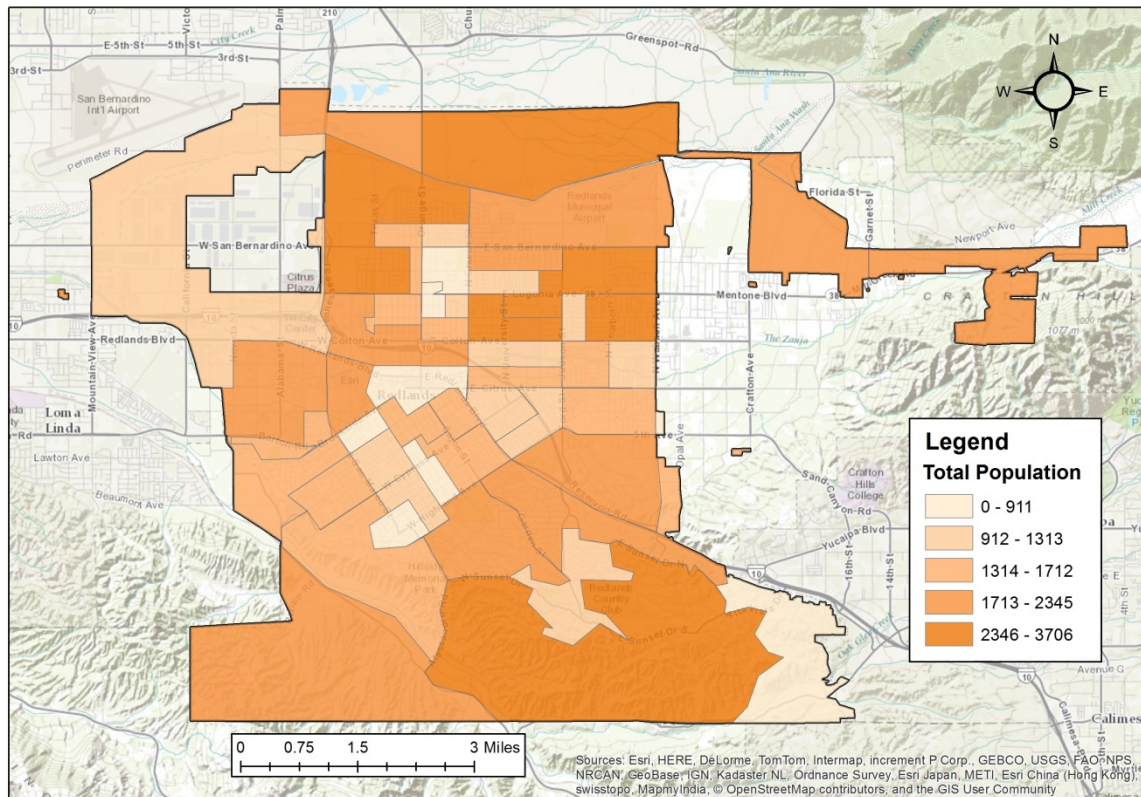


Figure 3. **Total Population in Redlands by Block Group (2013)**. By looking at this map we are able to conclude that South Redlands has one densely populated block group whereas North Redlands has several dense block groups. This map also allows us to understand how the residents of Redlands are distributed.

Median Age in Redlands (2013)

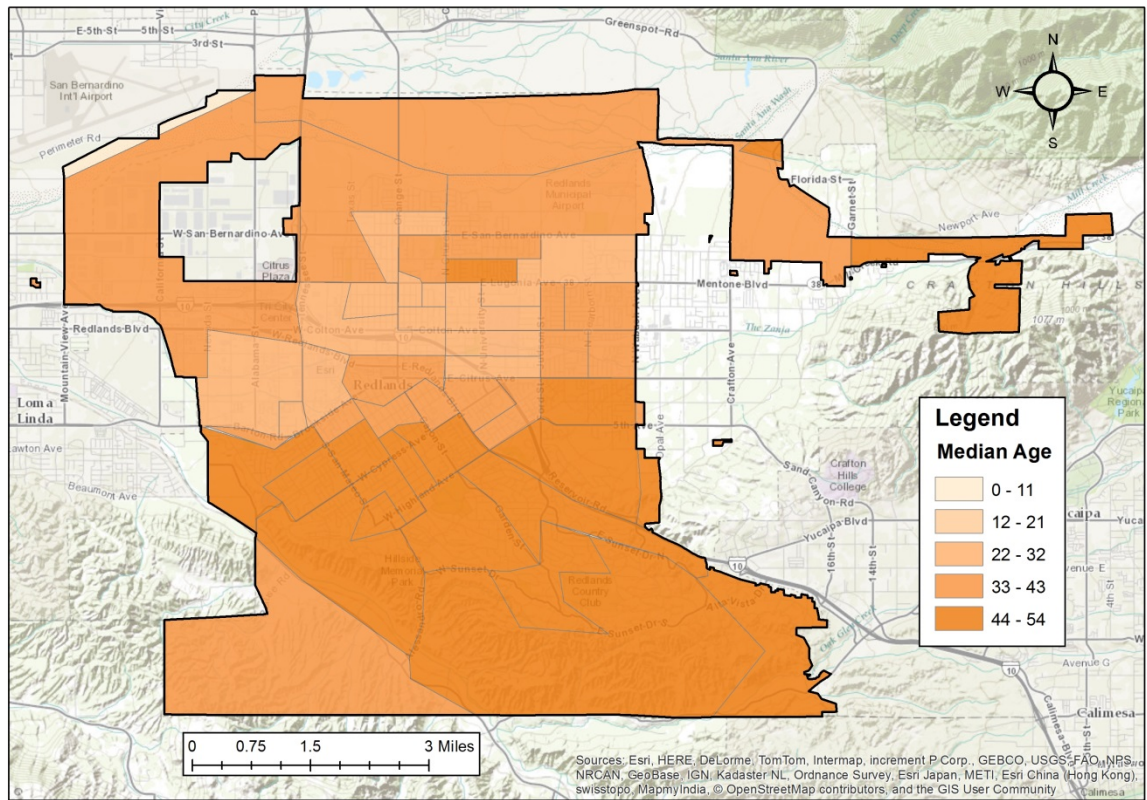


Figure 4. **Median Age in Redlands (2013).** The median age is significantly higher in Southern Redlands. This may contribute to a higher level of civicness in the area due to a higher number of people who grew up in the time where civic communities were common.

Average Household Income in Redlands (2013)

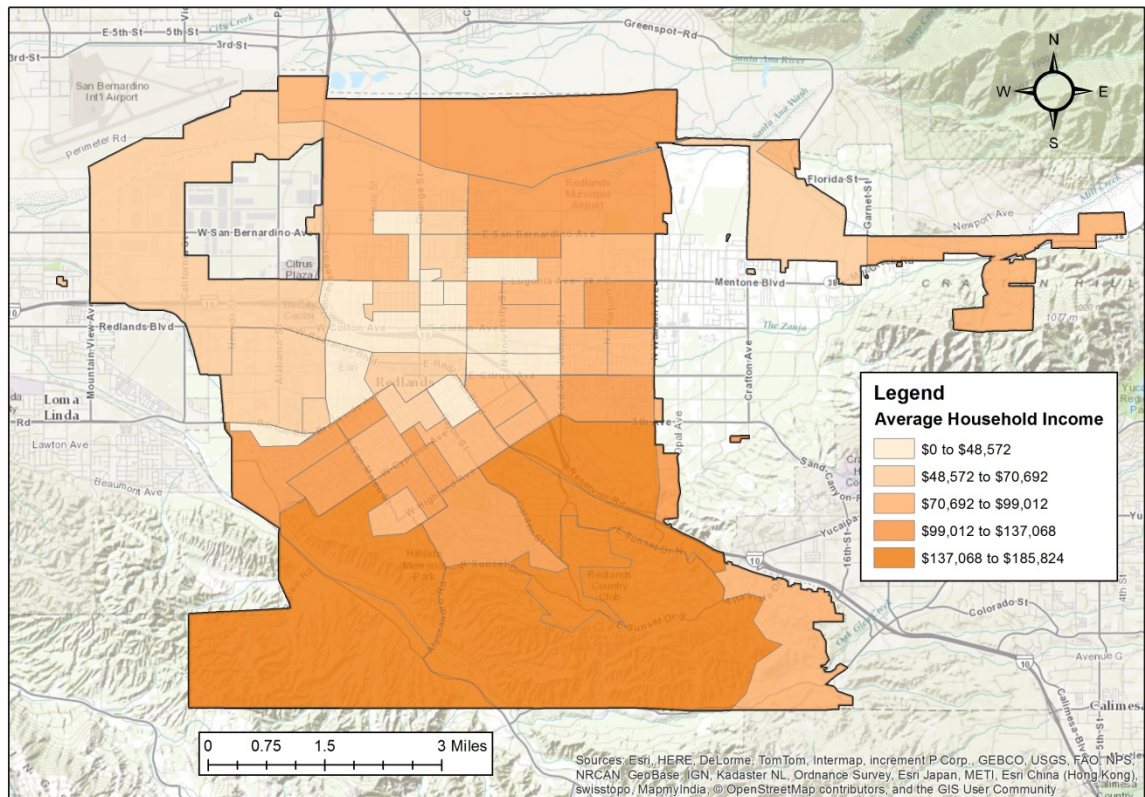


Figure 5. **Average Household Income in Redlands (2013).** This map shows us that Southern Redlands has many more residents who have higher incomes when compared to Northern Redlands. This may suggest a factor that helps maintain civic community in Southern Redlands.

% of White Householders in Redlands (2013)

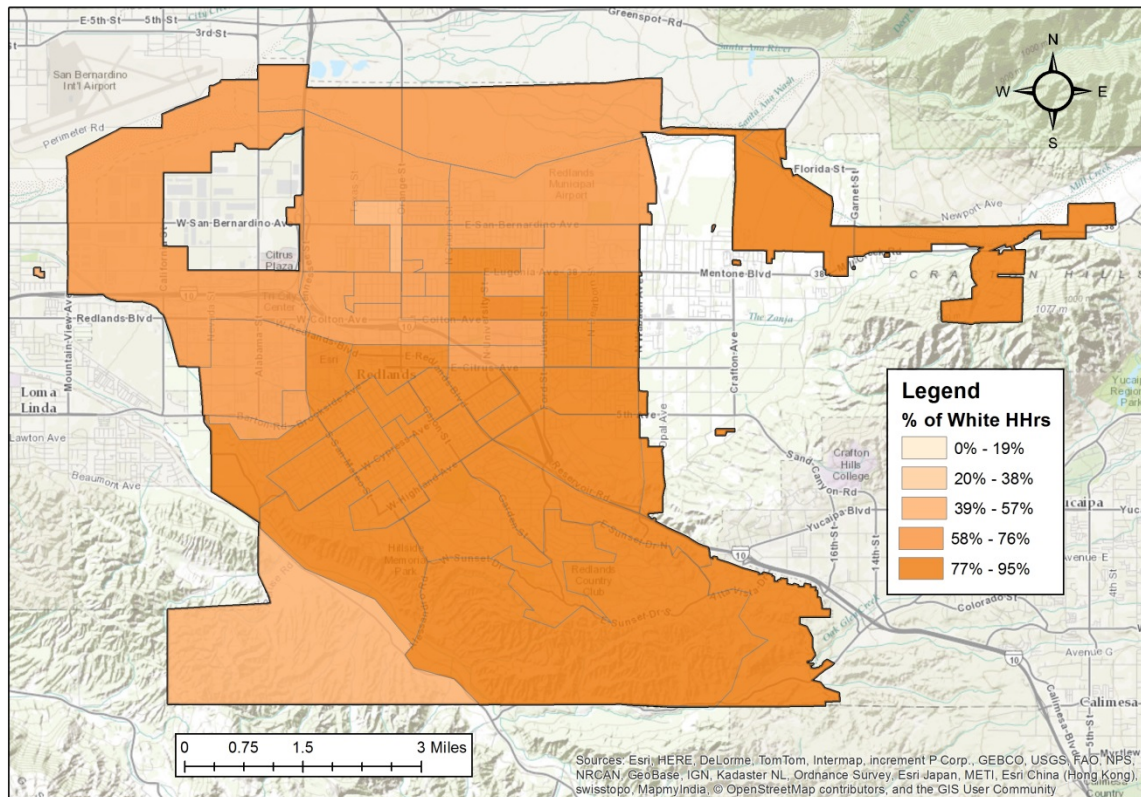
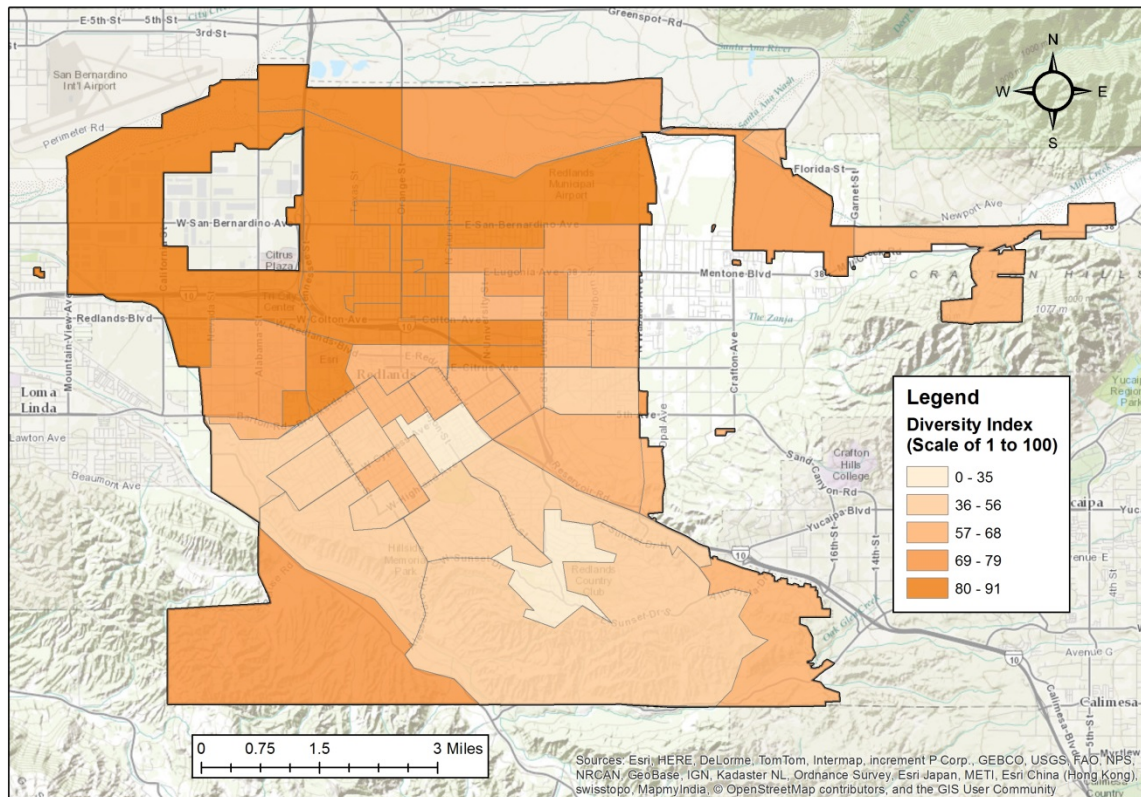


Figure 6. **Percentage of White Householders in Redlands (2013).** Redlands has a high percentage of white householders that shows that the diversity isn't very high. This can help and hurt Redlands in many ways.

Diversity Index in Redlands (2013)



*Note: The Diversity Index represents the chance that two randomly-selected residents of the same area will have different racial backgrounds. As such, areas with higher DI figures will be more diverse, and areas with lower figures will be less so.

Figure 7. **Diversity Index In Redlands (2013).** The diversity index is higher in Northern Redlands and lower in Southern Redlands. This is not a direct correlation to civicness in the city but is a possible factor because of a similar ethnicity interacting well with each other.

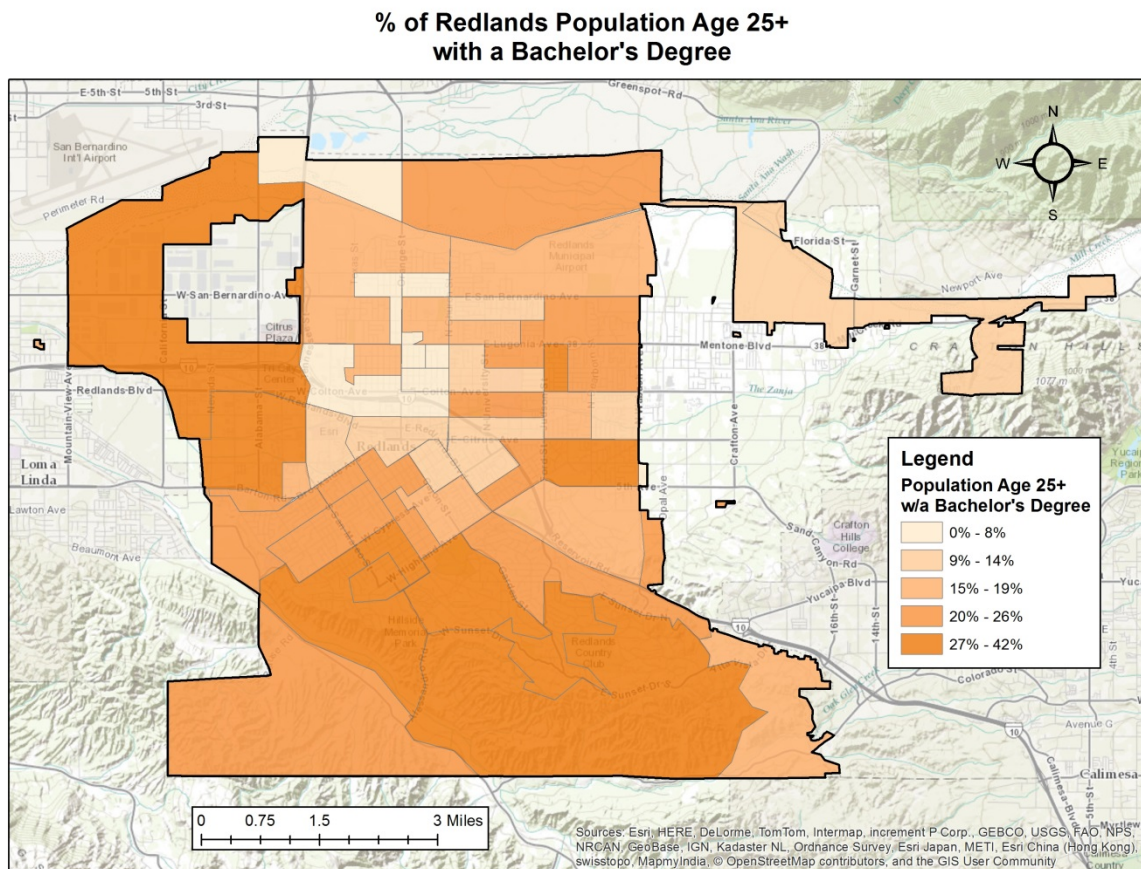


Figure 8. **Percentage of Redlands Population Age 25+ with a Bachelor's Degree.** The total percentage of the population age over 25 with a bachelors degree is generally higher in Southern Redlands. This data may help explain that people with higher education are more likely to participate in a civic community or more simply enhance civiness.

Mapping Civicness in Redlands

This section provides a more in-depth analysis of Southern Redlands consisting of more ESRI Community Analyst data as well as the data we collected when roaming around the town. Much of this data has been able to provide us with a better idea of what enhances civic behavior as well as what the political geography of Southern Redlands consists of.

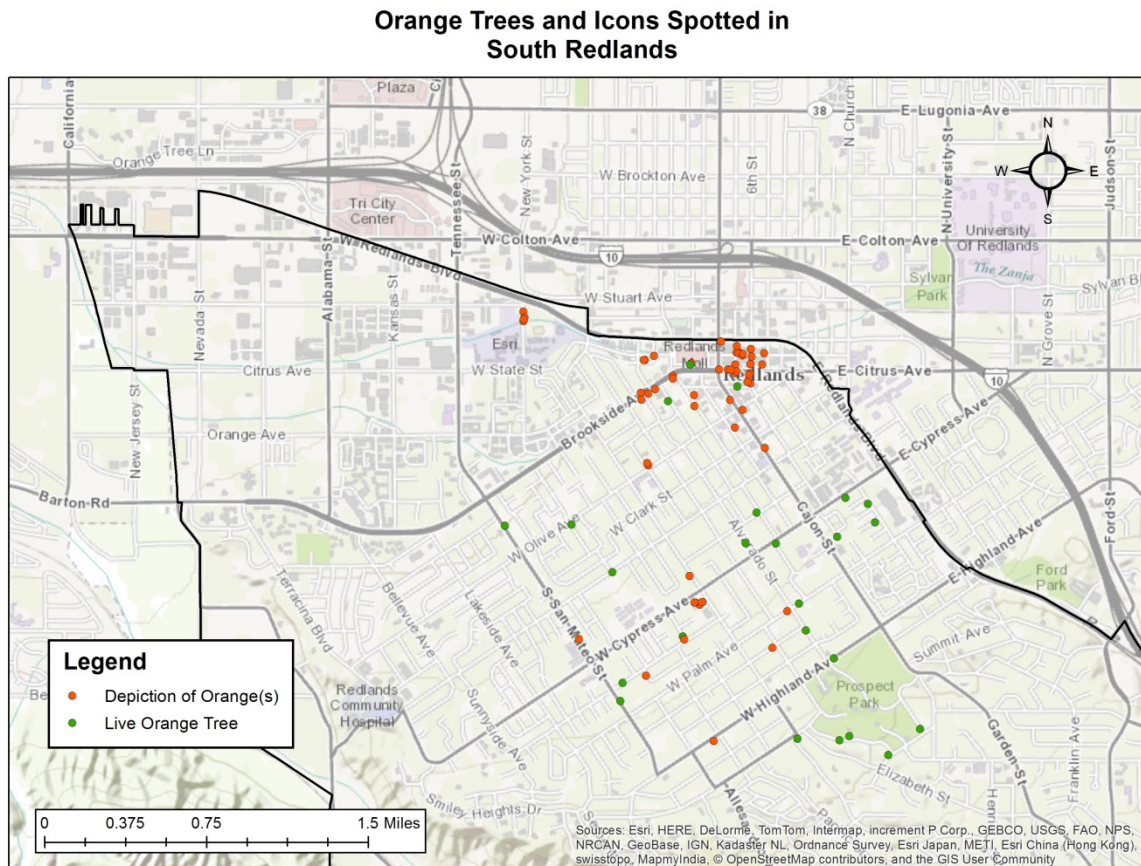


Figure 9. **Orange Trees and Icons Spotted in South Redlands.** This map contains pinpoints of our data that either represent orange trees or symbols of the orange in Redlands.

% of South Redlands Population that Participated in Any Public Activity in the Last 12 Months (2013)

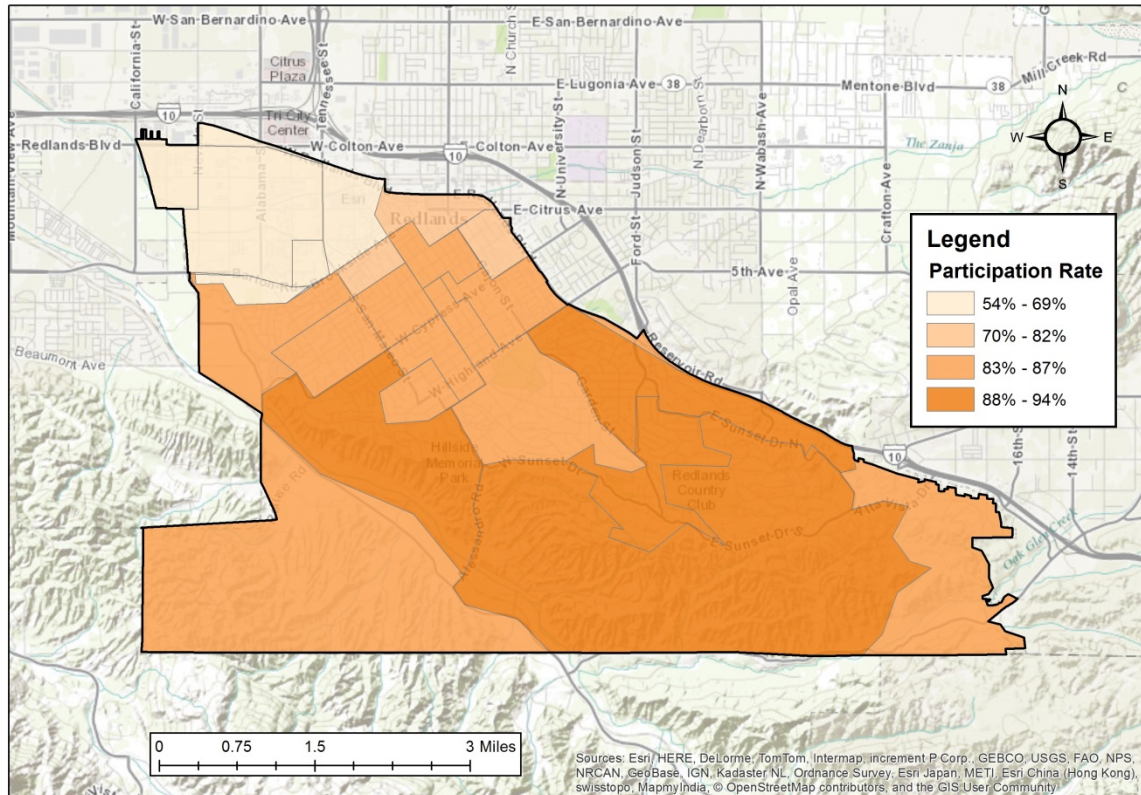
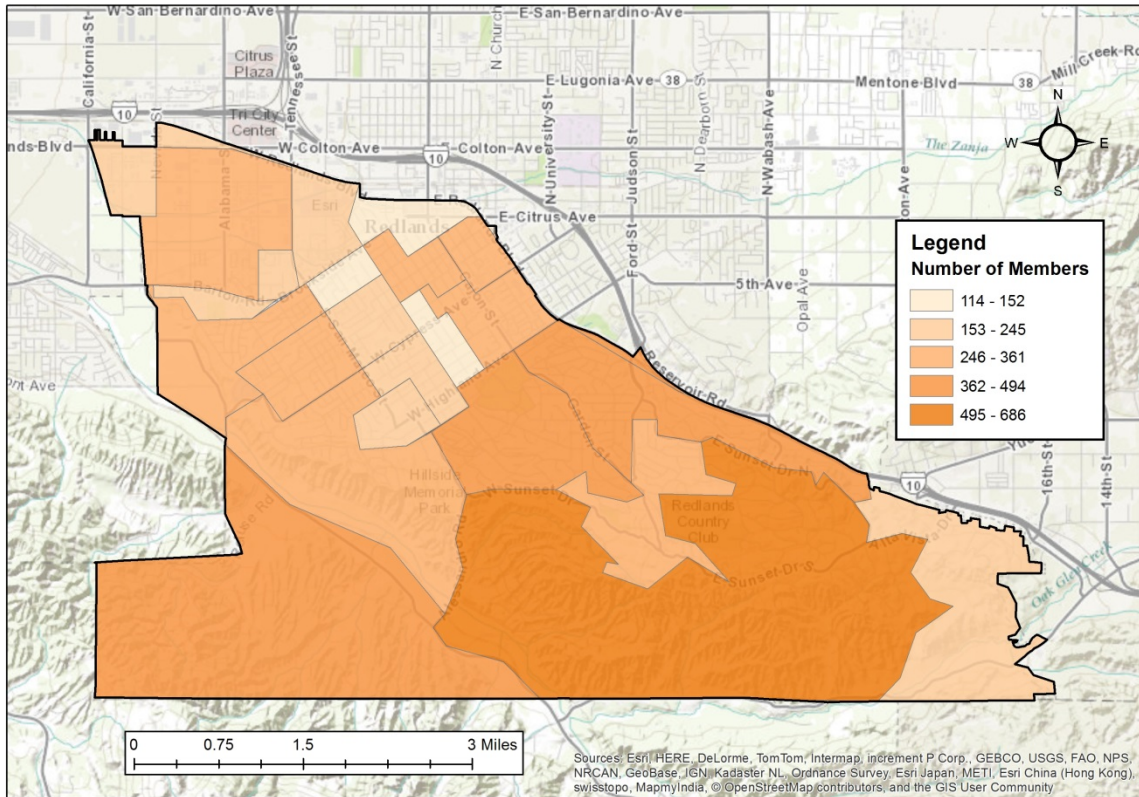


Figure 10. **Percentage of South Redlands Population that Participated in Any Public Activity in the Last 12 Months (2013).** The percentage of the population that has participated in any public activity in the last 12 months is in the higher percentiles in Southern Redlands, with the lowest at about 54%. This is evidence that the community is generally civic in the area.

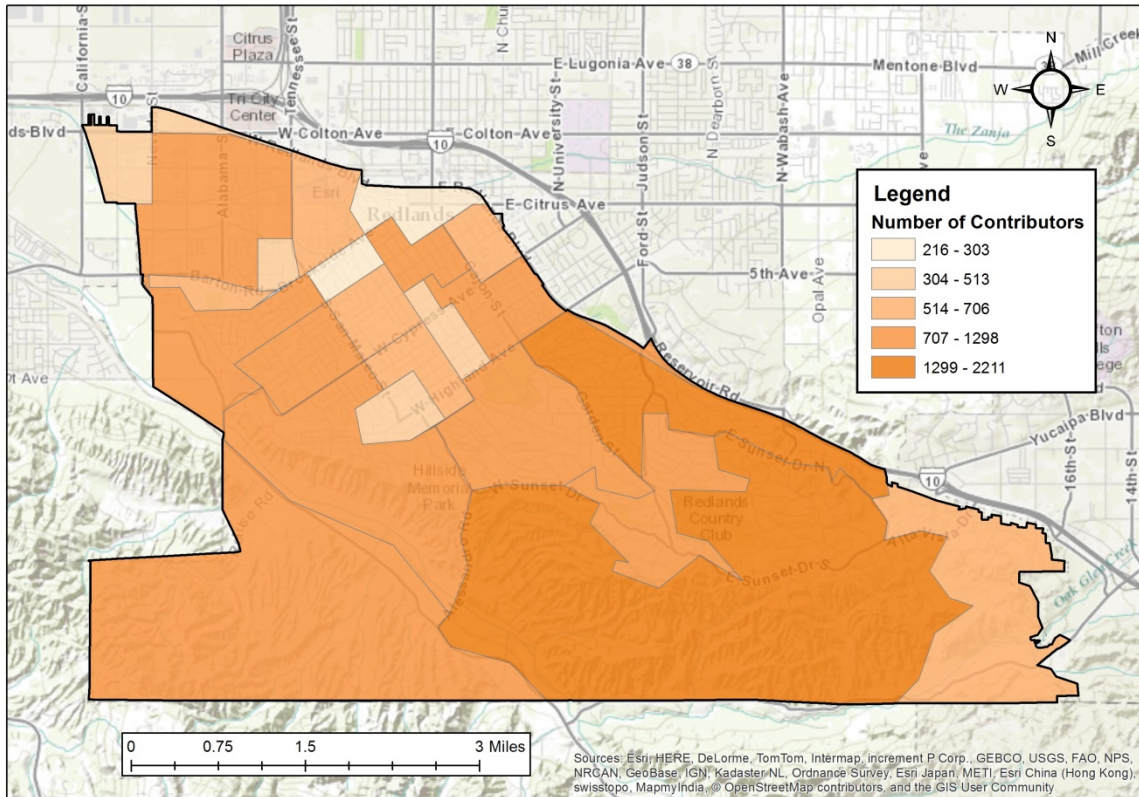
Individuals in South Redlands Involved with a Club or Association



*Note: This survey specifically includes individuals who are members of any of the following types of organizations: Church boards, religious clubs, charitable organizations, veterans clubs, civic clubs, book clubs, and fraternal orders.

Figure 11. **Individuals in South Redlands Involved with a Club or Association.** This map specifically refers to people who are members of any of the following: religious clubs, church boards, charity organizations, book clubs, veterans clubs, civic clubs, and fraternal orders.

**Individuals in South Redlands Who Contributed to
Any Organization in the Last 12 Months**



*Note: This survey specifically accounts for individuals who contributed to any of the following types of organizations: Arts/cultural, educational, religious, political, environmental, health, and social service organizations.

Figure 12. **Individuals in South Redlands Who Contributed to Any Organization in the Last 12 Months.** This map specifically refers to individuals who contributed to any of the following types of organizations: arts/cultural, educational, religious, environmental, political, health, and social service.

**% of South Redlands Population that Engaged
in Fundraising in the Last 12 Months (2013)**

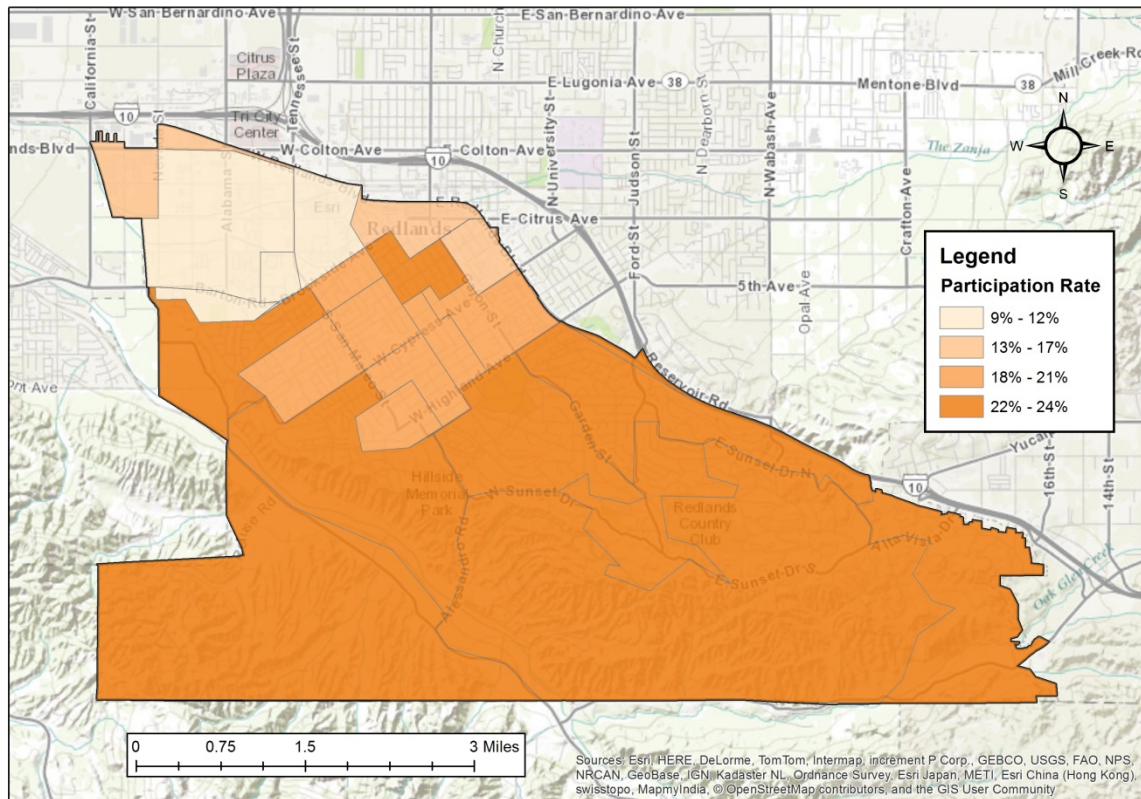


Figure 13. Percentage of South Redlands Population that Engaged in Fundraising in the Last 12 Months (2013). This maps allows us to see that there is a high percentage of people who engage in fundraising. The idea of philanthropy is huge in Redlands and this data can further show its importance in the community.

% of South Redlands Population that Frequently or Regularly Attends Religious Services

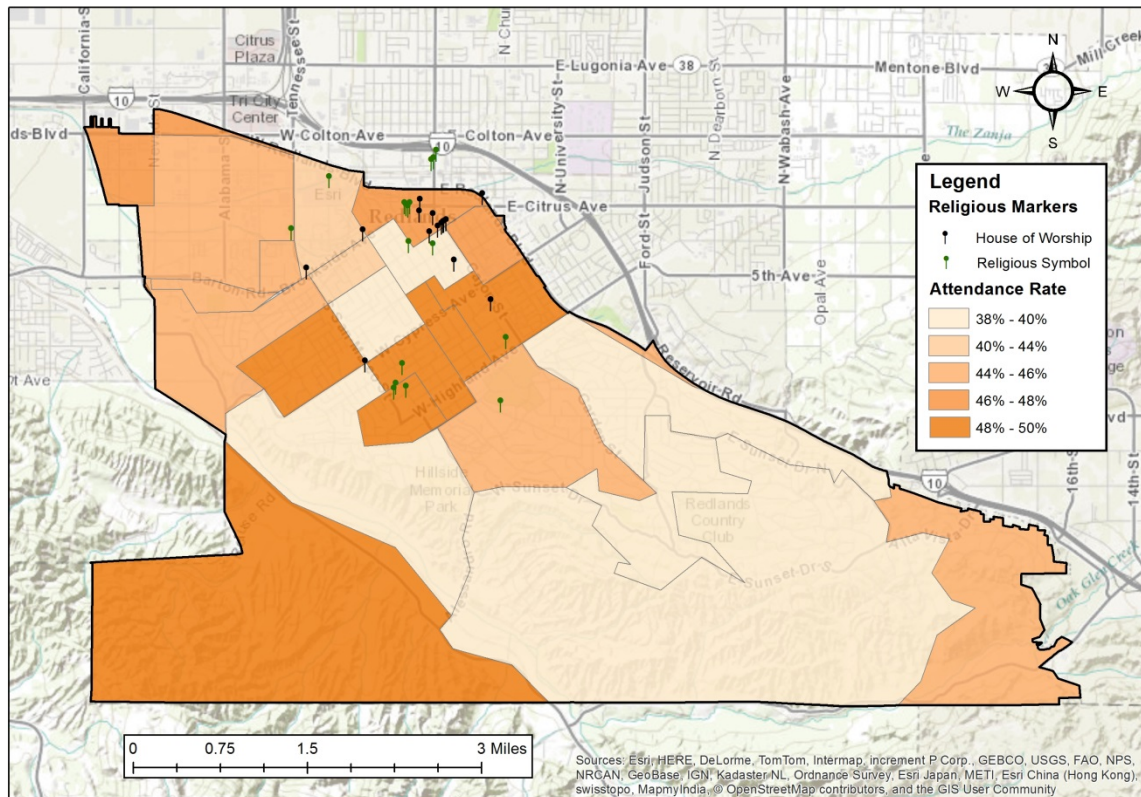


Figure 14. **Percentage of South Redlands Population that Frequently or Regularly Attends Religious Services.** The pinpoints on this map are our data of places of worship as well as religious symbols we saw. Much of both pinpoints are concentrated in upper southern Redlands which may suggest that religion doesn't necessarily need to be represented in civic community but it can definitely enhance its success.

Figures 15 and 16 (below) depict political affiliation and geography in South Redlands. The pinpoints on each map represent each time we saw a campaign sign throughout the town. The red pinpoints are where Republican-affiliated campaign signs are located where as the blue pinpoints serve as Democratic-affiliated campaign signs. The green pinpoints represent nonpartisan campaign signs. Figure 15 contains a red layer which represents the percentage of people affiliated with the Republican party. The same is done in blue for the Democratic party in Figure 16.

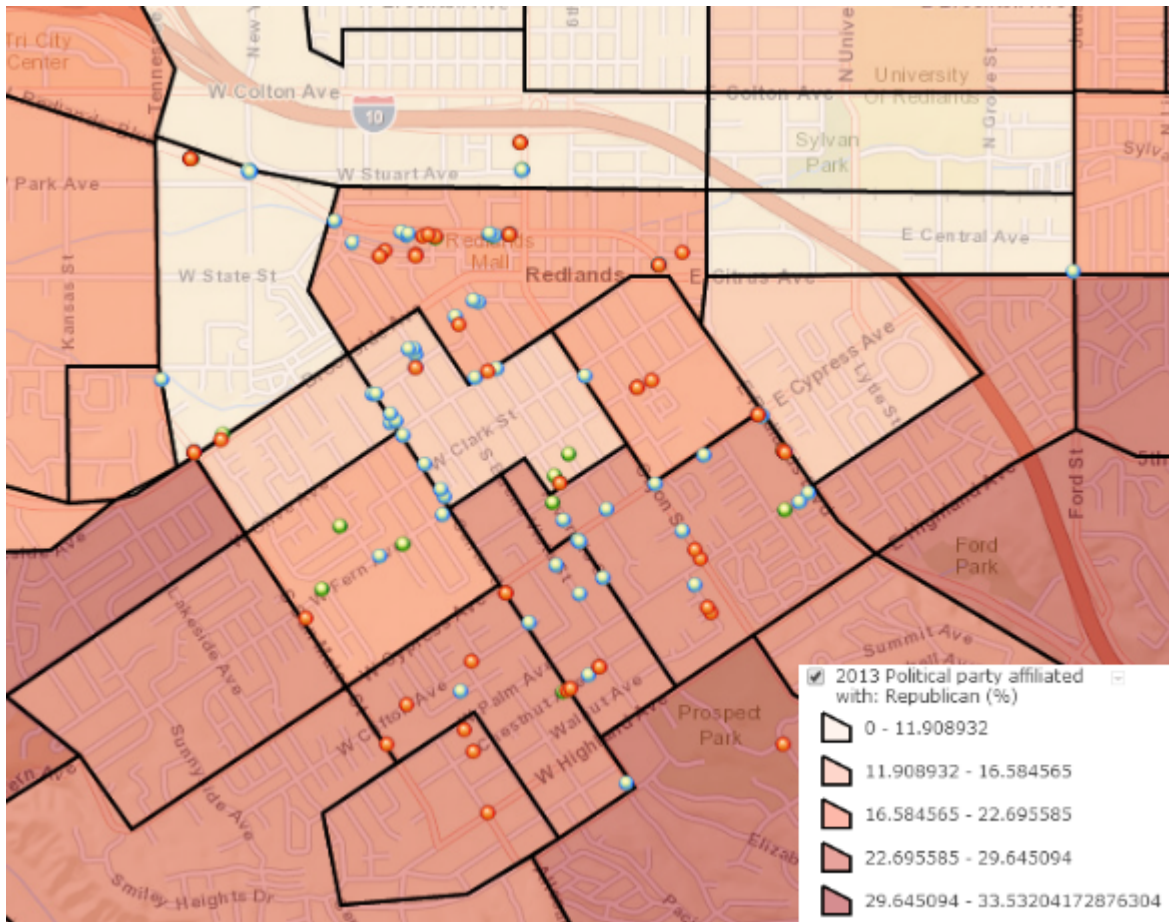


Figure 15. Campaign Signs throughout South Redlands in relation to Republican party affiliation.

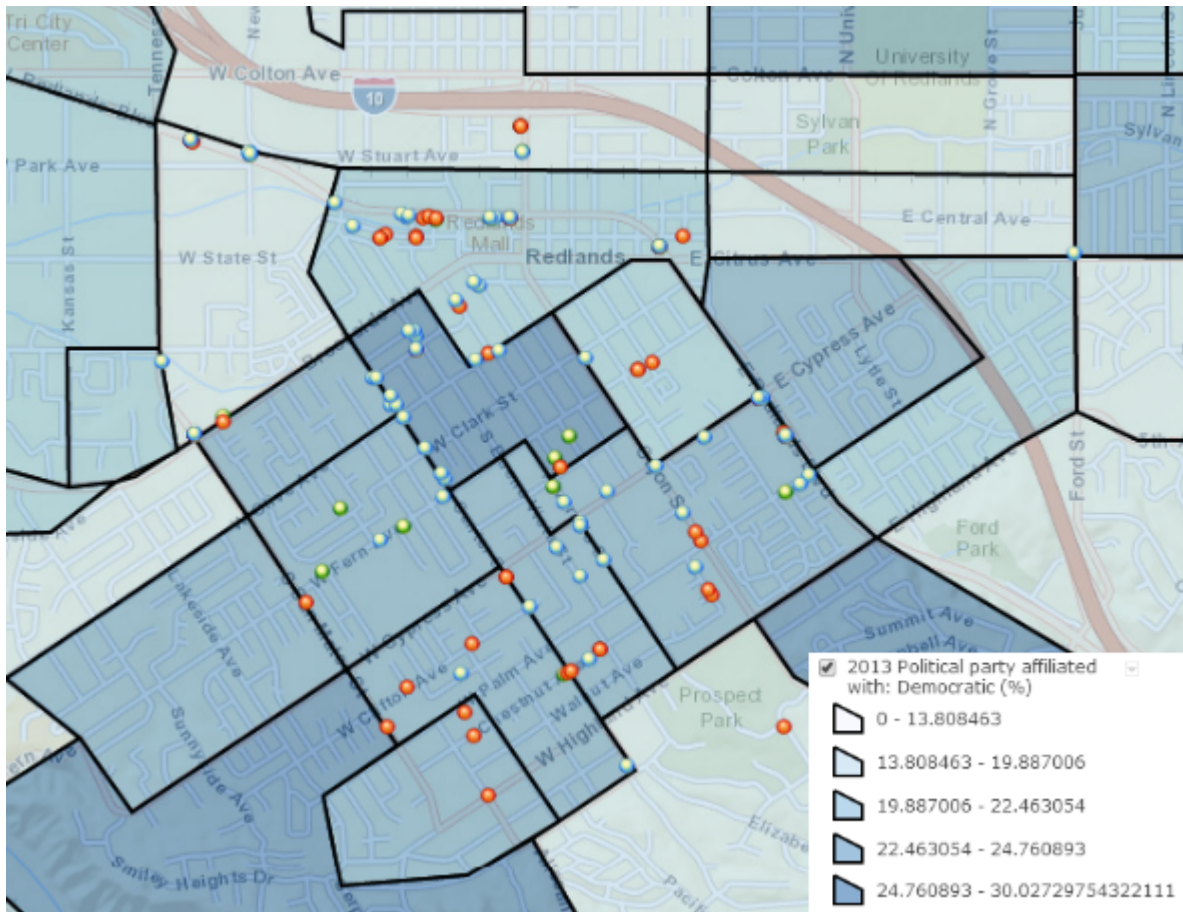


Figure 16. Campaign Signs throughout South Redlands in relation to Democratic party affiliation.

Contemporary Civicness in Redlands: Clubs and Organizations

The role of clubs, organizations, and associations in Redlands is vital to the civic-ness of the city. The active involvement of the citizens of Redlands helps keep this city the unique place that it is. While there are many different ways to become involved in the community, there are common goals of collaboration and bettering the community throughout. Redlands offers many opportunities to become involved in a variety of ways and most of the citizens of the city are able to find an organization that shares their interests. There is a shared passion for the city which is shown through the various organizations that operate within Redlands. When there is a will to be involved in Redlands, the way is easily found through its plethora of clubs and organizations.

Religious Organizations in Redlands. Redlands is home to many churches and organizations that are deeply rooted in the community and its service and philanthropy. One organization that brings the religious community together is the Interfaith Council. Our class had the opportunity to interview five members of the interfaith council from several different faiths. While not every church or faith in Redlands is represented on the council, the goal of the Interfaith Council is to make everyone feel welcome and it is committed to the inclusion of different faiths. We interviewed with Terry, a member of the Holy Name of Jesus Parish, Linda from Trinity Episcopal Church, Gene and Rose who were both from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and Mike who is the current president of the interfaith council and a Baptist. Each has a desire to serve the community and the interfaith council gives each of them the opportunity to serve not only through their church, but collaborate to make a larger difference in the community.

The interfaith council offers a unique opportunity to churches in Redlands because it works to bridge the gap of differences between different faith organizations and to find a common ground. It is important because it creates an opportunity for people of different faiths to put aside their differences and work together to better the community (Mariah, Class Guest, Interfaith Council). The council also offers support to other organizations and causes. Such was the case for Gene, who initially asked the council for support for a project she was involved in that was sending supplies to Afghanistan, which led to her being more involved with the council and eventually joining herself (Anju, Class Guest,

Interfaith Council). The council is a resource to the churches that can aid and support their causes to enrich the community.

The council hosts an event called the Mayor's Prayer Breakfast each year, where the mayor is able to spread a message that does not necessarily have to be a prayer. Rose mentioned that this event is a good place to see the civic involvement of the community because it is not only churches and their members who attend. Mike added that attending this event is good politics and good for business because it is a community event. At the Mayor's Prayer Breakfast, there are prayers from different faiths, and everyone is encouraged to keep an open mind and try not to be offended by others' beliefs, although Mike pointed out that this is not always the case. Children are actively involved in giving prayers at the breakfast because people are often less critical of what they say and they are able to speak more openly about their religious beliefs although they are coached a little bit to ensure that no one will be deeply offended by what they are saying. (Lauren V, Class Guest, Interfaith Council).

The role of religious groups in Redlands is important and a very present one. Each church also has its own organizations that help the community. Linda, from Trinity Episcopal Church, gave some examples of her own church's involvement which include a "Blue Christmas" program for those grieving during the holiday season, cooking for homeless, and doing outreach in the community to support the arts and education. She also mentioned that the Methodist church opens their showers to the homeless every Saturday. (Lauren V, Class Guest, Interfaith Council). Terry spoke about his church's involvement in serving meals every Monday, collecting food to give to Family Services and Mary's Mercy Center, and offering cold weather shelter to the homeless (Emily, Class Guest, Interfaith Council). Religious groups in Redlands operate within themselves and with others to support the community and build strong community ties.

Art Organizations in Redlands. Through our interviews, an appreciation for the arts emerged as an important part of Redlands culture. Many people we spoke to have been or was currently involved in the Associates of the Redlands Bowl, which we learned is a parent organization to The Redlands Community Music Association (RCMA). The RCMA is a non-profit organization responsible for organizing events at the Redlands

Bowl, including its Summer Music Festival, the Redlands Shakespeare Festival, the Easter Sunrise Service, and various high school graduations. The bowl itself is owned by the public and relies heavily on corporate sponsorships, private donations, and grants in order to continue. The Summer Music Festival began in 1924 and is now the longest running, free music festival in the United States operating (Tyler, Fieldtrip, Redlands Bowl). As a provision of its charter, the Redlands Bowl cannot charge for any event held at the Bowl because its founder—Grace Stewart Mullen—wished to share fine arts with the whole community. The RCMA operates out of Mission Gables, which was once a home on the verge of demolition, when the RCMA took over it in order to preserve it. The house is kept up through grants and fundraising and, unlike the bowl, can charge for events that are held there (Anju, Fieldtrip, Redlands Bowl). Mission Gables is owned by the city, but the RCMA is its long-term tenant, and must raise funds for the upkeep of the house. Renovations on Mission Gables began in 2006 and were completed last year in 2013 (Lauren V, Fieldtrip, Redlands Bowl).

The Redlands Bowl is an important part of the community because it is a place for people to come together and enjoy each other's company in the presence of music. Another provision of its charter is that you cannot save seats, which encourages patrons of the bowl to meet new people (Anju, Fieldtrip, Redlands Bowl). The bowl is both non-secular and non-political as it is a place for all to enjoy equally. Each year, there are about 1,000 volunteers that assist in running the events hosted at the bowl. In addition to three full symphonies and one opera, the bowl also began putting on musicals in the 1970's. These musicals are community based and have proven to be a hit. Every performance at the bowl is family friendly, a fact that the bowl prides itself on. The RCMA also works with the youth of Redlands, offering scholarships each year to selected music students. It also hosts a youth music program, which works with underserved children in local schools and Micah House. In addition to serving the youth, the RCMA also provides music programs for seniors through its Arts Education Impact Initiative (Tyler, Fieldtrip, Redlands Bowl).

In addition to learning about the bowl and the RCMA, we also learned about the Associates of the Redlands Bowl. This organization, that many of our interviewees

throughout the course of this month are involved with, fundraises for the RCMA. The Bowl Associates' mission is to raise funds and support the RCMA, and do so every year. This organization is one of the top funders of the various events held at the bowl and works with the RCMA. The Bowl Associates is a women's group and throws events that fundraise for the summer music festival. They also host a scholarship competition for young artists, which offer a monetary prize and an opportunity to audition and compete against other talented young artists and host's children's workshop. The partnership between the Associates of the Redlands Bowl and the RCMA is essential in the functionality of both organizations—one could not exist without the other. Through the participation of those in the community to support the RCMA, it is able to continue legacy of holding the longest running free music festival.

Service Clubs in Redlands. Philanthropy and service have been named the primary reasons for the unique civic community in Redlands. Historically, Redlands was built on philanthropy and that tradition of service carries on today. Throughout multiple interviews with community members of Redlands, service organizations were highly valued and commonly mentioned as many of the citizens' primary involvements. These organizations include: Rotary, Kiwanis, Micah House, Youth Hope, United Way, Redlands Family Services, and the Redlands Service Club Council.

Sunrise Rotary was often mentioned as being a major form of bringing the community together and creating connections among citizens. Janey Cole invited Terri Proctor to Rotary as a way to become initially involved when Terri moved to Redlands. Janey Cole says she agrees with Rotary's statement, "Service above self," and also tends to live by the "Rotary Four-Way Test," which asks "1. Is it the truth?; 2. Is it fair to all concerned?; 3. Will it help build goodwill and better friendships?; and 4. Will it be beneficial to all concerned?" (Lexi, Guest Speakers, Cole) An email from Chris Martin read by Janey Cole says Chris joined Rotary because he was, "looking for a feeling of connectedness," and that it opened the door of service so that he later became a part of YouthHope (Dalton, Guest Speakers, Cole). Rose Palmer, who we interviewed along with others in the Interfaith Council, is also involved in Sunrise Rotary and Zach Tucker, president of the Redlands Community Hospital Foundation, is involved in Rotary International.

Inland Empire United Way is an organization that is “committed to improving the lives and futures of families in need by investing in Education, Health, and Financial Stability.” Janey Cole told our class that she used to sit on the admissions committee at United Way. They pride themselves about the fact that less than 19 percent of the donations went towards the administration and towards running the business, so around 81 percent directly went to the charities that they support. Janie’s job there was to make sure that every dollar that was donated went to the group that would use it the most efficiently and effectively (Kristy, Guest Speakers, Janey Cole). The true purpose of United Way is to serve others.

Some service clubs incorporate involvement from the greater community. Redlands Service Club Council hosts an Annual Service Day that thousands of citizens of Redlands attend. One year, it created Heritage Park. The Kimberly Shirk Association hosts events such as Princess at the Castle and the Annual Christmas Tree lighting that bring members of the community together. Redlands Family Services accepts donations from anyone in the community as well as any volunteers who wish to donate their time and efforts. Nick Fisher, a University of Redlands staff member, recently brought a group of students to Family Services to sort food and volunteer (Emily, Guest Speakers, Palmer). Service clubs are a way of connecting with others involved in this community and to reach out to others in Redlands who may be in need.

Youth Clubs in Redlands. Most of the citizens who our class interviewed were working or retired adults, many of them were asked if and how the youth gets involved in the community. Bev Noerr says she thinks the youth is more involved here than in other communities because there are many opportunities to get involved in the general community (Emily, Fieldtrip, Bev Noerr). She mentioned organizations such as Assisteens, Kimberly Juniors, Sports teams, and Girl and Boy Scouts. The program most unique to Redlands is Kimberly Juniors, which is an organization for high school girls who meet Saturday mornings for a weekly meeting and classes that educate its members in parliamentary procedure, personal development, drama, dancing, public speaking, and other subjects. The purpose of the organization is to “teach the skills needed for young women to function successfully in modern society and gracefully involve themselves in

community lives as good citizens and club women.” Two of our interviewees, Shelli Stockton and Gabrielle Singh were both involved in the Kimberly Juniors during their years in High School. Gabrielle says Kimberly Juniors was “a wonderful opportunity to get to know people in Redlands and meet a lot of alumni from the University of Redlands” (Dalton, Class Guests, Singh and Stockton) Shelli says learning parliamentary procedures has been most useful in her life and career. Assisteens is the Redlands chapter of the Assistance League. According to their website, Assisteens has a vision of “Improving lives in our community one child and one family at a time.” Kimberly Juniors and Boy and Girl Scouts participate in community service projects as well and often participate in the annual service day. Younger citizens make up for much of the Redlands population, and in this city they are encouraged to actively contribute their community.

In addition to the service, arts, and youth organizations Redlands offers additional opportunities to get involved in the community. One of these is called Town and Gown, which creates ties and strengthens the relationship between the citizens of Redlands and one of the largest institutions in Redlands, the University of Redlands. Several of our interviewees including Janey Cole, Terri Proctor, Shelli Stockton, and Bev Noerr are or have been involved with Town and Gown. Bev shared that she believes that the relationship between the University and the city is important, but she and other interviewees alluded to the fact that the University is isolated from the rest of the city and its community. Town and Gown is an important organization in bridging this gap.

Conclusion. Redlands is a place that is always improving. There is a quality instilled in its citizens that creates a sense of obligation to be a part of different organizations that serve and maintain the city as a whole. Many of the people that choose to live in Redlands already know or quickly learn that there is a unique drive in its residents to “be a piece of the puzzle” and maintain a city that was cultivated so carefully. The extraordinary civic involvement of the citizens of Redlands is largely attributed to the vast number of opportunities to serve the community and connect with like-minded individuals.

In other areas of the United States, there has been a recent decline in involvement in religious groups contributes to a decline in civic engagement. There has also been a

decline in various organizations in the past few decades, including Boy Scouts, fraternities, parent-teacher organizations, union memberships, and bowling teams (Putnam, Bowling Alone). These declines are possibly attributed to a variety of reasons, including women going into the workforce and an increase in technology. However, Redlands has set itself apart through its active participation in these kinds of clubs and organizations. There is great tradition passed through generations of becoming club men and women, because to Redlands, this is what has shown to maintain a sense of involvement and place that causes its citizens to contribute to a strong and growing community. While there has been an increase in organizations whose participation is measured through monetary donations throughout the United States, Redlands has been able to balance this with active participation in its clubs and organizations. There are organizations whose missions are to raise funds and seek donations from the community but they also serve the community in various ways. The Associates of the Redlands Bowl is an example of such an organization where its primary purpose is to fundraise but they also have scholarships and programs that serve the greater community. It is participation in these organizations that sets Redlands apart in its civic involvement.

The question remains of how and why Redlands is able to maintain such high social capital through civic involvement. A part of the answer may lie in its variety of organizations and the shared values of the community. Through our interviews and research, Redlands has revealed itself to place high value on the arts, education, philanthropy, volunteerism, as well as its history. It is because of these shared values that the organizations have been able to collaborate with one another, forming partnerships and ties to the community that encourage passionate involvement.

Networks and Leadership: Giving One's Time and Expertise for the Benefit of the Community

A civic community creates opportunities for individuals to demonstrate their desire to give back to their fellow citizens. Many people in Redlands quoted Dr. Larry Burgess in saying that there is a difference between being a citizen of Redlands and being a resident. Furthermore, many citizens brought up the article that Dr. Burgess stated that the foundational pillar of Redlands is volunteerism. During our class, many members of the

Redlands community came to speak with us about themselves, the organizations they were involved with, and the reasons why they wanted to spend time within these organizations. This section of the paper chooses to identify and analyze the relationships between a civic community, its citizens, and board membership.

Board membership is a sign of a civic community. Individuals donate their time and expertise to serve on a board. The individuals that came to our classroom were interviewed about their involvement in the community including which boards they served. These individuals demonstrated that social capital is a “powerful instrument in the achievement of many social goods, including people’s health and happiness [Redlands Community Hospital], levels of economic development [Rotary and Kiwanis], well-functioning schools [PTAs], safe neighborhoods [neighborhood watch groups], and responsive governments.[1] Moobela, Price, Mathur, and Paranagange (2009) argue that there are three types of social capital: bonding, bridging, and linking. The individuals we talked to and the places we visited appear to be examples of the bridging social capital. Bridging social capital relates to the relationships between “distant friends, associates and colleagues, and is therefore more outward looking.”[2] Bridging social capital is “more suitable for the public policy realm, because it tends to bring people from different social groupings together, promoting tolerance and cross-cultural understanding.”[3] Board membership is one of the ways that a community develops social capital. Upon taking a tour of Kimberly Crest, the docent for one of the groups said that donating money was a great thing and helped tremendously; however, donating one’s time is a magnification of one’s civic duty.

Being part of a Board is an example of donating one’s time as well as one’s expertise. Nominating committees at Kimberly Crest Board of Trustees look for individuals from a balance of professions and backgrounds, but most of all the committee looks for someone with a broad community base. The individuals who join the board are business leaders, public figures, and individuals who have the passion to fulfill the institutions role in the community. For example, Susan Sequeira was asked why she was involved with Kimberly Crest and her response was that “Kimberly Crest was really cool and it takes a full community involvement to preserve the space for Redlands” (Jerry, Sequeira). Being

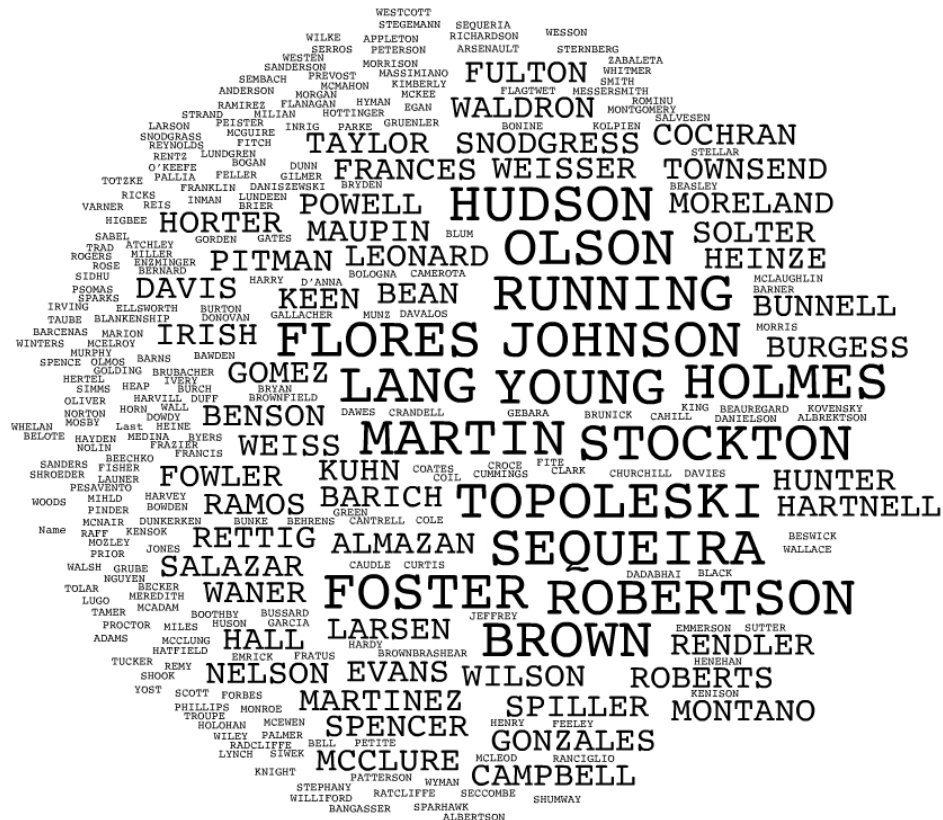
part of a board allows one to become more ingrained into the community because the individual is not only working for the institution but in the larger context for the community.

Kimberly Crest is a historical museum with a mission to preserve, educate, and share the values of community with Redlands. The members of the Board of Trustees are serving the community at large when they make the decision to host an annual tree lighting ceremony at the castle while also inviting young kids and their parents to visit the Santa Clause in the gift shop. The Santa Clause, at times, is an active board member. Being part of this community means that tradition and heritage are a large part of citizenship in Redlands. While working at Kimberly Crest, I was able to interact with many Friends of Kimberly Crest, which is what they call their docents and individuals who support the mission of the house. One of the board members mentioned to me that he became involved with Kimberly Crest because his boss was a former board member and it was a good way to give back to the community. Board membership allows individuals to use their expertise for the benefit of the greater community. The Kimberly Crest board of trustees, the Redlands Community Hospitable Board, and several other boards in Redlands have at least one accountant and lawyer. This is significant! As Gregory B. Markus argues, participation makes better governance because it taps the “citizens’ knowledge and experience in valuable resources”[4] Citizens are able to serve the public by being involved with boards that determine important decisions. These decisions influence the way the institutions operate and serve the community. Those who are best in this position are individuals who have expertise in accounting, law, medicine, or simply bringing people together. In Redlands, opportunities are met with excitement and positive attitudes because individuals know that their participation matters.

Kimberly Crest is a non-profit, however it is privately owned and operated through the Kimberly-Shirk Association. The board of trustees oversees the Kimberly-Shirk Association. The Redlands Community Hospital “is independently run, which is to say that it is not part of a medical system like that of UCLA, it is operated through donations and volunteerism. Redlands Community Hospital is self-sustaining and the goal is to make patients and their families comfortable while receiving treatment” (Chris. Tucker).

The Redlands Community Music Association (RCMA) is another organization in Redlands that is supported by a board and serves the community. RCMA operates the Redlands Bowl and has been bringing free concerts to the Bowl for over 90 years (Bradley, Noerr).

Countless boards serve countless organizations in Redlands. Individuals know each other through board membership and docent auxiliaries. In addition, there is an increase of social capital when institutions host fundraising, community, and special events. Board members are bound to show up at these events if their organization is facilitating it. During these events, the board members are able to enjoy themselves with the community they serve. It is a form of public office in this community. It is a way to govern an organization that may otherwise be run by the local government.



In order to visualize the concept of board membership, we collected names of individuals that are involved in boards. We placed the last names in an excel file. Afterwards, the last names were transferred over to a word cloud processor at abcya.com. The word

cloud allows us to determine which names are the most frequent in a set of data and displays more frequent names in a larger font. Figure 1 demonstrates how the word cloud looks. The biggest names are Hudson, Olson, Running, Flores, Johnson, Lang, Young, Holmes, Martin, Stockton, Topoleski, Sequeira, Foster, Robertson, and Brown. These individuals are involved in more than just one board. Foster is in fact a politician. Many politicians in the area have a board membership of some kind. Mike Morrell, the former assemblyman and current state senator, had served on the Board of Directors for the Building Industry Association and started the Inland Empire Prayer Breakfast. Shelley Stockton was an interviewee in our class. She said that she became so involved because of her “inability to say no” (Emily, Stockton). She is also a highly educated woman with an MBA and many years of experience in communications, which is a huge asset to organizations in Redlands, hence, her recent employment at the university in Alumni relations. Some board members are also business leaders because being part of a civic community is ideal for business.

As we mentioned, nominating committees look for individuals from a diverse background. Kimberly Crest has individuals who have a background in landscape architecture or museum/collections care. Nathan Gonzales is the head of collections at three different organizations, University of Redlands, A.K. Smiley Library, and Kimberly Crest. Markus argues that the benefits of the collective good generated from social capital impacts the single resident by providing better schools, safer neighborhoods, healthier natural environments, wiser governance, and more prosperous business climate of a highly civic community.[5] Board membership is a mutual benefit. The community gains from leadership that individuals offer institutions while individuals gain trust from their fellow citizens. Social capital emerges and is reproduced through civic actions of the like. Board membership in the community of Redlands is interesting because the community truly values all of the individuals that do small things to give back every day. Board membership is very valuable to the community; volunteers govern important entities and take on immense amounts of responsibility in Redlands.

Motivating Civicness

The community of Redlands has a high level of civic engagement; we are analyzing what causes individuals to be philanthropic, and what motivates them to donate their time. Our interviews support the fact that “community-mindedness inspires much civic work” (Markus, 2002). It is important to examine the motives that have been expressed to distinguish if they are selfish or altruistic in nature. Also, we will consider the differences, if any, of short-term and long-term philanthropic motives. This analysis will help contribute to the overall examination of Redlands and why it has such an unusually high level of civic community.

Throughout the class we have interviewed several people who volunteer and are involved in the community. We asked individuals why they began to get involved in organizations and associations in Redlands and what motivated them to stay involved. We have received many different answers but they can be grouped into general categories including short term self interest and long term altruistic motives.

Our data shows that in the short term, motives are dominantly related to self interest. The categories described include networking, business advancement, and the idea that volunteering is an avenue for personal gain. Many people originally became involved in order to meet peers and create opportunities to network socially. For example, Shelly Stockton was motivated to become involved because “she felt the need to create a social network” (Mariah, Guest Speaker, Stockton). Terri Proctor said she was motivated by a need for adult connections in the community. She wanted to be involved in order to meet people her own age (Anju, Guest Speaker, Proctor). Gabrielle Singh became involved in the community in part because she felt that she “fit in” in Redlands (Kristy, Guest Speaker, Singh). Janey Cole had also talked about the importance of networking. She mentioned that she got involved because of Cheryl Evans, a member of the Redlands Rotary. Many of our guests could name a specific person in the community that directed them to become involved in more than one organization; for example, Mrs. Evans connected Janey with other organizations in Redlands (Tyler, Guest Speaker, Cole). Involvement in the community is a cycle Janey explained, people are motivated to become involved as participation increases in the people around them.

Other guests claimed that participation and volunteerism in the community creates a positive image for business. Janey Cole described how in the community of Redlands “it is necessary for small businesses to be involved in order to be successful” (Lexi, Guest Speaker, Cole). Additionally Linda Apmadoc, a member of the Interfaith Council, stated simply that “the honest truth is...service is good for business” (Ben, Guest Speaker, Interfaith Council). Active volunteers in the community acknowledge and appreciate businesses that contribute to community events. Businesses gain recognition and appreciation from the community through their involvement and contributions, resulting in consumer spending. One of our guests pointed out that some volunteers engage with the community for the wrong reasons, stating that the community “praises all of the volunteers who come to serve,” but some are only seeking “free food and photo opportunities” (Bradley, Guest Speaker, Interfaith Council).

In *Civic Participation in American Cities*, Gregory B. Markus points out that the faith based community in his studies expressed that their involvement was motivated by personal "interests and not altruism." However the way that they "conceived of their interests" implies that their involvement goes far beyond personal gain. We found similar results when speaking with the Interfaith Council, they were involved initially because of their own interests and passion for religion; but their work eventually extended beyond personal gain. In other words, in the short term we have found that the motives expressed to us tend to be for personal gain. This is not viewed in a negative light by the community or our guests, it is very natural and understandable to become involved because of work obligations, the desire for friendship, networking opportunities and the simple feeling of appreciation. As volunteers move towards speaking about their long term motives we find that they become more and more altruistic.

We found that long term motives encompass things like philanthropy, tradition and love. These motives seem altruistic in nature, many people volunteer because they love others they like to see growth and success in the community. This can be shown through some of the interviews we conducted, specifically with Janey Cole and Terri Proctor. Many people such as Terri Proctor talked about the great people that she met through her involvement. She described her “experiences meeting people outside of Redlands as

automatically creating a sense of connectedness” (Dalton, Guest Speaker, Proctor). This sense of connectedness motivates and inspires her to stay involved here in Redlands. Furthermore, Proctor identified volunteerism as “a love for whatever you are supporting.” It doesn’t matter if she volunteered initially for selfish reasons, “you have to love what you are doing in order to stay with it” (Dalton, Guest Speaker, Proctor). Jean Arnet from the Interfaith Council told us a story about the first time she volunteered with her family, she felt good about doing something for the community and really enjoyed seeing the difference she was making (Kristy, Guest Speaker, Interfaith Council).

A big part of the reason why people continue to volunteer in Redlands is due to common values such as the desire to continue tradition and philanthropy, as well as their love of community. During our interviews, Terri Proctor recited a quote from Susan Martinez, “small things make the difference and mean the most” (Anju, Guest Speakers, Proctor). Terri believes that this idea encompasses the meaning behind volunteerism, when the community believes that all of the small things matter, they do.

Our interviews show that several guests’ families passed down the tradition of philanthropy and involvement. Terri Proctor explained that in her experience “family often influences an individual’s involvement”, but she was careful to make the distinction that “family does not define someone’s involvement” (Anju, Guest Speaker, Proctor). Using her daughter as an example Terri explained that she encouraged and supported her involvement in the community but when it came down to it her daughter involved herself according to her own interests. Her children have taken opportunities, in order to be a part of something larger than oneself and to support others (Emily, Guest Speakers, Proctor). Terri’s children were initially exposed to civic involvement through their parents, however their long term involvement evolved into a desire to be a part of a larger cause. From our guest’s responses to questions about family, it appeared that family often acted to inspire, or guide our guest’s initial involvement, but their long term motives changed into the support of a cause. When Gabrielle was asked about her initial involvement she explained that she had originally started getting involved because of her parents. Her parents were very involved in the community (Emily, Guest Speakers,

Proctor). Gabrielle continues the familial tradition by introducing her children to civic engagement simply through exposure.

Although family can influence individuals to participate in their communities, some citizens volunteer because of spiritual or religious reasons. For example, the Redlands Interfaith Council members are involved in the community because of personal pride in the community and passion in religion. The Interfaith Council is composed of about ten different churches. Churches as a whole tend to join the council only when they become aware of its value and purpose; it bridges a lot of understanding about different faiths in the community (Emily, Guest Speakers, Interfaith Council). Terri May became involved because he likes to share ideas and create an impact on others; while Linda Apmadoc wanted her church to be exposed and influenced by other schools of thought (Emily, guest Speakers, Interfaith Council). Linda became involved with the council because she has a passion for interfaith equity (Emily, Guest Speakers, Interfaith Council). Another member of the council, Jean Arnet came to know the council because she was seeking help with a project she was working on through Women of Faith. The council supported her project, and she has been involved with the council ever since. Dominantly, these individuals expressed interest in and passion for helping others; this pushes them to become involved in related organizations and events in the community.

Redlands truly values community involvement and donating your personal time. Civic engagement is valuable to citizens because of its usefulness as a tool to perpetuate and preserve Redlands heritage. This tool of civicness is sometimes used to make up for the shortcomings or oversights of the local government. Larry Burgess, a Redlands expert and active member of the community spoke to this idea. He expressed that an active community can support and protect their own interests and cited the example of Jack Dangermond “the founder of ESRI, who gave City Hall money in the name of preservation in Redlands.” “In the public eye,” Larry continued, “City Hall would agree with Jack’s intention and cooperate with his project. However, behind closed doors they would disagree with what he was doing. The donations that come from wealth in the community have therefore helped preserve it, despite the government in Redlands” (Dalton, Business District Fieldnotes, Burgess). Dangermond’s use of philanthropy is one

example of the value that citizens of Redlands place on community. However not all citizens can be philanthropic, instead some have to donate their time. Stepping up and becoming involved is important because “the community depends on the culture” (Anju, Guest Speaker, Cole). Sheri from the Redlands Community Hospital volunteer program explained that she has worked in several medical fields and working with volunteers “is the most rewarding” (Dalton, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Redlands Community Hospital). Sheri answers our question for us: “Why do volunteers volunteer?” She explained that people volunteer because they: feel useful, gain a sense of appreciation and belonging, feel like they are paying the community back and paying it forward, and they may also be committed to a common vision.

In summary, there are varying motives of Redlands’ citizens that influence them to become so involved in the community. These factors vary depending on short-term and long-term engagement. Short-term motives tend to be more selfish in nature, while long-term involvement tends to be more altruistic. There are also other influences such as faith, family and tradition that contribute to why many people volunteer in Redlands. Overall, whether people join for selfish reasons or not, the motives behind why civic community remains high is due to altruism of the individuals and the community as a whole.

Residents and Citizens in Redlands

Among the civic community in Redlands there is a common belief is that there exists is a difference between being a resident and a citizen. Through our study of Redlands this theme became evident. Not only did we begin to realize it as the class went on but also the many speakers we interviewed brought it up countless times. Many of them gave credit to Larry Burgess for this idea. “Larry Burgess will often say that its important to not only think of yourself as a resident but a citizen... the idea that everybody can do something is a really important one in Redlands history- the Smiley Library for example. It’s a real responsibility for me to make the town a better place. It’s about setting an example and leaving a place better than you found it” (Dalton, Guest Speaker Field Notes, Burgess). With the help of our research, in the following paragraphs we will distinguish the difference between the mentality of a citizen and a resident and show examples of the different scales of involvement among citizens in Redlands.

The themes of being a resident in Redlands are simple. The general ground rule for not being a citizen and only being a resident is that you're not involved in the community of Redlands. Even though civic communities thrive on people who are involved we're not saying that being a resident is bad. Yes, the majority of people in Redlands want citizens and people who give all their time to the community but for some this isn't possible and they fall into the resident category. There can be number of reasons why this happens. We don't know them all but we did come across a few examples. One major one that kept coming up was people don't have the time. After taking care of the kids, going to work and taking care of other errands there is no more time left in the day. Residents are not formally involved in clubs, organizations or the town's politics. Because of this many times they are left in the shadows of what is happening in their community and they miss out on the benefits. However, one example where residents contributed was on the 2013 service day where 1200 people came out to make Heritage Park come together. Our guest speaker Rose Palmer was in charge of making this happen and when we asked her about it she was truly happy and showed appreciation for the Redlands community as a whole. As we mentioned earlier Redlanders want everyone to be an active citizen to further the communities civicness and overall benefit.

On the other hand the basis for being a citizen is to combine the personal life with the civic life. The easiest way to describe it might be that it is a lifestyle. This shouldn't be looked at as a burden. Almost every interview we had our guest speaker mentioned how they love what they do and keep doing it because they enjoy it. Citizens not only volunteer their time they also participate formally in clubs and/or organizations. Through involvement citizens become interconnected. For example, Professor Wuhs began coaching his son's soccer team alongside Tom Brown who is an ESRI employee. Tom is married to Nicole Brown who worked at ESRI with Shelli Stockton; who is now Director of Alumni and Community Relations at the University of Redlands. Tom and Nicole Brown bought their house from Janey Cole who later introduced Nicole to the Bowl Associates. Janey also sold a home to Craig and Terri Proctor. Terri Proctor was also brought into the Bowl Associates where she met Nicole and Shelli. Furthermore Craig is employed by ESRI where he works with Tom Brown. Finally, Craig also coaches youth soccer with Professor Wuhs. So in this quick example we see how the university, ESRI,

the real estate business, local organizations and local clubs are all interwoven. After citizens become interconnected they start to figure out that they matter to Redlands.

Redlands has a strong sense of heritage that citizens respect this and want to be a part of. Through their involvement in clubs, organizations and various volunteer works they become part of the culture and start having a sense of pride about Redlands. These are all things that residents miss out on. Both Janey Cole and Terri Proctor brought up this idea when we interviewed them. “There is a difference between being a resident here and a citizen. You lose a lot when you are just a resident” (Emily, Guest Speaker Field Notes, Cole). “She then touched briefly on the difference between being a resident and a citizen of Redlands and said that you lose more by being only a resident because you miss out on the culture of the community” (Anju, Guest Speaker Field Notes, Proctor). There are even those that live outside of Redlands and work in Redlands that feel as though they are Redlands citizens. Bev Noerr, who is very involved in the Redlands community with volunteer work and through different organizations like the Bowl Associates specifically, stated, “I sleep in Reche Canyon but I live in Redlands.” Terri also touched on this when she told us, “She revealed that many people in organizations were not residents of Redlands but would act as citizens by being active in the community. She said that the Redlands community extends to the entire inland empire, and does not just stop at the city limits. ” (Anju, Guest Speaker Field Notes, Proctor). The citizens of Redlands are proud of what they have and want to keep adding to it. In our notes we have, “She said Redlands is not a suburb, that there is so much more. Rose said there was a plan here; the founders came in with vision bigger than themselves, which contributed to discovering how to build a community. It has become a tradition and people enjoy belonging in it. Even kids become inspired by the history of Redlands starting in the Fourth Grade Tour” (Anju, Guest Speaker Field Notes, Palmer). In addition to understanding what it means to be a citizen in Redlands throughout our interviews, we also identified that everyone is involved in the community on different scales.

The size of the civic community in Redlands is broad. It ranges from individual volunteer work to multimillion philanthropic donations. Both hands on volunteer work and philanthropic donations help to build strong social capital. With social capital brings an

organized, effective civic community. For instance, on our field trip to the Kimberly-Crest Mansion our docent mentioned that she wasn't a Redlands native, was retired and had only lived in Redlands for about 3 years, but found it easy and enjoyable to volunteer her time in the community. In our interview with the Redlands native Shelli Stockton it was evident that the "civic bug" was a part of who she is. She was a member of Kimberly Juniors, in which she speaks highly of, attended UCLA and pursued a career in marketing that took her away from Redlands to work at Exxon Mobil. When she returned to Redlands years later to work for a bank and later ESRI, she said being involved in the community was one, good for business, and two, very enjoyable for her. She is highly involved in the community through organizations such as the Bowl Associates and Town and Gown. A third scale of community involvement in Redlands is through donations. Though we didn't get a chance to speak with him, through our interviews it became clear that Jack Dangermond, Founder and President of ESRI, is highly influential in the Redlands community. Finally, the last type of citizen we met came from the large religious community in Redlands. Whether it is through food drives, housing the homeless, or sponsoring other various events the religious community's involvement is evident. One major contributor is the Interfaith Council. By combining as many churches in Redlands as it can, the council work together to spread social capital and contribute to the Redlands civic community. All these examples are the different scales of involvement we've seen through our study of Redlands.

All of the people we interviewed shared the same idea that being a citizen of Redlands was crucial to the continuance of the city's civic heritage. If our study concluded anything about Redlands and the people it's that they're passionate about giving back and helping their neighbor with whatever they can. Janey Cole said it best when she interviewed with our class; she said, "In Redlands we don't give handouts, we give a hand up" (Nico, Field Trip Field Notes, Cole). Such a quote goes to show that the people of Redlands continue to give with the hope that those they're helping will benefit from it and get inspired to be involved as best as they can. The overall willingness of the people of Redlands to participate in the community, volunteer, and be socially and politically involved and aware is unlike any place else. In the opinion of some, it shouldn't just be limited to Redlands either; Zach Tucker, President of the Redlands Community Hospital

Foundation stated, “Redlands must look to help its surrounding communities that might struggling, we can’t just pull up the drawbridge and forget about them.” (Nico, Field Trip Field Notes, Tucker). There are countless examples like previous two that are evidence of the everlasting civic ideal that the people of Redlands somehow have instilled in them. Maybe there’s something in the water from the Sankey or in the oranges from the Smiley’s? Whatever it is, according to our study, its not going anywhere any time soon.

The Culture of Philanthropy in Redlands

In the 1800s, the United States became internationally recognized as a near philanthropic utopia. Alexis de Tocqueville, an eminent French political philosopher and the author of *Democracy in America*, chronicled the new nation as having charity and civic engagement at the heart of its foundation—a function of the numerous civil and political associations that had formed there (Putnam, 1995, 65). Tocqueville saw individuals contributing financially and physically to the welfare of their respective groups and lauded Americans on having found the key ingredients to sustained democracy. A class of wealthy intellectuals were recognized as having made the movement possible; John Harvard, who donated his estate to the eponymous Massachusetts college, and Benjamin Franklin, the impetus behind the public library movement, have been cited as common examples of the philanthropic standard (Burgess and Gonzales Preface).

The city of Redlands had become a microcosm of greater philanthropic America even before its official incorporation. The formation of a chapter of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) in 1887 was the first notable effort by Redlanders to foster a community project (Burgess and Gonzales 30). At the corner of State and Orange Streets, Redlands citizens known as the YMCA boosters spearheaded the effort to secure a space for a club building. John P. Fisk, a Chicago emigrant, led the group by helping to secure patronage from wealthy community members (i.e., Judson and Brown). As it was to be named, the YMCA of the East San Bernardino Valley was established and soon became the site for fundraisers, community dinners, meetings, and more. A great “center of civic energy,” the YMCA became a symbol of what could be accomplished when community leaders, funds, and manpower merged together (Burgess and Gonzales 22).

With the completion of the transcontinental railroads, a burgeoning class of East Coast patricians arrived in Redlands, eager to indulge in the temperate climate and seize the vast plots of land that Charles Nordhoff had described in his best-selling book *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence* (Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Larry Burgess). Among the wave of Easterners came brothers Alfred and Albert Smiley. In 1889, the Smileys' intimate friend and wealthy contemporary, Andrew Carnegie, had published a tract espousing philanthropy as the responsibility of the rich (Burgess and Gonzales 55). The brothers must have become swept up in his economic evangelism because soon after settling, they focused their efforts on opening a town library at the YMCA. When the library's collection and public attendance became too large, Albert Smiley borrowed money in order to open up a stand-alone location on Vine Street (Mariah, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Nathan Gonzales). Carnegie, among others, hailed the brothers as true philanthropists, for they had made sacrifices to see their community vision come to fruition. The Smileys, later to be known as the "patron saints of Redlands," set a clear philanthropic precedent for the burgeoning community (Burgess and Gonzales 27). They gave generously, but moreover, they gave with an egalitarian ideal in mind: culture and education accessible to all.

Not all of the East Coast transplants to Redlands made the same degree of sacrifice as the Smileys, for many of them were quite affluent and in secure positions to dispense of their fortunes. Reminiscent of the so-called "Patrician Class" of post-colonial New-England, these social elites came from pedigrees of considerable wealth and Ivy League schooling (Dahl 12). The Kimberlys were one such family that fit the patrician mold. Moving to Wisconsin from California, they moved into Cornelia Hill's former French-chateau themed estate. John Kimberly, who had amassed his wealth from his successful paper goods company, was a private man, enjoying a quiet home life more than anything; however, his daughter Mary left an enduring stamp of generous giving and active civic participation on Redlands (Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Nikki Macioge). Mary Kimberly Shirk, per our docent Nikki at the Kimberly Crest Estate, was a woman who became highly engaged in the Redlands community and the greater Southern California educational sphere. Her civic club credentials were numerous: she was the first paying member of the Redlands Community Hospital Auxiliary League, an avid supporter of the

Redlands Community Music Association (RCMA), and the head of Kimberly Juniors, her personal organization in which she mentored young women in social etiquette and parliamentary procedure. She served on the board of trustees for Scripps College in Claremont, ultimately becoming its president from 1942-1944 (Peter, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Beth Allevato). She supported local young women, doling out annual college scholarships. Unlike the New England patrician class that had effectively isolated themselves from their fellow citizens by establishing an oligarchic ring of elitism, Mary Kimberly Shirk was desirous of networking with people from diverse backgrounds. She opened her property's gardens to all community members. She hosted guests as eminent as Amelia Earhart all the way down to neighborhood children, who she invited into her chambers for cookies and conversation (Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Nikki Macioge). Perhaps her most enduring claim to philanthropic fame was her decision to leave her estate and a one million dollar endowment to the people of Redlands, contingent on the promise that the adjoining property of Prospect Park be preserved as a public space. At the turn of the century, Redlands may have had the greatest number of millionaires per capita, but it was more than a rich man's playground—it was a place that “housed people with money in their pockets and goodwill in their hearts.” (Emily, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Nathan Gonzales; Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Larry Burgess).

At the tail-end of what many consider to be Redlands' golden era of philanthropy, Grace Stewart Mullen single-handedly brought music appreciation and programming to the town. Raised in a demographically stratified area of Tennessee, Mullen had a vision of shaping Redlands into a place where all citizens had cultural enrichment readily available (Burgess and Gonzales, 91). Mullen sought to provide quality performing arts programming in the form of a bowl auditorium, akin to what her contemporary Artie Carter had done in Hollywood, but insisted on it being free (Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Bev Noerr). She founded what later became the RCMA, contracting noted community philanthropists Clarence and Florence White to donate the Prosellis to the association's venue (Burgess and Gonzales, 24; Tyler, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Bev Noerr).

With the swansong of the railroads, the Eastern migration movement slowed and a class of businessmen pursuing the American Dream took front and center on the philanthropy

stage. Born of humble roots but a strong work ethic, these ambitious “entrepreneurs” (as Dahl would call them) were the epitome of self-made. Robert Watchorn was among the first of this class to leave his mark on the Redlands scene. Born into poverty in England, Watchorn moved to America as a young adult. He worked as a coal miner, eventually finding his home on the political scene after becoming an active member of the United Mine Workers Union (Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Nathan Gonzales). Having made a name for himself, he was appointed as the commissioner of Ellis Island but failed to secure a reappointment due to his open-immigration policies. Looking for a new source of income, he entered the growing oil business and ultimately created the ultra-successful Watchorn Gas Company. Watchorn’s forward momentum was mitigated by the loss of his only son, and he consequently moved with his wife to Redlands to seek asylum from his stressful Los Angeles life. Having acquired a bust of Abraham Lincoln, whose pauper to prince story paralleled his own, Watchorn set about the creation of a museum that his fellow citizens could enjoy free of charge. He conceived that visitors, historians and children alike would be able to utilize the resources at the museum(Lexi, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Nathan Gonzales). In the spirit of those before him, Watchorn proved that the new entrepreneurial class would serve in the roles as benefactors and maintain the principle of resource accessibility.

As the twentieth century progressed, businessmen of Watchorn’s caliber took over the philanthropic reins, some of whom still serve as guardians of the community today. Per their peers, these businessmen and women, many of them second and third generation Redlanders, have poured money into the community and pushed for their civic visions as a repayment of gratitude to the town that has provided for them (Mariah & Lexi, Class Guest Fieldnotes, Shelli Stockton; Documentary Fieldnotes)

Jack Dangermond, founder of the Environmental Systems Research Institute (ESRI; a top runner in the GIS field) was mentioned by the vast majority of people we interviewed for this research project. The painted Jack as the standout force behind Redlands’ current state of philanthropy. Jack’s parents came to California as Dutch immigrants working in the gardening and housekeeping industries and ultimately opened a nursery that would become a community staple. Shelli Stockton was one of many who opined that his

modest beginnings and strong Dutch values, in confluence with a “soft-hearted personality,” propelled him into becoming the well-regarded benefactor he is known as today (Emily, Class Guest Fieldnotes, Shelli Stockton). One of Jack’s primary seeds of philanthropy has been to preserve the community’s natural landscape, unsurprising considering his college degree is in landscape architecture (Dalton, Class Guest Fieldnotes, Shelli Stockton). He has made strong efforts to plant trees throughout Redlands, including the one that he and his wife Laura planted on their wedding day outside of Gourmet Pizza (Kristy, Business District Fieldnotes, Larry Burgess). Jack has pledged to leave two thousand acres of his Citrus Ave estate to the City for preservation purposes (Lauren V., Class Guest Fieldnotes, Shelli Stockton).

Jack and his wife regularly contribute to the YMCA, RCMA, and the U of R, among other causes (Tyler, Class Guest Fieldnotes, Shelli Stockton). From our fieldwork, we also noted that Jack not only cares about supporting members of civic institutions, but his numerous employees, as well. The work environment that he has created at ESRI is in and of itself designed in the philanthropic spirit. He provides approximately five thousand employees with comprehensive benefits and a beautiful, natural work campus filled with communal seating (Jerry, Class Guest Fieldnotes, Shelli Stockton; Lauren S., Business District Fieldnotes). Jack keeps his employees happy and well taken care of which, according to a former staff member, contributes to Redlands’ overall sense of welfare by keeping employment rates and economic success high (Lauren S., Class Guest Fieldnotes, Shelli Stockton).

Tim Rochford is, like Dangermond, another “homegrown product” of Redlands who has become a financial backer of the town since founding the successful Arena Resources Oil Company (which holds the number two spot on CNN’s list of fastest-growing small businesses; CNN Money, 2008). Although Tim now lives in Rancho Mirage, the support he received from the Redlands community as a child has continuously inspired him to fund civic efforts here (Juedes, 2009). As a student at Franklin Elementary school, Tim was offered a free membership to the YMCA after a town member caught wind of the fact that his family did not have enough resources to give him growth opportunities. In the 125th Anniversary Documentary that the City produced, Tim cited how grateful he

was to have had his potential recognized and provided for; he has since looked to do the same for children of this generation (Anju, Documentary Fieldnotes). In 2008, Tim restored the local Burrage Mansion and dedicated it as a place where the underprivileged children of Redlands could find enrichment and leisure (Juedes). Preservation has also struck a chord with Tim, who has led several efforts to beautify State St. and return it to its original architecture. He has purchased several buildings with the intention of making them more attractive to customers and era-appropriate and has also donated a number of ornate clocks for display (Juedes, 2009; Lexi, Business District Fieldnotes, Larry Burgess).

Philanthropic individuals alone have not been responsible for the civic state in Redlands in recent years; local institutions, businesses, and clubs have contributed their time and money to the community in equal measures. Redlands Community Hospital (RCH) is a striking example of such an institution. RCH was itself born of philanthropic efforts. In 1929, the Cope family donated seventeen acres of land for its construction, and the Redlands community rallied to build the actual structure (Anju, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Cherie Towers). In the near century that has elapsed, other local families have followed suit (e.g., the Millers, Mosleys, and Weissers), donating large sums of money for building expansions (Anju, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Cherie Towers). Zachary Tucker, the current president of the Redlands Community Hospital Foundation, has dedicated himself to continuing this tradition of philanthropy. In our interview with him, he related that “philanthropic efforts make the difference between a good and a great institution” (Lexi, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Zachary Tucker). Zach has overseen the fundraising and building efforts for two new clinics in recent years, one in North Redlands and the other in Yucaipa, both of which cater to community members without health insurance (Bradley, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Zach Tucker). The hospital’s Auxiliary league works tirelessly to fundraise and bring community attention to RCH through golf classics, health fairs, and blood drives (Andrea, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Cherie Towers).

Businesses have jumped on the philanthropic bandwagon since the town’s inception. Harris’ department store (today’s Redlands Galleria), which drove a campaign to bring a university to Redlands, is one notable example (Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Larry

Burgess). Businesses, in part, have been inspired to act charitably towards the town owing to a “circle of virtue” in which their generous efforts bring better customer traffic to them, in turn; as several interviewees iterated, “Philanthropy is good business.” Linda Atmattock, member of the Redlands Interfaith Council (RAIC), narrated that her dad, who owned a business in her small hometown, had told her from a young age that benefaction to the community was necessary to maintain a successful institution; when she came to Redlands, she found this maxim to ring true (Lauren S., Class Guest Fieldnotes, Linda Atmattock). Janey Cole quoted her friend Cheryl Evans, owner of the local Regeneration Salon, as echoing this same philosophy. Cheryl must practice what she preaches, considering she recently won the Ethics in Business Award for the charitable efforts she has made as a businesswoman in Redlands (Lauren S., Class Guest Fieldnotes, Janey Cole). Bev Noerr, director of the RCMA, was yet another who espoused the charitable business paradigm; she claimed that businesses are able to “gain leverage” (i.e., socially and politically) by supporting institutions that the community values, like the Bowl she oversees (Anju, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Bev Noerr).

Several businesses in Redlands today, often in partnership with civic organizations, are recognized for the events they plan and the money they donate to the community. The Back to School clothing driving for disadvantaged children is one such event (Ben, Documentary Fieldnotes). Many community members know that they can depend on businesses to back them financially when causes that are important to them are at hand; Janey Cole cited the Redlands East Valley girls volleyball travel fees as one such cause that local businesses helped to support (Kristy, Class Guest Fieldnotes, Janey Cole). The owners of the Citrograph, Ryan Bailey and Al Hernandez, have been recognized as exceptional contributors to the community, donating scholarship money to the University of Redlands annually. In the 125 Year Anniversary documentary, they expressed that their particular involvement was inherited as a “stewardship responsibility” that was passed down to them when they acquired the longstanding business (Lauren S., Documentary Fieldnotes). Corporate businesses such as Stater Brothers, Hatfield Buick, and Kaiser Permanente have been no exception—they have sponsored fundraising efforts as diverse as the Believe Walk and fundraising for fire department equipment (Lauren V., Documentary Fieldnotes).

It would be an oversight to mention philanthropy in this town without citing the incredible fundraising and gala events that civic clubs initiate regularly to support community causes. The Bowl Associates were oft mentioned by interviewees as one of the most salient fundraising arms in Redlands. They sponsor scholarships for young musicians and provide the funds for their sister organization (the RCMA) to provide its musical programming (Anju, Bradley, & Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes and Class Guest Fieldnotes; Bev Noerr and Shelli Stockton). The Redlands Optimists have also been mentioned as an active fundraising organization. They are perhaps most noted for selling concessions at the summer music festivals and giving back a portion of the proceeds to the RCMA (Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Bev Noerr).

Philanthropy in other Southern California towns is present, but in Redlands it is virtually synonymous with citizenship—if you live here, there is an implicit expectation that you will be generous with your resources, whether they be money or hard work. Redlands’ earliest settlers were key in setting a philanthropic tone. They established that civic efforts should center on knowledge and the arts, both of which were to be made accessible to all. Their diverse interests—from music to parliament—ensured that a pluralistic, active citizenry would develop. Of equal value, they built a physical infrastructure in Redlands that enabled civic community to boom in subsequent generations. Linda Atmattock and Larry Burgess touched heavily on this point: Redlands was not a typical California boomtown but a replica of an East Coast metropolis fused with an agricultural landscape (Lauren S., Fieldtrip and Class Guest Fieldnotes, Larry Burgess and Linda Atmattock). They created buildings and their affiliate institutions that enabled community members, rich and poor, to have places to congregate, research, and volunteer. They built a physical town of quality, which pushed their descendants to work together to preserve it (Maria, Class Guest Fieldnotes, Linda Atmattock). Whether it was donating, borrowing, or getting their hands dirty, Redlands’ founders lived with philanthropy in mind.

The “entrepreneur” class of modern Redlands has served philanthropically by preserving and expanding the work of its forbearers. Modern philanthropists have maintained the physical architecture and natural landscape of Redlands through such efforts as wielding

political influence and giving generously of their incomes and estates. Dangermond and Rochford in particular have brought socioeconomic modernization to Redlands, ensuring the survival of social capital here (Putnam, 1994, 84). Various institutions, businesses, and civic clubs have also responded to the call of charity, actively fundraising and coordinating events to foster community priorities.

In spite of evident efforts to nurture the philanthropic spirit in modern Redlands, some community members have voiced concern that the good-natured patronage that we have come to value may be at risk. It has been proposed that certain civic leaders and their associated organizations have formed semi-exclusive networks, inaccessible to the common Redlands citizen. This “pay to play” mentality has carried the tacit assumption that membership in certain groups requires regular or large donations, or at the very least, a formal invitation (Dalton, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Larry Burgess). Groups such as the Bowl Associates, the U of R Board of Trustees, and the Redlands Country Club are among those that have been cited as being overly exclusive. Civic community and social capital are compromised when functional equality does not exist (Putnam, 1994, 88).

A more overarching concern involves whether Redlands’ philanthropic legacy is stable enough to endure. Citizens have lamented that certain programming in the community has transitioned from free to paid admission (Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Nikki Macioge). Cherie Towers mentioned that diminishing financial support at the hospital has posed a threat to their programs (Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Cherie Towers). The United Way, an organization which once distributed funds to various non-profits in the community (and to which Tucker, Cole, and Stockton once claimed membership), recently lost citizen support and had to close its doors (Lauren S., Fieldtrip and Class Guest Fieldnotes). Whether philanthropy will remain a driving force in Redlands remains to be seen, but the town collectively is optimistic that entrepreneurs and average citizens alike will work together to sustain the unique civic community that dates back to our founding fathers.

Civic Community and the State

When Clarence White donated the Prosellis to the Redlands Bowl in 1930, he delivered a speech that one of his contemporaries called the “Redlands Gettysburg Address for Philanthropy” (Burgess and Gonzales 26). In his public dedication, he claimed that “No city live[d] by taxes alone.” This statement encapsulated that local government could not single-handedly run a town, for a town, in White’s opinion, depended in equal measure upon its citizens to develop, maintain, and sponsor it.

From its inception, Redlands has boasted a populace that has taken the responsibility of civic action upon themselves. They have, at times, both supplemented and combated the agenda of the local government. Where did the motivation to develop a powerful citizen coalition come from? In his book *Place and Politics in Modern Italy*, John Agnew states that “national identities are based on the creation of ‘imagined communities’ among people,” citing Benedict Anderson whose definition of nationalism further encompasses such facets as shared culture, religion, and language (Agnew 36; Anderson 9, 67). In Redlands, citizens have fashioned a “national identity” from shared heritage values, from cultural premiums on educational and arts-based enrichment, and from common visions for the future (such as landscape and infrastructure preservation). The recognition of this powerful identity is, perhaps, the driving force behind sociopolitical action among the civilian population of Redlands.

Civic support of the city offices in Redlands has been strong when governmental plans have not endangered the tenets of the national identity. However, when the City has encroached upon issues as they pertain to such areas as heritage and conservancy, local institutions, organizations, and individuals have rallied in opposition. Redlands stands in direct contrast to cities like Detroit whose overly “bloated” government and political unions have led the city into a potentially irreparable collapse (Smith). The civic voice in Redlands has, for the most, part worked like a well-oiled machine: collaborating with the government when possible and holding it accountable when it has stricken against the people’s interests.

In its formative years, the relationship between citizens and City was a relatively smooth one, perhaps owing to the fact that both sectors were too busy developing land and institutions to come to odds. One notable exception, however, was in the case of

Redlands' very own prohibition. In 1896, the City declared Redlands to be a dry town despite the vast number of winery businesses in the region (Atchley). Many citizens were vehemently opposed to the ruling. Scipio Craig, owner of the Citrograph, was one such citizen who recognized the repercussions of such a policy perhaps taking the issue particularly to heart because his parents sold a brand called Lugonia Wine). Other well-known town members such as the affluent Mrs. Chandler and the notorious Madame Fourbon defied the ruling, the former sneaking wine to university professors and the latter running a profitable "blind pig" alcohol sale operation (Atchley). When Fourbon was ultimately arrested, she was able to secure support from townspeople and regional judges alike to overturn her conviction, against the vehement resistance from the City. The Redlands government kept prohibition laws in place until 1933, but a strong fight from the civic voice mediated their enforcement.

Tension between the citizenry and the City today has come to a head over the issue of preservation (Lexi, Business District Fieldnotes, Larry Burgess). The push to conserve historic cityscapes, as well as cherished land (e.g. the remaining orange groves), has come primarily from civic groups and not the City. A pertinent example rests in the case of Heritage Park, a strip of land between Nevada and Orange Aves that sat vacant for years before citizens came together to transform it into a communal space in 2013 (Emily, Class Guest Fieldnotes, Rose Palmer). Rose Palmer, former president of the Redlands Interfaith Council (RAIC), and the Redlands Service Club Council were responsible for mobilizing 138 different civic groups to renovate the area on a day of service that they instituted (Bradley and Dalton, Class Guest Fieldnotes, Rose Palmer). The City, in this instance, has taken on a very passive role. Rose cited that the government has aided efforts in "giving people permission to help," but articles in the local news have painted the City as being rather lackadaisical about the project as a whole (Anju, Class Guest Fieldnotes, Rose Palmer). The Redlands Daily News, for example, cited a city council member as saying, "My personal aspiration is to see the park done in the next three to five years...that, however, depends on the generosity of Redlands citizens...and the City Council's desire to complete it" (Hernandez).

Redlands citizens protected open land against potential retail development plans by the City in 1987 when they passed the Measure O ballot by a 70% margin. Led by such influential figures as Jack Dangermond and the Weissers, the citizens voted to tax themselves in order to reserve land for parks, preserve the orange groves, and maintain recreation areas against budding economic interests (Fallows; Lauren S., Documentary Fieldnotes). Individuals who had been active in the preservation fight formed the Open Space Committee, which met often over the course of five years to review land acquisitions and advise the City Council (City of Redlands). Today, over 200 acres of land are protected by the policy, with signs posted around protected areas that remind citizens to keep them preserved through their own individual actions as a sign of solidarity (Lauren S., Residential District Fieldnotes).

In contrast to the philosophy behind Measure O, the City has at times chosen the path that has been “easiest and most economically efficient” rather than preservationist (Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes). A striking example of this has regarded the Redlands Mall. Previously the Windsor Hotel, the strip along Orange Ave was docketed by the City for development—a strip that has unfortunately now become a “glorified parking lot” and not the so-called mall that had been promised. (Lexi, Business District Fieldnotes). In 2005, the City Council made plans to tear down the mall, which was not bringing in as much profit as anticipated, in order to connect the east and west sides of State St. Ultimately, however, the Council felt tied to the outside interests that owned it. The plot continues to sit nearly vacant against growing tides of frustration from the town. Odd Fellows Hall, an antique auditorium above what is now the Nectar clothing shop downtown, is another example of where civic interests and the City’s agenda have not aligned well. After its chance discovery, Tim Rochford led the movement to restore it to an active space, with intentions of diffusing some of the pressure from the limited meeting halls in town, but the City cited “zoning and financial issues” as reasons for delaying the project (Tyler, Business District Fieldnotes).

Several of our interviewees expressed that although conflicts between the citizens and the City rarely “come to blows,” so-to-speak, a palpable tension still exists. On the one hand, the local government resents that citizens are as “nosy and active” as they are because

this obstructs them from pushing through important plans on their docket (Jerry, Business District Fieldnotes). On the other hand, citizens here seem to have lacked trust for their council representatives both presently and historically. After all, upon her passing, Mary Kimberly Shirk left her estate not to the City, but to the people of Redlands (Lexi, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Beth Allevato).

Although conflict between citizen and City has delayed what we might consider progress in certain areas of Redlands, we might also argue that this implicit system of checks and balances is not altogether detrimental. Having a strong civic force, as aforementioned, keeps a government attuned and accountable to its people's interests. Putnam, in "Explaining Institutional Performance," expressed that state institutions either succeed or fail depending on their localities' strength of "civic virtue" (87). In the case of Redlands, vibrant civic life, in which people fight for the issues that matter to them most, prevents any one group—civil, government, or otherwise—from becoming too domineering. Tension enables democracy to work and prevents hierarchical relationships, which can be socially and economically damaging to a city, from forming.

Many of the accounts we heard from our interviewees highlighted these strained relationships between town and administration, but others emphasized facets of collaboration and mutual support. Directors at both the Smiley Library and the Redlands Bowl stressed that their respective institutions and the City have found ways to split responsibilities (Bradley, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Bev Noerr and Nathan Gonzales). At the Smiley library, a private endowment pays for remodels, expansions, and programming where the City pays for employee salaries and utilities. When it comes to the Bowl, the City owns the land upon which the structure is situated, but has permitted the RCMA to be its long-term tenant. The City has provided the maintenance for the grounds, where the RCMA, like the library, has made itself accountable for the day-to-day expenses and programming. These negotiated trade-offs have enabled a fruitful equilibrium between the two forces: the institutions, in paying for their primary expenses, receive a fair amount of discretion over how they run their agendas but some of their fundamental costs are offset by government funds.

Another area in which Redlands' civic life and the City have come together in a beneficial partnership pertains to the fundraising arena. Over the last decade, public institutions such as the police and fire departments have lacked necessary equipment to carry out their services. Civic groups came together to raise funds for both a brand new fire truck and a helicopter for the police force's aviation unit (Miranda, Documentary Fieldnotes). The business community has also created the 365 Program by which companies donate a dollar a day to fund expenses such as gasoline for safety patrol vehicles (Kristy, Documentary Fieldnotes).

It is evident that in spite of their differences, the town and the City support one another. The City Council boasts local residents that the town respects, like Jerry Lewis who held his seat for over 30 years (Lauren S., Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Steve Wuhs). The current election is one of great interest, in part, because so many citizens have stepped up to run for the mayoral position. Our fieldtrip to Pete Aguilar's campaign meeting evidenced that many Redlanders find City Council to be a vital voice for them and an indisputably important part of our town.

The strength of Redlands' civic community is unusual. It is a safe bet to say that in comparison to other cities, our private citizens wield a fair amount of control—where else would you see civic groups single-handedly tax themselves to preserve land, mobilize over a hundred clubs to restore a park, and be responsible for keeping it on a completion timeline? Where else would citizens fund the majority of expenses for their own public library? On the one hand, our civic dominance is certainly a boon for Redlands. The social capital that our town has built (i.e., our abundant money and manpower) likely takes some of the pressure off of our administration to divert their efforts towards secondary projects and allows them to gear their focus towards policy/state-level affairs.

On the other hand, some might argue that our government has an obligation to involve itself in affairs of town infrastructure. Indeed, maybe it is not government power that Redlands has to be concerned about but rather a lack thereof. Some of our interviewees implied that the government has, in fact, abdicated a lot of typical responsibilities to the civic community. It is arguable that civic forces have actively taken some of these responsibilities upon themselves, serving as an enabler for government complacency. The

national market crash of 2008-2009 likely played no small role in necessitating that citizens donate their efforts where paid forces were once available, but why are we still relying so heavily on volunteers to do the jobs that others could, in effect, benefit from (Buntin)?

One of our interviewees claimed that our town sometimes operates more like the “People’s Republic of Redlands” rather than the City of Redlands (Dalton, Fieldtrip Fieldnotes, Zachary Tucker). In some regard, this is self-governance at its best; as Abraham Lincoln stated in the actual Gettysburg address, America should strive to have governments “of the people, by the people, and for the people.” Political leaders have to be responsible to their citizens—our strong social capital here serves as an arbitrator against government-dominated interest. However, when the civic voice overshadows the government, especially as it pertains to preservation/heritage efforts here in Redlands, the town fails to move forward with socioeconomic efforts that may be desperately needed (Agnew 49). As Putnam perhaps put best, “Both absolute power and the absence of power can be corrupting, for both instill a sense of irresponsibility” (Putnam, 1994, 88)

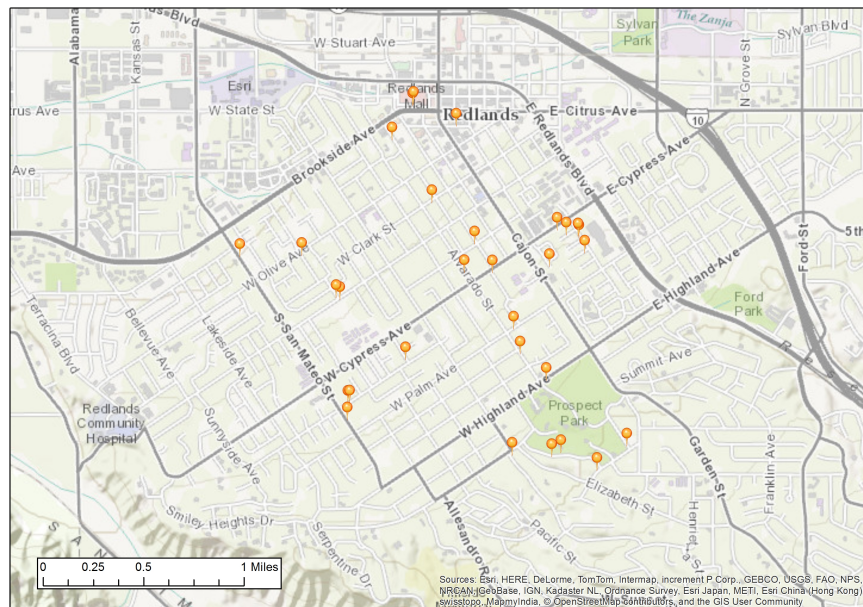
Symbolic Attachment and the Community of Redlands

The people of Redlands are very fond of their town for various reasons. Located in Southern California, Redlands is a valley surrounded by a beautiful landscape. This 125-year-old town has done a remarkable job of preserving many of its original buildings also preserving its culture and history. There are many features to the town that make it unique from the rest of the surrounding cities. The people of the city of Redlands are exposed to many historical objects and landscapes that influence them to be part of the civic community, which allow it to be so successful. The community history and heritage of the orange groves, the railroad, the mountains, Kimberly Crest, the Bowl, the Smiley Library, and State Street all take part in being a base for the civic community that exists here in Redlands. Being able to visit these places allowed us to understand its importance for the Redlands community and how its values allow for the Redlands community to continue its growth in such a strong civic community.

The history of Redlands has been based upon the pride in the orange. But what exactly does this mean, and do the citizens know about how the orange groves came to be harvested? As we went along in our research we would hear about how some Redlands natives feel proud to be able to live in a city where the orange is not just a fruit for them, but it's a way of connecting them back to their history. For example, in downtown Redlands there were a whole variety of murals painted around buildings that show orange groves, and orange trees that have titles as "Redlands Pride". The pride in the orange is so embedded into the city that it is just accepted and not really thought about in regards as to how it all started or by whom.

In the film, Celebrating 125 years of Redlands, Larry Burgess mentions, "The story of those people, the grove-owners, grove workers, the pecking houses, the workers of the pecking houses, and those who worked for the railroads that distributed oranges" while a scene of orange grove workers are shown as well as some workers loading the train with boxes of oranges. In the film the people who worked the orange groves and kept them alive are mentioned, but there is no thorough explanation about them. When the railroad tracks were being used it is said by Larry B. when we were taking the tour downtown that when people would board off the train the first thing they would see would be the mountains, palm trees, and the carved in orange groves in the buildings architecture. Also, in the film we did hear about a 3rd generation orange grove worker named Larry Jacinto, which had a farm of orange groves, passed down from his father. He enjoys taking care of his orange groves and has gone out to the city to give back and plant some more orange groves. He shared, "The orange business is a dwindling business." Larry Jacinto also said that "in the 50s, the city was the largest naval producing city" which has now diminished. In connection to what Jacinto mentioned, we were able to look into some of the orange groves left in the south side of Redlands. For one of our field trips we each had a designated district in which we would analyze using ArcGIS. We looked for flags, landscape ideals, bumper stickers, campaign signs, religious affiliations, etc. and we also noted some orange groves around the districts. We noticed that what Larry Jacinto mentioned about the business of the orange groves dwindling was true. This is in fact true because there are less and less orange groves seen in the south area of Redlands as seen in the map.

Orange trees spotted in South Redlands



Along with our interviewees that we had for class, no one mentioned the history as to how the orange groves started or who harvested them. When we were out in downtown Redlands for the tour with Larry B. we did encounter a worker who had a tattoo of an orange on his neck and in the middle he had the word “Redlands” (see cover photo). This man doesn’t live in the city nor is he from here as we heard his friend tell us he is actually from San Bernardino. This comes to show how some of the people in the surrounding community of San Bernardino also take pride in the oranges and knowing that they come to work in a city that values such heritage.

The town’s library was built by the Smiley Brothers. They willingly put their money together to make their dreams come true. One of the brothers noticed that they “did not have all the funds to support the [construction] of the library so he borrowed the rest of the money that was needed for the completion” (Tiffany, field notes, documentary) which showed the effort and measures they were willing to take to make their dream a reality. The Smiley’s dream was to give this town an institution that encouraged learning. The Smiley Library is a public library open to the public and residents of Redlands. Anyone who visits the library can find countless photographs and books about the history of Redlands in the heritage room. This room contains over 12,000 volumes on Southern

California, periodicals, and fine art (Nathan Gonzales, field note, library field trip). There are multiple archives like this one in southern California that are not open to the public as a personal resource. The library is enjoyed by many people on the daily and you can find parents in the children's room bonding with their young ones over books.



Another area in which the community takes pride in is the Kimberly Crest house. Many people come to visit this mansion and learn about its history. Cornellia Hill sold this home to “the Kimberley family from Wisconsin for \$29, 000” (Lauren S, Field Trip notes, Kimberly Crest). Mrs. Kimberly made sure to have this home set up in which would welcome anyone in the community to come in and feel at home. One of the docents had a self-experience her name is Nicki, she said that “as a child, she used to play in Mrs. Kimberly-Shirk’s gardens, and that her brave playmates would knock on her door and be invited in for ginger cookies and a chat” (Lauren S., Field Trip notes, Kimberly Crest). During Mrs. Kimberly’s years, she wanted to give back to the community and have everyone feel welcomed living in the city of Redlands. “Today, Kimberly is enjoyed by a multitude of visitors that tour the house, visit its festivals (like the Plein Air painting event, the Christmas party, and the Princesses at the Castle gala) and is home to “money making events” such as weddings and concerts,” (Lauren S., Field Trip notes, Kimberly

Crest). The Redlands community has a strong sense of interconnectedness through all these events in which makes them such a strong civic community.



The Bowl was founded by Grace Stewart Mullen. Her dream was to provide music and put on shows for the people and for it to be free of charge. Of course for these events to happen for free there has to be an enormous amount of fundraising. The Redlands bowl has an annual budget which “is about 700,000 dollars per year (Lexi, field notes, Redlands bowl fieldtrip). There are numerous of generous donators who give yearly donations that keep making it possible for the people of Redlands to enjoy music and shows. There other events that take place The Bowl such as “graduations, church services, and summer concerts” (Lexi, field notes, Redlands bowl fieldtrip). The local high schools hold their graduation in the bowl every year and we heard that it is very memorable. Some of those high school graduates donate to the bowl later on in their lifetimes. The summer concerts seem to be a favorite of the locals. In our interview with Bev, she told us that families come together to hang out at the bowl to watch plays and enjoy music. She told us that many young children meet this way and will carry on these memories for a lifetime. The bowl hosts a talent show for young classical artists to display their talent and the winners receive a musical scholarship. The bowl does not really advertise and is not politically affiliated which shows their devotion is strictly to the music. At the top of the main structure there is a quote engraved saying “without vision a people perish”. This

can be a direct reflection of Grace Mullen because she had a vision that the residents of Redlands would be able to enjoy and indulge in the art of music and her legacy has lived on.

State Street is a very important place in which the community feels proud of. Since 1988, market night has taken place here and so many people and vendors come out for this weekly event put on Thursday nights. The history of Redlands can be seen on the murals that include scenes of orange groves and some buildings from the University of Redlands. Market night brings together several communities because although there are local farmers, there are some that come out from Cherry Valley, Rancho Cucamonga, and from Riverside. These farmers bring their produce and sell to the residents of Redlands. This amenity has provided a way for Redlanders to shop for locally grown produce. This produce ranges from organic kale to sweet strawberries anyone can enjoy. Market night has been a great place for business and has helped local shops grow. Market night attracts anyone from a college student looking for next week's groceries to families who are spending an evening out in town. This event brings residents together providing that interconnectedness feeling. State Street is known for handing out candy to toddlers on Halloween, making it safe for the young children to trick or treat in safe daylight hours. State Street has fought to stay economically stable when bigger corporations arrived in town. This allowed for business owners to come together and support each other.

Redlands has many aspects that make it a unique city. The landscape of Redlands has played a vital role in attracting its members of the community. On our trip to Kimberly Crest we learned that "Redlands was a 'bedroom' town where many traveling people from the east would come" (Lexi, fieldtrip field notes, Kimberly Crest) to escape harsh winters back home. The adobe soils and irrigation system in Redlands facilitated the cultivation of oranges. Redlands was filled with a plethora of orange groves throughout the 1900's. The Redlands economy was originally based on oranges making the orange something very valuable to the citizens. Although the orange groves do not reign over Redlands like they once did, the citizens have taken action to preserve whatever is left of them. The orange groves we see today are a small but they are a lovely sight to see. Redlands is surrounded by big, snow-covered mountains in the winter which makes for a

pretty view from the valley. When we went on our expeditions, the mountains were hard to miss. The mountains are always in the background and the shadows at sunset make them even more picturesque. Redlands is filled with lush green lawns, lots of bright flowers, and many palm trees. In a valley where the weather can get to scorching in the summer there sure is a lot of green and vegetation. Since some of the homes in Redlands are older they have an old Victorian style to them. On one of our fieldtrips we saw signs saying that we were now entering old historic Redlands. The town acknowledges its history and keeps it alive.



In all of our field trip we saw many historic landmarks. We interviewed many involved members of the community who described to us what they did within the community. We got a strong sense of how interconnected Redlands really is and how residents and citizens are willing to participate in events throughout Redlands. All of these historic landmarks, landscapes, and histories add sentimental value to the lives of the citizens of Redlands. When people value their town and appreciate it, there is attachment to the town. This attachment is maintained within the Redlands community due to its wonderful citizens who strive to make Redlands a historically rich, friendly, and eventful town.

The Reproduction of Civicism

The city of Redlands is very unique for many reasons, one of them being its culture of civic duty. This mentality of helping others has survived and become wholly embedded in the community. It has been made possible by the people of Redlands setting out to ensure that this mindset is preserved with each generation. This ‘reproduction of civiness’ is maintained by different methods which are ingrained into the Redlands community and culture. There are several mechanisms that reproduce civiness in Redlands: organizations that perpetuate the culture and mentality of Redlands, businesses supporting the community, events through a larger sense of community, and recruitment.

The Heritage Auxiliary is one of the many programs in Redlands created to preserve their history and teach it to students. It is a program that gives a tour to the fourth graders from all schools, both public and private, in Redlands. In doing this the program is able to help reproduce the civiness of Redlands. The Auxiliary busses all of the students to the historic sights of the town and teaches them the history. It is run by the Redlands chapter of the Assistance League and it is run completely by volunteers. The schools would not be able to afford to do this on their own so the Heritage Auxiliary pays for and runs everything. They raise money for the busses and give the tours using scripts written with the help of Larry Burgess. By the end of May, around 1,700 fourth graders will have taken the tour this year (Tiffany, Class Guest, Interfaith Council). The tour does more than simply teach history and show them the historical places of Redlands. It shows the students how the city came to be in its present state and who made possible the unique features of Redlands that they enjoy (Jerry, Class Guest, Stockton). “It helps kids understand what came before and how they’re a piece of that puzzle” said Shellie Stockton during her interview when discussing the Heritage Auxiliary (Tiffany, Class Guest, Stockton). One of its goals is to instill in the students that giving back to your community is important no matter if you stay in Redlands or leave (Jerry, Class Guest, Stockton). By learning the history of their unusual community, the fourth graders have a “buy-in” to the community and its culture. This can then easily translate into catching the service bug, so to speak (Bradley, Class Guest, Palmer). The Heritage Auxiliary is a unique program that imbues the history of the Redlands town into its students. It teaches them how unusual Redlands is and how fortunate they are to live in a place like Redlands. The students learn about the people and events that created the places and services that

they now enjoy today. Understanding what came before them allows many students to think and start to give back to their community. Although perhaps not every fourth grader in Redlands becomes enamored with service, the Heritage Auxiliary trip is a beginning building block to feeling that community service is vital and important for any town or city to survive. The Heritage Auxiliary is one of the numerous mechanisms in Redlands that perpetuates the civic culture and community.

Kimberly Juniors also shows how the civicness is continued through family and the value of the larger sense of community. This organization provides high school girls the opportunity to learn parliamentary procedure, personal development, drama, dancing and public speaking. The overall purpose is to provide skills they need to “function successfully in modern society and gracefully involve themselves in community lives as good citizens and club women” (Kimberly Crest). The pride of being a Redlands citizen carries on through the generations within families who have been a part of Kimberly Juniors. The application process for becoming a Kimberly Junior requires full family involvement. The parent writes an “introduction” letter that gives a background of their daughter as a brief “get-to-know you” and also why their daughter would benefit from partaking in Kimberly Juniors (Kimberly Crest). This organization provides an environment of Redlands pride, culture, and family tradition that can also be found in Kimberly Juniors as seen through our interviews with Gabrielle Singh and Shellie Stockton, former Kimberly Juniors. Gabrielle’s mother was actively involved in community service, as well as being on the Kimberly Juniors’ Board of Trustees, and was influential in Gabrielle’s beliefs and values about giving back to the community. It was her mother who applied for her Kimberly Junior membership (Tiffany, Class Guest, Singh and Stockton). Shellie Stockton is a native of Redlands and it is through her family tradition that she became part of Kimberly Juniors. Both of her aunts and her mother were Kimberly Juniors and as a child she was compliant so when her mother wrote her introduction letter she had no objections (Lauren V, Class Guest, Singh and Stockton). Even though Kimberly Juniors is for high school girls, Shellie and Gabrielle are still involved in the program today. Gabrielle is on the anniversary and centennial board and Shellie is also on the centennial board and both women serve on the Board of Trustees (Anju, Ben, Class Guest, Singh and Stockton). Even after their time in Kimberly Juniors

ended, they continued their involvement in an organization that influenced their professional careers. They both said that parliamentary procedure was the most helpful skill they learned because of the application it has in everyday meetings, whether it be another service club or at work (Lauren V, Class Guest, Singh and Stockton). In addition to continued involvement, Kimberly Juniors is another example of the networked town. When we went to the Redlands Community Hospital, Zach Tucker, the president, said that both his mother and grandmother were in Kimberly Juniors (Lexi, Field trip, Tucker). One of the docents at Kimberly Crest, Beth Allevato, was a former Kimberly Junior as well (Bradley, Field Trip, Kimberly Crest). One way that tradition is preserved is through generations. In Redlands we can see this prominent theme of family traditions creating civiness. It is anchored into families to uphold the standards and community involvement that has been set by previous family members. Redlands takes pride in holding annual community events that have become part of tradition and would not be made possible without the enthusiasm of organizations.

In Redlands, many businesses support and aid the service efforts of the people of the town. There are examples in the community of small local businesses that have survived due to Redlands support. In return, the businesses of Redlands support the city and participate in their volunteer efforts to improve the town as a whole. In an email to Janey Cole, Cheryl Evans who is a small business owner here in Redlands wrote “It is necessary for a small business to be involved in the Redlands community if they want to succeed” (Evans, “Re: Philanthropy and volunteerism in Redlands”). One example of this is the Redlands Community Hospital. It is a non-profit stand-alone community hospital with a mission to be an environment where members of the community can receive high quality care and service. It is also committed to serving the community and being a good place to work. While speaking with Zach Tucker, the Redlands Community Hospital Foundation President, he stated that Redlands, including the Hospital, has many volunteer opportunities. Philanthropy is the difference between a good hospital and a great hospital he said and the same concept is true for Redlands. The difference between a good town and a great town also is philanthropy (Anju, Field Trip, Tucker). Following this line of thinking, the Redlands Community Hospital created an organization with the help of donors to manage the volunteers and fundraisers into a cohesive force. The Redlands

Community Hospital Auxiliary has been running with a mission to help the hospital succeed in their mission since 1931 (Mariah, Field Trip, Towers). Not only is the Redlands Community Hospital Auxiliary served by volunteers, the hospital itself is run by volunteers from the community. The Redlands Community Hospital succeeds or fails based on who has volunteered to govern it (Anju, Field Trip, Tucker). The hospital is so embedded in the value of civiness in the community of Redlands that it has strived to help others along with their ability to stay independent from chained hospitals. It had small beginnings with Redlands locals running it out of a renovated house in 1903. Since then it has become a strong pillar of the community, providing health care, jobs and volunteer opportunities (Mariah, Field Trip, Towers). It is within their mission statement to serve the community and they have done so. They have incorporated their volunteers into the hospital as an indispensable resource doing what the hospital can't due to time or money. As a long-standing pillar of the Redlands community, they have dedicated themselves to improving Redlands in many ways and in doing so have become a driving force behind the continuation of the civiness in Redlands.

Although there are many organizations in place that help reproduce the civic mentality of Redlands, not all of the mechanisms in the town are formal organization but rather subtler processes. It is done through community and family events common to every town such as 4th of July, Halloween, and a Holiday Parade. In Redlands, the 4th of July events are huge, including an extremely large parade and spectacular fireworks. It is such an extensive event that many people want to participate with getting involved and making it happen year after year (Lauren V, Documentary). On Halloween, Cajon St. is shut down and there is usually live music to provide entertainment for both the parents and kids. Events in Redlands are easily turned into a giving opportunity like how the Sunrise Rotary Club gives every child a book on Halloween (Lauren V, Class Guest, Proctor). One of the other huge events is the Holiday Parade, which is actually televised by the Chamber of Commerce so people can watch it at home if they wish to (Dalton, Class Guest, Proctor). Another subtle way that Redlands brings its community together is their love of music and the arts, and more specifically the Redlands Bowl. It was the dream of the founder, Grace Stewart Mullen, for everyone to have music and enjoy the fine arts, free of charge. She accomplished her dream and the first concert was held in 1924. It is

the oldest music venue still running which is a miracle in some ways as they now have three full symphonies that are extremely expensive. Every year they raise around \$70,000 and they do this with the help of corporate sponsorships, grants, and donations. The Redlands Bowl is dependent on its volunteers as it completely run by them (Anju, Field Trip, Noerr). The Redlands Bowl Music Association, which is the event planning part of the operation, only reserves the bowl for the summer months and during their off season many other events take place there including: high school graduations, in the past a Shakespeare festival and an Easter service put on by the Interfaith Council (Bradley, Field Trip, Noerr). The Redlands Bowl is a place where people of different backgrounds come together easily and simply enjoy the arts. One of the ways this is possible is because they do not allow any showing or promoting of political or religious affiliations. In some ways, each event is like a reunion of 5,000 friends, although you may have never met them before. There will always be someone to sit and talk with. Children are able to meet up with their friends, see the community coming together, and create memories. Many civic events take place there and this is then amplified by the music (Anju, Field Trip, Noerr). The civic and friendly mentality created while showcasing the arts is dear to many of the people of Redlands. It is a place that people agree should be protected so they all stand behind it with their support. It is a subtle action but the Redlands Bowl has brought together many people for the purpose of protecting it and in doing so furthers the civic community and culture of Redlands.

Another unique aspect of reproduction of civiness in Redlands, in addition to events and family traditions, is recruitment. Recruitment in Redlands is more of an informal method where people who are already involved reach out to others to provide them with opportunities to get involved. One organization that is an example of this and that was mentioned many times throughout our interviews and field trips is the Sunrise Rotary Club of Redlands. Janey Cole, a well-known realtor in town, is a member of Rotary and when she was meeting with one of her clients , Terri Proctor, she invited Terri to join Sunrise Rotary (Miranda, Class Guest, Proctor). Terri attended meetings and eventually became involved with Rotary. This served as a gateway to even more community engagement as Terri was then asked to join Town and Gown by a spouse of a fellow Rotarian (Dalton, Class Guest, Proctor). From there, Terri became a member of many

other boards and groups like the Bowl Associates and PTA just by meeting new people who are all interconnected through different associations (Nico, Class Guest, Proctor). Many organizations in Redlands communicate through “word of mouth” invitation, like the Redlands Bowl. When visiting Mission Gables, Bev Noer told us that the Bowl does not have to advertise the Summer Music Festival because many people know about the event through family traditions of attending the Music festival for three or four generations in a row (Lauren V, Fieldtrips, Mission Gables). In terms of becoming a member of the Bowl Associates, women are recruited through others who are already involved in other service organizations. When we talked to Shellie Stockton, she reflected on her sister’s involvement with the Bowl Associates and when Shellie moved back to Redlands, her sister invited her to join the Associates of the Redlands Bowl (Lauren V, Class Guest, Stockton). In Redlands, there is a contagious cycle where once you join one organization, you make friends who are also involved in another association who then can invite you to join more organizations. There is a lot of overlap within service organizations and different boards which also contribute to and keep the recruitment process continuous. These deeply connected networks of actively involved citizens have helped create a larger sense of community, which in turn, continues to generate civicness.

The city of Redlands has a long standing tradition of philanthropy that has managed to survive and maintain its intensity for many generations. This existence of civicness has been made possible by the fact that the community and culture has evolved to reproduce their emphasis on service. This is done through many different processes. These mechanisms are organizations, businesses, community events, and recruitment that perpetuate the culture and mentality of Redlands. One example of an organization that drives the reproduction of civicness is the Heritage Auxiliary. It is through this organization, which teaches the history of Redlands to fourth graders, that the students are able to comprehend why civic duty to your community and town is vitally important. The Kimberly Juniors is an organization that connects to family tradition in Redlands by teaching the value of citizenship and passing this down through generations. The Redlands Community Hospital is a business that has deeply rooted origins of volunteerism and civicness as it is governed by volunteers. It has also utilized their in-hospital and fundraising volunteers to increase the level of care and comfort they can

provide and it is through their origins that they serve as an example of what a business can do as its civic duty. Finally, recruitment strengthens and advances the bonds between citizens through personal interactions that create a deeply connected community. It is through these unique processes that Redlands has managed to establish a large sense of community that is very close-knit, allowing them to function as a community of diverse interests and goals creating an unprecedented ability to work together in the face of otherwise uncooperative ideals.

Networked Town

Despite national and indeed global trends to the contrary, Redlands retains a vibrant civic culture, one that continues to place a value on active citizenship and philanthropy. Explaining the persistence of that civic culture is a complex matter, but Political Geography's students suggested several factors that combine to support it.

First and foremost, students identified the importance of the local tradition of philanthropy and sense of heritage. Individual philanthropists like the Smiley brothers and contemporaries like Tim Rochford and Jack Dangermond are important, they argued, but their work also emphasized the mechanisms through which a broader culture of civicism is produced and reproduced. Redlands retains a community life that is self-reinforcing – a virtuous cycle of sorts. Through community institutions like the Bowl and community events like the 4th of July celebration and the Bicycle Classic, Redlands residents are socialized into community life and may therefore place greater value on it. Those community institutions and events are supported by a pervasive emphasis on heritage most evident in the widespread use of imagery from the citrus industry. The orange and related symbols foster a sense of common identity that binds Redlands residents together, despite the decline of the actual industry. Through deliberate socialization efforts like the fourth grade field trips and programs like Kimberly Juniors, young people are acculturated to the value of their local community and its history. That too contributes to the sense of local heritage and tradition that marks the community.

Secondly, and relatedly, students points to the physical environment and its history. Unlike many southern California communities, Redlands developed with relative

autonomy across a series of key moments – from the establishment of nearby Spanish missions to the arrival of the Mormon community to the actual construction of the community by developers and philanthropists. The relative independence of the community and its hospitable environment combined to generate an inward-looking civic culture, where taking care of the community and its needs was a priority – whether referring to the water supply, spiritual needs, or the arts.

Third, students noted that south Redlands, the empirical focus of our work, is a relatively homogenous community in terms of race, social class, and education. The community mapping performed by the group revealed that the most civic areas of the community (in terms of joining behavior as well as philanthropic giving) are also those with higher incomes and education levels. Two potential factors thus seem relevant to an explanation of persistent civicness in south Redlands. The first is that individuals from wealthier backgrounds may have more time and resources to devote to community life. While that may be possible, students also identified work commitments as interfering with civic behavior. The second is that in south Redlands citizens may be willing to give back to a community that is similar to them in terms of priorities, culture, and values – thus, the local emphasis on arts and philanthropy via the service clubs. Both of these propositions require further research to really be sustained.

Fourth, students observed important individual and collective incentives to engage in civic behavior. Our participants were quite open that being an engaged *citizen* (rather than a mere *resident*) was good for politics and good for business – thus, an important and strategic individual-level incentive was present. Yet they also noted that a more altruistic individual motive was central to them (the creation of community and social networks) as well as a collective goal of working to either maintain what the community does well (e.g., programming at the Redlands Bowl) or to better the community through associations' activities. The combination of incentives may propel Redlands community members to participate in civic life despite the pressures of family, the disillusion with politics and public life, and the inclination to private sphere and the media that Putnam and others have recognized.

In their contributions to this paper, students described Redlands and its community history, heritage, and life as “unique” more than 15 times. In the contemporary American context, it may well be. Larger social forces have undermined civic community across the United States, and while the consequences of decreased social capital are not yet totally clear, politicians, policymakers, and social scientists have noted the trend and are concerned for what the future holds. Does Redlands offer lessons about the persistence of civic life in contemporary America? Our work reveals the centrality of history and heritage to its maintenance; ultimately, that suggests that communities able to capitalize on similar traditions may be able to entrench civic life despite trends to the contrary. For communities without that sense of historical distinction, our recommendations are less clear. Likewise, this paper might suggest that homogeneity might breed civic behavior – but debates among students of social capital suggest that most crucial are networks that bridge social groups, not ones that bond groups internally. Redlands civic leaders and activists strive to bridge the community’s persistent north-south divide, but very real challenges remain. The overlapping incentives that we note may offer a path toward renewed or revitalized civicness in areas with some tradition of it; students found strong civic inclinations among people whose individual and collective goals overlapped in the community. Those reflections on the broader debate around civic community and social capital aside, students were left with a “unique” comment to share with their newfound community: “Orange” you glad you live in Redlands.

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